



LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES
ANCIENS PAYS-BAS MERIDIONAUX
AU XV^E SIECLE

3. THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

VOLUME II

DE SIKKEL - ANTWERP

LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS MERIDIONAUX
AU QUINZIEME SIECLE

II. REPERTOIRE DES PEINTURES FLAMANDES DES QUINZIEME ET SEIZIEME SIECLES

III. CONTRIBUTIONS A L'ETUDE DES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE "CENTRE NATIONAL DE RECHERCHES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS"

DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE : *P. Coronians*, Director of the Archives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National and the Laboratoire Central des Musées de Belgique (A.C.L.) at Brussels ; Professor at the University of Ghent. MEMBERS OF THE CENTRE : *P. Bonenfant*, Professor at the University of Brussels ; *H. Bouchery*, Professor at the University of Ghent ; *P. Fierens*, Professor at the University of Liège ; *J. Lavalleye*, Professor at the University of Louvain. CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE CORPUS : *J. Lavalleye*, Professor at the University of Louvain.
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LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS
MERIDIONAUX AU QUINZIEME SIECLE

3

Fascicules 6-13

THE NATIONAL GALLERY
LONDON

by

MARTIN DAVIES

Deputy Keeper

Volume II



MCMLIV
DE SIKKEL, ANTWERP



No. 47 : Group Eyck (5). *The Marriage of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami (?)*
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Commercial correspondence should be addressed to the Publisher; other correspondence should be addressed to the Secrétariat du Corpus, "Centre National de Recherches Primitifs Flamands", 10, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

EXPLANATIONS

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PICTURES IN THE CORPUS

The painters whose works are here studied may be *anonymous*, or be known by *name*, or else by a *distinguishing title*. The pictures are therefore arranged in one of the three following categories :

ANONYMOUS

GROUP followed by the abbreviated name of the painter (e. g.

GROUP EYCK, GROUP MEMLINC)

MASTER OF... (e. g. MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN LEGEND).

Within the second category, the alphabetical order of the painters' names is followed ; within the third category, the alphabetical order of the principal word in the titles given to the painters is followed.

In the cases where several pictures are found under one name, and for the anonymous category, the order followed is the numerical order of the National Gallery inventory.

The pictures thus classified are given two *Corpus numbers*. Example :

No. 57 : GROUP WEYDEN (4), THE MAGDALEN READING.

This means : No. 57 of the Corpus (from its beginning) ; group of works associated with Rogier van der Weyden ; 4th. work of the group (from the beginning of the Corpus).

This classification has been adopted for practical reasons ; it does not imply acceptance of the attribution.

INVENTORY NUMBERS

At the National Gallery, the inventory numbers and the numbers in the catalogue of 1945 are the same.

RIGHT AND LEFT

The terms *Right* and *Left* are used for the spectator's right and left, unless the context clearly implies the contrary.

MEASUREMENTS

The measurements are given both in centimetres and in inches ; the order is height \times width \times thickness. Each dimension has been measured in three different places, in centimetres ; the measurement given is the average of the three, and the variations are indicated in brackets. Thus, 67.8 (\pm 0.1) cm. means that the smallest measurement is 67.7 cm., the largest 67.9 cm. The measurement given in inches corresponds with the average measurement given in centimetres.

The measurement of thickness is generally approximate.

CHANGES IN COMPOSITION

By the terms *changes in composition* and *pentimenti* are to be understood changes carried out by the original painter. A *change in composition* is not visible in ordinary light, a *pentimento* is ; this distinction of vocabulary is not rigorously followed except in section C. *Physical Characteristics*.

INDICATIONS OF SCALE

1 : 1 photograph the actual size of the original.
M 2 × macrophotograph twice the size of the original.

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 47 : GROUP EYCK (5). *THE MARRIAGE OF GIOVANNI (?) ARNOLFINI AND GIOVANNA CENAMI (?)*

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Jan van Eyck.

The Marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami.

Dated 1454.

No. 186 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(I.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	84,5 (\pm 0,1) \times 62,5 (\pm 0,1) \times 1,7 cm. 33 1/4 \times 24 5/8 \times 3/4 ins.
	· painted surface	81,9 \times 59,9 cm. 32 1/4 \times 23 5/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, fairly thick, very regular, in very good condition.

Paint Layer : Excellent general condition. Slight wearing on the grey background and on Arnolfini's hat. Adheres perfectly. The green glaze on her dress is remarkably well preserved, except for some minute losses. Rupture at the top, a little to the left of the centre of the chandelier, and continuing as far as the mirror-frame ; rupture in the upper part of the join between the two supporting panels, about 4 cm. long.

Retouching on the first mentioned rupture. Repaints in the top corners. Some local restorations in the background ; isolated restorations on Arnolfini's right shoulder and under his right elbow. The deep shadows of his face and his right hand have been lightly gone over. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : Numerous ; see Plates CCLXXXII, CCXCVI, CCXCVIII, from infra-red photographs.

There are many alterations, in varying stages of completion, to Arnolfini himself. In particular, his raised right hand was at first blocked in in a different position ; this hand in its final position has further undergone minor alterations (Plates CCXCV, CCXCVI). Two fingers of his left hand have been drawn in to come forward over her right hand ; there is also a beginning of the fingers of this hand further to the right than at present, and a modification

of the contour of the thumb (Plates CCXCVII, CCXCVIII). There are probably three positions for each of his legs ; his dress has been extended at the bottom, and there are changes in its outline round the shoulders, etc. His hat was once narrower at the left, especially in the crown ; his right cheek has been extended over part of the hat.

The changes noted as having been made to her are much less ; it may be recorded that, among changes to her right hand, the thumb was once differently placed, and that the contour of her right sleeve has been varied.

There are further various changes in the room. For instance, the frame of the mirror was once intended to be octagonal ; a horizontal line above the settee indicates some change in this region ; and the top part of the window shutter, near Arnollini's head, has been changed, the intended arrangement not being clear.

Ground : Nearly white, of medium thickness, adheres perfectly.

Support : Oak, two panels with grain vertical ; the join is slightly open at the top. Perfectly flat, except for the chamfer round the edges, where it is not painted. Cracked, at about the middle of the upper edge, for about a quarter of the height ; this crack corresponds with the rupture mentioned first in the description of the paint layer.

The back is protected by a thick whitish coating containing vegetable fibres ; this has been covered with a thin white layer, and then painted black. The composition of the layer with vegetable fibres recalls the preparation of Jan van Eyck's "Vierge au Chanoine Van der Paele" at Bruges ; it is to a considerable degree opaque to X-rays, and prevents the taking of clear X-radiographs.

Four buttons of oak, glued against the grain, consolidate the crack. The left hand bottom corner of the support has been restored.

Marks on the Back : Nothing worth recording noted ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCI.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

The sitters stand side by side in a bedroom (*Panofsky*²³ 126), her right hand in his left ; he raises his right hand (a change in the position of this hand has been noted in section C, above). She wears two rings, one on the third finger and one on the little finger of her left hand. He is identified as Arnollini (see section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*, where the claim that he is Jan van Eyck himself is also recorded).

It is claimed that a marriage is being performed (*Panofsky*²⁵ 118 f.). In a chandelier, one candle is burning (claimed in this picture to be chiefly a nuptial symbol ; *Panofsky*²⁵ 126). A chairback (apparently) by the bed is ornamented with a statuette of S. Margaret, the Patroness of women in expectation of child, with the dragon (*Panofsky*²⁵ 126 ; *Timmers*²⁴ 961/2). A small dog is on the floor, at the sitters' feet ; perhaps a symbol of Faith (*Panofsky*²⁵ 126 ; *Baldass*²⁷ 85) expresses doubt on this point). Also on the floor are two pairs of shoes ; four oranges by the window. On the back wall is an inscription, recorded in the next sub-section but one. Below this is a circular mirror, the frame of which is ornamented with ten designs illustrating the Passion : beginning at the bottom and going left, the Agony in the Garden (with SS. Peter, James and John) ; the Capture (with S. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus) ; Christ before Pilate ; the Flagellation ; Christ carrying the

Cross ; Christ Crucified between the Virgin and S. John ; the Deposition ; the Entombment (present, the Virgin and SS. John, Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus) ; Christ bringing Adam and Eve out of Hell (cf. *Davies* ²² 125); and the Resurrection. In the mirror, the room is reflected in small, with the sitters seen from behind. Between them, in the reflection, is seen a doorway, with two (?) figures standing in it ; one of them is presumably Jan van Eyck himself. With regard to some of the furniture, etc., in the picture, see further in section F, *Comparative Material*.

It has been suggested (cf. records in *Weale* ¹¹ 73/4 ; *Weale and Brockwell* ¹² 118) that the lady in the picture is gravid ; but the fashion of dress at the time explains her appearance (cf. *Weale* ⁷ 24). Compare for example, S. Catherine in the triptych at Dresden assigned to Jan van Eyck (*Friedländer* ¹³ Plate XLII; ca. 1435, according to *Friedländer*, 101); the group of Virgins in *The Adoration of the Lamb* at Ghent (altarpiece dated 1432 ; *Coremans and Janssens de Bisthoven* ¹⁴ Plates 113-5); even more exactly, the wing showing S. Ursula and Virgins in Stephan Lochner's *Adoration of the Kings* in the Cathedral of Cologne, perhaps ca. 1442/4 (*Reiners* ¹⁵ Figs. 72, 75). The student should compare these examples with pictures of *The Visitation* assigned to Rogier van der Weyden and by Jacques Daret, reproduced by *Friedländer* (¹⁴ Plates VIII, IX and LXV).

What is clearly the present picture is recorded once to have had shutters (*Docs.* 1-3) ; it is not known if there were shutters originally. For numerous *changes in composition* in the picture, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

He is in a blue underdress, a deep purple dress and black hat and boots. She is in a blue underdress and green dress. The dog is grey with a reddish tinge. Bed, cushion, settee-covering, different reds. Mirror-frame dark mauvish grey, with blue and red decoration.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Inscribed on the back wall, *Johannes de eyck fuit hic. / .1434*. The translation *Jan van Eyck was here* appears to be the only possible one, though another has been suggested ; see further in section G, *Author's Comments*. This inscription clearly implies that Jan van Eyck painted the picture.

Davies (³¹ 33) suggests that some marks at the base of *The Agony in the Garden* on the mirror-frame, the first of which is like π , may symbolize the Greek text of *Matthew*, XXVI, 39 or 42, or *Luke*, XXII, 26 ($\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ \dots$) ; but this is unlikely.

For record of arms on the shutters, see *Docs.* 1-3.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

No contemporary document concerning the origin of this picture is known, except the already recorded inscription on it. This settles the authorship and date, but leaves uncertain the identity of the sitters. Old inventories, nevertheless (*Docs.* 1, 2 ; see further in *Subsequent*

History), clearly identify the man as Hernoul-le-Fin or Arnoult Fin ; by this is certainly to be understood Arnollini, the name of a Lucchese merchant family.

The inventories do not give the man's christian name. There is no record of where this picture was painted, and the sitter could theoretically be any Arnollini of the right age in 1434. Since Jan van Eyck appears to have been active more at Bruges than elsewhere, it seems likely that the Arnollini here painted was a man living at Bruges. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (^o 65) linked up the references in the inventories with mentions by *Laborde* (^s Vol. I. 208/9, Nos. 702/3) of a Jehan Arnoulphin or Ernoulphin ; this man is identified as Giovanni di Arrigo Arnollini, concerning whom something will be said in the next paragraph but one.

The identification of Giovanni di Arrigo may be considered not certain, since other Arnollinis are recorded in the XV century at Bruges. On 21 October, 1452, at the same time as Jehan son of Henri, there is mention of Michel and of Jehennin son of Nicolas ; see *Gilliodts-van Severen* (¹⁰ Vol. II, 9, No. 919). A Michel or Michiel is also recorded in 1459, 1467 and 1470 (*Gilliodts-van Severen* ¹⁰ Vol. II, 92, No. 1016 and 151, No. 1092 ; ⁹ 35). A Michiel and Elysabeth his wife were members of the Confrérie de Notre-Dame de l'Arbre Sec at Bruges (*Archives de la Ville de Bruges*, earliest register of this confrérie, f. 5r. ; XV century, but not precisely dated). A Michiel and his wife are mentioned in 1469 and 1470 in the *Archives de l'église Notre-Dame* at Bruges, *Comptes de la Confrérie de Notre-Dame aux Neiges* (n^o 5), ff. 21v. and 43r. *Weale* (⁷ 28 and ¹¹ 73) says that Michel was a brother of Giovanni di Arrigo ; this information may be from the document concerning the mass which *Weale* says the two brothers founded for the repose of their souls. *Brockwell* (³⁹ 49) says that, according to the Arnollini pedigree, Michele was a brother of Giovanni d'Arrigo, and adds that his wife was called Elisabetta. As for Giovanni di Nicolao Arnollini, it may be that some of the records refer to him rather than to Giovanni di Arrigo.

It would seem therefore impossible at present to exclude that Michele may be the sitter here ; Giovanni di Nicolao, called Jehennin in 1452 and perhaps still young then, might all the same have a claim ; nevertheless, Giovanni di Arrigo seems probably the right man, always assuming that a Bruges sitter is more likely than any other. Giovanni di Arrigo seems to have been the most prominent Arnollini in Bruges. He (presumably) is recorded in 1420 (at Bruges ?), and he died in 1472, being buried at Bruges (1470 is a mistake by *Mirot* (¹⁸ 114) followed by *Davies* (²³ 33) ; for his biography, see *Mirot* and *Lazzareschi* ³¹). His wife was Giovanna, daughter of Guglielmo Cenami, a Lucchese merchant living in Paris. No record has been discovered in the archives concerning the marriage, which the picture is claimed to represent (*Panofsky* ²⁵ 118 f.). Giovanna survived her husband ; there is some evidence that she was still alive in 1489 and 1490 (*Mirot* ¹⁸ 114, notes 2 and 3 ; checked), but an apparently reliable record of 1715 gives her date of death as 1480 (*Mirot* and *Lazzareschi* ³¹ 24 ff. ; *Brockwell* (³⁹ 54 ff.) prefers this alternative).

It has been claimed, e. g. by *Dimier* (²¹ 187 ff.) and by *Jenkins* (²⁶ 13 ff.), that the sitters are not Arnollini and his wife, but Jan van Eyck himself and his wife. Discussion on this subject has been made *inter al.* by *Malkiel Jirmounsky* (²² 423) ; *Dimier* (²³ 358) ; *Malkiel-Jirmounsky* (²⁴ 317) ; *Dimier, Hill, Panofsky* and *Robertson* (²⁷ 135, 189, 296/7) ; *Pemán* (²⁸ 73 ff.). See especially *Panofsky* ²⁵ ; and see further in section G, *Author's Comments*.

There is no record of the picture's being in the possession of Giovanni di Arrigo Arnollini, or any other Arnollini ; the first known mention of it is in 1516 (see *Doc. 1* and *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

The authorship of Jan van Eyck is not questioned, the inscription being clearly in this connection equivalent to a signature.

The date 1434 on the picture is not questioned.

2. *Subsequent History*a. *Records of Ownership*

What is clearly identical with this picture was owned by Don Diego de Guevara (died 1520 ; *Allende-Salazar*¹⁰ 189), whose arms were on shutters now lost (see *Docs.* 1-3 for the identification). Given by him to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, who had it at Malines ;

- 1516 in her inventories of 1516 (*Doc.* 1)
 1523/4 and of 1523/4 (*Doc.* 2). She died in 1530.
 Later owned by Mary of Hungary, great-niece of Margaret of Austria, and her successor as Regent ;
 1556/8 in her inventories of 1556/8 (*Doc.* 3). She is said to have had it from a barber (*Doc.* 4). She left the Netherlands for Spain, taking this picture, in 1556,
 1558 and died in 1558. It would be unreasonable to doubt that this picture then passed into the Spanish Royal Collections.
 1700 It can hardly be doubted that it is the picture recorded at the Alcázar, Madrid, in 1700 (*Doc.* 6 ; description less precise than one would wish), with a mention of verses from Ovid on the frame.
 1734 It has been suggested that the frame may have been burnt in a fire at the Alcázar in 1734 (*Allende-Salazar*¹⁰ 191) ;
 1754 but what seems clearly the same picture is recorded in the Spanish Royal Collections in 1754 (*Doc.* 7).
 1789 and in 1789 (*Doc.* 7).
 No facts are known about how the picture recorded in 1789 left Spain. *Brockwell* (¹⁰ 9) supposes that it was destroyed, and that the picture in the National Gallery is a different picture (cf. section G, below). *Weale* (¹¹ 70) states that the picture in the National Gallery fell into the hands of General Belliard or one of the other French Generals (General Belliard did bring from Spain to Belgium Michiel Coxie's copy of the Ghent Altarpiece ; *de Bast*¹ 45).
 1815 The National Gallery picture is stated to have been bought in Brussels after the Battle of Waterloo (1815) by James Hay, a soldier (promoted to Major-General in 1841 ; some documentation concerning him in the National Gallery archives) ; see *Nieuwenhuys* (' 4/5).
 1816/8 Apparently on approval for the Prince Regent's collection at Carlton House, London, 1816/8 (*Doc.* 8 ; *Millar*⁴¹ 97/8).
 ca. 1828 Housed for Col. Hay by the grandfather of J. C. Wardrop, ca. 1828/41 (*Doc.* 9).
 1841 Exhibition of *Pictures by Italian, etc. Masters*, at the British Institution, London, 1841 (No. 14) ; *Catalogue*² 8.
 1842 Purchased from Major-General Hay, 1842 (*National Gallery Catalogue*¹¹ 48).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

- 1942/3 Cleaned (the picture had often been photographed before).
 1947 *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures (1936-1947)*, at the National Gallery, *Catalogue*, 1947, 27/8, No. 22.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Weale (¹¹ 75) says that an imitation signed *Godefridus Iohannis fecit anno 1581* was owned by the Rev. James Beck.

It has sometimes been claimed that a picture supposed to represent Bonne d'Artois is derived from the lady represented here. That design is known in painted versions (1) restored in Lisbon in 1949 (*Pemán* ¹⁰ 6/7), (2) at Berlin (reproduced in the Illustrations, *Die Deutschen und Altniederländischen Meister*, 1929, 186), (3) at Cadiz (reproduced by *Pemán* ²⁸ 88 and *Pemán* ⁴⁰) and (4) formerly in the Julius H. Haass Collection (reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition of *Flemish Primitives*, Kleinberger, New York, 1929, No. 2); and in a drawing in the *Recueil d'Arras* (Weale ¹¹ Plate opp. 179). For the claim, see *Winkler* (²⁰ 255), *Pemán* (²⁸ 77/8), *Baldass* (²⁷ 281, No. 22a) and *Pemán* (¹⁰ 3 ff.); it appears very doubtful if there is any connection beyond a general similarity.

The National Gallery picture has some relation, fairly close in certain details, to a *Lady at her Toilet*, ascribed to van Eyck, which is represented on the wall of Cornelis van der Geest's picture gallery at Antwerp by Willem van Haecht, 1628 (*The van Berg Collection of Paintings*, Catalogue issued by Mrs. Mary van Berg, New York, 1947, 14 ff., with plates; *Pictures within Pictures* Exhibition at Hartford, U. S. A., 1949 (No. 22), lent by Mr. and Mrs. S. van Berg; *Baldass* ²⁷ 85, Figs. 79 and 80 (distortion corrected), and 284, No. 36; see also Weale ¹¹ 175 f., with two plates). Van der Geest's picture was possibly in the Pierre Stevens Sale, Antwerp, 13 sqq. August, 1668 (lot 3), its present whereabouts not being known.

A portrait of a man at Berlin (No. 523 A) is identified as representing Arnollini on comparison with the present picture; reproduced by *Friedländer* (¹² Plate XXXVIII).

In a picture of 1438 in the Prado at Madrid, representing S. John the Baptist and Heinrich Werl, and assigned to the Master of Flémalle (Campin), a mirror reflects the scene in a way roughly similar to the reflection here; this has been claimed to be in imitation of the present picture, e. g. by *Tschudi* (⁶ 22). Comparable use of a mirror has been made by *Petrus Christus* (*Baldass* ²⁷ 98, Fig. 86), *Quinten Massys*, etc.; see *Harilaub* (³⁰ 98). No mirror-frame appears to be known, comparable to the one represented here; for the change in the design of this frame, see in section C, above.

The chandelier may be compared with one appearing in *Dieric Bouts' Last Supper* at Louvain, and with one in *The Annunciation* in the Prado assigned to Dieric Bouts (*Schöne* ²⁹ Plates 20 and 1). Among other examples may be cited one in *The Annunciation* assigned to Rogier van der Weyden in the Louvre (*Destrée* ¹⁹ Plate 115). Some comparable chandeliers still exist; see a reproduction in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Vol. VI, May, 1948, 251 or (less close) *J. Tavenor-Perry, Dinanderie*, London, 1910, 145/6, with two plates.

Fruit on window-sills is to be seen also in Jan van Eyck's *Madonnas* at Melbourne and Frankfort (*Baldass* ²⁸ Plates 104 and 126). For shoes comparable with the pair in the foreground here, see *Baldass* ²⁸ Fig. 80 and Plate 157.

The carved wood by the bed is apparently a chairback. The representation here is not quite clear; compare a picture ascribed to *Petrus Christus* at Turin (reproduced by *Aru and Geradon* ³⁸ Plate V, *Corpus* No. 16), and a miniature assigned to the Master of Antoine of Burgundy (*Winkler* ¹¹ Plate 45).

It is perhaps not to be excluded that there are some reminiscences of details of the present picture in a miniature of different subject by Loyset Liédet at Brussels (*Winkler* ¹¹ Plate 38); but it would not be justified to insist on a connection.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

No question arises concerning the authorship or date of this picture, but the identity of the sitters has been questioned, and so has the meaning of the signature.

The inventories quoted in Docs. 1 and 2, taken in conjunction with Doc. 3, provide very strong evidence that the man is Arnolfini; I do not think that this identification can reasonably be questioned, unless very strong evidence is produced in favour of some other candidate. This has not been done. Some critics, who believe that the sitters are Jan van Eyck himself and his wife, base their belief chiefly upon three claims: that the signature *Johannes de eyck fuit hic* means *Jan van Eyck was this man*, that the woman here resembles Jan van Eyck's wife as seen in her portrait of 1439 at Bruges, and that the description of Mary of Hungary's picture by van Mander does not correspond with the present picture. The first claim seems clearly wrong; as for the second, the resemblance does not convince me; for the third, Panofsky has dealt with van Mander and his source van Vaernewijk (Docs. 4 and 5). A recent attempt to claim Jan van Eyck and his wife as the sitters is in the book by Brockwell (¹⁹), who stresses his view that there were two pictures, one of Arnolfini destroyed in Spain, and the present picture, never in Spain. Supernatural intervention (so far as is known) would not be necessary for this to be true; but the improbability appears to me very great, and I consider Brockwell's arguments in favour to be too flimsy for discussion here.

I think that Panofsky (²⁵ 117 ff.) has proved his claim that in this picture a marriage is being performed. His suggestion, developing one by Friedländer (¹³ 56/7), that *Johannes de Eyck fuit hic* means *Jan van Eyck was here as a witness to the marriage* is very plausible. One advantage of this explanation is that *fuit* is the right tense.

I accept that the gravid outline of the lady in the picture is merely an appearance due to the fashion of dress at the time.

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I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

Extract from the inventory of Margaret of Austria, 1516 :

"Peinture : ung grant tableau qu'on appelle Hernoul le Sin avec sa femme dedens une chambre, qui fut donné à Madame par don Diego, les armes duquel sont en la couverte dudit tableau fait du painctre Johannes" (*En marge* : "il a nécessité d'y mettre une serrure pour le fermer ; ce que Madame a ordonné faire").

From the transcription by Jules Finot, published in the *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales, Nord, Archives Civiles — Série B, Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, Vol. VIII, p. 209, Lille, 1895. A text, with *Hernoul-le-Fin* instead of *Hernoul le Sin*, and omitting the marginal note, and with some minor variations, was published by *Le Glay, Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien 1^{er} et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Vol. II, p. 479, Paris (Société de l'Histoire de France), 1859. This was reprinted in *Le Cabinet de l'Amateur et de l'Antiquaire*, Vol. I, p. 215, Paris, 1842. See also Weale¹¹ 70 ; Weale and Brockwell¹² 114.

Document 2

Extract from the inventory of Margaret of Austria, 1523/4 :

"Item, ung aultre tableau fort exquis, qui se clot à deux feulletz, où il y a painctz ung homme et une femme estantz desboutez, touchantz la main l'ung de l'aultre, fait de la main de Johannes, les armes et divise de feu don Dieghe esdits deux feulletz, nommé le personnage Arnoult Fin".

From the transcription by Michelant, *Inventaire des vaisselles, etc.*, printed in the *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'histoire, ou Recueil de ses Bulletins*, 3rd. series, Vol. XII, p. 86, Brussels, 1871. This seems to be the same inventory as the one published in part by L. de Laborde, *Inventaire des Tableaux, Livres, Joyaux et Meubles de Marguerite d'Autriche*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st. series, Vol. VII, 1st. part, Paris, 1850, and reprinted by Eleanor E. Tremayne, *The First Governess of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria*, London, 1908 ; the entry for the present picture (numbered 133) is in *Laborde*, p. 57, and *Tremayne*, p. 315.

In another copy of this inventory, this picture is No. 137 ; printed by Heinrich Zimmerman and Joseph Ritter von Fiedler, *Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k.u.k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien*, in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. III, p. XCVIII, Vienna, 1885.

See also Weale¹¹ 70 ; Weale and Brockwell¹² 114.

Document 3

Extract from the inventory of Mary of Hungary, 1556/8 :

There are two variants. In one, the entry for this picture is as follows : "39. Una tabla grande, con dos puertas con que se cierra, y en ella un hombre é una muger que se toman las manos, con un espejo en que se muestran los dichos hombre é muger, y en las puertas las armas de don Diego de Guevara ; hecha por Juanes de Hec, año 1434".

From the transcription printed by *Alexandre Pinchart, Tableaux et Sculptures de Marie d'Autriche, Reine Douairière de Hongrie*, in the *Revue Universelle des Arts*, Vol. III, p. 141, Paris, April-September, 1856.

In the other inventory, the passage referring to this picture shows several variations, including the omission of *hecha por Juanes de Hec, año 1434*, and the insertion at the beginning of *Cargusele mas* (meaning that Mary of Hungary wanted the picture taken to Spain). Printed in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Vol. VII, p. 252, Madrid, 1877 ; also by *Rudolf Beer, Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivo General zu Simancas*, in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. XII, p. CLXIV, Vienna, 1891.

See also *Weale* ¹¹ 70 ; *Weale and Brockwell* ¹² 114.

Document 4

Marcus van Vaernewijck :

"Vrau Marie die moeye van onzen edelen Coninc Philips / die eens getraut hadde Ludovicum diē Coninck van Hungariē / die weghens den Turk int velt bleef / heeft eens een cleen tafereelkin vanden zelve Meester ghedaen / welcx name was Joannes van Eyck, waerin dat geschildert was / een trauwinghe van eenen man ende vrouwe / diē van Fides ghetrouwt worden / eenen Barbier diet toebehoorde / betaelt met een officie / die hondert guldenen tsiaers in brachte".

(*Marcus van Vaernewijck, Den Spieghel der Nederlandscher Audtheyt, 1568*, or *Historie van Belgis, 1574* ; text from *H. E. Greve, De Bronnen van Carel van Mander, The Hague, 1903*, p. 98).

Document 5

Carel van Mander :

"Desen loannes had oock gemaect in een Tafereelken twee conterfeytsels van Oly-verwe / van een Man en een Vrouwe / die malcander de rechter handt gaven / als in Houwlijck vergaderende / en worden ghetrouwt van Fides, diese t' samen gaf. Dit Tafereelken is namaels in handen van eenē Barbier ghevonden te Brugghe (als ick meen) / die dit selve toequam. Dit worde ghesien van Vrouw Marie, Moeye van Philips Coningh van Spaengien / en Weduw van Coningh Lodewijck van Hongherien / die tegen den Turck strijdende in 't veldt bleef. Dese Const-lievende edel Princesse hadde in dese Const sulck behaghen / datse den Barbier daer vooren gaf een Officie / die opbracht Jaerlijcx hondert gulden".
(*Carel van Mander, Het Schilder-Boeck, Haarlem, 1604*, f. 202 v.).

Document 6

From the Spanish Royal Inventories, Alcázar, Madrid, 1700 :

"Vna pintura en tabla con las puertas que se cierran, con su marco de madera dorada de oro mate ; escriptos unos versos de Ovidio en el marco de la pintura que es una alemana

preñada vestida de verde dando la mano a un mozo que parece se casan de noche y los versos declaran cómo se engañan el uno al otro, y las puertas son de madera pintadas de jaspeado : tasado en dieciseys deblones".

(From J. Allende-Salazar ¹⁶, *Don Felipe de Guevara*, in the *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, Vol. I. p. 191, Madrid, 1925).

Document 7

From the Spanish Royal Inventories, 1754 and 1789 :

"Vara de alto y tres cuartas de ancho hombre y mujer agarrados de las manos : Juan de Encina inventor de la pintura al óleo. 6000 reales."

From the inventory of 1754 : text from J. Allende-Salazar ¹⁶, *Don Felipe de Guevara*, in the *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, Vol. I. p. 191, Madrid, 1925.

A passage with only minor variations occurs in an inventory of 1789, no. 871 : printed by Carl Justi, *Altflandrische Bilder in Spanien und Portugal*, in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Vol. XXII, p. 179, Leipzig, 1887 ; reprinted with slight variations in Carl Justi, *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten Spanischer Kunstlebens*, Vol. I, p. 307, Berlin, 1908.

Document 8

"In the Inventory of Carlton House, 1816, No 168 (in the Middle Attic) is :

Portraits of a man and his wife. John van Eyck 2' 8" 1' 11".

In the hand of Benjamin Jutsham, who appears to have been a kind of inventory clerk at Carlton House, is a note :

This Picture was returned to Sir T. Lawrence April 25th 1818.

The inferences from this entry are supported by an entry in Jutsham's day-book of receipts at Carlton House. Under October 10, 1816, he writes that he received from Lawrence, in a gilt frame :

Two Portraits Male & Female joining Hands — the Female dressed in Green — The Male in Black with large Round Hat... by John Van Heyck... sent for the Regent's Inspection... Returned (later note).

The measurements are given as 33½" × 23¾".

One can assume, therefore, that the van Eyck was on approval at Carlton House from October 10, 1816 to April 25, 1818, and that Lawrence was negotiating the possible purchase. He was concerned in a variety of ways in the formation and ordering of the Regent's collection". (Letter from Oliver Millar, 19 December, 1952 ; cf. Millar " 97/8).

Document 9

From the Wardrop Diary :

"Van Eck.

Col. James Hay gave me a picture to take care of during his absence from England. It was hung up in a bed room and remained there for about 13 years. On his return he asked to be allowed to send for his picture.

A few weeks afterward I saw, to my surprise, this picture hanging in the British Gallery Exhibition. Shortly, Mr. Segquier, the picture restorer, called on me, mentioning I was a friend of Col. Hay, who was then in Ireland, if I would communicate to him that he, Mr. Segquier, had recommended the Trustees of the National Gallery to purchase the picture.

and he was authorised to offer £ 600 for it. This sum Col. Hay accepted. This picture becomes of greater value annually, and now hangs in the National Gallery, much prized".
(From the diary of the grandfather of *J. C. Wardrop*, printed in a letter from *Lindo S. Myers* in *The Morning Post*, London, 15 May, 1922).

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 47 : GROUP EYCK (5)

<i>Frontispiece. The Marriage of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami (?)</i> , Colour plate	N. G.	1953
CCLXXXI. <i>The Marriage of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami (?)</i>	B 124 573	1950
CCLXXXII. <i>The Marriage of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami (?) (infra-red)</i>	N. G. 12-VII-	1950
CCLXXXIII. <i>The Sitters at half-length</i>	B 124 574	1950
CCLXXXIV. <i>The Dog (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 579	1950
CCLXXXV. <i>His Head and Right Hand (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 582	1950
CCLXXXVI. <i>Her Head and Left Hand (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 589	1950
CCLXXXVII. <i>The Lower Part of the Window, with Four Oranges (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 581	1950
CCLXXXVIII. <i>The Joined Hands, the Bench, and her Shoes (1 : 1)</i>	B 103 267	1952
CCLXXXIX. <i>Detail of her Dress (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 583	1950
CCXC. <i>His Feet and Shoes (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 580	1950
CCXCI. <i>The Chandelier (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 576	1950
CCXCII. <i>The Inscriptions, the Mirror and Objects on the Back Wall (1 : 1)</i>	B 124 577	1950
CCXCIII. <i>His Head (M 2 ×)</i>	B 124 584	1950
CCXCIV. <i>Her Head (M 2 ×)</i>	B 124 585	1950
CCXCV. <i>His Raised Right Hand (M 2 ×)</i>	B 103 625	1952
CCXCVI. <i>His Raised Right Hand (M 2 ×, infra-red)</i>	N. G. 11- II -	1950
CCXCVII. <i>The Joined Hands (M 2 ×)</i>	B 124 586	1950
CCXCVIII. <i>The Joined Hands (M 2 ×, infra-red)</i>	N. G. 6-VI-	1952
CCIC. <i>The Inscription (M 2 ×)</i>	B 124 587	1950
CCC. <i>The Mirror (M 2 ×)</i>	B 124 588	1950
CCCI. <i>The Reverse</i>	B 124 590	1950

48

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 48 : GROUP EYCK (6), PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN A TURBAN

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Jan van Eyck.

A Man in a Turban.

Dated 1433.

No. 222 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> : panel (including the frame)	33.1 (± 0.1) \times 26 (± 0.1) \times 1.1 cm.
	13 \times 10 1/4 \times 7/16 ins.
painted surface	25.8 (± 0.2) \times 18.9 (± 0.1) cm.
	10 1/8 \times 7 3/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, yellowish, fairly thick, even, with a fine craquelure.*Paint Layer* : Very good general condition. Apparently not worn. The strongly marked craquelure forms a wide network ; the paint is a little raised at the edges of the cracks. Very light overpainting of the deep shadows of the face, in particular at the jaw. Large areas of the black background and the dress overpainted with a glaze.*Changes in Composition* : Correction of the outline of the jaw, also apparently of the nose.*Ground* : Invisible ; lack of adherence at the edges of the cracks.*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical ; in excellent state, but very slightly convex. Black paint on the back.*Marks on the Back* : An inscription, *E Collectione Arundelia(na)*, the last two letters being covered by a label "N 10" ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCVI.*Frame* : Original, gilt, slightly rubbed ; inscriptions on it original ; see also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E. below. The sides of the frame left and right are in one piece with the panel forming the support ; the horizontal parts top and bottom are glued against the grain, simply mitred where they meet the uprights, and fixed each with three pegs.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

The sitter, wearing a turban, is seen at bust length, facing slightly to the left. He has been called Jan van Eyck himself, traditionally (see *Subsequent History*), and by several writers, e. g. *Durand-Gréville* (⁶ 26/7 and ⁸ 67 ff.); *Schenk* (¹⁷ 6 ff.) and *Meiss* (²⁰ 138 ff.; identification considered probable). The picture has further sometimes been claimed to be a companion to the portrait of Jan van Eyck's wife, dated 1439, at Bruges; see *Meiss*, *loc. cit.*, with a reference to *Descamps*, *Doc. 1*; but see also *Meiss*' correction (²⁰) and *Janssens de Bisthoven* and *Parmentier* (¹⁸ 32 ff.), which is against this. The sitter has also been claimed to be Jan van Eyck's father-in-law, on comparison with the features of his wife in the already mentioned portrait at Bruges; see *Weale* (³ 360 and ⁴ 177) and *Aulanier* (¹³ 57/8).

For changes in composition, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

Black (?) dress, red turban.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

At the top of the frame: .AAC. IXH. XAN. Along the lower edge: .JOHES. DE. EYCK. ME. FECIT. ANO. M^oCCCC^o.33^o. 21. OCTOBRIS.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
(FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The picture, as already noted, is signed and dated 1433. It is not known for whom it was painted; for claims concerning the sitter, see in section D, *Subject*, above. First known to be recorded in the Arundel Collection ca. 1655 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The authorship and date are settled by the inscriptions on the frame.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

The picture is inscribed on the back *E Collectione Arundelia(na)* (Plate CCCVI), and is no doubt identical with one called Jan van Eyck's Self Portrait in an inventory of ca. 1655 of pictures belonging to the Countess of Arundel at Amsterdam; these had been taken out of England by Lord and Lady Arundel ca. 1643 (*Cox* ⁶ 282, 286; *Hervey* ⁹ 479, No. 129). Lord Arundel had died in 1616, and Lady Arundel in 1654. The pictures in this inventory seem to have passed to a son, William Howard, Lord Stafford (1614-1680), who is presumed to have kept some of them, transferring them to Tart Hall (also known as Stafford House) in London. This house passed to his son Henry, Earl of Stafford (1648-1719). See *Davies* (¹⁰ 35), for further details.

1720 The picture is no doubt the one recorded (without identifying description) at Stafford House in 1720 (*Vertue* ¹² Part I, 65). There was a sale in 1720 (or 1721 n.s.; see *Vertue* ¹²

Part II, 84), and it is reasonably assumed that the picture was included in it. (It seems that there may have been a catalogue of the sale ; *Lugt*¹⁰ 534, col. 2).

- 1722/3 Recorded (as a self-portrait, with identifying description) in the collection of (Thomas) Brodrick (1654-1730), with provenance from the Arundel Collection, and as acquired from Lord Stafford ; see *Vertue* (1st Part III, 9).
- 1730 Thomas Brodrick's heir was his brother Alan, 1st. Viscount Midleton.
- 1851 5th. Viscount Midleton Sale, London (pictures removed from Peper Harow), 31 July, 1851 (lot 79), bought by Farrer. Purchased from Henry Farrer, 1851 (*National Gallery Catalogue* '47).

b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1950 Frame cleaned.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

In my view, convincing evidence concerning the identity of the sitter has not been brought forward. It seems to me improbable that Descamps (*Doc. 1*) is referring to this picture.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

Bruges, "Dans la chapelle des Peintres". (Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of his Wife*, now in the Musée Communal at Bruges) "ce Tableau est attaché avec une chaîne & des cadenats, de crainte qu'il ne soit volé. On prétend que le pendant a été pris, sans sçavoir ce qu'il est devenu". From J. B. Descamps, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*, Paris, 1769, 306. For a similar, slightly later statement, see *Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier* (1^a 35).

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 48 : GROUP EYCK (6)

CCCII. Portrait of a Man in a Turban	B 124 392	1950
CCCIII. His Head (1 : 1)	B 124 394	1950
CCCIV. Inscriptions on the Frame (1 : 1)	B 124 395	1950
	B 124 396	1950
	B 124 397	1950
CCCV. The Face (M 2 X)	B 124 398	1950
CCCVI. The Reverse	B 124 399	1950

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 49 : GROUP EYCK (7). PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Jan van Eyck.

Portrait of a Young Man.

Dated 1432.

No. 290 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(10.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular*Dimensions* : panel and painted surface $53,5 (\pm 0,1) \times 18,8 (\pm 0,1) \times 0,8$ cm.
 $13 \frac{3}{16} \times 7 \frac{3}{8} \times \frac{5}{16}$ ins.*Protective Layer* : Varnish, slightly coloured, rather thick and uneven. Matt patches on the headdress, (1) a little above the level of the ear, (2) to the left of the mouth.*Paint Layer* : Sound, and well preserved in general. Wearing, strongly marked on the black background, has been reduced in effect by some retouches ; some retouches also on the craquelure in the flesh parts. Some overpainting on the background, especially at the edges of the picture. Light overpainting of the shadow along the jaw. Also overpainted are the sitter's left hand and the extremities of some letters of "Leal Souvenir". The contours of the ear and the folds of the robe have been reinforced in black. Some restorations on the sitter's left cheek, towards the spectator's right, and on the dress, especially in the centre of the chest. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.*Changes in composition* : Changes of outline in the nose and the sitter's right cheek ; the sitter's right eye was originally higher, as is seen most clearly in an X-Ray photograph. The thumb of his right hand was originally rather lower down the paper than now, and the position of the first finger has also been changed.*Ground* : White, rather thick, adheres well except on the headdress, where the edges of the cracks are slightly raised.*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, sawn down to the dimensions of the painted surface (which has not been reduced). The panel is reinforced with a wooden frame stuck on to the back ; it is protected by laths $\pm 1,7$ cm. wide, nailed on to the four sides. The back is coated with brown marbling, painted over a white preparation.*Marks on the Back* : A (damaged) mark including two G's. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCCXIII.*Frame* : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

The sitter is seen at half length, in civilian dress, facing slightly towards the left, and holding a roll of manuscript in his right hand. He is behind a parapet, on which are three inscriptions recorded in the next sub-section but one. *Panofsky* (^o 80 ff.) thinks that the one in Greek lettering is a reference to the musician Timotheos of Miletus, and therefore that the sitter is a musician, either Guillaume Dufay (ca. 1400 - 1474), or preferably Gilles Binchois (ca. 1400 - 1460). See further in section G.

For *changes in composition* in this picture, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

Red dress, green headdress.

3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

On the parapet, (1), TYM. ΩΘΕΟC. (Plate CCCX); (2), LEAL SOUVENIR ; (3), Actū .
 āno dñi. 1432. 10. die octobris. a tōh de Eyck.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
 (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)1. *Origin*a. *Factual Evidence*

The picture, as already noted, is signed and dated 1432. It is not known for whom it was painted ; for a claim concerning the sitter, see in section D, *Subject*, above, and in section G. below. First known to be recorded in 1854 (*Foerster* ' 373).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

The authorship and date are settled by the inscriptions on the picture.

2. *Subsequent History*a. *Records of Ownership*

A mark on the back, including two G's, presumably refers to some previous owner.

1854 Recorded in the collection of Karl Ross (1816-1858) at Munich (acquired by him some time before) ; see *Foerster* (' 373).

1857 Purchased from Karl Ross, 1857 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 76).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

1857 Slight injuries repaired.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Two copies on copper are recorded : (1), in the Lochis Collection at Bergamo, as Pontorno ; identified in Eastlake's note-book in the National Gallery, Part 1 for 1857 ; *Lochis Catalogue* (' 247/8), *Aggiunta*, No. CXLV. (2), owned by Count Bertolazone d'Arache at Turin, and then by his nephew and heir Count Castellani (*Mündler's Diary* in the National Gallery, 12 October, 1857 ; inscribed *Palma vecchio* on the back). Not identifiable in the catalogue of the Arache (Castellani) Sale, Paris, 28 February - 1 March, 1859.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This portrait is signed and dated, and there is no problem of attribution ; but the identity of the sitter is open to discussion. The Greek inscription should either record his name or be a reference to his name ; the suggestion of *Münzel* (' 188 ff.) that it is a motto (τῆμω θεοῦ) being unacceptable. It is claimed that Timothy is a most unusual Christian name at the date ; and the suggestion of *Panofsky* (' 80 ff.) that it is merely a reference to the musician Timotheos of Miletus, and that the sitter may be a musician, Dufay or preferably Binchois is attractive although not proved. Some possible objections to it may be noted here. One is that the sitter has nothing else to connect him with music ; the manuscript he holds is not a roll of music. Another is the way in which the inscription is written, perhaps rather casually for an allusion claimed to be flattering to the sitter. It might also be objected that the sitter's cast of features is not Flemish ; indeed *Weale* (' 64) definitely says this.

But M. Verbesselt, attaché in the Department of Ethnography and Folklore at the Musées du Cinquanteenaire, Brussels, confirms Panofsky's view, that the features are of Flemish type.

II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1854 ¹ : E(RNST) F(OERSTER). Note on the present picture, in *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 5th. year, Berlin, 19 October 1854.
- 1857 ² : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 22nd. edition, London, 1857.
- 1858 ³ : *La Pinacoteca e la Villa Lochis alla Crocetta di Mozzo presso Bergamo*, 2nd. edition, Bergamo, 1858.
- 1908 ⁴ : W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Hubert and John van Eyck*, London, 1908.
- 1912 ⁵ : W. H. JAMES WEALE and MAURICE W. BROCKWELL. *The van Eycks and their Art*, London, 1912.
- 1924 ⁶ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. I, *Die van Eyck — Petrus Christus*, Berlin, 1924.
- 1941/2 ⁷ : GUSTAV MÜNZEL. Zu dem Bilde des sogenannten Tymotheos von Jan van Eyck, in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. X, Berlin, 1941/2, 188-191.
- 1945 ⁸ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1949 ⁹ : ERWIN PANOFKY. Who is Jan van Eyck's "Tymotheos"?, in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. XII, London, 1949, 80-90.
- 1952 ¹⁰ : LUDWIG BALDASS. *Jan van Eyck*, London, 1952.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 49 : GROUP EYCK (7)

CCCVII. Portrait of a Young Man	B 124 373	1950
CCCVIII. Head and Hands of the Sitter (1 : 1)	B 124 374	1950
CCCIX. The Parapet with Inscriptions (1 : 1)	B 124 375	1950
CCCX. Detail of the Inscriptions, including "Tymotheos" (M 2 ×)	B 139 149	1952
CCCXI. The Head (M 2 ×)	B 124 377	1950
CCCXII. The Hand Holding a Roll of Paper (M 2 ×)	B 124 378	1950
CCCXIII. The Reverse	B 124 379	1950

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 50 : GROUP EYCK (8), PORTRAIT OF MARCO BARBARIGO

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Jan van Eyck.

Marco Barbarigo.

No. 696 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions :

panel	25.1 (± 0.1) \times 17.0 (± 0.1) \times 0.75 cm.
	9 7/8 \times 6 11/16 \times 1/4 ins.
painted surface	24.3 (± 0.1) \times 16.1 (± 0.1) cm.
	9 9/16 \times 6 3/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, rather thick and yellowish.

Paint Layer : General wearing ; this no doubt has caused the overpainting of the background and the headdress, and the repainting of the cracks in the flesh-parts. These retouches form patches, which are too dark. Many of the contours of the flesh-parts have been reinforced. Very light overpainting of the main shadows of the face.

A scratch in the upper part of the background.

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.*Ground* : Nearly white, of medium thickness, adheres well. The edges are well marked on all four sides.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, slightly convex (as seen from the front). No chamfer. The back is covered with a protective layer of brown paint, over a white preparation, much damaged and with considerable areas missing. This protective layer extends to the four edges of the panel ; one could deduce that the dimensions of the panel have been slightly reduced.

Marks on the Back : Nothing worth recording noted ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCXVIII.*Frame* : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The sitter is seen nearly at half length, in civilian dress. He holds a letter with an inscription recorded in the next sub-section but one ; this identifies him as the Venetian Marco Barbarigo (ca. 1413-1486 ; Doge in 1485 ; *Mosto* " 142/3).

2. *Colours*

In red dress and purple (?) headdress ; green background.

3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

On the letter (Plate CCCXVII), *Spetabilj et Egregio Dño/Marcho barbaricho qđā Spe/tabillis dnj franziŷ p°/churatoris Sli marzi / đđ* ; and lower down *Londonis* ; and in the bottom corners what seem to be the letters *f* and *n*. For comment, see in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
(FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. *Factual Evidence*

There is no documentation for the authorship. The letter held by the sitter identifies him as Marco Barbarigo, and gives the address as London; it is possible that the picture was painted for the sitter, and that it was painted in London. The inscription, further, seems clearly to indicate that the sitter's father Francesco Barbarigo, who died in 1448, was already dead. The date might be 1449, if it is true that the sitter was Venetian Consul in London in that year (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 259/60); but no confirmation of this statement has been found. The letters l(?) and n(?) are obscure. The picture is first known to be recorded, presumably at Venice, in 1791 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

The two earliest references in the next sub-section give no attribution; the third (Eastlake of 1856) gives Roger of Bruges. Catalogued at the National Gallery as Gerard van der Meire from 1864 (*Catalogue* ' 259/60) until 1889 (' 146); then it was changed to Flemish School. Ascribed by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (* 144) to Petrus Christus, as which catalogued at the National Gallery from 1911 (' 53) until 1929; this attribution was rejected by *Friedländer*, in a letter of 1931 in the National Gallery archives. *Davies* (* 138 and ' 36) classes it as by a follower of Jan van Eyck.

Davies (' 36) doubtfully suggests ca. 1450 as the date; see also what is said about the date in the previous sub-section.

2. Subsequent History

Records of Ownership

- 1791 Mentioned with identifying description, ownership not recorded, by Giovanni Maria Sasso at Venice, in a letter of 30 December, 1791 to Sir Abraham Hume (partly quoted in *Doc. 1*). It was about this time that the collection of the Marchese Girolamo Manfrin at Venice was being formed, and the picture may have been acquired by him about then. The collection was divided in 1849 between his heirs, Marchese Antonio Plattis and Marchesa Bortolina Plattis nei Sardagna (from the preface to the catalogue of the Manfrin Sale, Venice, 24/5 May, 1897).
- 1855 Mentioned by Sir Charles Eastlake in the Manfrin Collection at Venice (*Doc. 2*); again in the following year (note of some Manfrin pictures, 9 June, 1856, in the National Gallery). Presumably No. 353 of the 1856 Manfrin Catalogue (*Doc. 3*).
- 1862 Purchased from the Manfrin Collection, 1862 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 259/60).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The condition of the picture impedes stylistic criticism, but it seems unlikely that it was originally of very high quality. I think that it would be of only minor interest, if the name of the sitter were not preserved, and above all if it did not appear to have been painted in London. Nothing comparable produced in London is known to me.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1864 ¹ : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 38th. edition, London, 1864.
- 1872 ² : J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1872.
- 1889 ³ : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1889.
- 1911 ⁴ : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1937 ⁵ : MARTIN DAVIES. *National Gallery Notes, II, Netherlandish Primitives : Petrus Christus*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LXX, London, March, 1937, 138-143.
- 1939 ⁶ : ANDREA DA MOSTO. *I Dogi di Venezia*, Venice, 1939.
- 1945 ⁷ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

"o Trouato un antichissimo ritratino di marco Barbarigo molto prima che fosse doge di uenezia Tiene il nome in una scritta che à in mano e dice in fondo Londini..." From a letter from *Giovanni Maria Sasso* to Sir Abraham Hume, from Venice, 30 December, 1791 (copy in the National Gallery).

Document 2

"44 Small portrait — fine"; later on, "44 exquisite $9\frac{1}{2}$ ^{in.} h. $6\frac{1}{4}$ w. addressed to a Barbarigo in London — wood". (From the note-book of *Sir Charles Eastlake*, 1855, Part II, from passages concerned with the Manfrin Collection; MS. in the National Gallery).

Document 3

"353 Ritratto Incerto idem" (meaning *on wood*), size recorded as 24×16 cm.; from the *Catalogo dei Quadri esistenti nella Galleria Manfrin in Venezia, Venice, 1856*. There appears to be no other picture recorded in this catalogue that could be identical with the present portrait.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 50 : GROUP EYCK (8)

CCCXIV. Portrait of Marco Barbarigo	B 124 218	1950
CCCXV. Head and Hand of the Sitter (1 : 1)	B 124 219	1950
CCCXVI. The Head (M 2 ×)	B 124 220	1950
CCCXVII. The Hand Holding a Letter (M 2 ×)	B 124 221	1950
CCCXVIII. The Reverse	B 124 222	1950

51

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 51 : GROUP GOES (3), THE NATIVITY

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Hugo van der Goes.

The Nativity, at Night.

No. 2159 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(4.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular. At one time the top corners were cut.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	65,2 (\pm 0,1) \times 46,9 (\pm 0,2) \times 1,8 cm.
		25 11/16 \times 18 7/16 \times 1 1/16 ins.
	original painted surface	62 \times 46,9 cm.
		24 1/2 \times 18 7/16 ins.

Protective Layer : A thick layer of varnish, rather worn, covers remains of old varnish, which have darkened and contribute to the darkness of the picture.*Paint Layer* : Bad general condition.

Fairly pronounced wearing and the change of shape have led to extensive overpainting of the background (cf. Pl. CCCXXIV and CCCXXV).

Numerous inpaintings on the figures.

Complete overpainting of the Virgin's dress, with a glaze of a green tone which is entirely false.

A rupture in the lower right hand corner has been restored with overpainting.

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.*Ground* : White, fairly thin ; adheres well.*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain vertical. The panel on the left (as seen from the back) is worm-eaten.*Marks on the Back* : Labels of the Krüger Collection, etc. ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCXXVIII.*Frame* : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

A night scene (*Luke* II, 78) ; in a ruined building (presumably for David's Palace ; *Timmers* ^a 216). The Infant Christ lies on the ground, in a glory of light (*Timmers* ^a 217).

On the left, the Virgin kneels on the ground, worshipping Him; four angels are on the ground, three more in the air. S. Joseph stands on the right, holding a candle to indicate that it is night (*Mâle* ² 76; for a different explanation of this motive, see *Tolnay* ^a 14). Through a doorway on the extreme right, two female figures in vaguely Eastern costume approach. They are presumably the midwives of the Virgin, Zelomi (Zebel) and Salome (S. Mary Salome); since it is told that the hand of the latter withered on account of unbelief, she may perhaps be identified with the figure to the right carrying a lantern, the right hand of this figure being prominently shown. For these midwives, see *James* (^a 46/7, 74); *Mâle* (² 54/5); *Mâle* (^a 210 ff.); *Tolnay* (^a 14 and 45, note 17). On the left are seen the ox and the ass (*James* ^b 74; cf. *Isaiah*, I, 3).

Through a door and a window, left and centre, is seen a landscape; left, an angel announces the tidings to the shepherds (*Luke*, II, 8 sqq.); centre, three more shepherds (apparently, instead of the Kings) point to the Star.

2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue (?); S. Joseph in red.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known; first known to be recorded in 1848 (*Verzeichniss* ¹ 19, No. 19 of Part II).

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Ascribed in 1848 (*Verzeichniss* ¹ 19, No. 19 of Part II) to Claessen, at that time supposed to be the painter of *L'Arrestation du Juge Prévaricateur* and *Le Supplice de Sisamnes* (Gerard David) at Bruges. This attribution was preserved until recently. *Davies* (¹ 38) suggests that the style derives chiefly from Hugo van der Goes, though somewhat distantly. *Ludwig Baldass* (MS. in the National Gallery) agrees that the picture may be derived from a lost van der Goes.

Davies (¹ 38) says that the date is later than 1500, perhaps considerably later.

2. Subsequent History

Records of Ownership

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1848 | In the Krüger Collection at Minden; <i>Verzeichniss</i> ¹ 19, No. 19 of Part II. |
| 1854 | Purchased with most of the rest of the Krüger Collection, 1854 (<i>Davies</i> ¹ 38). |
| 1857.1926 | On loan at the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. |

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Nothing is known sufficiently precise for inclusion in this section.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The execution is obviously very poor ; but the picture has some interest from its iconography. It is also of interest, if really it is derived from Hugo van der Goes. In 1945, I claimed that a copy (*Friedländer* ⁴ Plate XXXVI) from a picture often assigned to Dieric Bouts is of a somewhat similar style ; this may be so, or the connection may be as much compositional as stylistic. In any case, the present picture seems to be rather less far from Hugo van der Goes than from Dieric Bouts.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1848 ¹ : *Verzeichniss der Gemälde-Sammlung des Geheimen Regierungs-Rathes Krüger zu Minden*, Minden, 1848.
- 1922 ² : EMILE MÂLE. *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, 2nd. edition, Paris, 1922.
- 1923 ³ : EMILE MÂLE. *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France*, 5th. edition, Paris, 1923.
- 1925 ⁴ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1926 ⁵ : MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924 (impression of 1926).
- 1939 ⁶ : CHARLES DE TOLNAY. *Le Maître de Flémalle et les Frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939.
- 1945 ⁷ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 ⁸ : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseyck, 1947.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 51 : GROUP GOES (3)

CCCXIX. The Nativity	B 124 404	1950
CCCXX. The Child and Four Angels (1 : 1)	B 124 407	1950
CCCXXI. The Virgin at half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 408	1950
CCCXXII. S. Joseph at half-length, and the two Midwives (1 : 1)	B 124 409	1950
CCCXXIII. The Three Flying Angels (1 : 1)	B 124 410	1950
CCCXXIV. Three Shepherds (?) Pointing to the Star (1 : 1)	B 124 411	1950
CCCXXV. An Angel Announcing the Tidings to three Shepherds (1 : 1)	B 124 412	1950
CCCXXVI. The Ox and the Ass (1 : 1)	B 124 413	1950
CCCXXVII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 X)	B 124 414	1950
CCCXXVIII. The Reverse	B 124 416	1950

52

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 52 : GROUP JUSTUS OF GHENT (1), *RHETORIC (?) : MUSIC*

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Joos van Wassenhove.

Rhetoric (?) : Music (From a series of the Liberal Arts ?).

Nos. 755 and 756 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(4.vii.1952)

No. 755, *Rhetoric (?)*

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions : panel and painted surface 157,5 (\pm 0,2) \times 105,4 (\pm 0,2) \times 3,5 cm.
62 \times 41 1/2 \times 1 3/8 ins.

Protective Layer : A thin coat of varnish in good condition.

Paint Layer : A thin layer, showing general wearing and various damages at the joins and cracks of the support. Extensive restorations, with overpaintings in glaze, of different periods. 8 rectangular restorations (4 at the height of the female figure's neck, four near the bottom) mark the places where the support has been cut, to receive iron fastenings used for hanging the picture in its place.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : There may have been as many as four attempts at the man's head, in slightly different positions ; his right hand is blocked in under his cuff. Change in the contour of Rhetoric's (?) left shoulder.

Ground : A thin, white layer ; adheres well.

Support : Poplar, three panels with grain vertical, fixed together by tongue and groove. Strengthened at the back by two horizontal battens, which slide in grooves about 1 cm. deep. No chamfer. Bad general condition. Waviness of the surface, corresponding with the grain of the wood. Several cracks ; some are fixed by keys on the back, let in and glued.

On the back are preserved seven iron fastenings, once used for the hanging. Some drawings on the unprimed wood of all three panels ; part of a horse, a male torso (both perpendicular to the grain) and other scribbles (Plates CCCXLVI-CCCXLVIII).

Marks on the Back : A seal includes a coat of arms, the central part of which may be the same as Conti (of Faenza) in Rietstap's *Planches de l'Armorial Général* ; so perhaps Conti

(cf. *Subsequent History*, below ; same seal on *Music*, No. 756). 508 written on the wood, similar in style to the 534 of No. 756. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCCXLV.

Frame : Not original.

No. 756, *Music*

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions : panel and painted surface 156.0 (\pm 0.5) \times 97.6 (\pm 0.1) \times 3.5 cm.
61 3/8 \times 38 7/16 \times 1 3/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, in good condition.

Paint Layer : In spite of numerous restorations, the general condition of this picture is better than that of No. 755.

The female figure is much restored towards the left.

For comparing the technique with that of No. 755, it may be noted that the underdrawing is here more elaborate, and that there are often incised lines in the architectural parts.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : Changes in the man's head, which was originally intended to be a little further to the right and slightly tipped downwards ; the present outline has further been corrected. His right hand is painted on top of the female figure's dress. There are several changes in the contours of her right hand, and her right sleeve continues beneath the corner of the book ; but the suggestion, doubtfully put forward by *Davies* (²² 48) that she may once have been holding a bent paper is probably to be excluded. The possibility, also mentioned by *Davies*, that her head was at first meant to be without a tiara is probably to be excluded. Her dress once came out further to the right, near the top of the organ. The organ itself was once intended to be wider, parts of the carpet on each side being left unpatterned ; it is in parts painted above her dress and the patterning of the carpet, but it is uncertain if the arrangement of the pipes was intended to be very different from now.

In the top right hand corner, the profile of the architecture has been changed (Plate CCCLIV). There are also some transverse marks, which might suggest a curtain if they were longer. Some marks in the extreme corner appear incapable of precise interpretation ; they do not join on properly to the architecture, so they are presumably not a continuation of this in receding perspective.

Ground : White and thin.

Support : Poplar, nine panels with grain horizontal ; strengthened at the back by two upright battens, which have been let in, and by butterfly-keys, let in, against the grain.

Two of the panels are worm-eaten.

On the back of three of the lowest panels there are some drawings on the unprimed wood ; a nude figure with a trumpet seen from behind, another nude figure, and other scribbles. These drawings are interrupted by one of the narrow, worm-eaten panels.

See Plates CCCIL-CCCLII.

Marks on the Back : A seal, damaged, but recognizably the same as that on No. 755 (q.v.). 534 written on the wood, similar in style to the 508 of No. 755. Also ...8 written on the wood. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCCIL.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The two pictures are parts of a series of unknown extent, of which two further fragments were in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at Berlin (now destroyed); see further in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

No. 755

On an elaborate throne, seen in centralized perspective, and only slightly to the right of the picture's centre, a female figure is seated facing the spectator. Her dress is ornamented with embroidery and pearls; on her head is a wreath, perhaps entirely composed of leaves (vine leaves?), from under which her hair falls over her shoulders. She holds an open book, and with her right hand is pointing out a passage in it to a young man, who is receiving it with both hands. He kneels, dressed in a gown with cap, but bare-headed, on the lowest but one of four carpeted steps descending from the throne; he faces away from the spectator, but slightly towards the right, so that a little of his profile is visible.

The back wall behind the throne is ornamented with marble panels, which are not shown as ending with the field of the picture. On the left is seen the shadow of the arm of a throne (Plate CCCLIII); this second throne clearly belonged either to a continuation of the present picture on the left, or to another picture placed with at most a very slight division on the left. The arm seen in shadow corresponds with the arms seen in the present picture in their middle part, a plain slab with mouldings above but no moulding below. It differs in that a ball surmounts the ornamentation at the end of the arm, and that the support of the arm includes two pillars of elaborate profile; these details, roughly indicated by the shadow, recur in the arms of the throne in one of the already mentioned pictures formerly at Berlin (Plate CCCLV, or *Lavalleye* ²⁰ Plate XXXIII), where also the plain slab in the middle with mouldings above but none below is repeated. See further in the next section, under *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

The female figure here is clearly allegorical, and is usually claimed to represent Rhetoric; for comment upon this, see in the next section, under *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. *Schmarsow* (⁹ 90) has suggested that the model for the figure was one of six daughters of Federico d'Urbino, and that the model for the kneeling man was Bernardino Ubaldini; *Schmarsow* has written further on this subject elsewhere, but *Lavalleye* (²⁰ 166/7) and *Davies* (²² 52, note 6) consider the identifications not worth discussing.

Reverse: Some drawings, including a male torso and part of a horse, referred to in section C, above; Plates CCCXLVI-CCCXLVIII.

No. 756

On an elaborate throne, seen in centralized perspective, but considerably to the right of the picture's centre, a female figure is seated facing the spectator. Her dress is ornamented with embroidery and pearls; on her head is a coronet, from under which her hair falls over her shoulders. She holds in her right hand a closed book, and with her left points down to a small organ on the lowest but one of four carpeted steps descending from the throne; this organ is of mitred shape, which is rather unusual (*Lavalleye* ²⁰ 167, citing a parallel case in a picture formerly in the Palace of Urbino; *Denis* ³¹ 176/7; *Davies* ²² 52/3, citing two comparable cases; other examples in *L. Dussler, Signorelli* (Klassiker der Kunst Series), 1927, Plate 176, and in *A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, Vol. IX, Part VI, 1933, 907, Fig. 557). On the same step as the organ, a young man kneels, in profile to the right.

He is bare-headed, his cap being on a step in front of him ; he wears a rich short coat and tights, and appears to be counting something with his fingers.

The back wall behind the throne is ornamented with marble panels. On the left, these are not shown as ending with the field of the picture ; on the right they come to an end, the wall remaining in the same plane (but cf. the *changes in composition* recorded in section C, above, and Plate CCCLIV). A branch of laurel is suspended against the wall, above the kneeling man's head but a little to the left.

The female figure is clearly allegorical, and is accepted as representing Music ; for comment upon this, see in the next section, under *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. Schmarsow (ⁿ 90, and elsewhere) has suggested that the model for this figure was one of six daughters of Federico d'Urbino ; Lavalleye (ⁿ 166/7) and Davies (ⁿ 52, note 6) consider this identification not worth discussing. The kneeling man was traditionally called Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, born 1472, died 1508 (*Litta* ³⁵ ; see *Subsequent History*). Schmarsow (ⁿ 88) and others have claimed that the model for him was Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro ; this is on comparison with a medal by Gianfrancesco Enzola of 1474/5, as already suggested by Julius Friedlaender (ⁿ 176) (for the medal, see *Hill* ²² Vol. I, 72, Nos. 291/2, and Vol. II, Plate 46). Lavalleye (ⁿ 167) accepts this identification of Costanzo Sforza ; Davies (ⁿ 52, note 6) is doubtful.

There are numerous *changes in composition* in both pictures, the most interesting of which are recorded in section C, above. They appear to be corrections of form rather than changes of intention. The only alterations that might be thought of importance for the discussion that follows in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*, are those in the top right hand corner of No. 756 (Plate CCCLIV). It has been noted in section C that no complete interpretation appears possible for the alterations in this area, but it can be claimed with fair confidence that the back wall of the picture was always intended to come to an end here, though presumably not exactly in the form now seen. Even if this were denied, the painter's final intention of ending the wall here would not have been put in question.

Reverse : Some drawings, including two nude figures, referred to in section C above ; Plates CCCL - CCCLII.

2. Colours

(No. 755). Rhetoric (?) is in a dark dress. The kneeling man is in a black gown ; dull red sleeves ; red cap. Carpet, green with red borders. (No. 756). Music is in light red. The kneeling man is in a greenish-blue and silver jacket, red tights and brown shoes ; red cap. Green carpet.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Across the background of No. 755 is DVX VRBINI MONTIS FERETRI AC (most of the D has been cut away). Across the background of No. 756 is I(?)ECLESIE CONFALONIERIVS (the first I perhaps originally an H). The top of the throne of No. 756 is ornamented with marks suggesting esoteric lettering.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of the two pictures is not known, but there is a good deal of factual evidence

concerning various aspects of the problem. I will deal first with the nature and arrangement of the series from which the pictures come ; next, I will record the evidence concerning the original commission and location of the series ; finally, the historical evidence for dating it.

The settings are sufficiently similar to prove that the National Gallery pictures come from one series ; two others, which for the same reason are clearly from the same series, were at Berlin (now destroyed ; Plate CCCLV ; *Lavalleye* ²⁸ Plates XXXIII, XXXIV ; one reproduced in a different state by *Schmarsow* ²⁹ Plate V).

It has been stated in the description of the *Subject* above that the shadow of a throne seen in *Rhetoric* (?) (Plate CCCLIII) clearly belonged either to a continuation of that picture on the left, or to another picture placed with at most a very slight division on the left. There appears to be no evidence sufficient to prove which of the two alternatives is true, and the distinction, from a pictorial point of view, is negligible ; it is convenient to refer to each section containing one female figure and one kneeling man as forming a separate picture.

One of the pictures formerly at Berlin shows a man, identifiable from the coat of arms above his head and somewhat doubtfully from the features (damaged) as Federico di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino ; he kneels before a female figure supposed to represent *Dialectic*. The other Berlin picture shows a man kneeling before a female figure identified as *Astronomy*. The panel showing *Dialectic* (?) retained an inscription, similar in position and style to the ones here, DVRANTIS COMES SER... ; *Astronomy* had been cut down, and the inscription on it had not been preserved. The three known fragments of the inscription may be compared with an inscription in the studio of Federico di Montefeltro, in the Palace of Urbino : FEDERICUS MONTEFELTRIVS DUX URBINI MONTISFERETRI AC DURANTIS COMES SERENISSIMI REGIS SICILIAE CAPITANEUS GENERALIS SANCTAE ET ROMANE ECCLESIE CONFALONERIVS MCCCCLXXVI (from Luigi Serra, *Il Palazzo Ducale e la Galleria Nazionale di Urbino*, Rome, 1930, 97). *Schrader* (1592) records this Urbino inscription ; it has sometimes been wrongly stated he was recording the inscription on the present pictures, but see *Davies* (³⁰ 49).

The four known pictures are supposed to have been part of a series representing *The Seven Liberal Arts* ; that is, presumably, the *Trivium* (*Grammar*, *Rhetoric* and *Dialectic*) and the *Quadrivium* (*Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, *Music* and *Astronomy*). It may be accepted from the emblems shown that the series does include *Music* and *Astronomy* ; but it is not certain that the subject was exactly *The Liberal Arts*, nor (if it was) that the number of the pictures was seven. For the subject of *The Liberal Arts* and its variations, see *D'Ancona* (³¹).

It is a fact that the pictures supposed to represent *The Trivium* are pictorially distinct from the two supposed to be from a set of four representing *The Quadrivium*. In *Dialectic* (?), in *Rhetoric* (?), and in *Grammar* (?) (the missing picture on the left of *Rhetoric* (?), known only from the shadow of its throne, as recorded in the description of the *Subject*, above), the light falls from the left ; in *Music* and *Astronomy*, the light falls from the right. There are, further, some details of the settings, which seem to confirm this distinction ; although the known pictures show many variations in their decoration, it appears that some details remained constant for a whole group (Plate CCCLV). Thus, in *Rhetoric* (?) and *Dialectic* (?), the backs of the thrones form rounded niches ; in *Music* and *Astronomy*, the backs of the thrones are flat. For the first two, the upper mouldings of the dado (which continues in each case round the throne) are separated by dark marble ; for the second two, the mouldings are separated by light marble. The lower division of the dado, and the arms of the throne (which seem to be merely a continuation of this), are even more noticeably different for the two groups. In *Dialectic* (?), in *Rhetoric* (?), and in the missing *Grammar* (?) (see the description of the

Subject, above), this division has upper mouldings but no lower moulding ; *Music* and *Astronomy* show this division with both upper and lower mouldings.

The three pictures supposed to represent *The Trivium* may therefore be considered as separate from *Music* and *Astronomy*. *Rhetoric* (?) is, from the perspective of the throne and the carpet, a centre piece. *Dialectic* (?), from the perspective, was on the right ; it was, further, immediately on the right of *Rhetoric* (?), since the two inscriptions clearly join on (DVX VRBINI MONTIS FERETRI AC in *Rhetoric* (?) ; DVRANTIS COMES SER... in *Dialectic* (?)). As for the missing *Grammar* (?), on the left, the throne seen in a shadow (see the description of the *Subject*, above) corresponds in various details with the throne of *Dialectic* (?) on the right (Plates CCCLIII and CCCLV) ; this suggests that the arrangement was markedly symmetrical. The group, one may assume, was complete with three pictures. Certainly, there was nothing on the right of *Dialectic* (?) ; an enclosing wall, coming forward on the right hand side of that picture, proves that the group is finished. It follows as very unlikely that there was any picture except *Grammar*(?) on the left ; more than one would have accorded ill with the postulated symmetry of the group, and indeed with the centralized arrangement and perspective of *Rhetoric* (?). Further, *Grammar* (?) alone would have provided sufficient space in the inscription for the name, which is all that would be expected to precede DVX VRBINI. It may therefore be accepted that the three pictures supposed to represent *The Trivium* formed a separate and complete group.

As for the pictures supposed to represent *The Quadrivium*, the perspective of *Astronomy* indicates a place to the left, and the picture shows an enclosing wall coming forward on the left ; it was, therefore, on the left of a group. The perspective of the throne of *Music* is centralized, but it does not appear that the picture itself was a centre piece. The termination of the panelling on the right, noted in the description of the *Subject*, above (but cf. the changes in composition noted in section C), suggests that *Music* may have been the left part of a composite centre piece ; this may seem to receive some confirmation, if the asymmetrical position of *Music*'s throne in the picture (as it is now), and the fact that her votary is in profile to the right, are contrasted with the arrangements followed in *Rhetoric* (?). There is, nevertheless, insufficient evidence to say that this was certainly so ; the termination of the panelling could also be explained, if the decorative scheme was here interrupted by a structural feature of the original room, such as a window.

It has already been doubted if the number of pictures originally was seven. The above considerations, taken in conjunction with the parts of the inscription preserved, and with the apparently comparable inscription in the studio at Urbino, may make that doubt strong ; but, on the evidence available, the number of seven cannot definitely be excluded. The width of the group supposed to represent *The Trivium* can be estimated as about 10 ½ feet. *Astronomy* was not necessarily on the left of *Music* ; if it was, the width of this half group or interrupted group was about 7 feet. It is clear from the perspective of the four known pictures that the series was intended to be hung high.

It should be added that Schmarsow (^o 92/3) suggested an arrangement for the pictures manifestly in disaccord with the facts.

Hitherto, the discussion concerning the origin of these pictures has been confined to their arrangement in some room. It is not known where that room was. It is, nevertheless, clear that the pictures were connected with the Montefeltros, Dukes of Urbino. As has already been mentioned, there was in the *Dialectic* (?) at Berlin a portrait, identified on good evidence as that of Federico di Montefeltro, born 1422, created Duke in 1474, died 1482. The fragments of inscription preserved could apply to him ; compare the already quoted

inscription in his studio at Urbino. It appears impossible to exclude that they might refer to his son Guidobaldo, born 1472, succeeded his father in 1482, died 1508; cf. *Dennistoun*² Vol. I. 286 and Vol. II, 30. It seems therefore that the pictures were commissioned by Federico or possibly by Guidobaldo; there is no evidence to suggest that it could have been anyone else.

The portrait accepted as of Federico in *Dialectic* (?) was at the extreme right of the group supposed to represent *The Trivium*. It might therefore be suggested that it was Guidobaldo who commissioned the pictures, since the left in a series such as this may be considered the more honourable place; but this point, even if it is valid in general, is countered by the fact that Federico had lost his right eye, and that it was therefore customary to depict him in profile facing towards the left (compare the altarpiece assigned to Piero della Francesca in the Brera at Milan). Another objection to believing that it was Federico rather than Guidobaldo who commissioned the pictures may be put as follows. If Federico did, the missing *Grammar* (?) would have shown an inscription such as FEDERICVS MONTEFELTRIVS; it should also have shown, lower down, a kneeling man, possibly a portrait, but certainly not a portrait of the same sitter as in *Dialectic* (?). The confusion arising from a portrait with the name of a different sitter inscribed above was overstressed by *Davies* (²² 49); it need only be mentioned here that *The Trivium* (?) was, at least in its effect, a single picture.

The traditions concerning the original location of the pictures are imprecise.

The two formerly at Berlin were acquired with the Edward Solly Collection in 1821. The two in the National Gallery are referred to, no provenance stated, by *Litta* (¹⁸); in 1859, they are stated to be from Urbino (*Doc.* 7). *Music* was stated to be from the sacristy of Urbino Cathedral (*Athenaeum*⁴ 763; *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*⁵ Vol. II, 565). This unlikely provenance, for which no authority in old descriptions of Urbino has been found, was changed (for both pictures) to the Library of the Duke of Urbino (*Doc.* 9) or the Palace of Urbino (*National Gallery Catalogue*⁶ 103). This provenance was elaborated by *Schunarsow* (⁸ 81 ff). *Bombe* (¹² 129) gives a plan of the room claimed; it appears to be of the wrong size, at any rate for *The Trivium* (?), the width of which has been estimated above. No records have been adduced in favour of the claim. It is probable that the pictures were not in the Palace of Urbino in the time of Bernardino Baldi (1587); see *Davies* (²² 50).

Davies (²² 50) suggested that the pictures come from the Palace of the Dukes of Urbino at Gubbio. This provenance is not proved; there are some arguments in favour.

In the Palace at Gubbio there was a studio, a small room. It is comparable with the rather richer studio in the Palace at Urbino, in that both were decorated with elaborate intarsia panelling; that from Gubbio (approximately complete) is now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (*Remington*²⁹ 3 ff.; *Papini*³² Vol. II, Figs. 122/6); the other is still in its original place at Urbino (*Papini*³³ Vol. II, Figs. 209-210). The studio at Urbino had above the panelling a pictorial decoration, including 28 portraits of famous men, now divided between Urbino and the Louvre (*Lavalleye*²⁶ Plates XII-XXV). There was space at Gubbio for an analogous decoration (about 10 feet between the top of the panelling and the ceiling; lengths of the walls, 15'4½", 12'10½", 9'0¾" and 6'7¼"). There appears, indeed, to be no record of such a decoration at Gubbio; the earliest known descriptions of the studio there make no reference to it (*Passavant*¹ 10; *Dennistoun*² Vol. I, 164/5). But it can be stated with high probability that there had been something (*Davies*³⁰ 50 f.; *Papini*³³ Vol. I, 247), for the following inscription runs round the walls along the top of the panelling:

ASPICIS AETERNOS VENERANDAE MATRIS ALVMNOS
 DOCTRINA EXCELSOS INGENIOQVE VIROS
 VT NVDA CERVICE CADANT ANTE.....
GENV
 IVSTITIAM PIETAS VINCIT REVERENDA NEC VLLVM
 POENITET ALTRICI SVCCVBVISSE SVAE.

This does not refer to anything now seen in the panelling itself.

The inscription just quoted has been preserved only in part ; no record of the complete text has been found. It would suit the words that have been preserved, if the so-called *Liberal Arts* were placed immediately above. The votaries in the four known pictures are men ; they may be assumed to be learned and talented ; they are bare-headed ; they are kneeling. The last two lines of the inscription are to be noted ; they would explain why distinguished men (including the Duke of Urbino himself) are doing homage to allegories. It might be objected that the inscription seems to refer to only one allegorical female. In the absence of the complete text, this objection cannot be fully met. But the last line could indicate one female per votary ; the first line might refer to some special allegorical female, more important than the rest ; and it would seem very difficult to decorate the four walls of a room with adorers and only one adored. The size of the spaces available at Gubbio has been given already ; the evidence concerning the original arrangement of the pictures is too vague for any argument depending upon size to be decisive.

According to *Lucarelli* (¹ 36/7) the Palace at Gubbio was sold between 1760 and 1860 to the Balducci family, who apparently disposed of its contents as occasion offered.

As for the date of the pictures, No. 755 refers to the Duke, not Count of Urbino ; Federico was created Duke in 1474. It is clear from the discussion above that the date can hardly be later than 1508, the year in which Guidobaldo died. If the pictures come from Gubbio, *Davies* (²⁷ 50) says the date is deducible as probably from the end of Federico's reign (he died in 1482) or the beginning of Guidobaldo's ; for further details concerning the dates of various works at Gubbio, see *Papini* (³³ Vol. I, 138 and 250).

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The two Berlin pictures, already mentioned, seem to have had a traditional attribution to Bramantino ; *Dialectic (?)* is recorded under this name in the Berlin Catalogue of 1834, No. 134.

The two National Gallery pictures are recorded without attribution in *Litta* (³³); see *Subsequent History*. Sir Charles Eastlake, Director of the National Gallery, said in 1859 that they had been ascribed to Hugo van der Goes and to Melozzo da Forlì (Doc. 7) ; Melozzo seems to have been current in 1858 (Doc. 5), perhaps under the influence of Eastlake himself and Cavalcaselle in 1853 (Doc. 7), or of Eastlake in 1856 (Doc. 3), or of Müндler in 1856 (Doc. 4). In 1856 (Doc. 3) and 1858 (Doc. 6), Eastlake noted their similarity to one of a series of famous men, now in the Louvre (*Lavalleye* ²⁶ Plate XXIV b). In 1859 (Doc. 7), he considered an attribution to Joos van Wassenhove, but rejected it on grounds of quality (in his note-book of 1858, Part IV, manuscript in the National Gallery, he recorded his low opinion of *The Communion of the Apostles* by Joos at Urbino). In 1861, Eastlake said that there was no clue to the painter (Doc. 8). Music was exhibited at the British Institution in 1863 as by Melozzo (*Catalogue* ³ 8). *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (³ Vol. II, 565/6) say that the attribution to Melozzo is wrong. Sir William Boxall, Eastlake's successor as Director of

the National Gallery, inclined to ascribe the pictures to Melozzo (Doc. 9); see also the *National Gallery Catalogue* (° 103).

The attribution to Melozzo was championed at one time by *Schmarsow* (° 90 ff.). It was accepted by *Cavalcaselle* and *Crowe* (1° Vol. VIII, 296 ff.) — thus differing from *Crowe* and *Cavalcaselle* (2° Vol. II, 565/6); by *Bode* (letter of 1926 in the National Gallery archives); and doubtfully by *Lionello Venturi* (21 82 ff.). But the names of Joos and (since 1927) of Pedro Berruguete have come more and more into the discussion.

In the pre-Berruguete period, *Schmarsow* (12 173 f.), differing from ° 90 ff., said Joos and Melozzo; so did *Ricci* (14 6); *Bombe* (12 135/6) said cartoons by Melozzo, execution by Joos. The pictures were ascribed to Joos alone by *Okkonen* (12 125 ff.); *Adolfo Venturi* (1° Vol. VII, Part II, 150 ff.); and *Friedländer* (17° Vol. III, 103 and 130, No. 105).

In 1927, several writers brought in the name of Pedro Berruguete. *Longhi* (18 123, 180) ascribed the pictures completely or almost completely to him; *Gamba* (19 638 ff., especially 644 and 653) ascribed *Rhetoric* (?) to Melozzo and Berruguete, *Music* to Melozzo; *Allende-Salazar* (20 133) ascribed them for the most part to Berruguete. Since then, *Berenson* (21 308) has said Melozzo, execution by Berruguete; *Hulin* (20 41 ff.) has ascribed the pictures to Berruguete; *Post* (14 146 ff.) has said Berruguete, with the possibility that the cartoons were by Melozzo.

On the other hand, *Serra* (22 317/8) has ascribed them to Joos; *Van Marle* (24 107 ff.) to Joos probably; *Hoogewerff* (23 69 ff.) to Joos probably; *Lavalleye* (28 162 ff.) to Joos; *Friedländer* (28° Vol. XIV, 91/2) to Joos, excluding Melozzo, admitting that Berruguete may have been an assistant of Joos.

For more on the attribution, see section G, *Author's Comments*.

As for the date, *Bombe* (12 134) suggests 1474/6; *Friedländer* (17 99 and 130, No. 105) ca. 1476/7; *Gamba* (19 658), 1481/3; *Lavalleye* (28 73, 199), 1478/80; *Post* (14 28/9) inclines to 1476. See further what is said about the dating in the sub-section *Factual Evidence* above.

The dates proposed are not in disaccord with what is known of the activity either of Joos (Giusto da Guanto) or of Berruguete; the latest known documentary record of Joos is at Urbino in 1475 (*Schmarsow* 23 361). Berruguete is first known to be recorded in Spain in 1483 (*Post* 21 20/1) and is probably recorded at Urbino in 1477 (*Post* 21 26/7).

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

- ca. 1850 (?) No 756 was engraved for the Montefeltro fascicule of *Litta* (25) as in the Palace of the P. Conti, Florence; the inscription of No. 755 has been added above the plate, so it may be deduced that No. 755 was there too. The date of the first sheet of *Litta's* Montefeltro fascicule is 1850.
- 1856 Both apparently still in Casa Conti at Florence (Doc. 3).
- 1858 Both in Florence, but no longer in Casa Conti (Doc. 5).
- 1859 Both owned by Mr. Spence of Florence (Doc. 7).
- 1861 No. 755 was in Florence, No. 756 in London (Doc. 8).
- 1863 No. 756 was lent by W. B. Spence to the British Institution, London, 1863 (No. 28); *Catalogue* 2 8. For the identification, see *The Athenaeum* (1 783).
- 1866 Both pictures were purchased from William Spence, Florence, 1866 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ° 103).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

(Both pictures)

- 1858 Recorded to be much injured by time, with the joins of the panels showing, especially in No. 756 (*Doc. 5*).
- 1866 Old restoration, stated to have been carried out when the pictures belonged to the Conti family, removed ; repaired.
- 1882 Cleaned.
- 1939 Partly cleaned.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The two pictures formerly at Berlin are discussed in the subsection *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. For comment on the organ in *Music*, see section D.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

I do not think that the claim that the pictures come from Urbino need be taken seriously at present ; a provenance from Gubbio may be accepted as a working hypothesis.

As for the attribution, the pictures are clearly difficult. A selection from the much that has been written is recorded above ; some further bibliography will be found in *Lavalleye* ⁽²⁰⁾ and *Post* ⁽²¹⁾.

The bare records of attribution have little value, since a group is involved, not merely these two pictures. The principal works in this group are 28 portraits of famous men and (most probably) a portrait of Federico with his son Guidobaldo, which are datable ca. 1476 and were formerly in the studio at Urbino, but are now divided between Urbino and the Louvre (*Lavalleye* ²⁰ Plates XII-XXVI). Concerning these pictures, we have the nearly contemporary text of Vespasiano da Bisticci, who died in 1498 (*Doc. 1*).

Bisticci is a good authority. Some allowance should be made for his presumed desire to be flattering to the Duke of Urbino ; he may further have laid more stress on the subjects of portraits, and less on their execution, than is customary now. Nevertheless, in my view, his statements must stand, until superior authority against them is produced.

Bisticci says that the portraits of famous men and of Federico were by a painter sent for from Flanders. He does not say that the painter was Flemish. It could conceivably have been a painter of different nationality, in Flanders when Federico's summons came, if such a man is assumed to have known the Flemish oil technique ; but I think this very unlikely. It is generally conceded that Bisticci meant Giusto da Guanto, whose identity with Joos van Wassenhove I accept without discussion here ; Giusto-Joos was from Flanders, was at Urbino, and did paint there *The Communion of the Apostles*, to the costs of which Federico contributed. It seems to me implied by Bisticci that the painter had some reputation already in Flanders, before coming to Urbino ; this is in accord with what is known of Joos (*Lavalleye* ²⁰ 36 ff.).

Bisticci's remarks are, I think, important for what the Court of Urbino believed about these portraits. The painter was considered a distinguished artist ; the esteem may have been due partly to his oil technique, but not wholly.

The portraits of famous men and of Federico were produced as the work of one man. This I accept as being the view current at the Court of Urbino ; it may not have coincided precisely with what happened inside the painter's studio.

The portraits of famous men and of Federico were not the only works painted for Federico by this painter.

So far Bisticci ; the tradition that Joos (or Giusto) painted several pictures, presumably at Urbino, was apparently still in existence in Vasari's time (*Doc.* 2).

The portraits of famous men are thus for me principally or wholly due to one painter, and it is practically certain that that painter was Joos. No other conclusion seems to me possible, if one accepts Bisticci's text ; I know of no justification for rejecting his text.

It has not been asserted that Joos painted the portraits of famous men entirely with his own hand. Various critics have ascribed various items to a second painter, Pedro Berruguete.

The fact that the opinions of these critics are very often in disaccord with each other does not prove that there was no second painter. It may confirm to some extent the clear implication of Bisticci's text, that there was no independent second painter. It may also confirm a view of mine, that stylistic criticism often exceeds reasonable limits. But the evidence concerning Pedro Berruguete is not only stylistic.

In my catalogue of 1945, I commented on three pieces of factual evidence in this connection ; Nos. 1 and 3 (but not, I think, No. 2) are worth recalling here. There is good evidence that a Spanish painter Peter was in Urbino in 1477 ; on one of the portraits of famous men, some (to me unexplained) words appear to be in Spanish. Recently, further evidence has been discovered ; it is in a picture of *The Beheading of S. John the Baptist* in Santa María del Campo, published by *Diego Angulo Iniguez* in the *Archivo Español de Arte*, No. 69, 1945, 143 ff. and Fig. 8, and interpreted by *Post* (" 101 ff. and Fig. 25). This picture is called a probable work of Berruguete by Angulo, and is admitted as Berruguete's by *Post* ; it is certain that it contains reminiscences of Montefeltrian architecture.

In my view, there is reasonably good evidence that Pedro Berruguete was at Urbino ; he may there have been an assistant of Joos.

The problem of attribution hitherto has been referred to the 28 portraits of famous men and most probably the portrait of Federico with his son Guidobaldo, now at Urbino and in the Louvre. It is generally conceded that the so-called *Liberal Arts*, in spite of differences, show affinities of style.

There is no documentation concerning the authorship of the *Liberal Arts* (?); the traditions, recorded already in the appropriate section, are too recent to have much value. It is a pity that the pictures are damaged.

I need not discuss here the grounds for ascribing to Berruguete various pictures existing in Spain ; that has been done carefully by *Post* (") and it is sufficient here to state that several pictures in the Prado are accepted as being by Berruguete. I spent some time in 1950 comparing them as well as I could with *Rhetoric* (?) and *Music*. In some respects, they correspond closely ; I am not convinced that they are by the same hand.

Another comment concerns the already mentioned *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* in Santa María del Campo, which I know only from the reproductions given by Angulo and *Post*. The inscription there is a corrupt reminiscence of Federico's monograms ; the architecture is a corrupt reminiscence of the style associated with Urbino ; the perspective of the floor is out. I think it almost impossible that the painter of *The Beheading of S. John the Baptist* could by himself have painted the *Liberal Arts* (?). It may be that the culture of Urbino was not a living force in Spain at the time ; yet the drop in quality appears to me exaggeratedly great. It is certain that the *Liberal Arts* (?) themselves show impure forms of decoration and faulty perspective ; yet the difference in the two cases is very great.

If the painter of Santa Maria del Campo produced the *Liberal Arts* (?), it could, in my view, only have been done under the control of someone else.

As for Melozzo, so often associated in whole or part with the *Liberal Arts* (?), I do not see why his name is introduced. One difficulty is that he seems unlikely to have been available in Urbino or Gubbio to do the work.

It is true that the *Liberal Arts* (?) show Italian as well as Flemish characteristics; and the Italianate character is far more marked than in the 28 portraits of famous men. I do not see why this should exclude the authorship of Joos. *The Communion of the Apostles* already shows a great development of style from *The Crucifixion* at Ghent, claimed to have been painted by Joos; if the Court of Urbino wanted pictures less foreign than *The Communion*, there is no *a priori* reason why Joos should not have developed further. The student will remember that other Flemish painters were strongly influenced by the Italians; for instance, Quinten Massys.

This section of my *Comments* has been almost entirely occupied with questions of attribution; other problems, perhaps more interesting, concerning the pictures have been dealt with under *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

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I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

"Della pittura" (Federico) "n'era intendentissimo; e per non trovare maestri a suo modo in Italia, che sapessino colorire in tavole ad olio, mandò infino in Fiandra, per trovare uno maestro solenne, e fello venire a Urbino, dove fece fare molte pitture di sua mano solennissime; e maxime in uno suo istudio, dove fece dipingere i filosofi e poeti e tutti i dottori della Chiesa così greca come latina, fatti con uno maraviglioso artificio; ritrassevi la sua Signoria al

naturale, che non gli mancava nulla se non lo spirito. Fece venire ancora di Fiandra maestri che tessevano panni d'arazzo..."

From the life of Federico Duca d'Urbino, in *Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV*, ed. Ludovico Frati, Vol. I, 295, Bologna, 1892.

Document 2

"...& ancora Giusto da Guanto, che fece la tauola della communion de'l Duca d'Urbino, & altre pitture..."

From *Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de piu eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani*, Florence, 1550, Vol. I, 84.

Document 3

A propos of 14 portraits of famous men in the Campana Collection (now in the Louvre): "probably Melozzo da Forlì... The execution of some architectural details & gems & ornaments (as in Pope Sixtus) precisely like the fragments in Casa Conti at Florence..."

From the note-books of *Sir Charles Eastlake*, MSS. in the National Gallery, 1856, Part I.

Document 4

A propos of the same pictures in the Campana Collection: "probably by the hand of *Melozzo da Forlì*".

From the *Diary of Otto Mündler*, MSS. in the National Gallery, September, 1856, f. 53 r.

Document 5

"Florence — Two pictures formerly in Casa Conti — much injured by time —

Dux Urbini montis Feretri ac

i Ecclesie Confalonarius

In one the kneeling figure supposed to be Guido^{ubaldo} da Montefeltro engraved as his portrait in Litta — Guido^{ubaldo} was born 1472 d. 1508 — This is not ^{possible} _{probable} if the pictures are by Melozzo — In that picture the wood is joined horizontally twice — the joining showing much — the other joined vertically showing less."

From the note-books of *Sir Charles Eastlake*, MSS. in the National Gallery, 1858, Part IV.

Document 6

A propos of 14 portraits of famous men in the Campana Collection (now in the Louvre): "Sixtus IV — excellent — interesting from similarity of execution with the Conti pictures".

From the note-books of *Sir Charles Eastlake*, MSS. in the National Gallery, 1858, Part IV.

Document 7

"In the Berlin Gallery there is another of the series formerly at Urbino, two of which (from the Casa Conti in Florence) were purchased by Mr Spence of Florence.....The names given to the Conti pictures have been various Ugo Van der Goes — Melozzo da Forlì. A certain Flemish character appears to have led to the first supposition but it does not appear that Hugo van der Goes was ever at Urbino (though he may have painted in Florence) — If a Flemish artist is to be supposed, Justus of Ghent (Giusto da Guanto) who actually painted at Urbino in the time of Federigo might have been a more plausible

name. Judging however from the large specimen by that painter at Urbino it is certain that he was not equal to such works as the Conti pictures.

The name of Melozzo da Forlì was first thought of from the seeming impossibility of finding among the resident painters at Urbino at the time — 1470 — 80 — ~~90~~ — any other artist good enough for such works...

A picture probably by the same hand as the Conti pictures... is now at Windsor. When it was sold" (i.e., at the Woodburn Sale, London, 25 June, 1853, lot 138) "Cavalcaselle & myself, without having heard of the other pictures, ascribed it to Melozzo da Forlì — But the execution is too modern to justify that designation...

On the whole, therefore, there is, as yet, no satisfactory solution of the difficulties connected with the date & peculiar style of these pictures".

From the note-books of Sir Charles Eastlake, MSS. in the National Gallery, 1859, Part 1.

Document 8

"M^r Spence's house & villa at Fiesole — The Conti picture (the companion being in London) is in the house in Florence the inscription is "ux Urbini Montis Feretri ac" — As yet, no clue to the painter..."

From the note-books of Sir Charles Eastlake, MSS. in the National Gallery, 1861, Part 1.

Document 9

A propos of the two pictures just purchased for the National Gallery :

"The tradition concerning them is, that they formed part of a series which decorated the Library of the Duke of Urbino. The subject of each is in keeping with such a supposition... Two pictures at Berlin — one in the public Gallery there called "Bramantino" — the other, reported to be much injured, in the magazine of the Gallery — There is...presumptive evidence...that the two pictures" (the two in the National Gallery) "are by the hand of Melozzo, though perhaps not sufficient to entitle us openly to assume a name of which we know little..."

From the Report of the Director of the National Gallery (Sir W. Boxall) of his Proceedings on the Continent, 1 November, 1866, MS. in the National Gallery.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 52 : GROUP JUSTUS OF GHENT (1)

CCCXXIX. Rhetoric (?)	B 124 176	1950
CCCXXX. Music	B 124 187	1950
CCCXXXI. Rhetoric (?), Detail : the Young Man Kneeling	B 124 178	1950
CCCXXXII. Rhetoric (?), Detail : the Allegorical Figure	B 124 177	1950
CCCXXXIII. Rhetoric (?), the Head of the Young Man (1 : 1)	B 124 180	1950
CCCXXXIV. Rhetoric (?), the Head of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)	B 124 179	1950
CCCXXXV. Rhetoric (?), the Book and the Hands (1 : 1)	B 124 181	1950
CCCXXXVI. Rhetoric (?), the Features of the Allegorical Figure (M 2 X)	B 124 182	1950
CCCXXXVII. Music, Detail : the Young Man Kneeling	B 124 189	1950
CCCXXXVIII. Music, Detail : the Allegorical Figure	B 124 188	1950
CCCXXXIX. Music, the Head of the Young Man (1 : 1)	B 124 191	1950

CCCXL.	Music, the Head of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)	B 124 190	1950
CCCXLI.	Music, the Right Hand of the Allegorical Figure Holding a Book (1 : 1)	B 124 193	1950
CCCXLII.	Music, the Left Hand of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)	B 124 194	1950
CCCXLIII.	Music, the Hands of the Young Man (1 : 1)	B 124 192	1950
CCCXLIV.	Music, the Features of the Allegorical Figure (M 2 X)	B 124 195	1950
CCCXLV.	Rhetoric (?), the Reverse	B 124 183	1950
CCCXLVI.	Rhetoric (?), Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 186	1950
CCCXLVII.	Rhetoric (?), Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 185	1950
CCCXLVIII.	Rhetoric (?), Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 184	1950
CCCIL.	Music, the Reverse	B 124 196	1950
CCCL.	Music, Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 197	1950
CCCLI.	Music, Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 199	1950
CCLII.	Music, Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)	B 124 198	1950
CCCLIII.	Rhetoric (?), Shadow Cast by a Throne in a Missing Picture (infra-red)	N.G. 21-VIII-1952	
CCCLIV.	Music : Upper right Corner (X-radiograph 27 kV, 15 mA)	N.G. 26-IX-1952	
CCCLV.	Rhetoric (?) in Association with Dialectic (?) (formerly at Berlin) : Astronomy (formerly at Berlin) in tentative Association with Music	B 124 176	1950
		Ehem. Staatl. Mus. Berlin	
		Ehem. Staatl. Mus. Berlin	
		B 124 187	1950

53

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 53 : GROUP MEMLING (3), THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH AN ANGEL, S. GEORGE AND A DONOR

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Studio of Memling.

The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and Donor.

No. 686 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions :</i>	panel	55.6 (± 0.1) \times 39.5 (± 0.1) \times 1 cm. 21 7/8 \times 15 9/16 \times 3/8 ins.
	painted surface	54.1 (± 0.1) \times 37.4 (± 0.1) cm. 21 1/4 \times 14 3/4 ins.

Protective Layer : Yellowed varnish. The distant landscape is somewhat obscured by remains of older varnish.

Paint Layer : Rather bad general condition.

Wearing, particularly marked in the flesh, has led to the overpainting in glaze of the modelling of the faces in the cases of the donor, the Virgin (Plate CCCLXIII) and the Child. Adheres perfectly.

Various restorations in the sky, in the lower right hand corner, in the lower part of the Virgin's dress, on the angel's wing farthest to the left, and on the lower part of the tiled floor. Overpainting of the donor's dress and of the column immediately to the left of the Virgin. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : Various changes in the Child. Outlines, faintly visible in an infra-red photograph (Plate CCCLVIII), indicate that the Child's head and shoulders were at first sketched in about 1 cm. lower. The Child's left leg was originally stretched out further, with the foot nearly parallel to the picture surface; rather like the arrangement in the Chatsworth *Triptych* (Voll ¹⁰ Plate 4). The Child's right leg was probably intended to be much as now, but with the knee less bent and the foot approximately where the other foot is now; probably similar to, but more nearly horizontal than, the Child's right leg in the *Vierge de Jacques Floreins* (Voll ¹⁰ Plate 66). The Virgin's right hand was bent further downwards; the unclear indications perhaps mean that there has been more than one previous attempt. There have further been some corrections to the existing contours in this area of the picture.

It seems to have been intended once to show the donor's head more nearly in profile. Various other changes, e.g. in the end part of the banner: S. Joseph (?) is painted on top of the door through which he is passing.

Ground : Nearly white, rather thin; it lets the grain of the wood show through slightly, but adheres well. Original edges clear on all four sides.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, the obverse slightly convex. The reverse has been made level, and shows some worm-holes towards the bottom and on the left edge at the top.

Marks on the Back : I F scratched on the wood, and in chalk; a seal, including a three-masted vessel on a shield. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCCLXIV.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

Centre, the Virgin enthroned. The Child, seated on her lap, is playing with the leaves of a book held by her: He leans towards the left, and His partly raised right arm and hand perhaps indicate that He is blessing. The donor kneels on the right. Behind him stands

S. George in armour ; he holds a banner with a red cross on a white ground, the dragon is on the ground by him (*Timmers* ¹⁰ 918/20), and a crucifix hangs on a chain at his neck. On the left, a little behind, is an angel playing a lute. Background, a walled garden, the *Hortus Conclusus* (*Timmers* ¹⁰ 440); the flowers include lily and iris. On the left a man with a crutch, apparently S. Joseph, is leaving the garden through a door. Further behind, two castles and a landscape with water, on which are four ships or boats.

The picture seems to be a small altarpiece, perhaps for private devotion ; the donor's name was presumably George. There is no evidence if there were once shutters to it.

For changes in composition in this picture, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue with red mantle. The canopy is red ; the patterned hanging black and golden, with green borders. The donor is in black ; S. George in dark armour.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Some marks on the book held by the Virgin.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of the picture is not known ; the first date at which it is known to be recorded is 1842 (?) (see *Subsequent History*). The donor's name presumably was George ; there is no evidence if the picture once had shutters.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

It is presumably this picture that was ascribed to Memlinc by E. Förster (¹ 269). In 1847 it was called van Eyck, but was noted by Boisserée as being Memlinc (*Firmenich-Richartz* ¹¹ 522). Admitted as Memlinc by M. Unger (*Weyer Catalogue* ² 39/40 (No. 125) and 118); by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (³ 288/9); by Kaemmerer (⁴ 134 (apparently)); and by Weale (⁵ 59/60 and 99). Voll (¹⁰ 137) groups it among the doubtful or not genuine pictures. Conway (¹² 243) says that it was in part executed by a studio assistant. Admitted as Memlinc by Friedländer (¹³ 128, No. 63). Davies (¹⁵ 83) thinks that it was at best executed in the studio by an assistant and touched up by Memlinc himself. Ludwig Baldass (MS. note of 1949 in the National Gallery) thinks that it is from the circle of Memlinc, not retouched by Memlinc himself.

Weale (⁵ 59) says the date is most probably ca. 1475.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

The marks on the back, recorded in section C above, may refer to previous ownerships, but have not been interpreted. Stated to be from the "Gierling" Collection, whence bought by the dealer Fontaine, who is stated to have sold it ca. 1847 to Johann Peter Weyer, Cologne (*Weale* ⁵ 464/6 ; cf. *Weale* ⁵ 99). "Gierling" seems clearly to be Conservator Geerling, i.e., Christian Geerling, who died in 1848 (*O. H. Förster* ¹⁴ 116), and who is indeed stated to have ceded the picture to Weyer (*Lehner* ⁶ 64, No. 194).

- 1842 The dealer Fontaine is clearly the dealer Lafontaine of Cologne. In the autumn of 1842, E. Förster saw in his possession a picture, which from the description is clearly identical with the present one (E. Förster ¹ 269). It seems excluded that Geerling's second version (see section F) can be referred to; Weale mentions Fontaine as an owner of the present version, and one may believe that the other version (see section F) did not pass through Lafontaine's hands after belonging to Geerling.
- 1847 Seen in the Weyer Collection, 13 July, 1847 (*Firmenich-Richartz* ¹¹ 522). *Weyer Catalogue* of ca. 1852 (² 39/40, No. 125).
- 1862 J. P. Weyer Sale, Cologne, 25 sqq. August, 1862 (lot 254), bought by Mündler for the National Gallery (sale catalogue with printed list of buyers; cf. also *National Gallery Catalogue* ⁴ 141).

b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1862 "With regard to the Memling it is probable from the still dirty state of the upper part of the sky, that Weyer had scarcely meddled with it". From a letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to R. N. Wornum, Keeper of the National Gallery, 7 September, 1862, in the National Gallery.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A version, size 55 × 38.5 cm., is stated also to have belonged to (Christian) Geerling; then to his brother in Ahrweiler, whose widow sold it to H. Kleinertz, Cologne, whence acquired in 1869 for the Collection at Sigmaringen (*Lehner* ⁸ 64, No. 194; it is recorded in the first edition of *Lehner*, 1871, 58/9, No. 194, but without most of the details of provenance). This version is recorded by *Wauters* (⁷ 48, 108) and by *Kaemmerer* (⁸ 134), who thinks it may be a modern copy.

Several other pictures by or ascribed to Memlinc are in parts rather similar to the present design. For the design of the Virgin and Child, the Chatsworth triptych and the *Vierge de Jacques Floreins* in the Louvre may be cited (*Voll* ¹⁰ Plates 4 and 65; cf. also the *changes in composition* noted in section C, above). The pattern of the hanging recurs fairly exactly in a picture at New York (once L. Goldschmidt, Paris; *Voll* ¹⁰ Plate 138).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The picture seems to be an imitation of Memlinc. The date is unlikely to be as early as Weale suggests.

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J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 53 : GROUP MEMLINC (3)

CCCLVI. The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor	B 124 246	1950
CCCLVII. The Virgin at half-length and the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 250	1950
CCCLVIII. The Child (ca. 4 : 3, infra-red)	N. G. 21-1	1953
CCCLIX. Head and Right Hand of S. George, and the Landscape on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 251	1950
CCCLX. The Donor, the Left Hand and Hat of S. George, and the Dragon (1 : 1)	B 124 252	1950
CCCLXI. The Landscape on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 249	1950
CCCLXII. The Angel (1 : 1)	B 124 248	1950
CCCLXIII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 253	1950
CCCLXIV. The Reverse	B 124 254	1950

54

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 54 : GROUP MEMLINC (4), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD*

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

*Ascribed to Memlinc.**The Virgin and Child (Right Wing of a Diptych ?).*No. 709 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(3.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	41.2 (± 0.1) \times 30 (± 0.1) \times 0.9 cm. 16 1/4 \times 11 13/16 \times 3/8 ins.
	painted surface	37.7 (± 0.1) \times 27.7 (± 0.1) cm. 14 3/4 \times 10 7/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Yellow varnish, with consequent uniformity in the tones of the different colours.*Paint Layer* : Fairly good general condition.

No marked wearing ; adheres well.

A narrow vertical split, 5 cm. from the right edge, continues from the bottom of the picture to the Virgin's shoulder.

Restoration of some unimportant losses, in particular on the Virgin's forehead and on the Child's face and right shoulder. Extensive restoration of the green edges of the hanging behind the Virgin.

Reinforcement of various outlines, in particular on the Child's right arm and shoulder (Plate CCCLXVI). The overpainting of the edges continues beyond the edges of the original paint, and over additions to the panel of 1 cm. at the top and at the bottom. Overpainting in glaze of the shadowed parts of the flesh, particularly of the Child's thighs, legs and feet. The expression of the faces of the Virgin and the Child is noticeably modified in the present condition of the picture.

The red of the Virgin's mantle is transparent to X-rays.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.*Changes in Composition* : Small corrections in the outlines of the Child's head, etc.*Ground* : White, adheres well. Small area on the Child's right shoulder, where the ground is detached from the support.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical. It has been extended at the top and bottom by horizontal strips of wood nailed on to the edges, in both cases 1 cm. wide.

Marks on the Back : Labels connected with the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCLXXI.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

The Virgin is seen frontally, at half length. She supports the Child, Who rests on a cushion on a parapet ; He leans to the left, with His right hand raised in blessing. Most of the background is covered with a hanging.

Possibly the central picture of a triptych ; see in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. For changes in composition see in section C, above.

2. Colours

The Virgin is in a yellow bodice, blue dress and red mantle. Hanging black and golden, with green borders.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of the picture is not known ; first known to be mentioned in 1815 or 1817 (see *Subsequent History*). *Davies* (¹⁴ 82) suggests that it may have been the right wing of a diptych, but the Virgin and Child would not have occupied such a place in a diptych ; it could have been the central picture of a triptych, with the principal donor on the left.

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

It is recorded as Jan van Eyck, apparently in 1824 by *Kohler* (¹ 318) and certainly in *Doc. 2* and in 1848 (*Catalogue* ² 23/4). Catalogued by *Waagen* (³ 21) as Memlinc ; cf. *Waagen* ⁴ 225/6. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (⁵ 109, 266/7) apparently accept it as a Memlinc ; later (⁶ 295) they seem to call it not autograph. *Kaemmerer* (⁷ 125, 134) calls it almost entirely the work of a studio assistant, and labels his plate of it School of Memlinc. *Voll* (¹⁰ 141 and 174/5) says that it is by a follower of Memlinc. *Conway* (¹² 243) says that it looks like the work of an assistant throughout. *Friedländer* (¹³ 125, No. 47) calls it Memlinc. *Davies* (¹⁴ 82) says that it is possibly by Memlinc, but (on account of the condition) no certain attribution can be made. *Ludwig Baldass* (MS. note of 1949 in the National Gallery) calls it Memlinc. As for the date, *Waagen* (³ 21 and ⁴ 225/6) calls it late ; *Friedländer* (¹³ 125, No. 47) says ca. 1475 ; *Ludwig Baldass* (MS. note of 1949 in the National Gallery) calls it late.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

- 1815.7 Stated to be from the Collection of Count Vichy at Munich, and thence purchased by Prince Ludwig Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1817 (*Davies* ' 82/3). But the provenance from Count Vichy may be a mistake, and the picture may rather have been acquired in Paris by Count Joseph von Rechberg of Mindelheim in 1815 and sold by him in the same year, with many other pictures, to Prince Ludwig (see *Doc. 1*).
- 1824 Recorded at Schloss Wallerstein by *Kolder* (' 318); there is little description, but it is presumably the picture.
- 1826 (?) 27 Recorded in the Wallerstein Collection (*Doc. 2*). The Oettingen-Wallerstein pictures were moved from Wallerstein to Deggingen in 1826; for this, and some family arrangements concerning the pictures, 1821-1838, see *Grupp* (' 105 ff.).
- 1841 Probably exhibited in November, 1841, with other pictures in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, at Augsburg (*Kunstblatt*, 1842, 3).
- ca. 1844.7 Seen in Paris when the Prince was "Bavarian ambassador" there (*Michiels* ' Vol. II, 348/9, with identifying description); for the date, see the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and the title of the sale at Paris, 28/31 March, 1848, "après départ de M. le Prince d'Oettingen Wallerstein, ministre plénipotentiaire de Bavière".
- 1847 Stated to have been sent to England in this year, with other pictures in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection (*The Art-Union*, London, Vol. X, August, 1848, 251).
- 1848 Exhibited with other pictures in the collection for sale at Kensington Palace, 1848; 1848 *Catalogue* ' 23/4, No. 53, with identifying description. The pictures were bought by the Prince Consort.
- 1854 Recorded at Kensington Palace; *Waagen's Catalogue* ' 21, No. 32; cf. *Waagen* ' 225/6. Lent by Prince Albert to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (*Provisional Catalogue*, No. 488; *Definitive Catalogue*, No. 402).
- 1863 Presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 154).

b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- ca. 1841 Probably among the Oettingen-Wallerstein pictures restored by Eigner (*Kunstblatt*, 1842, 3).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Nothing closely comparable appears to be known, though several pictures of the Virgin and Child assigned to Memlinc are in a general way similar.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The condition makes it unwise to express a view, beyond saying that the picture may be by Memlinc.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1824 ' : J. C. KOHLER. *Die Sammlung altdeutscher Gemälde in dem fürstlichen Schloss zu Wallerstein*, 1st. article, in *Kunst-Blatt*, ed. Ludwig Schorn, 5th. year, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1824, 317-9.
- 1848 * : *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient Greek, etc. Pictures now at Kensington Palace* (Prince Louis of Öttingen Wallerstein), London, (1848). (According to *The Art-Union*, London, Vol. X, August, 1848, 251, the catalogue is by L. Gruner).

- 1854 ³ : (G. F. WAAGEN). *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, etc. Pictures now at Kensington Palace*, London, 1854.
- 1857 ⁴ : G. F. WAAGEN. *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (Vol. IV of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*), London, 1857.
- 1857 ⁵ : J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1857.
- 1864 ⁶ : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 38th. edition, London, 1864.
- 1866 ⁷ : ALFRED MICHELS. *Histoire de la Peinture Flamande*, 2nd. edition, Vol. II, Paris, 1866.
- 1872 ⁸ : J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1872.
- 1899 ⁹ : LUDWIG KAEMMERER. *Memling, Bielefeld and Leipzig*, 1899.
- 1909 ¹⁰ : KARL VOLL. *Memling, Des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst series), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909.
- 1917 ¹¹ : GEORG GRUPP. *Fürst Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein als Museumsgründer, in the Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Nördlingen und Umgebung*, Vol. VI, 1917, 73-109.
- 1921 ¹² : SIR MARTIN CONWAY. *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.
- 1928 ¹³ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
- 1945 ¹⁴ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School* (*National Gallery Catalogues*), London, 1945.

I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

"Durch die Vermittlung des aus Wallerstein stammenden Juden Helbing gelangte aus dem Besitze des Grafen Vichy, des Obersten der Leibhartschiereeine Madonna von Memling (3025 fl.)..." (Grupp ¹¹ 97). The statement of provenance from Count Vichy by Davies (¹⁴ 82/3), from information given to H. I. Kay, may be based on the same source. The identification is perhaps to be rejected, because the present picture is not otherwise known to have been called Memling when in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection. There are, indeed, no ascriptions to this painter in Kohler (¹ 318). In the catalogues of ca. 1826 and 1827, referred to in Doc. 2, two pictures are called Memling or his school. One of these, No. 43, is a portrait, No. 710 of the National Gallery, assigned to Gerard David (see the entry in Vol. I, *Corpus* No. 39). The other, No. 41, is a triptych of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, certainly identifiable as Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. IV, Hugo van der Goes, 135, No. 39 and Plate XLII (Bruges Master of 1499 after Hugo van der Goes). Traces of these, but of no other, Memling traditions in the Collection are found in the *Catalogue* of 1848 (¶ 25, No. 59 and 26 ff., Nos. 61/3, 3 nos. for the triptych). Grupp (¹¹ 100) further says : "(1815) Des weiteren berichtet Rechberg, er habe eine Madonna von Eyk entdeckt, viel schöner als die der Boisserce. Wenn die Malerei ganz rein wäre, wäre sie 30000 Fr. wert, in Wirklichkeit aber um 13000 Fr. erwerbbar.....Die früher erwähnte Madonna von Eyk, die der Fürst erworben zu haben scheint (Gal. Nr. 38) wurde von einem Pariser Kunsthändler auf 100, einem andern auf 1000 Louisdor geschätzt". These references accord well with other early mentions of the present picture (Kohler ¹ 318, presumably ; *Catalogues* of ca. 1826 and 1827, Doc. 2). It should be added that two entries in the Oettingen-Wallerstein *Catalogues* of ca. 1826 and 1827 might seem, but probably

wrongly, to be applicable to Rechberg's picture. No. 35 is a Madonna called Jan van Eyck ; this is probably No. 708 of the National Gallery, Follower of Dieric Bouts (see the entry in Vol. I, *Corpus* No. 28). No. 45 is a Virgin and Child called School of Jan van Eyck ; this is 1848 *Catalogue* 36, No. 79, as Rogier van der Weyde ; *Waagen's Catalogue* 42, No. 67, as Painter showing affinity to Mostaert, but feebler ; and *Buckingham Palace Catalogue*, 1920, 58, No. 264, as after Bernard van Orley. The matter seems too uncertain for further discussion at present ; but it may be claimed as probable that, if Prince Ludwig acquired Rechberg's picture, then it is the present one. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain further facts from the Wallerstein archives at Mairhingen.

Document 2

"38. *Jean van Eyck* — *Madonne avec l'enfant Jesus* — *tableau extremement riche*. — *dem. fig* : — Bois H. 1.3. L. — 11½" (i.e. 1 *Schuh* 3 *Zoll* × 11½ *Zoll*). From a lithographed *Catalogue de la Galerie de Wallerstein* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery), datable ca. 1826, page 13. This entry is almost literally translated into German in a manuscript *Katalog der Galerie zu Wallerstein*, 1827, also in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery). The identification is certain, since a label with the number 38 is still on the back of the picture (Plate CCCLXXI); this label is demonstrably of a type associated with the above mentioned catalogues — cf. the backs of Studio of Dieric Bouts, Nos. 711/2, *Corpus* No. 29, Plates LXXX/VI, and Doc. 2 of the text concerning these pictures, in Vol. I.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 54 : GROUP MEMLINC (4)

CCCLXV. The Virgin and Child	B 124 200	1950
CCCLXVI. Bust of the Child and Hands of the Virgin (1 : 1)	B 124 202	1950
CCCLXVII. Heads of the Virgin and the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 201	1950
CCCLXVIII. Face of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 203	1950
CCCLXIX. Mouth and Nose of the Virgin (M 4½ ×)	B 102 777	1952
CCCLXX. Left Eye and Nose of the Child (M 4½ ×)	B 102 773	1952
CCCLXXI. The Reverse	B 124 204	1950

55

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 55 : GROUP MEMLINC (5), S. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND S. LAWRENCE (TWO SHUTTERS)

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Hans Memlinc.

SS. John the Baptist and Lawrence (Wings of an Altarpiece).

No. 747 in the *Catalogue Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS
(3.vii.1952)

Form : two rectangular shutters.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panels (<i>S. John the Baptist</i>)	59,2 ($\pm 0,1$) \times 19,2 ($\pm 0,1$) \times 1,0 cm. 23 5/16 \times 7 9/16 \times 3/8 ins.
	(<i>S. Lawrence</i>)	59,2 ($\pm 0,1$) \times 19,1 ($\pm 0,1$) \times 0,8 cm. 23 5/16 \times 7 1/2 \times 5/16 ins.
	painted surfaces (<i>S. John the Baptist</i>)	57,5 \times 17,3 cm. 22 5/8 \times 6 13/16 ins.
	(<i>S. Lawrence</i>)	57,5 \times 17,2 cm. 22 5/8 \times 6 3/4 ins.
	(<i>S. John the Baptist, reverse</i>)	57,3 \times 17,4 cm. 22 9/16 \times 6 7/8 ins.
	(<i>S. Lawrence, reverse</i>)	57,3 \times 17,1 cm. 22 9/16 \times 6 3/4 ins.

Protective Layer : Obverses — varnish of medium thickness, worn and with a fine craquelure. Remnants of very dark old varnish in patches are partly responsible for the dirty aspect of the pictures.

Reverses — varnish, thick and irregular.

Paint Layer : Fronts, in rather bad condition, but not so as seriously to upset stylistic judgment. General wearing; numerous local restorations, which have darkened and form patches. Considerable overpainting of the architecture; numerous overpaintings (in the varnish) on the dress of S. John the Baptist.

Reverses, a general overpainting in glaze darkens the whole of both pictures, which would seem further to be so extensively repainted as to have lost all the physical characteristics of XV Century work.

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.

Ground : White; adheres well in general; thinner for the obverses than for the reverses.

Support : For each picture, oak, one panel with grain vertical, chamfered on the four sides. Good general condition for the *S. Lawrence*. A crack from the top to the middle of the panel of the *S. John the Baptist*, on the right hand side. The paintings on the backs are recorded in section D.

Marks on the Backs : No marks worth recording have been noted; reproductions of the backs on Plates CCCLXXX-CCCLXXXIII.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

Two shutters of a triptych. On the left is S. John the Baptist at full length, in a hair dress and holding a lamb (*Timmers* * 938/40); on the right is S. Lawrence at full length, in alb and dalmatic, with a book and a gridiron (*Timmers* * 953/4). Each is standing on a step.

before a traceried arch, the spandrels of which are ornamented with a leaf decoration. Landscape background.

Reverse. In each case, cranes in a landscape ; on S. John the Baptist's panel, a coat of arms and a crest are included (see below).

2. Colours

S. John the Baptist is in brown with violet mantle. The apparel of S. Lawrence's alb is blue ; his dalmatic red. On the *reverse*, the birds are white with yellow bills and red crests ; the sky is reddish in its lower part. The colours of the shield are given in the next sub-section.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The coat of arms on the reverse (Plate CCCLXXXIII) has not been identified ; the description is, gules two chevrons argent between three pairs of compasses or shears sable (?). The crest is, on a helmet wreathed and mantled gules and argent, an arm embowed vested per pale gules and argent ; in the hand, a pair of compasses or shears (cf. *Weale* ² 63).



E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of the pictures is not known ; first known to be recorded in 1865 (see *Subsequent History*). Clearly they formed the shutters of a triptych ; the central panel (presumably a painting) is not known to have been identified.

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Generally accepted as by Memlinc, e.g. in the *National Gallery Catalogue* (' 155) and by *Friedländer* (' 119, No. 19); also apparently by *Weale* (² 63).

As for the date, *Voll* (² 18) suggests ca. 1472 ; *Friedländer* (' 119, No. 19), ca. 1485.

2. *Subsequent History*

Records of Ownership

1865 Purchased from Emmanuel Sano at Paris in 1865 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 155).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Nothing closely comparable appears to be known, though several of Memlinc's representations of S. John the Baptist are in a general way similar to the figure of that saint here.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Acceptable for me as by Memlinc. Perhaps rather early work ; but the dating of Memlinc's pictures is subject to reserves.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1865 ¹ : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 42nd. edition, London, 1865.
- 1901 ² : W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Hans Memlinc*, London, 1901.
- 1909 ³ : KARL VOLL. *Memling, Des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst series), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909.
- 1928 ⁴ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
- 1945 ⁵ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 ⁶ : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseyck, 1947.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 55 : GROUP MEMLINC (5)

CCCLXXII. Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence	B 124 380	1950
CCCLXXIII. Head of S. John the Baptist. Landscape and Architectural Framework (1 : 1)	B 124 382	1950
CCCLXXIV. Head of S. Lawrence, Landscape and Architectural Framework (1 : 1)	B 124 385	1950
CCCLXXV. Bust of S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)	B 124 381	1950
CCCLXXVI. Bust of S. Lawrence (1 : 1)	B 139 153	1952
CCCLXXVII. Lower Part of S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)	B 124 383	1950
CCCLXXVIII. Lower Part of S. Lawrence (1 : 1)	B 124 386	1950
CCCLXXIX. Head of S. John the Baptist (M 2 X)	B 124 387	1950
CCCLXXIXa. <i>Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence, Colour Plate</i>	N. G.	1953
CCCLXXX. The Reverses	B 124 388	1950
CCCLXXXI. Detail, Reverse of S. John the Baptist's Panel : Cranes (1 : 1)	B 124 389	1950
CCCLXXXII. Detail, Reverse of S. Lawrence's Panel : Cranes (1 : 1)	B 124 390	1950
CCCLXXXIII. Detail, Reverse of S. John the Baptist's Panel : Coat of Arms (1 : 1)	B 124 391	1950

56

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 56 : GROUP MEMLINC (6), *PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN AT PRAYER*

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Hans Memlinc.

A Young Man at Prayer (Left Wing of a Diptych or Triptych).

No. 2594 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	painted surface	39 × 25.5 cm.
		15 3/8 × 10 ins.
	thickness of the supporting panel	± 0.8 cm.
		± 5/16 ins.

Protective Layer : A layer of varnish, of normal thickness, but very irregular and worn.

Paint Layer : Slight general wearing.

A stopping above the head, another on the left edge at the level of the ears.

Light overpainting of the shadows of the face ; overpainting of the dark green background, of the letters on the book, of the black dress, and of the hair (particularly towards the right).

The infra-red photograph reveals in the flesh and the book some lines difficult to explain, which do not correspond with the composition.

Changes in composition : A number of corrections in the outlines of the hands.

Ground : Very thin ; adheres well.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical. The reverse is painted black, and is pitted with worm-holes.

Marks on the Back : Several labels ; reproduction of the back on Plate CCCLXXXVIII.

Frame : Apparently original ; the edges of the painted surfaces of the picture and frame correspond quite well. The frame is of oak, painted black and gilt with overpainting of powdered gold.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

Possibly the left wing of a triptych ; see section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. The sitter is shown at half length, turned to the right ; he kneels in prayer before a desk, on which is an open book. Dark background, with a column on either side.

The sitter was at one time called the Duke of Cleves ; but see section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

For *changes in composition*, see in section C. above.

2. Colours

In red underdress and black dress.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The marks on the book include a D.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known ; first known to be recorded in 1889 (see *Subsequent History*). The sitter was for a time at the National Gallery called the Duke of Cleves, a name apparently not applied to him until after the Bruges Exhibition of 1902 ; presumably John II, 1458 - 1521, was meant (*Beard* ¹⁰ 7-1), but there is no known evidence in favour. *Davies* (¹¹ 82) says that the picture was the left wing of a diptych or triptych ; it could not have been a diptych if the missing part represented the Virgin and Child, who would not have been shown on the right wing of a diptych.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The attribution to Memlinc is generally accepted, e.g. by *Friedländer* (⁰ 130, No. 78) ; the picture was already ascribed to Memlinc in 1889 (*Catalogue* ¹ 32, No. 143). As for the date, the picture is called an early Memlinc by *Kaemmerer* (² 20) and by *Hulin* (⁰ 18). *Friedländer* (⁰ 82) says probably after 1470 ; later (⁰ 130, No. 78), he suggests ca. 1475. *Voll* (⁰ 25) suggests ca. 1480.

2. Subsequent History

Records of Ownership

Stated to be from the Collection of Eugen Felix (d. 1888) at Leipzig (not in the catalogue by A. von Eye and P. E. Börner, 1880).

1889 Lent by his son, Hans Felix, to an exhibition at Leipzig, 1889, *Ältere Meister aus sächsischem Privatbesitz* (*Catalogue* ¹ 32, No. 143, with some description); also to the

1897 *Ausstellung von Werken alten Kunstgewerbes aus Sächsisch-Thüringischem Privatbesitz*, Leipzig, Kunstgewerbe-Museum, June-October, 1897, No. 1111 (little description in the catalogue ; see rather *Friedländer* ² 413).

Recorded in the Felix Collection by *Kaemmerer* (² 18 and 20).

1901 Recorded in the Collection of George Salting, London (*Weale* ⁴ 100). Lent by Salting to the Exhibition of *Works by the Old Masters* at the Royal Academy, London, 1902 (No. 2), and to the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands* at Bruges, 1902 (No. 77).

1903 On loan at the National Gallery until 1910.

1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ⁵ 205).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The attribution to Memlinc is to me acceptable ; the date is uncertain.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1889 ¹ : Leipziger Kunstverein, Einundzwanzigste Sonderausstellung, *Ältere Meister aus sächsischem Privatbesitz*, Leipzig, 1889.
- 1897 ² : (MAX J.) FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Ausstellung von Werken alten Kuntsgewerbes aus sächsisch-thüringischem Privatbesitz*, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. XX, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1897, 405-417.
- 1899 ³ : LUDWIG KAEMMERER. *Memling*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1899.
- 1901 ⁴ : W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Hans Memlinc*, London, 1901.
- 1902 ⁵ : GEORGES H(ULIN) DE LOO. *Bruges 1902, Exposition de Tableaux Flamands, Catalogue Critique*, Ghent, 1902.
- 1903 ⁶ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Brügger Leihausstellung von 1902*, 1st. article, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. XXVI, Berlin, 1903, 66-91.
- 1909 ⁷ : KARL VOLL. *Memling, Des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst series), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909.
- 1911 ⁸ : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1928 ⁹ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
- 1931 ¹⁰ : CHARLES R. BEARD. *Another National Gallery Problem*, in *The Connoisseur*, London, August 1931, 74.
- 1945 ¹¹ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 56 : GROUP MEMLINC (6)

CCCLXXXIV. Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer	B 124 348	1950
CCCLXXXV. Head of the Sitter (1 : 1)	B 124 345	1950
CCCLXXXVI. The Hands and the Book (1 : 1)	B 124 344	1950
CCCLXXXVII. Face of the Sitter (M 2 ×)	B 124 346	1950
CCCLXXXVIII. The Reverse	B 124 347	1950

GROUP WASSENHOVE : see GROUP JUSTUS OF GHENT

Marks on the Back : Nothing worth recording noted : reproduction of the back on Plate CDIII.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

A fragment of the lower right side of a fairly large picture. The Magdalen is seated reading on the ground or nearly on the ground, her jar beside her. A piece of drapery seen on the left belonged clearly to some other figure.

For *changes in composition*, see in section C. above.

The original remains existing under the present background (part of a figure, landscape seen through a window, etc.) are described in section C. above. See Plates CCCXCIV, CCCXCVII-CCCIC.

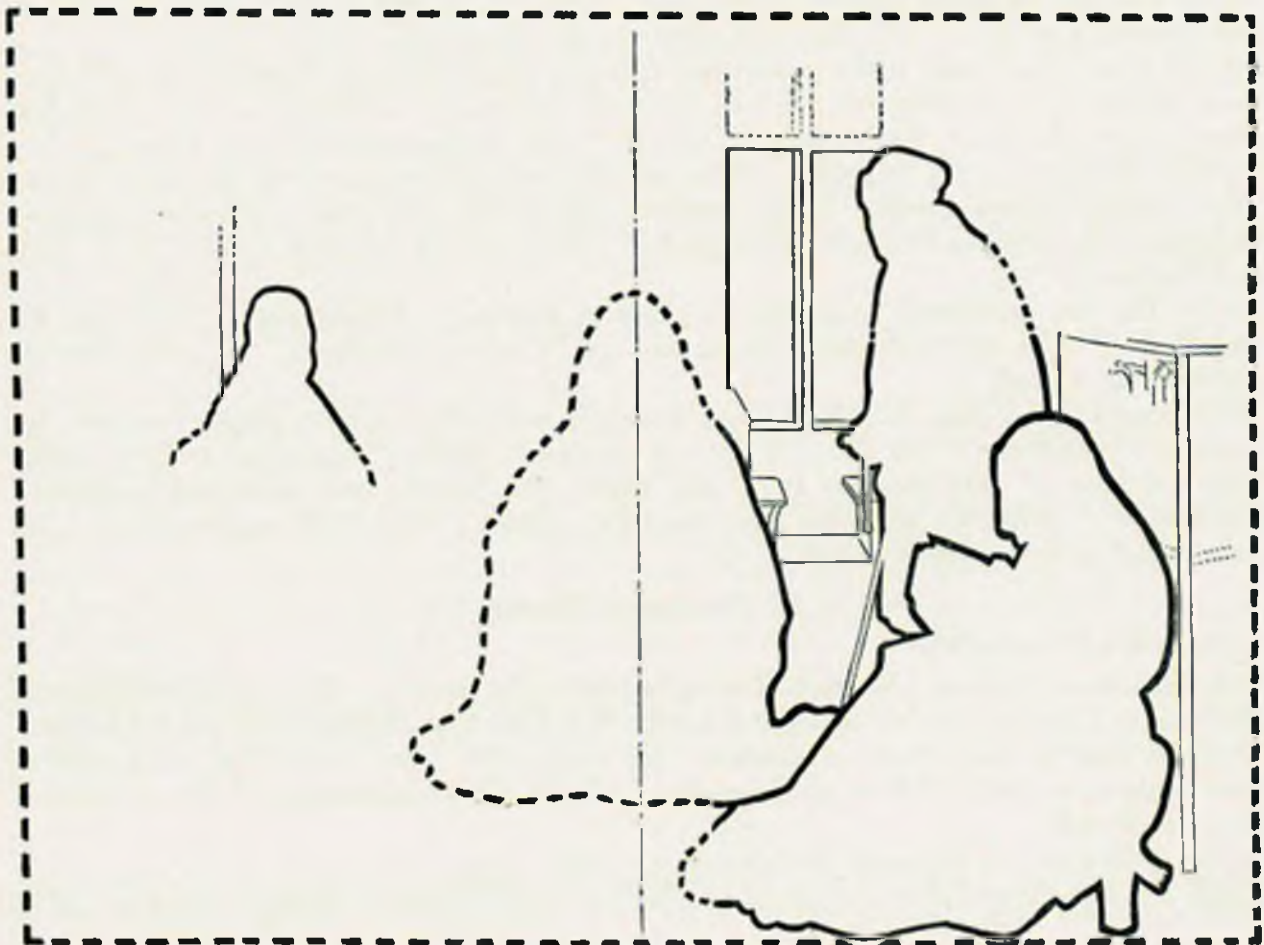
Two other fragments from the same picture are known (Plate CD). They were lent by Leo Nardus, Suresnes, to the *Exposition de la Toison d'Or* at Bruges in 1907, as *S. Catherine* and *An Old Man*, size 20×17 cm. each (small catalogue, 55, No. 184 ; memorial catalogue, 88, reproduced); they were in the Onnes (Château de Nijenrode) Sale, Amsterdam, 10 July, 1923, lot 23, size 21×18 cm. each, reproduced in the catalogue : *Friedländer*¹¹ 103, No. 36 and Plates XXXII, XXXIII, as *The Virgin* and *S. Joseph* ; lent by C. S. Gulbenkian to the *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* at the Royal Academy, London, 1927 (memorial catalogue, 15/6, Nos. 28, 32, as *The Virgin* and *S. Joseph*); *Friedländer*¹³ 87, as with Knoedler, New York.

The fragment that has been called *S. Joseph* was above part of the present picture ; it shows the head and shoulders of a man, and it is part of his body that is seen in X-Ray photographs of the present picture, standing behind the Magdalen. The folds of his dress are seen to continue on the present picture (Plate CDI); it may further be noted that the mouldings of the window beside him correspond in the two pictures. Two cleaning tests on the present picture were made in 1952, to confirm the association. One was on his dress over the left arm, where the colour was found to be rather light blue ; the colour of the dress of the fragment called *S. Joseph* is recorded to be light blue (Onnes Sale Catalogue ; more clearly in the Royal Academy Catalogue of 1927). The other test was for part of the distance through the window, the interpretation of the X-Ray photograph being not quite clear at this point ; what was revealed is a buttress, and it clearly corresponds with the buttress seen in the fragment called *S. Joseph*, even to the niche on its outer face (Plate CDII). There is, therefore, no doubt that the association is correct. The composite photographs reproduced on Plate CDI and CDII may show the fragments a little too close together ; the photograph by ordinary light and the X-Ray photograph are in the same position relative to *S. Joseph* on the two plates.

The present picture offers some confirmation that the fragment called *S. Joseph* is correctly named ; the part of the figure included here is supporting itself on a stick, which is held by a hand concealed by a fold of the dress. *S. Joseph* is often shown with a stick in early Netherlandish painting ; and there are several cases where the arrangement of the hand holding the stick may be compared with the arrangement here (wing of a triptych, perhaps derived from Hugo van der Goes, assigned to the Master of Frankfort, at Antwerp (*Destrée*¹⁰ 90); triptych assigned to Memlinc in the Prado at Madrid (*Voll*⁹ Plates 45/6) ; *Nativity* assigned to Bouts in the Prado, reproduced by *Schöne* (¹³ Plate 3); drawing

reproduced by *Schöne* (²⁵ Plate 87c)). The figure here holds a rosary ; this does not appear to be an accepted emblem for S. Joseph.

The other fragment (Plate CD) has been called *S. Catherine* or (obviously wrongly) *The Virgin*. It is traditionally associated with the head of *S. Joseph* ; there is no reason to doubt this association, and apparently no means of proving it. The arrangement of the landscape seen behind her head (water between two roads) corresponds quite well with the arrangement of the landscape in the present picture, as seen under X-Rays (Plate CCCXCVII); although the two fragments would have been widely separated on the original picture, this offers some confirmation that the association is correct. The landscape of the *S. Catherine* (?), when considered in conjunction with the landscapes of the present picture and of *S. Joseph*, seems to indicate that the original position of the head of *S. Catherine* (?) would have been considerably lower than the head of *S. Joseph*, perhaps nearly as low as the head of the Magdalen here. For a rough indication of what may have been her attitude, see Gerard David's picture in Vol. I of the present publication (*Corpus* No. 43), No. 1432 of the National Gallery ; but there may have been great differences. No evidence is known if there was a standing saint slightly to the right of her head and body, to form a balance on the left of the original picture to the two figures of *S. Joseph* and the Magdalen on the right. The original arrangement of the picture is in large areas uncertain ; but it is clear that it was of considerable size. It may have shown the *Virgin* and *Child* in the centre. See the text illustration.



2. Colours

The Magdalen is in a green and golden underdress, and a green dress lined with grey fur ; blue sash. The cushion on which she is seated is red. The drapery on the left is dark red.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The marks on the book she holds include D and A.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known ; the first date at which it is known to be recorded is 1860 (see *Subsequent History*). The two fragments, heads of *S. Joseph* and *S. Catherine* (?), that are the subject of comment in section D, are first known to be recorded in 1907.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Acquired in 1860 as by Rogier van der Weyden the Younger (*National Gallery Catalogue* ² 268/9). The attribution was changed at the Gallery in 1889 to Later School of van der Weyden (?), with a note explaining that the painter often referred to as Campin was intended ; this seems to have been an original attribution by Sir F. W. Burton, the Director of the Gallery (*National Gallery Catalogue* ³ 490). Changed to School of Campin in the Catalogue of 1911 (⁴ 42); then to Rogier van der Weyden in 1925 (⁵ 362).

At the time when most critics considered Campin (the Master of Flémalle) to be distinct from Rogier van der Weyden, this picture was sometimes considered to be a borderline case between the two. For instance, *Tschudi* (¹ 103) at first ascribed it to Campin, then (² 34) to Rogier van der Weyden. More recently, among the critics who do not or did not when writing believe Campin to be identical with Rogier, this picture has been accepted as Rogier's by *Winkler* (⁶ 100/1); *Friedländer* (¹¹ 66/7 and 95, No. 12); *Hulin* (¹⁴ Col. 239); and *Beenken* (¹⁹ 31).

As for the two associated fragments, recorded in section D, *Friedländer* (¹¹ 103, No. 36) and *Hulin* (¹⁴ Col. 239) call them Rogier van der Weyden ; *Beenken* (¹⁹ 100) says they are probably by a pupil.

With regard to the date, the *Magdalen* is generally put rather early in Rogier's *œuvre* ; for instance, *Friedländer* (¹¹ 95, No. 12) dates it ca. 1440 ; *Hulin* (¹⁴ Col. 239) perhaps before 1440 ; *Schöne* (¹³ 60) between 1430 and 1440. As for the two associated fragments, *Friedländer* (¹¹ 103, No. 36) dates them ca. 1460 ; *Hulin* (¹⁴ Col. 239) ascribes them to the second half of the painter's career.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

Stated (*National Gallery, Director's Report for 1860*) to be from the collection of Mademoiselle Hoffman at Haarlem; by this no doubt is meant that of the Demoiselles Hoofman at Haarlem, which is said to have been in existence for nearly 200 years, most of it being sold to Nieuwenhuys in 1846 (*Cabinet de l'Amateur* ¹ 430/1). No confirmation of this provenance has been found.

In the Collection of Edmond Beaucousin at Paris.

1860 Purchased with the rest of the Beaucousin Collection, 1860 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ² 269).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

- 1860 "In the Magdalen, Roger Van der Weyde, the background is said to have been restored but Müндler says it does so well that it now requires nothing" (from a letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to R. N. Wornum, Keeper of the National Gallery, 3 February, 1860, in the National Gallery).
- 1927 Cleaning tests on the background are recorded as showing that the details seen under X-Rays either had only been sketched upon the panel, or had been almost completely erased. A photograph was taken at the National Gallery at the time of the tests. The background was replaced, except for a small piece of red drapery on the extreme left; this is the upper part of the red drapery (compare Plate CCCLXXXIX with Braun's photograph of 1885).
- 1952 For two cleaning tests in 1952, see in section D, above.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

No pictures are known exactly repeating either the Magdalen here, or the S. Joseph, whose body is included here, concealed by repaint.

A picture (*Madonna and Child with Saints in the Enclosed Garden*), assigned to the Studio of the Master of Flémalle (Campin), includes on the Virgin's right (spectator's left) S. Catherine seated reading on the ground and S. John the Baptist standing behind her, corresponding in a general way with the arrangement here; the picture is reproduced in *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection, Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 1945-1951*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1951, 168/9, No. 74, and in *Twenty-Five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation*, University of Arizona, Tucson, 1951, No. 15. Some other examples are known of two figures in a similar relation to each other.

The pose and type of the Magdalen here somewhat resemble those of a S. Barbara at Madrid (classed as "Campin"), the pendant to which is dated 1438 (reproduced by Friedländer¹¹ Plate LIX). Behind S. Barbara is a cupboard, which may be fairly similar to the overpainted cupboard in the present picture (Plate CCCIC); there is insufficient evidence at present for saying how closely the two compositions are related. In connection with the S. Barbara and the present picture, there should be mentioned: (a), a variant of the Merode Annunciation ("Campin") in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts at Brussels, reproduced in the *Catalogue* (¹⁷ Plate III); (b), a connected Annunciation, partly imitated from the S. Barbara itself, by the Master of Schöppingen in the Parish Church at Schöppingen, reproduced in the *Exhibition Catalogue* (²⁰ Plate 27).

A figure, perhaps rather more similar than the S. Barbara, but inverted, occurs on the right wing of the *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments* at Antwerp, assigned to Rogier van der Weyden; reproduced by Panofsky (¹⁸ 35 ff.), who claims that the date is ca. 1453/5.

A figure also somewhat similar occurs in the altarpiece of 1513 at Maria-ter-Heide (reproduced by Hymans²¹ 429). A drawing of 1519 or 1517 at Brunswick is stated by Winkler (² 100) to be related.

For figures of S. Joseph with a covered hand holding a stick, see reproductions in *Destrée* (¹⁰ 90); *Voll* (⁶ Plates 45/6); *Schöne* (¹⁵ Plates 3 and 87c). This receives some comment in section D.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

There seems to be no reason to doubt the current attribution to Rogier van der Weyden. In this volume, I refrain from discussing the Campin-Rogier problem, since I feel that it is

too large for the form of the book. Nevertheless, I wish to record that the present picture seems to me unlike the keyworks of the painter often called Campin, e.g., the *Merode Triptych*. It is clearly more like the *S. Barbara* at Madrid, also classed as Campin, but on this I have two comments to make; the two pictures, so far as can be seen at present, show numerous differences, and I feel some doubt if the *S. Barbara* is by the same hand as the *Merode Triptych*.

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J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 57 : GROUP WEYDEN (4)

CCCLXXXIX. Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading	B 124 349	1950
CCCXC. Detail : the Magdalen	B 124 350	1950

CCCXCI.	The Head, Hands and Book of the Magdalen (1 : 1)	B 124 351	1950
CCCXCII.	Detail of the Dress, lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 353	1950
CCCXCIII.	Detail of the lower right Corner, including the Jar (1 : 1)	B 124 352	1950
CCCXCIV.	The Background, left Centre, near the Top, with the Overpaint Removed in two Areas (1 : 1)	L 00557 C	1952
CCCXCV.	The Head of the Magdalen (M 2 X)	B 124 354	1950
CCCXCVI.	The Hands of the Magdalen (M 2 X)	B 102 765	1952
CCCXCVII.	X-Radiograph of the Background, left Centre, near the Top : Landscape and Buttress seen through a Window, Right Hand of S. Joseph Holding a Rosary, Drapery over his left Arm and Hand (1 : 1) (20 kV, 15 mA)	N. G.	18-III-1952
CCCXCVIII.	X-Radiograph of the Background, left Centre : Window-Seat, Rosary in S. Joseph's Right Hand, Stick held in his left Hand ; the Magdalen's Book in the lower Right Corner (1 : 1) (20 kV, 15 mA)	N. G.	18-III-1952
CCCXC.	X-Radiograph of the Background, Top Right ; Cupboard behind the Magdalen's Head (20 kV, 15 mA)	N. G.	18-III-1952
CD.	Heads of S. Catherine (?) and S. Joseph (Two Fragments from the same Altarpiece as the Magdalen Reading) : re-photographs		
CDI.	The Head of S. Joseph in Association with the Magdalen Reading (X-Radiograph of the Background) : re-photograph	L 360 C	1952
CDII.	The Head of S. Joseph in Association with the Magdalen Reading (Background with the Overpaint Removed in two Areas) : re-photograph	L 359 C	1952
CDIII.	The Reverse	B 124 355	1950

58

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 58 : GROUP WEYDEN (5), *THE EXHUMATION OF S. HUBERT*

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Rogier van der Weyden.

The Exhumation of S. Hubert.

No. 783 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS *
(3.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	89.5 (\pm 0.3) \times 80.9 (\pm 0.2) \times 0.6 cm. 35 5/16 \times 31 7/8 \times 1/4 ins.
	painted surface	88.9 (\pm 0.2) \times 80.9 (\pm 0.2) cm. 35 \times 31 7/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish with a fine craquelure, over remains of old, dirty varnish that falsifies the tone.

Paint Layer : The numerous restorations, of varying importance, have not greatly affected the significant parts of the picture.

Here may be recorded the restoration of the three joins of the constituent panels and of two splits; the overpainting of the four edges, of the dark parts of the architecture (Plate CDXVIII), of the grey steps in front of the altar, of all the left hand part of the green hanging in front of the altar, and of the arm of a man standing on the right (Plate CDXXVIII).

The normal strip of unpainted wood beyond the edge of the paint remains only at the bottom.

Changes in Composition : (*Group of figures on the left*). The head of the man second from the left in the top (diagonal) row is painted over another head, looking slightly downwards and about 1.5 cm. lower down. In the next (diagonal) row, the sleeve and hands of the man on the left were designed rather differently. The headdress of the woman next him has been changed several times. The man next her, on the right, is painted over another figure, with the eyes nearly 1 cm. lower. In front of this row is a man with a hand raised above a little boy's head; this hand continues beneath the head. The mitre of the prelate in the foreground has been changed in shape. Several of the figures in this area are painted, at least in part, on top of the screen and the pillars.

(*Group of figures on the right*). It seems that the priest to the right of the prelate was once intended to show his left hand, perhaps clasping a strap descending from his right shoulder, also an ornament (?). The sleeve of the left arm of this figure has been changed, so has the shoulder of the richly dressed man standing to the right of him. Some outlines of the priest's head have been changed slightly; the hair of the other man once came further down the neck. As with the other group, some of the figures are painted, at least in part, on top of the screen and the pillars.

Ground : White, of medium thickness. Frequent blister-laying has caused the surface to be uneven.

Support : Oak, four panels with grain vertical, reduced in thickness and cradled. Two cracks in the panel on the right. Slight deformation owing to the cradling.

* In December 1953, this picture had been cleaned and was about to be restored: the references to condition here printed are therefore incorrect in part. Among other things, the painted surface is now 87.9 (\pm 0.1) \times 80.6 (\pm 0.1) cm., 34 5/8 \times 31 3/4 ins.; the strip of unpainted wood is lacking only on the left. It is further clear that the eyes of the woman on the left (whose headdress has been changed several times) were originally about 1 cm. higher.

Marks on the Back : Nothing worth recording noted ; reproduction of the back on Plate CDXXXI.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

It is beyond reasonable doubt that this is the left section of a diptych ; see further in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

The scene is the apse of a gothic church, before the high altar. In the centre foreground, two acolytes support the body of a mitred ecclesiastic, who is partly lying in an open grave ; as will be explained presently, it is unreasonable to doubt that this is S. Hubert, who is being exhumed. Many persons are attending the ceremony. In the left foreground, a prelate is swinging a censer ; a little behind him is a king or emperor, whose robe and crown are ornamented with fleur-de-lys ; on the right is another prelate. These three figures, it will be explained presently, have a place in the story. The crowd of onlookers includes both clergy and civilians, men, women and children ; many of them are outside the choir itself, in the ambulatory.

The prelate swinging a censer has embroidered on his cope S. John the Evangelist holding a chalice (*Timmers* ²⁰ 942/4), a saint holding a knile and a book, who is presumably S. Bartholomew (*Timmers* ²⁰ 877), and other, unidentified figures ; his morse shows an unidentified standing figure. On the morse of the prelate on the right is what seems to be a figure of God or Christ enthroned, blessing, and supporting a book with His left hand. The stoles of the two acolytes supporting S. Hubert, as is fairly often the case in early Flemish pictures, are ornamented with a form of swastika ; comparable examples are cited by *Davies* (²⁸ 114).

The church in which the scene is set shows single columns supporting the arches of the apse ; one base is prominent on the right. The capitals are ornamented with two bands of foliage. On each capital, facing the main part of the church, is the statue of an apostle under a canopy ; of the ten seen or partly seen, S. Peter (holding a key) on the left and S. Paul (with a sword) on the right occupy the two central places of honour. To the left of S. Peter are S. Andrew with an X-cross (*Timmers* ²⁰ 864/5) and S. John the Evangelist with a chalice (*Timmers* ²⁰ 942/4) ; to the right of S. Paul is S. Bartholomew with a knife, apparently (*Timmers* ²⁰ 877). The lower parts of some columns of the blind triforium are visible ; it is indicated as being formed of a pair of coupled arches within the space of each arcade.

The choir is separated from the aisle by a wooden screen ; three chapels are seen radiating from the apse, each with three windows of two lights. None of the arches in the aisle or chapels has a capital ; the ribs of the vaulting of the central chapel are coloured. The stained glass of the central window of the central chapel shows S. Peter with a key on the right, and S. Paul with a sword and an open book on the left. In the central window of the chapel to the left, the stained glass shows the Virgin and Child ; in the central window of the chapel to the right, a crowned female saint with a club (?), above a naked man supporting an empty shield.

The high altar of the church, which is seen in the centre behind the body of S. Hubert, rests on two steps. Beyond each of its four corners is a metal column, surmounted by a statuette of an angel (face and hands natural colour) bearing a candlestick. These metal columns are connected with each other except at the back, and with two of the columns of the church,

by rods, possibly for curtains with which to enclose the altar. Examples of comparable arrangements, with the curtains, are shown in *The Mass of S. Giles* by the Master of S. Giles, No. 4681 of the National Gallery (cf. Sir W. Martin Conway, *The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures*, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXVI, Oxford, 1915, page 110), and at the altar in the aisle to the left of *The Seven Sacraments* at Antwerp, assigned to Rogier van der Weyden (reproduced, but on a small scale, by *Destrée*²² Vol. II, Plate 75).

The altar has on it a large golden reliquary, ornamented with figures in relief. The central compartment shows a saint enthroned, holding a horn in his right hand and with a crozier in his left; to the right of him, on the ground, is part of an animal, perhaps a dog (Plate CDXXIV). He is to be identified as S. Hubert (*Timmers*²⁰ 931/2); a dog does not appear to be an accepted emblem for S. Hubert, but presumably refers like the horn (which is) to his being the patron of huntsmen (cf. *Huyghebaert*³¹ 80, 95 ff.). On either side of S. Hubert are compartments with single figures of saints (none identified), three on the front, three on the roof, making twelve in all. The reliefs on the front are in cusped compartments, those on the roof in vesicas. The style of this reliquary, roughly indicated, is gothic.

Behind the reliquary, and partly hidden by it, is a retable of wood, painted in monochrome (perhaps not because such retables were painted in monochrome, but by a pictorial convention). It has a tall central compartment, in which under a four-arched canopy are seen Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and S. John, with the sun and moon behind the Cross. On each side are two sections, each showing a saint under a very flat-arched canopy with ogee-shaped front. Outer left: a female saint with sword and crown, presumably S. Catherine (*Timmers*²⁰ 950/1). Inner left: S. Peter holding a key. Inner right: a male saint with a pike (S. Matthew?; *Timmers*²⁰ 968). Outer right: S. Gudula with a palm, holding a lantern to which a small black devil is clinging (*Timmers*²⁰ 924/5; Plate CDXXIII). Her presence is explained by the provenance claimed for the picture, from S. Gudule in Brussels — see further in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. The frame of this retable is very plain, with simple decoration painted on it.

On top of the central compartment of the retable stands a tabernacle; it has a high canopy in the gothic style, under which is a statue of S. Peter holding a key and an open book. Its wings are divided into four compartments each; six of these are seen to be divided each into four tiers containing unidentified scenes painted in colours. Tabernacles of simpler but comparable form are now in the Louvre, formerly Cardon collection (reproduced by *Fierens-Gevaert*¹⁸ Vol. I, Plate VIII), and in the Musée Mayer van den Bergh at Antwerp (*Catalogue*, 1933, 35/6, No. 359, reproduced). Compare also the tabernacles and retables shown at the altar in the aisle to the left of *The Seven Sacraments* at Antwerp, assigned to Rogier van der Weyden (reproduced, but only on a small scale, by *Destrée*²² Vol. II, Plate 75) and in a Hispano-Flemish picture in the Prado at Madrid (*Catálogo*, 1949, 770, No. 2576 and *F. J. Sánchez Cantón, The Prado Museum, Pictures, Statues, Drawings & Jewels*, Madrid, Editorial Peninsular, 1949, Plate X). Comparable forms are found often in miniatures.

There are no inscriptions on the picture to identify the subject. It is clear from the position of S. Peter in the tabernacle above the retable, and repeatedly elsewhere, that the church is dedicated to S. Peter. It is also clear from the position of S. Hubert on the reliquary that the action has something to do with S. Hubert.

S. Hubert (*Coenen*²⁴ 209/10) was exhumed a first time in S. Pierre at Liège in 743: the dedication of the church is right, but the recorded circumstances do not accord with what

is seen on the picture. He was reinterred before the high altar of the church, which is the right location as well as the right dedication ; but it is doubtful if the two acolytes could be performing an inhumation, the attitudes of piety and surprise on the part of some spectators would seem overemphasized, and Carloman (who is recorded to have been present) should not be associated with the fleur-de-lys, as the king in the picture is. S. Hubert was reexhumed from before the high altar of the church in 825 ; it is difficult to doubt (if the painter was correctly advised) that that is the subject here represented. This second exhumation was performed under the direction of Walcandus, Bishop of Liège 810-836, who would be the prelate on the left. Louis le Débonnaire, Emperor and King of France, born 778, died 840, is recorded to have been present ; being King of France, he would naturally be represented with fleur-de-lys, as seen in the picture. Adelbald, Archbishop of Cologne 819-842, is recorded to have been present ; he may be identified with the prelate on the right. After this second exhumation, the body of S. Hubert was removed to S. Hubert des Ardennes.

The identification of the subject as the second exhumation of S. Hubert is acceptable (Coenen ²⁴ 209/10); but the evidence of Dubuisson-Aubenay (*Doc. 1*) needs some comment in this connection. It will be explained in the sub-section *Origin (Factual Evidence)* that Dubuisson-Aubenay is referring beyond any reasonable doubt to the present picture ; but his description is confused. At first he says doubtfully that the subject is S. Hubert ; then he says that it is the exhumation and translation of the body of S. Lambert, as marked (perhaps on the frame, or on a label then attached to the picture); then he says that Carloman was present. It appears necessary to believe that S. Lambert is a mistake. No account of his exhumation is known that suits the conditions of the picture ; it seems further most difficult to believe that S. Hubert would in this event have been represented on the reliquary on the altar, since it was the living S. Hubert himself who presided over the translation of the body of S. Lambert. As for Dubuisson-Aubenay's mention of Carloman, this would refer the picture to the first exhumation of S. Hubert presumably, and objection has already been made to it.

It should be added that the chapel in S. Gudule at Brussels, in which Dubuisson-Aubenay situates his picture, does seem to be the one dedicated to S. Hubert ; see further in the sub-section *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

Ricci (²³ 284/5) thinks that the picture includes portraits of famous XV Century people, the man by the altar opposite Louis le Débonnaire being Philip the Good, etc. The architecture of the church shown in the picture cannot be that of S. Pierre at Liège ; see Coenen (²⁴ 221 ff.).

For some *changes in composition* in the picture, and the painting out of the arm of a figure on the right, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

S. Hubert's chasuble is red with green lining ; he is supported on blue drapery. The cope of the prelate on the left is mauve and golden, with green lining. The king is in blue and gold. The cope of the prelate on the right is basically blue. The patterned coat of the man on the right is red and gold. The hanging before the altar is green ; the retable brown, with a red frame.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
(FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of this picture is not certainly known, and it seems that its history cannot be traced back beyond 1781 (see *Subsequent History*). But it would be most unreasonable to doubt that it is identical with a picture described by *Dubuisson-Aubenay* (*Doc. 1*) in S. Gudule at Brussels. For two difficulties about the subject as recorded by *Dubuisson-Aubenay*, see above, in the latter part of the description. *Halkin* (²² 53) dates *Dubuisson-Aubenay's* manuscript 1623/8; the present passage is perhaps from before the end of that period (see *Subsequent History*).

Granted the identity, it is very likely that the picture was originally painted for S. Gudule at Brussels. The already noted presence of S. Gudula, on the retable in the picture, offers some confirmation of this.

Dubuisson-Aubenay says that his picture was in the chapel of Notre Dame de Fleurs in S. Gudule. This seems clearly to be the chapel of S. Hubert; *Christijn* in 1677 (¹ 110) noted there an image of *Onse Lieve Vrouwe in de Rooskens*, which is presumably what *Dubuisson-Aubenay* was referring to. The location of the chapel of S. Hubert in the church corresponds sufficiently with the not quite precise indications of *Dubuisson-Aubenay*; it was actually not the first but the second chapel from the west in the north aisle (*Velge* ²⁰ 202). The chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels was founded in 1137 (*Doc. 2*; see also *Doc. 3*).

The present picture (if the identification is accepted) formed in *Dubuisson-Aubenay's* time the left section of a diptych. *Dubuisson-Aubenay's* right section (*Doc. 1*) is reasonably identifiable as *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, in the Pannwitz Collection (reproduced on Plate CDXXXIX and by *Friedländer* ¹⁸ Plate XVI). See further in section F.

The evidence of *Dubuisson-Aubenay* makes it highly likely that the two pictures from the beginning formed a diptych; the centralized perspective of both makes it most unlikely that they are the shutters of a larger altarpiece.

Before *Dubuisson-Aubenay's* text was known, suggestions concerning churches for which the picture might have been painted had been made by *Ricci* (²³) and *Coenen* (²⁴).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

The drawing after the present picture, mentioned in section F, and reproduced on Plate CDXXX, is inscribed *Quintyn Messis*. *Dubuisson-Aubenay*, ca. 1623 or soon after, mentions what is clearly this picture, and a pendant, as ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden (*Doc. 1*). What is certainly the present picture was called van Eyck in *Lysons* (² Vol. 1, 433 (cf. also *Raspe*; *Doc. 7*), and at the Bessborough Sale of 1801, the Beckford Sales of 1822 and 1823, and the Harman Sale of 1847 (see *Subsequent History*). It was ascribed to Justus van Ghent by *Passavant*, followed by *Waagen* (³ 236 and ⁵ Vol. II, 263/4); this and some other pictures were transferred from Justus van Ghent to Dierick van Haarlem by *Waagen* (¹⁰ Part I, 101) and this picture entered the National Gallery as ascribed to Dieric Bouts (*Catalogue* ¹¹ 44/5). The attribution was changed at the Gallery to Flemish School in 1889 (*Catalogue* ¹² 147).

Recent criticism has associated it more or less closely with Rogier van der Weyden. It has been grouped with several other works (the selection sometimes varies) as by a follower of

Rogier, sometimes referred to as the Master of the Exhumation of S. Hubert or the Master of the Edelheer Altarpiece ; e.g., by *Friedländer* (¹⁴ 72) ; *Winkler* (¹⁷ 124/6 and ¹⁹ 370) ; *Conway* (²⁰ 29) ; *Ricci* (²¹ 283 ff.) ; *Schöne* (²² 63) ; *Beenken* (²³ 99, with a claim that the pendant is by another hand). Both *Friedländer* (¹⁸ 97, No. 18) and *Winkler* (²¹ 472, 475) have more recently called it Rogier van der Weyden himself ; so has *Hulin* (²⁵ Col. 234) (*Hulin* earlier had said under the double influence of Rogier and Campin, especially the latter : ¹³ XXXVII). *Davies* (²⁶ 114) did not accept the attribution to Rogier, saying probably by an independent follower rather than a studio assistant ; see further in section G.

It has been suggested that the painter is identical with a miniaturist referred to as the Master of Girart de Roussillon ; see under this name in *Thieme-Becker's Lexikon*, Vol. XXXVII, 1950, 119 (and 97) for the references.

As for opinions on the date, it has been shown in the subsection *Origin (Factual Evidence)* that the picture was almost certainly painted for the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels ; that chapel was founded in 1437 (*Doc. 2* ; see also *Doc. 3*). This gives a clue for the date of the picture, a clue not known until recently. Some of the writers referred to in the previous paragraphs suggest a date as well as an attribution ; *Davies* (²⁶ 114) doubtfully suggested ca. 1440 from the costume.

2. Subsequent History

Records of Ownership

- ca. 1623
soon after
- What is beyond any reasonable doubt the present picture, with a pendant equally clearly the picture in the Pannwitz Collection (see section F), is recorded by Dubuisson-Aubenay in the chapel of Notre Dame de Fleurs in S. Gudule at Brussels ; the chapel is identifiable as the one dedicated to S. Hubert. See *Doc. 1*, and the discussion in the sub-section *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. *Halkin* (²⁷ 53) dates Dubuisson-Aubenay's manuscript 1623/8 ; but it may be that the present passage dates from before the end of that period, since
- ca. 1627
- a different picture seems to have been placed in the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels ca. 1627 (*Doc. 4*). Alternatively, it might be claimed that the top section of the altarpiece shown in this document (see text-illustration accompanying *Doc. 4*) contained Dubuisson-Aubenay's diptych ; but the subject is not mentioned, and the claim seems doubtful. The sale of Dubuisson-Aubenay's diptych is perhaps recorded in *Doc. 5*, date not given. No record of its continued existence seems to be known, the passages quoted in *Doc. 6* being too vague for identification. Apart from Dubuisson-Aubenay (as explained above), no record is known of the National Gallery and Pannwitz pictures being together, although both (at different dates) are recorded to have been in the collection of the Earl of Bessborough.
- 1781
- It seems that already in 1781 the National Gallery picture was in the collection at Roehampton of the 2nd. Earl of Bessborough (1704 - 1793) ; see *Doc. 7*.
- 1792
- What is certainly the National Gallery picture is recorded in this collection at Roehampton by *Lysons* (²⁸ Vol. I, 433). The descriptions of the picture here and in all references until it entered the Eastlake Collection are slight ; but records of the provenance going back to Lord Bessborough are often given, and the identity is certain.
- 1801
- Sale in London of the late (i.e., the 2nd.) Earl of Bessborough's Collection, 7 February, 1801 (lot 73), bought by Foxall (for William Beckford ; see *Doc. 8*).
- 1812
- Recorded in the Collection of William Beckford at Fonthill ; *Storer* (²⁹ 11 ; reprint of the text in *Melville* ³⁰ 360). See also *Rutter* (³¹ 49).

- 1822 Catalogued for sale at Fonthill, 7th. day, 15th. (misprinted 16th.) October, 1822, lot 80 ; this auction sale did not take place. Fonthill was sold privately to John Farquhar, and the contents (not all Beckford's) were
- 1823 auctioned at Fonthill in 1823. See further *Melville* (¹ 314 ff.). The present picture was put up on 10 October, 1823, lot 80, bought by Bentley.
- 1847 Collection of Edward Harman, Enfield ; Sale, London, 28 May, 1847, lot 397, bought by Smith.
- 1850 In the Collection of Sir Charles Eastlake, London, by 1850 ; *Mrs. Jameson* (⁶ 432). See also *Waagen* (⁷ 236, and ⁸ Vol. II, 263/4) with identifying description. Sir Charles Eastlake died in 1865.
- 1868 Purchased from his widow, Lady Eastlake, 1868 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ¹¹ 45).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A drawing after the picture, formerly in the Weigel and Koenigs Collections, is now at Rotterdam : *Aehrenlese* (⁹ Part I, 93, No. 611) as Q. Messis (which is the name inscribed on the drawing), no identification of the subject ; reproduced by Weigel (⁹ Plate XXXI) and here on Plate CDXXX.

It has been noted in the sub-section *Origin (Factual Evidence)* that what is clearly the present picture had in the time of Dubuisson-Aubenay (*Doc. 1*) a pendant, which is clearly identifiable as *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, in the Pannwitz Collection ; reproduced on Plate CDXXIX, and by *Friedländer* (¹⁰ Plate XVI). The Pannwitz picture had already been associated with *The Exhumation of S. Hubert* before the text of Dubuisson-Aubenay was known, e.g., by *Waagen* (⁸ Vol. II, 263/4 and 421) ; what is possibly the first mention of it in print is in the catalogue of an Anon. Sale at Christie's, London, 2nd. Day, 7th. May, 1796, lot 34, *John Van Eyck, A vision of a pope, a very curious antique of the first painter, in oil colours*. For some further details of its provenance, see *Ricci* (¹² 288/9).

Some writers have seen a compositional connection between the present picture and *The Raising of Lazarus* at Berlin, No. 532 A, assigned to Aelbert van Ouwater.

For comparable examples of certain details in the picture (swastikas on a stole ; curtain-rods at the altar ; retable and tabernacle over the altar), see section D, above.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The quality perhaps varies in different parts of the picture ; I doubt if any part is quite good enough for Rogier van der Weyden himself. I think, as I thought in 1945, that it is probably by an independent follower. I am confirmed in this view by the picture of *The Marriage of the Virgin* in Antwerp Cathedral (*Destrée* ¹³ Vol. II, Plate 119), which I saw in good conditions in 1951 ; the Antwerp picture is inferior, I think, to the present one, but it seems to me probably by the same hand, a little further from Rogier and so probably a little later. Nevertheless, I do not exclude the possibility that the present picture was painted in Rogier's studio, but with only a small participation by the master himself.

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I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Document 1

"Item dans l'Eglise S^{te} Goudele Un petit tableau a deux tables — que L'on croit estre de St Hubert Evesque de liege. Longueur de 4 pieds — hauteur de 3. Est en la chapelle de N^{re} dame de fleurs au bas de L'eglise a main gauche En Entrant.

.....
 A Ste Goudele.....tout au — bas de la nef a main gauche le tableau dont est parlé cy dessus, est estimé de la main de ce roger dont est parlé p. 56. en L'histoire d'Erkenbaldus. Est divisé en — deux, au costé droit au regard de lautre La section contient La leuation — et translāon du corps de St Lambert (. Il est a demi cancelled) cōe porte La subscription : — Il est a demi leué du sarcueil en habit Epāl, p^{tres} et clergé alentour et Carloman tenant sa coronne de la main gauche, la teste nuë. Plus outre est une p^{spectiue} avec ballustres a trauers desquelles regarde un peuple infini. — a L'autre section du tableau qui est a la main droite a nostre regard est le pape sergius cōe porte la souscription a qui extasié L'ange apporte une crosse et mitre luy disant qu'il eust a en inuestir Hubert qui estoit un homme qu'il trouveroit ad limina d. petri. La se voyent quelques bastiments et apparences de Rome, un Cardinal et force Gents qui vont et viennent."

From the manuscript of the *Itinerarium Belgicum* by Dubuisson-Aubenay ; published by Léon Halkin (³⁰). *L'itinéraire de Belgique de Dubuisson-Aubenay*, in the *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. XVI, 1946, p. 60 ; text corrected from a photograph of the original manuscript, kindly sent by Mme. Maquet-Tombu. Halkin (³⁰ 53) dates the manuscript 1623/8 ; but see the comment at the beginning of the subsection *Subsequent History*.

Document 2

(For the date of the Chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels)

"Casus

"Les ancêtres de la famille de Vrintschap possedoient en l'an 1390, la moitié d'une grosse dixme allodiale a Eijseringhe sous Lennich Saint-Quentin en Brabant.

"L'an 1432 Jean Vrintschap obtint de Rome, la permission de fonder la chapelle Saint-Hubert dans l'église collegiale Sainte-Gudulle, laquel il fonda l'an 1437, ensuite assigna ladite moitié de dixme pour achever de la doter en 1502, a charge de lire trois messes par semaines

.....
 Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques*, No. 788. Document not dated, not earlier than 1681. This and documents 3, 4 and 5 have been kindly pointed out by Canon Pl. Lefèvre, O. Praem., and transcribed by Mlle. Briegleb.

Document 3

(For the date of the Chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels)

"Universis et singulis presentes litteras visuris et lecturis Guilielmus de Busleden utriusque juris licentiatus dictus de Thiersch et Johannes de Dongelberge Scabini Bruxellenses notum

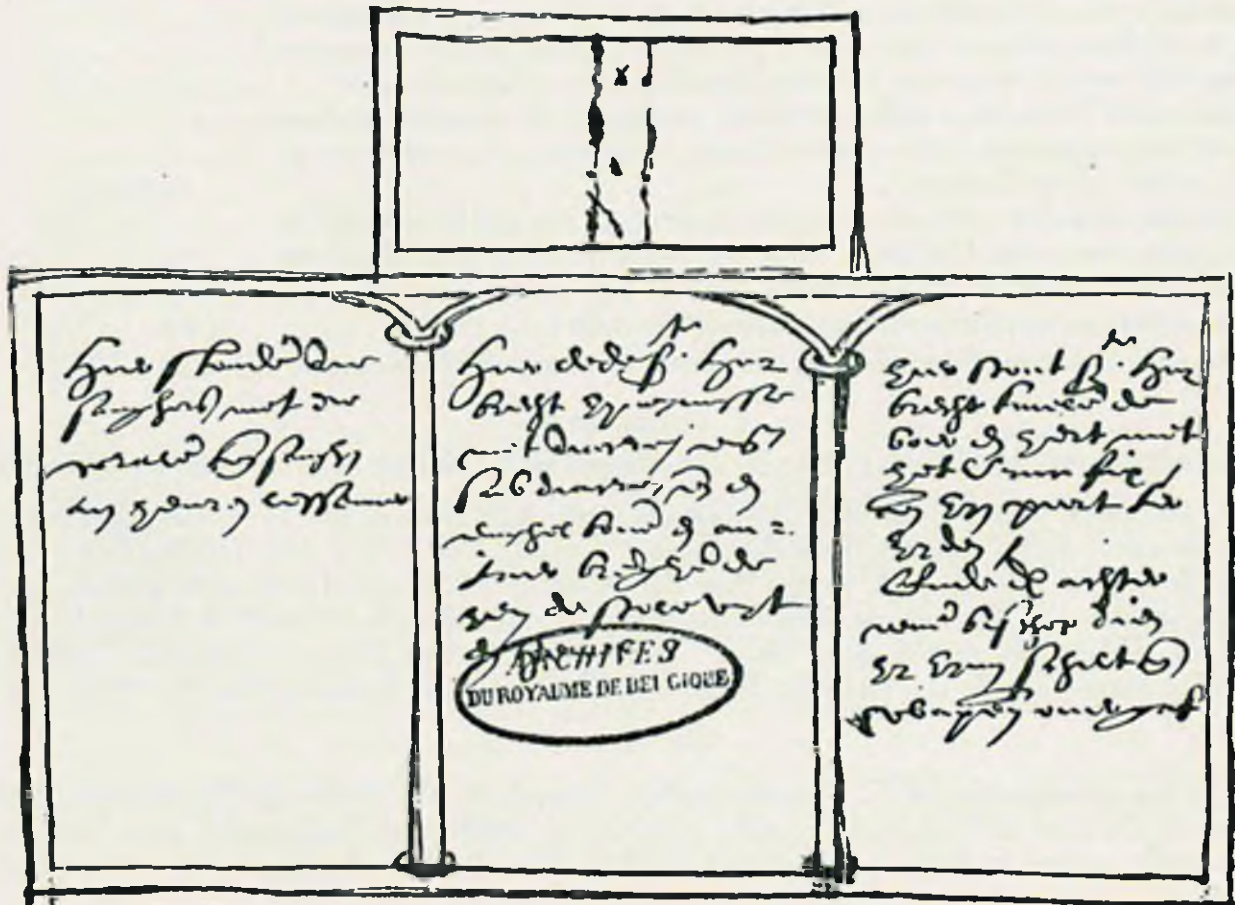
facimus ac harum serie attestamur nos hodierna die vigesima octava mensis novembris anni domini millesimi quingentesimi sexagesimi sexti vidisse et examinasse prothocollum seu registrum contractuum coram Scabinis Bruxellensibus nostris precessoribus recognitorum citra festum Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo septimo usque ad festum Nativitatis ejusdem beati Johannis anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo octavo sub quondam Waltero de Bulct tum temporis predicti oppidi stretario in quo quidem prothocollo invenimus contractum quendam diei vigesimi tertii mensis octobris anni millesimi quadringentesimi trigesimi septimi non cancellatum non abrasum nec in aliqua ejus parte viciatum verum sanum et integrum tenorem qui sequitur in se continentem, item Johannes dictus Coels filius quondam Henrici dicti Coels promisit dare annuatim et hereditarie Bartholomeo de Vucht clerico recipienti et acceptanti nomine et ad opus cappellanie Beati Huberti in ecclesia Beate Gudule Bruxellensis per dictum Johannem Coels fundande...". etc. Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, Carton 317, No. 1617. Document of 1566. Abbreviations expanded.

Document 4

(An altarpiece other than the present picture in the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels)

"Het binnenwerck van Sint Huybrechts autaeer, ende is geconfereert (?) geweest met den autaeer van Sint Huybrecht in Sinter Claes kerke in de stadt van Berghen Henegou, wesende al een werck, (one word, illegible) als niet verschildende".

On the other side of the paper, this drawing :



The inscriptions in the three main compartments are :

"Hier stonden die sanghers met die coralen ende songhen an heuren lessenaer".

"Hier dede sint Huybrecht zyne messe met diacre, ende subdiacre, ende den enghel boven den autaeer brenghende hem de stole uyt den Hemel".

"Hier stont sint Huybrecht knielende voer den hert met het Crucifix ende zyn peert ter zyden. Ende daer achter eenen bischop dien hy zynen schilt ende wapenen overgaf".

Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques*, No. 788. Abbreviations expanded. Datable ca. 1627 (information from Canon Lefèvre). The paper is inscribed *chapelle St hubert*, and from its collocation certainly refers to the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels.

Document 5

(Sale, possibly including the present picture, on behalf of the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels)

"Anderen ontfangh bevonden in sijn sterfhuys, van gelt, en andersints raeckende de Capelle van den Heijligen Hubertus etc.

Ten eersten bevonden in een clyn sackxen de somme van seven en seventigh guld : drij st en halve met een briefken waer op met syn eijgen handt geschreven stont, dese penningen behooren toe de Capelle van den Heijligen Hubertus in Sinte-Gudula kercke, dus hier

77- 3 - 2

Jtem alnoch bevonden eenen clynen autaeer met een schilderij als toebehoorende de voors'. Capelle, de welcke vecoght is in sijn roep voor de somme van achthien guldens, dus voor de ontcosten gedaen, in het vercoopen van den voors'. autaeer en schilderij betaelt eenen gulden dus rest

17- 0 —

Jtem noch bevonden twelf quittantien raeckende de oncosten gedaen van eenen nieuwen autaeer, vermarberen, schilderen als andersints in de voors'. Capelle dus

memorie

Soo dat alles het gene bevonden is geweest in syn sterfhuys, dat de Capelrye van den Heijligen Hubertus soude raecken, sijn dese drij hier boven vermelde posten, dus in contant gelt en int vercoopen van den voors'. autaeer bevonden en gemaect saemen

94- 3 - 2".

Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques*, No. 788. No date.

Document 6

(Apparently unidentifiable picture in the chapel of S. Hubert in S. Gudule at Brussels)

"La deuxième Chapelle de cette Aile est consacrée à St Hubert, que le Tableau de l'Autel représente." *J. A. Rombaut, Bruxelles Illustrée*, Brussels, Vol. I, 1777, 378. (*Halkin*²⁸ 61 gives a reference to Vol. II, 342, saying that the National Gallery and Pannwitz pictures are there mentioned ; this has not been confirmed). "Sur l'autel de la Chapelle de Saint Hubert, est un tableau qui représente ce Saint." *Théodore Augustin Mann, Abrégé de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Civile et Naturelle de la Ville de Bruxelles*, Brussels, Part II, 1785, 189.

Document 7

"...if the consecration of S. Thomas Becket, formerly in the Duke of Devonshire's, but now in the Earl of Besborough's noble collection of paintings at Roehampton near London, be really proved to have been painted by *John Van Eyck* in the year 1422, as a great

connoisseur has told us*, it must be allowed that this master was a man of uncommon abilities for the age and the country he lived in. It is painted in oil, if not in varnish. The colours, which are applied on a white chalk-ground on boards, are as fresh and as clear as if they had been laid on but yesterday. The pencil is exceedingly delicate, and the whole is finished with that care, which would do credit to the best masters of the Dutch or Flemish School. There is an uncommon degree of truth and nature in the perspective of the architectural parts of the Cathedral of Canterbury, where Thomas Becket's remains were deposited, in the draperies and folds, and especially in the heads, which seem to be well drawn portraits from the life; and if there is any thing in it, which betrays the Gothic stile, as certainly there is, in the want of Chiaroscuro, aerial perspective, degradation of colours and spirit, or in a certain stiffness in the draperies and dryness of the figures, it must be allowed to be less than in several other pictures, which are ascribed to him, and no more than what will appear even in the very best works of *Holbein* and *Albert Durer*. I have examined and admired this picture as often as I have had an opportunity of seeing it; and I am of opinion that, if it should be the work of an old English master, which perhaps might be the case, as it represents a national scene drawn with so much nature and truth, it does the greatest honour to him and to the age in which it was executed; and that on the contrary, if it should be fairly proved to be *Van Eyck's*, which indeed is yet not very plain to me, it is to be looked upon as one of the best monuments of his art and ingenuity.

* *Walpole's Anecdotes, Vol. I*".

From *R. E. Raspe, A Critical Essay on Oil-Painting, etc.*, London, 1781, 64/5.

It might be thought that Raspe in this passage is referring to the same picture as Walpole, whom he cites; but this appears unlikely. Walpole ("a picture in the duke of Devonshire's collection, painted by John van Eyck in 1422, and representing the consecration of St. Thomas Becket") is beyond doubt referring to a picture in the Duke of Devonshire's collection, which is inscribed with the name of Jan van Eyck and the date 1421. For this picture see *Vertue's Note-Books, Vol. V*, published by *The Walpole Society, Vol. XXVI, 1938, 23*; *J. D. Passavant, Kunstreise durch England und Belgien, Frankfurt, 1833, 72*; *G. F. Waagen, Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris, Vol. II, 1838, 435 f.*; *Alfred Marks, The Picture at Chatsworth ascribed to John van Eyck, in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. X, March, 1907, 383/4*; *W. H. J. Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, The van Eycks and their Art, 1912, 235 ff.*; and the *Memorial Catalogue of the Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, at the Royal Academy, London, 1927, 56, No. 129 and Plate LIX*. This picture was acquired by the Duke of Devonshire in 1722 (*London and its Environs Described, Vol. II, 1761, 231/2*, where it is recorded at Devonshire House). If Raspe is referring to it, it would have left the Devonshire Collection after ca. 1761 for the Bessborough Collection, and returned from there after ca. 1781 to the Devonshire Collection; but there appears to be no record that this happened. On the other hand, the National Gallery picture is known to have belonged to the Earl of Bessborough (see *Subsequent History* above), and it seems probable that Raspe confused it with the Devonshire picture, mentioned but not described by Walpole. It should be added that Raspe, who was not English, may have misunderstood the meaning of the word *consecration*; that he is unlikely to have been unable to find van Eyck's name and the date, for which clearly he was looking, on the Devonshire picture; that his inadequate description perhaps fits the National Gallery picture better than the Devonshire one; and that at a later period the National Gallery picture is alleged to have been called at some time "the burial of St. Thomas à Becket" (*Jameson* "432").

Document 8

A propos of the Bessborough Sale of 1801, "the curious picture of the interment of a cardinal, by John ab Eyck, bought for William Beckford Esq." From *Daniel Lysons, Supplement to the First Edition of The Environs of London*, 1811, 64. A similar note appears in the author's *Environs of London*, 2nd. edition, Vol. I, Part I, 1811, 318.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 58 : GROUP WEYDEN (5)

CDIV. The Exhumation of S. Hubert	B 124 517	1950
CDV. Group of Figures on the Left	B 124 519	1950
CDVI. Group of Figures on the Right	B 124 518	1950
CDVII. Heads of S. Hubert and the two Supporting Acolytes (1 : 1)	B 139 150	1952
CDVIII. The Body of S. Hubert and a Censer (1 : 1)	B 139 151	1952
CDIX. Half-length of Louis le Débonnaire (?), and Background Figures (1 : 1)	B 124 532	1950
CDX. Group of Figures to the Left of Louis le Débonnaire (?) (1 : 1)	B 124 533	1950
CDXI. Half-length of Adelbald, Archbishop of Cologne (?), and Figures on his Left (1 : 1)	B 139 152	1952
CDXII. Group of Figures on the Extreme Right, half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 529	1950
CDXIII. Half-length of Walcandus, Bishop of Liège (?) (1 : 1)	B 124 531	1950
CDXIV. Lower right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 530	1950
CDXV. Detail of the Architecture to the Left	B 124 521	1950
CDXVI. Detail of the Architecture to the Right	B 124 520	1950
CDXVII. Four Statues of Apostles on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 525	1950
CDXVIII. Two Statues of Apostles in the Centre (1 : 1)	B 124 524	1950
CDXIX. Four Statues of Apostles on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 526	1950
CDXX. Two Statuettes of Angels Bearing Candlesticks, on the left (1 : 1)	B 124 535	1950
CDXXI. Two Statuettes of Angels Bearing Candlesticks, on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 534	1950
CDXXII. Tabernacle with a Statue of S. Peter above the Altar (1 : 1)	B 124 522	1950
CDXXIII. Reliquary of S. Hubert, and Painted Retable (1 : 1)	B 124 523	1950
CDXXIV. Detail of the Reliquary, showing the Figure of S. Hubert (M 2 ×)	B 124 539	1950
CDXXV. Heads of an Acolyte and a Child behind Walcandus (?) (M 2 ×)	B 124 537	1950
CDXXVI. Head of S. Hubert (M 2 ×)	B 124 538	1950
CDXXVII. Heads of Adelbald (?) and the Figure next him (M 2 ×)	B 124 536	1950
CDXXVIII. Left Arm of a Man Standing in the Right Foreground (1 : 1, infra-red)	N. G. 17-XI-1950	
CDXXIX. "The Exhumation of S. Hubert" in Association with "The Dream of Pope Sergius" : reconstruction according to to the description of Dubuisson-Aubenay	B 124 517	1950 N. G.

CDXXX. Comparative Material : Drawing after "The
Exhumation of S. Hubert", at Rotterdam

Mus. Boymans, R'dam

CDXXXI. The Reverse

B 124 540 1950

59

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 59 : GROUP WEYDEN (6), CHRIST APPEARING TO THE VIRGIN

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Rogier van der Weyden.

Christ appearing to the Virgin (Right Wing of a Triptych ?).

No. 1086 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions : painted surface 123.6 (\pm 0.2) \times 70.5 (\pm 0.5) cm.
48 5/8 \times 27 3/4 ins.

Protective Layer : A layer of varnish of normal thickness, over remains of old varnish forming dirty areas.

Paint Layer : Bad condition, except the two landscapes.

Among numerous restorations, the most important may be recorded. Restoration of a join of the original support traversing Christ's body, for the whole height of the picture. Restoration on the four edges.

Very numerous overpaintings, in particular on the Virgin's cheeks, on the folds of her white veil, on a large part of her mantle. Overpainting in glaze on Christ's robe, and on His face (Plate CDXXXVII).

Transference has completely flattened the impasto of the paint.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.

Ground : Nearly white, of medium thickness.

It would be difficult to affirm that the edges are the original ones.

Support : The original support was wood, composed of three panels with grain vertical ; it was cracked towards the right from the lower edge as far as the book on the Virgin's knees. The picture has been transferred to canvas. This canvas is lined with two other, thicker canvases, which have been fixed on a stretcher with cross-pieces.

Marks on the Back: Nothing worth recording noted; reproduction of the back on Plate CDXXXIX.

Frame: Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

Possibly the right wing of a triptych. The scene is a bedroom. Christ after the Resurrection appears, showing His Wounds, to the Virgin Mary, who is seated and looks up from a book. This event is not recorded in the Gospels; but it is included in some apocryphal writings (cf. *James*¹⁰ 183/4) and in the ancient tradition of the Church (cf. *Jameson*² 299 ff. and *Guérin*⁴ Vol. XVI, 109 f.).

Through the open door in the background are seen in a wide landscape an angel seated on the Tomb and two sleeping soldiers; through a window on the right are seen three Holy Women on their way to the Tomb (*Mark*, XVI, 1-5).

The bed, which is against the right-hand wall, is very simple, like a settle, and without a tester. The whole of the front wall of the room is missing, so that the interior can be seen. The room is raised from the ground on a low wall, in which is a grating, presumably lighting a cellar beneath the room.

2. Colours

Christ is in red, the Virgin in blue. Bed coverlet red.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Some marks are on the Virgin's book.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known; first known to be recorded in 1835 (see *Subsequent History*). It may have been the right wing of a triptych.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

It was called *Scoorels* in 1855, at the sale of Karl Aders (*Catalogue*¹ 11 of typescript copy). It entered the National Gallery as *Early Flemish School* (*Catalogue*² 346); this was changed to *School of Campin* in 1911 (*Catalogue*³ 42). The picture had been claimed to be a copy from Campin (Master of Flémalle) by *Hymans* (⁶ 97); it was ascribed to the master himself by *Durand-Gréville* (⁶ 63/4); *Conway* (⁸ 135 and 517) says that *Winkler* called it by a follower of Campin, but *Conway* himself ascribed it to the *School of Rogier van der Weyden*. As *Follower of Rogier van der Weyden* in *Davies* (¹² 115/6). *Davies* (¹² 115) doubtfully suggests a date in the 3rd. quarter of the XV century.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

In the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London.

1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 74), bought by Charles (*Catalogue*¹ 11

of typescript copy). Title and size given, but no description ; the provenance from Aders is noted in a MS. catalogue of the Green Collection, post - 1863, in the National Gallery Library.

- 1839 Probably (Henry Crabb Robinson) Sale, London, 26 April, 1839 (lot 47), bought by Lemmé (probably L. Lemmé, a brother-in-law of J. H. Green).
Passed (with many other Aders pictures) into the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley ; he died in 1863.
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph Henry Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ³ 346).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

- 1880;2 Old restorations removed ; repaired.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The composition seems to be derived from the picture of the subject, accepted as by Rogier van der Weyden, in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (*Wehle and Salinger* ¹⁴ 30 ff., with reproduction ; *Friedländer* ⁹ Plate I). It is more similar to two other pictures, which are closely allied in composition to each other : (a), at Washington (Mellon Gift ; ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden ; *Washington Catalogue* ¹² 214, No. 45 ; reproduced in the *Mellon Illustrations* ¹⁵ Plate 54 ; *Friedländer* ⁹ 105, No. 41) ; (b), in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, assigned to the Master of the S. Ursula Legend (*Wehle and Salinger* ¹⁴ 76 f., with reproduction ; *Friedländer* ¹¹ Plate LII).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This seems to me an inferior work ; I think that the following of Rogier van de Weyden is a reasonable classification.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1835 ¹ : *A Catalogue of the Very Rare Collection of Italian, Ancient German, Dutch and Flemish Pictures, the Property of Charles Aders Esq.* Auction Sale by E. Foster and Son, London, 1 August, 1835 (typescript copy in the National Gallery Library).
- 1879 ² : MRS. JAMESON. *Legends of the Madonna*, 6th. edition, London, 1879.
- 1881 ³ : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1881.
- 1882 ⁴ : MGR. PAUL GUÉRIN. *Les Petits Bollandistes*, 7th. edition, Vol. XVI, Paris, 1882.
- 1902 ⁵ : HENRI HYMANS. *L'Exposition des Primitifs Flamands à Bruges*, 1st. article, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd. Period, Vol. XXVIII, Paris, August, 1902.
- 1908 ⁶ : E. DURAND-GRÉVILLE. *Notes sur les Primitifs Néerlandais de la National Gallery*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd period, Vol. XXXIX, Paris, January, 1908. 59-72.
- 1911 ⁷ : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1921 ⁸ : SIR MARTIN CONWAY. *The van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.
- 1924 ⁹ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, Rogier van der Weyden, *Der Meister von Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924.
- 1926 ¹⁰ : MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, London, 1924 (new impression, 1926).
- 1928 ¹¹ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, Memling und Gerard David, Berlin, 1928.

- 1941 ¹² : *National Gallery of Art, Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture*, Washington, 1941.
 1945 ¹³ : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
 1947 ¹⁴ : HARRY B. WEHLE and MARGARETTA SALINGER. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947.
 1949 ¹⁵ : *Paintings and Sculpture from the Mellon Collection (Illustrations)*, Washington, 1949.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 59 : GROUP WEYDEN (6)

CDXXXII. Christ appearing to the Virgin	B 124 427	1950
CDXXXIII. Detail : Christ and the Virgin	B 124 428	1950
CDXXXIV. Landscapes Seen through the Door and through a Window (1 : 1)	} B 124 431	1950
CDXXXV. Christ, at half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 429	1950
CDXXXVI. The Virgin, at half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 430	1950
CDXXXVII. Head of Christ (M 2 ×)	B 124 433	1950
CDXXXVIII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 434	1950
CDXXXIX. The Reverse	B 124 435	1950

60

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 60 : GROUP WEYDEN (7), PORTRAIT OF A LADY :
REVERSE, CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Rogier van der Weyden.

Portrait of a Lady.

No. 1433 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(7.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions :	panel	38.5 (± 0.1) × 29.0 (± 0.1) cm.
		15 1/8 × 11 3/8 ins.
	original painted surface	36.5 × 27 cm.
		14 3/8 × 10 5/8 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, rather thin and worn.

Paint Layer : In spite of a general wearing (particularly in the region of the ear), the condition of the paint is very pure.

Restoration in the lower hand.

General overpainting of the green background, covering the edges of the panel originally not painted. Extensive overpaintings on the dress. Light overpainting of the bluish shadow bordering the head on the right.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

Changes in Composition : Change of composition in the sitter's left shoulder, which has been widened ; also in her headdress, to the spectator's right.

Ground : Nearly white, of medium thickness ; adheres well.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, in good condition. The *Christ Crowned with Thorns* painted on the back is recorded in section D, *Subject* ; it is at present protected by a sheet of paper fixed with wax.

Marks on the Back : Nothing worth recording noted ; reproduction of the back on Plate CDXLIV.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The sitter is seen at nearly half-length, turned slightly to the left.

Reverse. The head of Christ crowned with thorns.

It is probable that the picture is complete as a simple portrait, and that it is not the wing of a diptych or triptych.

For *changes in composition*, see in section C above.

2. *Colours*

In a dress with brown sleeves and black collar ; red across the breast.

On the *reverse*, Christ is in a blue (or green ?) dress.

3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

None.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. *Origin*

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of this picture is not known ; first known to be recorded in 1876 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

The following references are to the obverse. Called Memling in 1876 (*Catalogue* ' 13), 1878 and 1881 (see *Subsequent History*). Acquired by the National Gallery as Flemish

School (*Catalogue* ³ 192); the attribution was changed to School of Rogier van der Weyden in 1920 (*Catalogue* ⁴ 319). The picture had already been ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden by *Friedländer* (¹ 7); see also *Friedländer* (¹ 102, No. 34). *Hulin* (¹⁰ XXXVI) made an attribution to Campin (Master of Flémalle), but later (¹⁰ Col. 241) accepted the picture as Rogier's. Accepted also by *Winkler* (¹¹ 472/3, 475). Ascribed to a follower or the workshop of Rogier by *Beenken* (¹² 74, 99).

Dated ca. 1460 by *Friedländer* (¹ 102) and *Hulin* (¹⁰ Col. 241); *Winkler* (¹¹ 472/3) calls it late work; *Beenken* (¹² Plate 123) as ca. 1455/60.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

- 1876 Sale of Mme. Bl (i.e., Blanc, belle mère de Alf. Stevens), Paris, 3 May, 1876 (lot 15), bought by de Beurnonville; *Catalogue* (¹ 13), reproduced (cutting in the Witt Library). It has wrongly been stated to come from the (Madame) Brooks Sale, Paris, (16/8 April) 1877 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ⁴ 364).
- 1878 Lent by the Baron Edmond de Beurnonville to the Exhibition *Tableaux Anciens et Modernes* at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Palais des Tuileries, Pavillon de Flore), Paris, August, 1878 (No. 178); *Catalogue* ² 32 (no description).
- 1881 Beurnonville Sale, Paris, 14/6 May, 1881 (lot 363), reproduced in the catalogue.
- 1895 Bequeathed by Mrs. Lyne Stephens, 1895 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ⁴ 192).

b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1895 Very slight injuries repaired.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A portrait, formerly at Wörlitz and now at Washington, has a general resemblance, without being precisely comparable (cf. *Holmes* ⁹ 122 ff., with reproductions of both pictures).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

One may feel a slight doubt if the quality of this portrait, good as it is, fully justifies an attribution to Rogier van der Weyden himself. Nevertheless, I incline to follow the views of most recent critics, and accept it as his.

The head of Christ on the reverse, although the execution is poor and hardly subject to discussion, is worth noting for the iconography and general arrangement, since it comes presumably from the studio of Rogier van der Weyden; numerous examples in the early Netherlandish school are associated with Dieric Bouts, etc., and may be compared with this.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1876 ¹: *Tableaux Anciens. Collection de Mme. Bl* (i.e. Blanc), Auction Sale, Paris, 3 May, 1876.
- 1878 ²: *Tableaux Anciens et Modernes exposés au profit du Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Première série*, Paris, August 1878.
- 1898 ³: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 78th. edition, London, 1898.
- 1899 ⁴: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Malerei, Niederländer und Deutsche*, in *Werk über die Renaissance-Ausstellung Berlin 1898*, Berlin, 1899.

- 1902 ^a : GEORGES H(ULIN) DE LOO. *Bruges 1902. Exposition de Tableaux Flamands... Catalogue Critique*, Ghent, 1902.
 1920 ^a : *National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures at Trafalgar Square*, London, 1920.
 1924 ^r : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle, Berlin, 1924.
 1925 ^a : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, London, 1925.
 1926 ^a : SIR CHARLES HOLMES. Portraits by Rogier van der Weyden, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLVIII, London, March, 1926. 122-128.
 1938 ¹⁰ : HULIN DE LOO. Entry for Rogier van der Weyden in the *Biographie Nationale... de Belgique*, Vol. XXVII, Brussels, 1938.
 1942 ¹¹ : F. WINKLER. Entry for Rogier van der Weyden in *Thieme-Becker's Dictionary*, Vol. XXXV, Leipzig, 1942.
 1945 ¹² : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
 1951 ¹³ : HERMANN BEENKEN. *Rogier van der Weyden*, Munich, 1951.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 60 : GROUP WEYDEN (7)

CDXL. Portrait of a Lady	B 124 208	1950
CDXLI. The Head of the Sitter (1 : 1)	B 124 209	1950
CDXLIIa. Portrait of a Lady, Colour Plate	N. G.	1953
CDXLII. The Face (M 2 X)	B 124 211	1950
CDXLIII. The Hands (1 : 1)	B 124 210	1950
CDXLIV. The Reverse : Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns	B 124 212	1950

MASTER OF 1500 : see MASTER OF THE BRUGES PASSION SCENES

61

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 61 : MASTER OF THE BRUGES PASSION SCENES (1), ECCE HOMO
 (LEFTHAND SHUTTER OF AN ALTARPIECE)

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes.
 Christ Presented to the People (Left Wing of an Altarpiece).
 No. 1087 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(4.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions :	panel	94.6 (\pm 0.1) \times 43.2 (\pm 0.1) \times 1.1 cm. 37 1/4 \times 17 \times 7/16 ins.
	painted surface	93.4 \times 41.3 cm. 36 3/4 \times 16 1/4 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, in good condition.

Paint Layer : Excellent general condition.

Apart from a very few local restorations, there should be noted light overpaintings of the shadows of the background, the overpainting of the deep shadows in Christ's mantle, and the strengthening of contours especially in Christ's garments.

A green pigment has been used for the modelling of some of the flesh.

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.

Ground : A thin white layer ; adheres well.

Support : Oak, two panels with grain vertical ; they are fixed together by two wooden pins, which have been exposed at the back when the panel was reduced in thickness. Very good condition.

Marks on the Back : Chalk marks of the 1835 and 1839 Sales, and a fragment of the 1857 Manchester Exhibition label (see *Subsequent History*, below). Reproduction of the back on Plate CDLIII.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. Subject

Christ, crowned with thorns, and wearing a grey robe, stands on some steps in the foreground ; behind Him is Pilate, holding a reed, and pointing out Christ to a crowd of people, some in Eastern dress (Jews) and some of them soldiers, on the right. In the background left centre is a Gothic loggia in two divisions ; within it, to the left is seen the Flagellation, to the right the Crowning with Thorns. (For the subject, see *John*, XIX, 1-5 ; also *Matthew*, XXVII, 26-30 and *Mark*, XV, 15-19). The architecture of the loggia is ornamented with statues under canopies, among which Moses bearing the Tables of the Law is identifiable ; higher up are two medallions, one representing Caesar. Background to the right, a view of a town. It seems clearly the left wing of a triptych.

2. Colours

Christ is in a grey robe ; the Crown of Thorns is green. Pilate is mostly in blue, sleeves orange, cap red and green. In the background scene of the Crowning with Thorns, Christ wears a blue robe.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

CE/ZAR is inscribed on the medallion representing him. Some marks here and there, especially on the dresses of the men in the right foreground, are sometimes unmeaning forms of letters.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
(FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of this picture is not known ; first known to be recorded in 1831 (see *Subsequent History*). It seems clearly the left wing of a triptych.

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Accepted by *Passavant* (¹ 97/8) as by Martin Schongauer. When the picture entered the National Gallery, this attribution was changed to Early German School (*Catalogue* ² 347/8); changed at the Gallery to Flemish School in 1925 (³ 110). Ascribed by *Friedländer* (⁴ 80 and ⁵ 20) to the same hand as the *Scenes from the Passion* in S. Sauveur at Bruges, under the name of Bruges Master of 1500 ; see also *Friedländer* (⁶ 94 and 152, No. 185). *Davies* (⁷ 65/6) accepts this, but raises objections to the form of the name, which he alters to Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes.

Davies (⁸ 66) dubiously suggested a date of ca. 1510. *Ludwig Baldass* (MS. in the National Gallery) thinks that is rather too late.

2. *Subsequent History*

Records of Ownership

- 1831 In the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London, 1831 (*Passavant*, publ. 1833, ¹ 97/8, with identifying description).
- 1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 104), bought by Charles.
- 1839 (Henry Crabb Robinson) Sale, London, 26 April, 1839 (lot 58), bought by Green. In the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley ;
- 1854 seen there shortly before 1854 by *Waagen* (² Vol. II, 459). Lent by J. H. Green to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (*Provisional Catalogue*, No. 442 ; *Definitive Catalogue*, No. 421). J. H. Green died in 1863.
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph H. Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ³ 347/8).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The figures of Christ and of Pilate correspond, except for slight variations, with those in an engraving of the same subject by Martin Schongauer (died 1491); reproduced by *Baum* (¹⁰ Fig. 35). The *Flagellation* and the *Crowning with Thorns* correspond, except for slight variations, with Memlinc's representations in his *Passion Scenes* at Turin (*Friedländer* ¹ Plate XXVI ; *Aru and Geradon* ¹¹ Plates XXIX and XXX, *Corpus* No. 18).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Friedländer's attribution seems reasonable ; although the painter depended much on the compositions of other men (as has been seen for this picture), his style appears to be distinctive.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1833 ¹ : J. D. PASSAVANT. *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfort, 1833.
- 1854 ² : G. F. WAAGEN. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, Vol. II, London, 1854.

- 1881 ^a : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1881.
- 1903 ^a : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Brügger Leihausstellung von 1902*, 1st article, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. XXVI, Berlin, 1903, 66-91.
- 1903 ^a : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Meisterwerke der Niederländischen Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903.
- 1925 ^a : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, London, 1925.
- 1928 ¹ : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
- 1931 ^a : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. IX, *Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier*, Berlin, 1931.
- 1945 ^a : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1948 ^{1a} : JULIUS BAUM. *Martin Schongauer*, Vienna, 1948.
- 1952 ¹¹ : C. ARU and ET. DE GERADON. *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin (Vol. II of the present Corpus)*, Antwerp, 1952.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 61 : MASTER OF THE BRUGES PASSION SCENES (1)			
CDXLV. Ecce Homo (Christ Presented to the People)	B 124	237	1950
CDXLVI. The Figure of Christ at half-length (1 : 1)	B 124	240	1950
CDXLVII. Heads of Jews and Soldiers, middle distance (1 : 1)	B 124	241	1950
CDXLVIII. Bust of the Jew in the Foreground (1 : 1)	B 124	242	1950
CDIL. Two Scenes in the Background : the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns (1 : 1)	B 124	239	1950
CDL. View of the Town, in the upper right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124	238	1950
CDLI. Detail of the Architecture on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124	244	1950
CDLII. Head of Christ (M 2 X)	B 124	243	1950
CDLIII. The Reverse	B 124	245	1950

MASTER OF FLEMALLE : *see* GROUP CAMPIN

62

A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 62 : MASTER OF THE VIEW OF SAINTE GUDULE (1).
 PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Master of the View of Sainte Gudule.

Portrait of a Young Man.

No. 2612 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS
(9.vii.1952)

Form : With rounded top.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	22.8 × 14.4 (± 0.1) × 0.9 cm. 9 × 5 5/8 × 3/8 ins.
	painted surface	22.8 × 14.0 cm. 9 × 5 1/2 ins.

Protective Layer : Varnish, in good condition.

Paint Layer : Good general condition. Some restorations of little importance. A stopping, leaving a slight depression in the surface, under the trees above the sitter's left shoulder. A raised restoration in the hair on the right, at the level of the mouth. Overpainting in the upper part of the sky, and on a part of the sitter's right hand.

Changes in Composition : Several changes of outline, e.g. in the lines of the jaw and of the hair on the left, and in the sitter's left shoulder. Changes on both sides of the cap, which was originally narrower and more pointed. Slight changes in the apse of the church. The infra-red photograph (Plate CDLVII) shows outlines of three or perhaps four extra figures near the church : so far as can be judged from the X-Ray photograph, the two women on the extreme left were originally allowed for by the painter, although with some variations, but the man near the sitter's right shoulder seems to have been added as an afterthought.

Ground : A very thin, white layer : adheres well.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, in good condition.

Marks on the Back : Six plain seals of red wax, a label concerning Louis XI (formerly supposed to be the sitter), etc. : reproduction of the back on Plate CDLVIII.

Frame : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The sitter is seen through an arched opening, on the ledge of which are an inkpot and a pen(?) -case. He is out of doors. He holds in both hands a heart-shaped prayer(?) -book ; he wears a fur(?) -lined and apparently sleeveless gown over a tight-fitting jerkin, etc., a shoulder-belt, and a hat ornamented with a gold button. The traditional identification of the sitter as King Louis XI of France, and other claims concerning the sitter, are recorded in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)* and discussed in section G.

In the background, the sitter has been claimed to be repeated as a small figure approaching a church (*van Bastelaer* ⁷ 17 ; but cf. the *changes in composition* noted in section C above). This church (*van Bastelaer* ⁷ 19) is Notre-Dame des Victoires au Sablon at Brussels, with the south transept prominent ; for a comparison of the details shown in the picture with the present state of the church, see, as well as *van Bastelaer, Maere* (¹¹ 204 ff., including a photograph of ca. 1886 of the portal); for the church itself, see *Thibaut de Maisières* (¹⁵ 26 ff.). The space behind the apse of the church has been claimed to be a cemetery, on the grounds

that the upright stone forming a stile (to the right of the sitter's head) was characteristic of some old Flemish cemeteries, and that, in fact, Notre-Dame du Sablon was associated with a cemetery (*van Bastelaer* ⁷ 18 f., 21). Beyond is a fountain at a cross-roads; an avenue leads up a hill, which *Maere* (¹¹ 204) claims must be the road made in 1470 at the command of Charles the Bold, linking Notre-Dame du Sablon with the Coudenberg. In the distance, the walls of a town, seen from the inside. One of the towers, much taller than the others and with a sharply pointed roof, has been claimed (*van Bastelaer* ⁷ 20) to be the Grosse-Tour, which was on the walls of Brussels (between the Porte de Namur and the Porte de Hal); if that is so, the painter has represented what was almost directly behind him when looking towards the south transept of Notre-Dame du Sablon (and the road leading to the Coudenberg).

Possibly, but not probably, the right wing of a diptych. For *changes in composition*, see in section C, above.

2. Colours

In dull purple dress with green cuff; brown jerkin; black overdress with white lining; blue shoulder-belt; dark purple cap.

3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Some marks on the book held by the sitter.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. Origin

a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known; the church in the background, described above, suggests that it was connected with Brussels. From the earliest known mention of the picture, in 1784 (see *Subsequent History*), the sitter was called King Louis XI of France, and the remains of an inscription to this effect can still be read on the frame; also on a label in French on the back (Plate CDLVIII). This identification was defended by *Beard* (¹² 275 f.), but is usually rejected (cf. *Davies* ¹⁰ 75/6). *Van Bastelaer* (⁷ 16 ff.) and *Van de Castyne* (¹³ 325 ff.) make claims concerning the sitter, which are discussed in Section G. Possibly, but not probably, the right wing of a diptych.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

At Strawberry Hill in 1784 (*Description* ¹ 47), no painter's name was given; in the Strawberry Hill Sale of 1842 the picture was ascribed to Quentin Massys, and this attribution was preserved at the sales of 1892 and 1907 (see *Subsequent History*). The picture entered the National Gallery as Burgundian School (*Catalogue* ⁴ 38); this was changed to French School in 1925 (⁶ 117). It was ascribed to the Master of the View of S. Gudule by *Friedländer* (⁸ 318/9); see also *Friedländer* (¹⁰ 142, No. 76).

Friedländer (¹⁰ 99, 112 ff.), without particularly suggesting a date for this picture, seems to imply that it is of ca. 1480 or soon after. *Davies* (¹⁰ 75) points out that an earlier date would probably follow from the assumption that the sitter is Louis XI (see the subsection *Origin (Factual Evidence)* above), and objects to this.

2. Subsequent History

Records of Ownership

- 1784 In the Collection of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill (with some description), in the Holbein Chamber (*Description* ' 47).
- 1842 Strawberry Hill Sale, 20th. Day, 17 May, 1842 (lot 71), still in the Holbein Chamber, with longer description.
Presumably in the Collection of Hollingworth Magniac at Colworth; he died ca. 1867, and the Collection passed to his son Charles, who died in 1891.
- 1892 Sale of the Collection chiefly formed by Hollingworth Magniac, London, 2 July, 1892 (lot 35), bought by Mainwaring, as from Strawberry Hill, with identifying description.
- 1907 Massey-Mainwaring Sale, London, 16 March, 1907 (lot 18), bought by Agnew.
Passed into the Collection of George Salting, London.
- 1910 George Salting Bequest, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 38).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A similar portrait of a different sitter, ascribed by *Friedländer* (¹⁰ 142, No. 72) to the same hand, was at Wörlitz, later at Dessau; exhibition at Brussels, *Cinq Siècles d'Art*, May-October, 1955 (No. 59), Collection privée; reproduced by *Friedländer* (' 320). There are a number of differences, including the absence there of a shoulder-belt, and a different background.

Part of the transept of Notre-Dame du Sablon, seen from much nearer than here and with very much less of the building showing, and a part of the same background on the right as here, occur in *The Marriage of the Virgin*, also assigned to the Master of the View of S. Gudule; reproduced by *Friedländer* (¹⁰ Plate LIX); exhibition at The Hague, Herwonnen Kunstbeziit, March-May, 1946 (No. 4). Certain differences may be observed, e.g. that the portal as seen in *The Marriage of the Virgin* shows a statue on the trumeau between the two doors. (*Friedländer* (¹⁰ 142, No. 78) says that the composition occurs frequently, and refers to a woodcarving; one painted version, stated to be a copy, is in the Cathedral of Barcelona, *Juan Ainaud, José Gudiol and F.-P. Verrié, Catálogo Monumental de España, La Ciudad de Barcelona*, 1947, Text, 78 and Plates, No. 492).

A heart-shaped book of hours was owned by Baron Henri de Rothschild, Paris (*Davies* ¹⁶ 76).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The attribution proposed by *Friedländer*, which I accepted with a mild reserve in 1945, seems defensible, at least in our present state of knowledge. I accept it as proved that Notre-Dame du Sablon at Brussels is shown in the background. With regard to the sitter, three suggestions have been made; but I am not convinced by any of them.

(1) As already noted, the traditional identification of the sitter is King Louis XI of France; I do not think that anything can reasonably be said in support of this.

(2) *Van Bastelaer* (' 20 ff.) pointed out that Notre-Dame du Sablon was closely associated with the Guild of Archers (Grand Serment) at Brussels, and that this Guild habitually held its competitions at the Grosse-Tour, which he claimed is represented on the picture. He claimed that the gold button in the sitter's hat is an example of the jewel the winners of the Guild's competitions used to receive at Notre-Dame du Sablon. He assumed that the heart-shaped book is the statutes and register of the Guild, and that the inkpot and

pen-case indicate that the sitter was secretary or treasurer. I cannot here discuss what van Bastelaer claimed concerning the already mentioned *Portrait* (once at Dessau), and *The Marriage of the Virgin*; but his interpretations of these appear to me unconvincing and, in my opinion, do nothing to strengthen his claims concerning the National Gallery portrait. Nor, unfortunately, does the costume of the sitter appear to support van Bastelaer's claim; it has been stated that the uniform of the Guild of Archers from 1412/5 was "un chapeau à plumes, un habit ou plutôt un frac fermé, sous l'habit une cotte de mailles... L'habit était aux couleurs de la ville, écarlate; les bordures étaient vertes et le chaperon également rouge" (Wauters² 43; similarly, but with less detail, Henne and Wauters³ Vol. I, 189; see further, Tahon⁴ 229 ff.). I think therefore that van Bastelaer's claim cannot be accepted without further confirmation.

(3) Van de Castyne (¹² 325 ff.) claimed that the heart-shaped book refers to S. Augustine (one of whose emblems in iconography is a heart). She thought that the sitter was a clerk (treasurer or secretary) to the Chapter of S. Gudule at Brussels, which she said (¹³ 324, 326) was connected in different ways with S. Augustine and with Notre-Dame du Sablon. Lefèvre (¹⁴ 359) objects to both these claims. This theory, which I cannot discuss in detail, depends partly on the assumption that the choir of a church shown in the background of the ex-Dessau portrait is that of S. Gudule; Van de Castyne makes some reserves about this, but I exclude it (reproduction of the choir of S. Gudule by Maere⁹ 190), and cannot accept the theory without further confirmation.

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- 1925⁸: *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, London, 1925.
- 1925⁹: R. MAERE. *L'Eglise S. Gudule à Bruxelles*, 1st. article, in *La Revue d'Art*, Vol. XXV, Antwerp, Jan.-June, 1925, 185-215.
- 1926¹⁰: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. IV, *Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1926.
- 1930/1¹¹: R. MAERE. *Over het Afbeelden van Bestaande Gebouwen in het Schilderwerk van Vlaamsche Primitieven*, in *De Kunst der Nederlanden*, Vol. I, Brussels-Amsterdam, 1930/1, 201-212.
- 1931¹²: CHARLES R. BEARD. *A Problem Solved. A Portrait of Louis XI*, in *The Connoisseur*, Vol. LXXXVII, London, May, 1931, 275/6.

Paint Layer : General wearing, not exceptional.

Reoutlining of the drawing of her left hand (cf. Plate CDLXI).

Overpainting of the background and the right side of the collar of the dress.

The painted surface has been enlarged; originally it measured 30.9 × 20.7 cm., 12 1/8 × 8 1/8 ins. (measures taken from the X-radiograph).

Changes in Composition : Nothing worth recording noted.

Ground : Adheres well.

Support : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, slightly convex.

Marks on the Back : "Holbeen 1530" is written on the wood. Reproduction of the back on Plate CDLXII.

Frame : Not examined.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

She is shown at half length, facing rather towards the left, holding a jar with both hands. She wears a rich dress, and a turban, through which her hair passes to fall undivided behind her back. The subject is claimed to be the Magdalen, not a portrait of a lady as the Magdalen (cf. *Davies* ' 79).

For the additions on all four sides of this picture, see in section C, above.

2. *Colours*

In grey and golden dress with red undersleeves and greenish-white sleeves. Turban golden, red and greenish-white. Green jar.

3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

None on the front.

E. ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (FACTUAL EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF CRITICS)

1. *Origin*

a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of this picture is not known; first recorded, apparently, in 1892 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

On the back is inscribed *Holbeen 1530*. Presumably recorded in 1892 as French School (see *Subsequent History*); this attribution was preserved when the picture entered the National Gallery. Ascribed by *Friedländer* (p. 168, No. 24) to the Master of the Magdalen Legend. *Davies* (' 79) accepts this as a general indication, but with reserves concerning autograph works of this painter.

Davies (' 79) dubiously suggests a date ca. 1520.

2. *Subsequent History**Records of Ownership*

- 1892 Apparently identical with the picture lent by William Spread to the *Early Netherlandish Exhibition* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1892 (No. 6); *Catalogue* ¹ 2, with MS. note in the National Gallery copy.
- 1893 Acquired by George Salting, London, 1893 (*Davies* ⁴ 79).
- 1895 Lent by him to the National Gallery from 1895.
- 1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ² 115).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Several versions are known :

- (1) Formerly Winthrop Collection, New York, and now at the Fogg Art Museum (1943. 96); *Friedländer* ³ 168, No. 24a. Size, 12 × 8 1/4 inches ; photograph at the National Gallery.
- (2) and (3) Private Collections in Paris and Bâle ; *Friedländer* ³ 168, Nos. 24b and c.
- (4) Van Gelder Collection, Uccle ; *Friedländer* ³ 168, No. 24 d. Presumably the picture seen in a view of "la salle gothique", reproduced by L. Dumont-Wilden, *La Collection Michel Van Gelder*, Brussels, 1911, 26, and possibly referred to *ib.*, 22.
- (5) Sir Charles Turner Sale, Berlin, 17 November, 1908 (lot 10), as School of Brussels, reproduced in the catalogue ; size, 10 3/4 × 7 1/2 inches ; with a halo.
- (6) Petworth, John Wyndham ; 1856 *Catalogue*, 21 ; 1920 *Catalogue*, 42, No. 183**, as Flemish School, reproduced ; size, 10 1/2 × 6 1/2 inches ; with a halo.
- (7) Ralph Bernal Sale, London, 13 March, 1855 (lot 950), as School of van Eyck, with description.
- (8) Baron Robert Gendebien, Brussels, 1946 ; size, 20 × 14 cm. ; photograph at the National Gallery.
- (9) Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1946 ; with a halo ; photograph at the National Gallery.
- (10) Aarau, E. Rothpletz, as Martin Schongauer ; *Catalogue*, 1866, 11/2, No. 14, reproduced ; size, 26 × 16 cm.
- (11) Chantilly, Poncins-Biencourt gift, as Flemish School, 2nd. half of the XV Century, Portrait of Marie de Bourgogne ; size, 26,5 × 22,5 cm. ; with a halo ; *Aubert* ⁵ 21, No. 588 and Plate XIX.

It is not certain that these nos. 1-11 refer to eleven distinct pictures ; in particular, Nos. 4 and 5 have been claimed to be identical.

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

I doubt if it is worth while trying to attribute exactly a picture such as this, or trying to note differences of quality or style between the various versions. I am reluctant to believe that these pictures are portraits, but I understand that research on this point is being carried out.

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- 1945 ⁴: MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 ⁵: MARCEL AUBERT. *La Collection de Poncins-Biencourt au Musée de Chantilly*, Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot), Vol. XLII. Paris, 1947.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 63 : MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN LEGEND (1)

CDLIX. S. Mary Magdalene	B 124 339	1950
CDLX. The Head (1 : 1)	B 124 340	1950
CDLXI. The Hands, the Jar, and the Dress (1 : 1)	B 124 341	1950
CDLXII. The Reverse	B 124 342	1950

MASTER OF THE PEARL OF BRABANT

see No. 30 : GROUP BOUTS (4), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. PETER AND S. PAUL*

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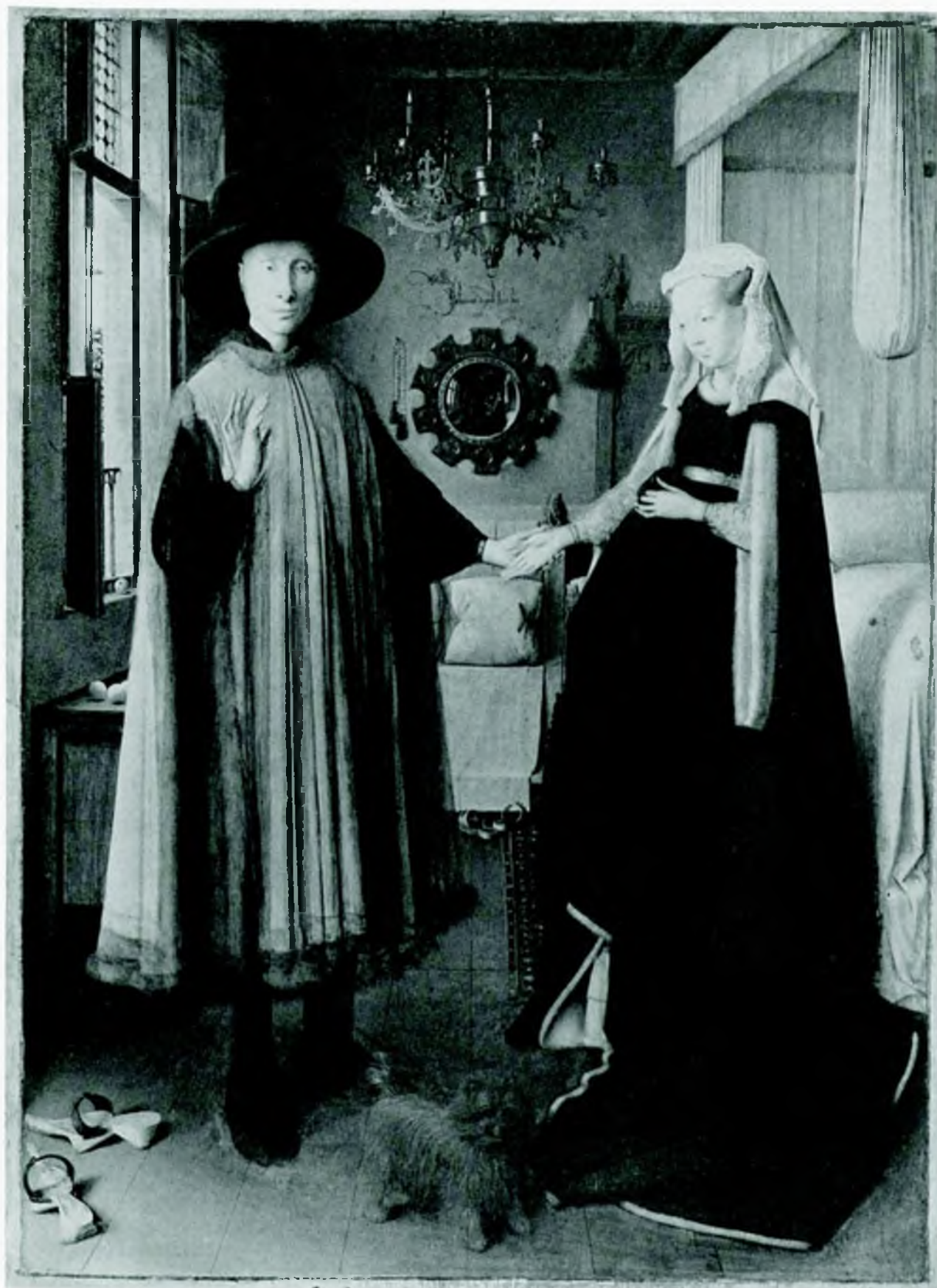
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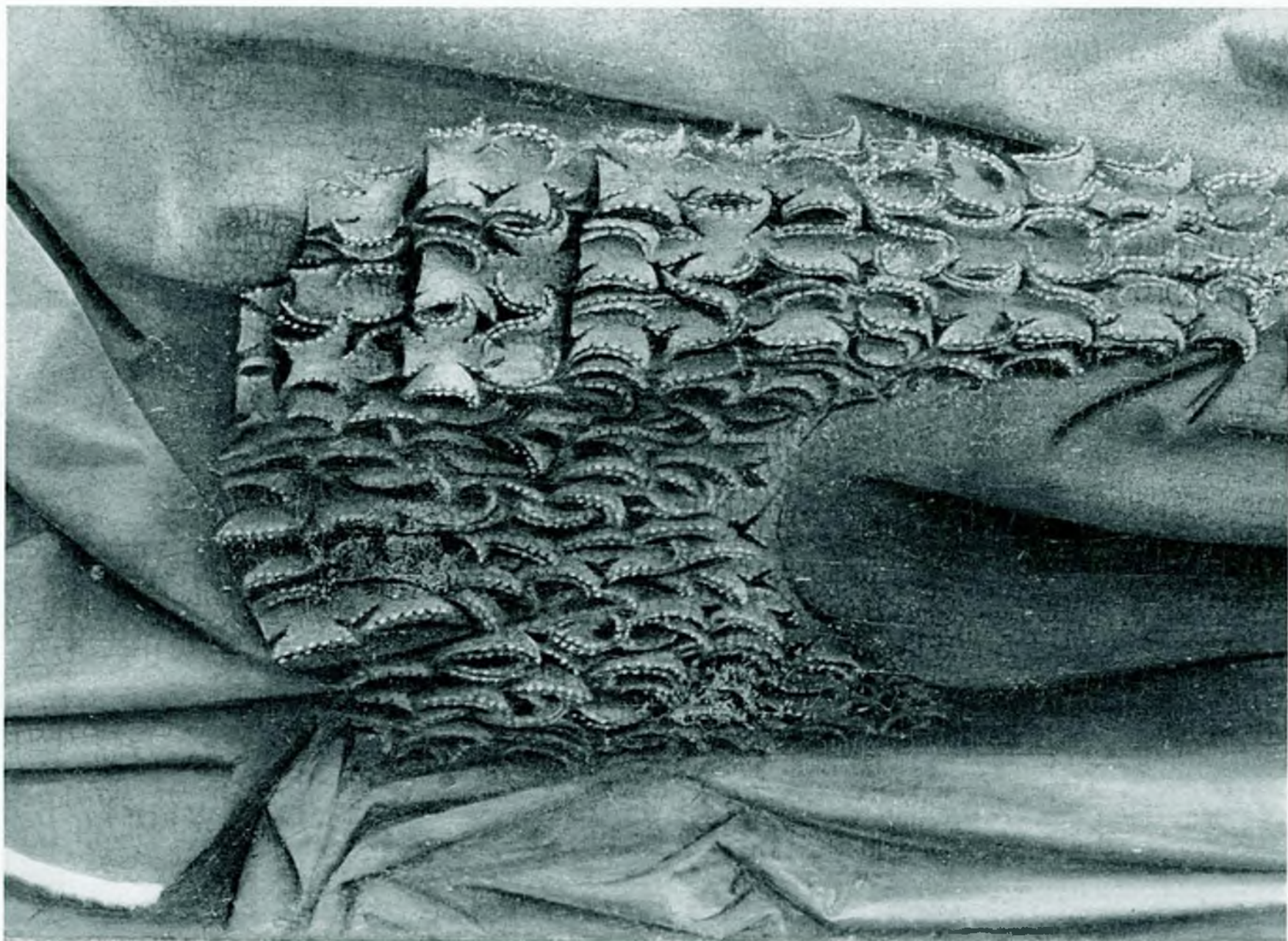
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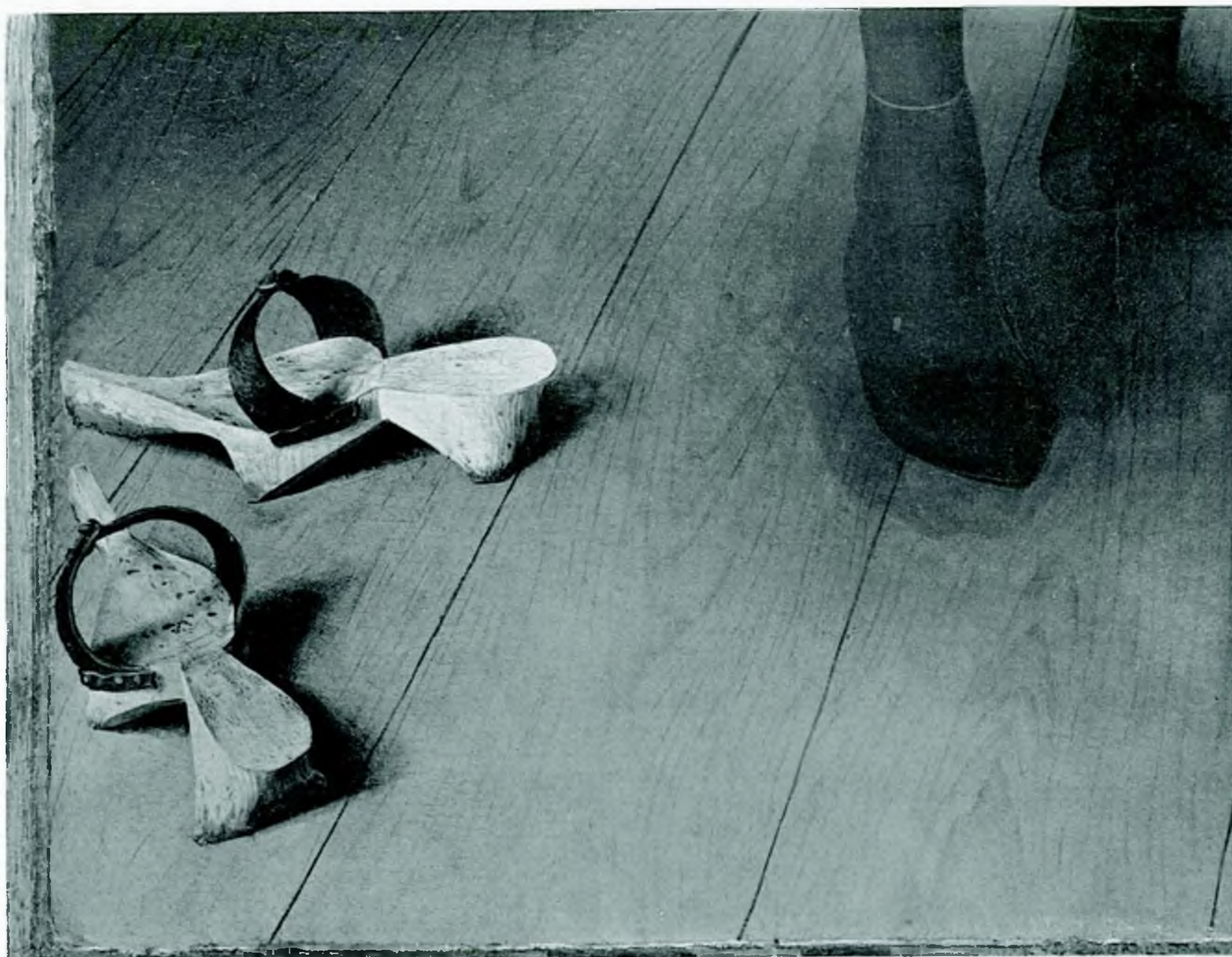
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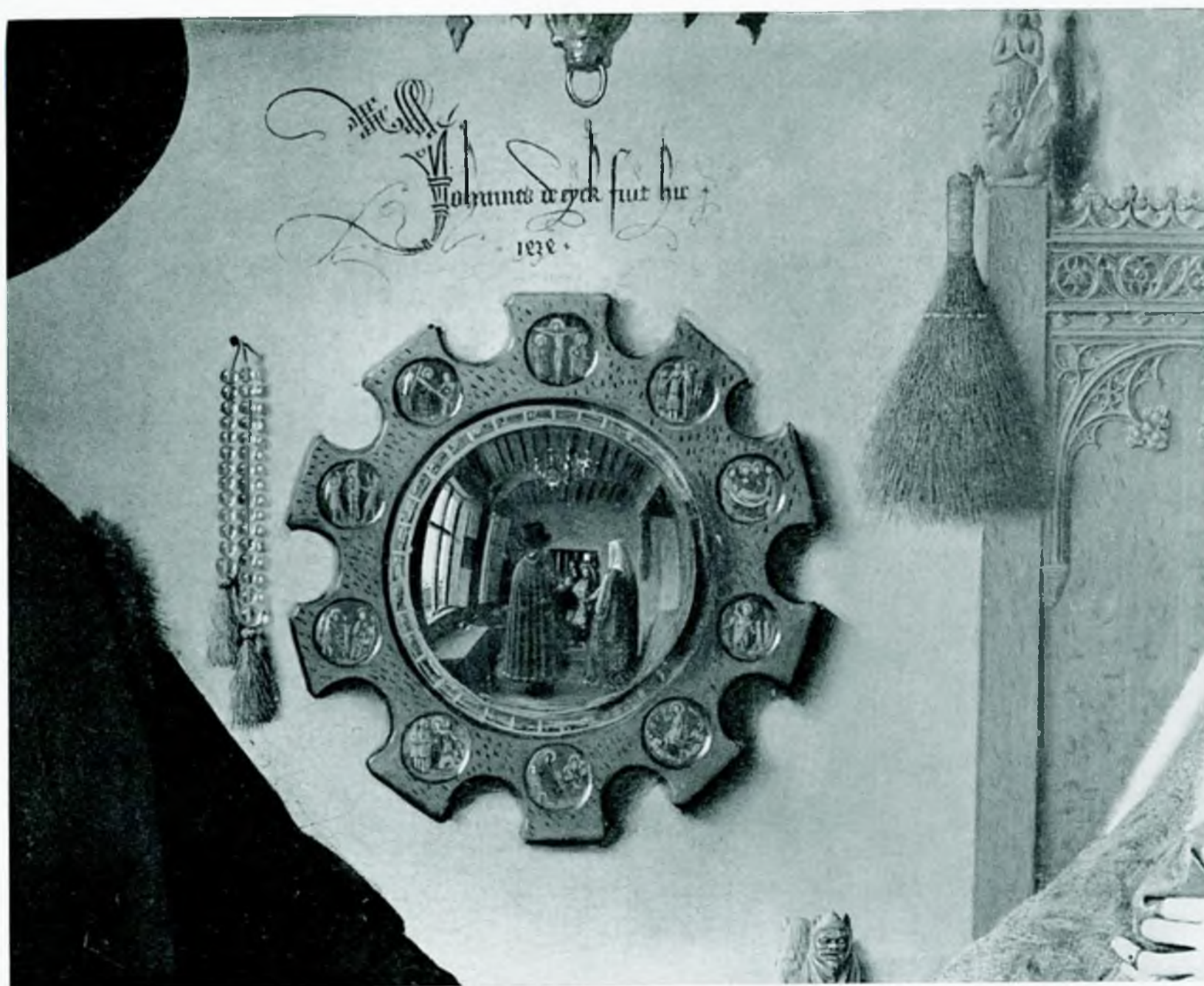
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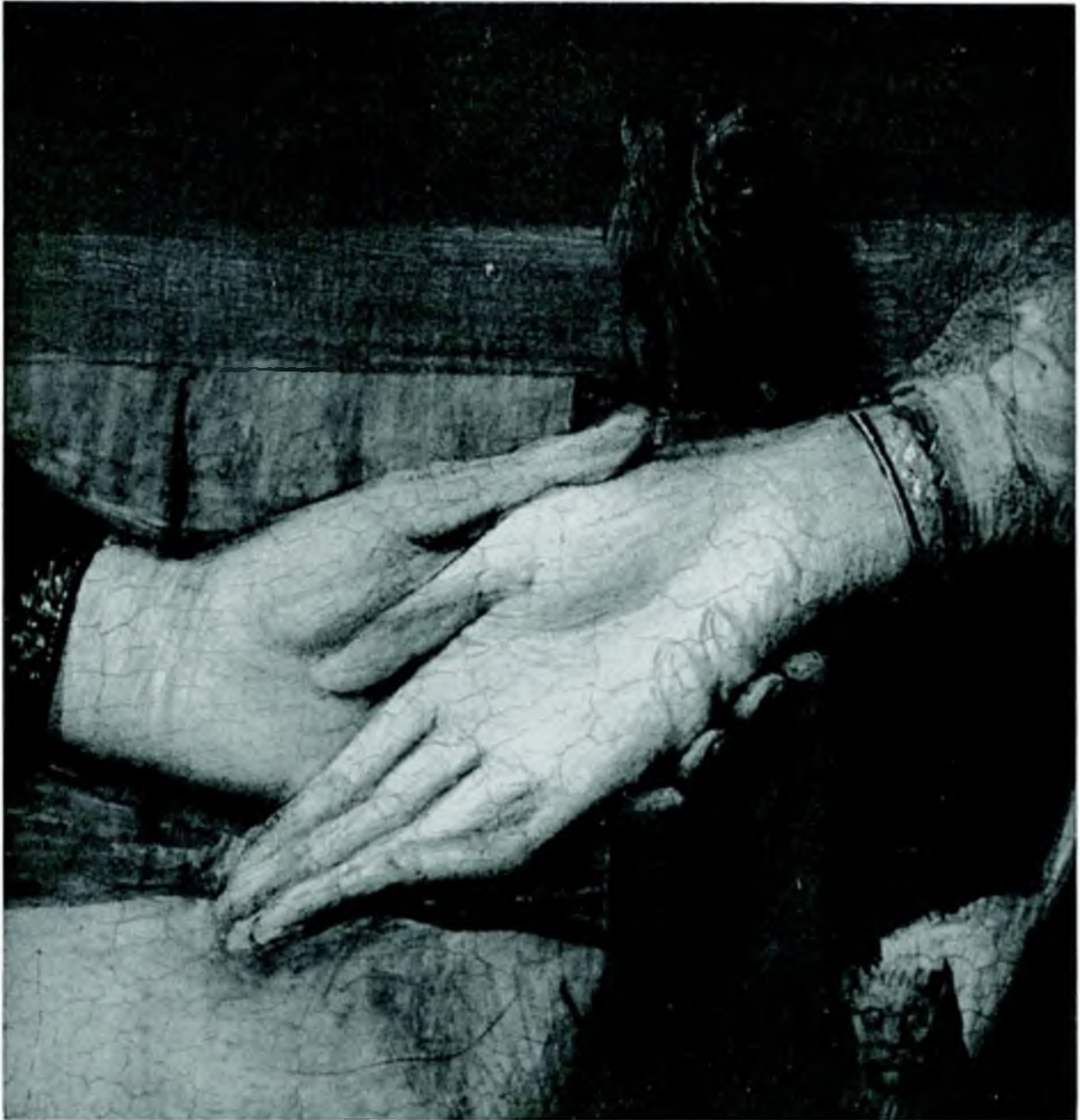
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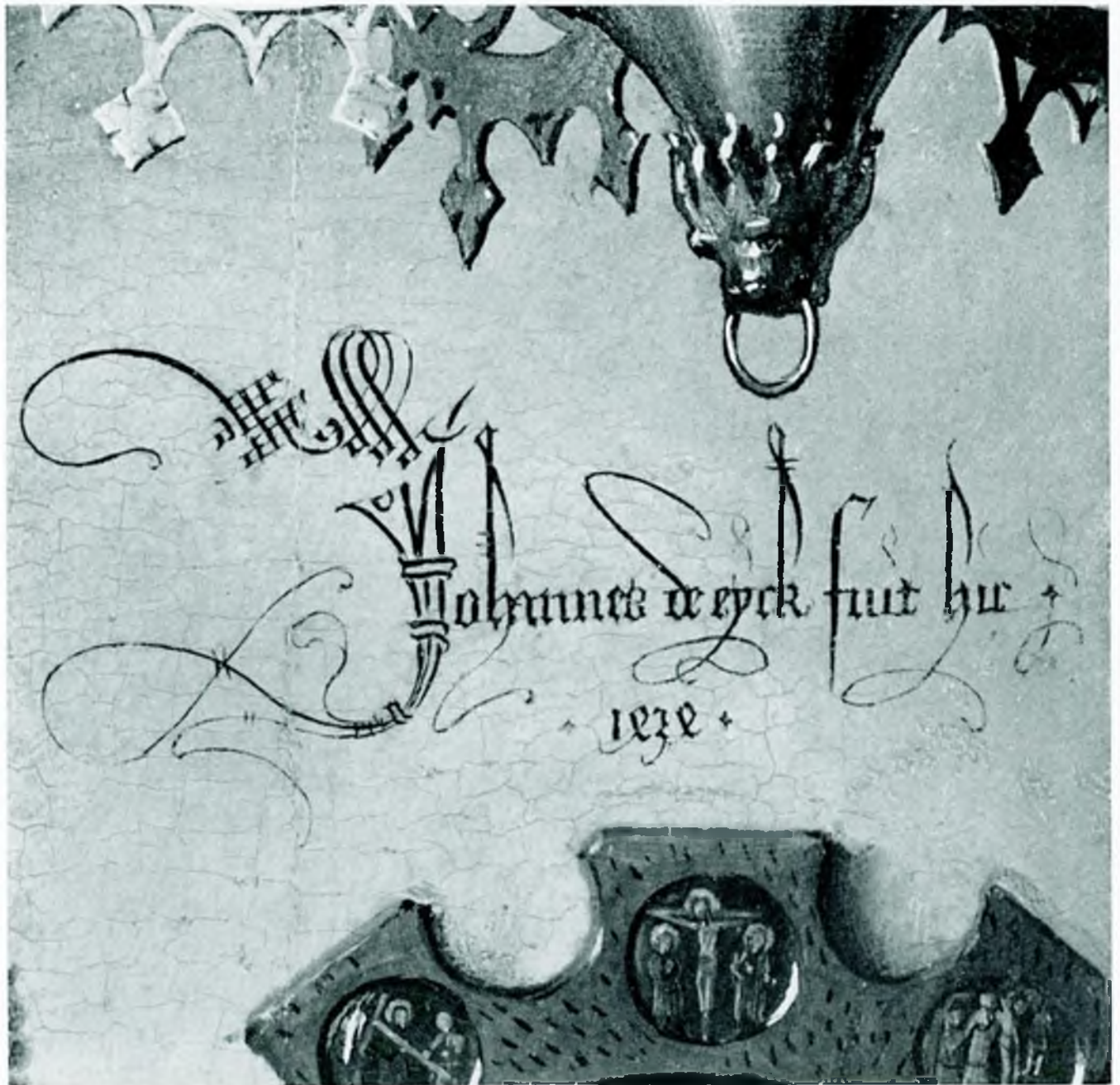
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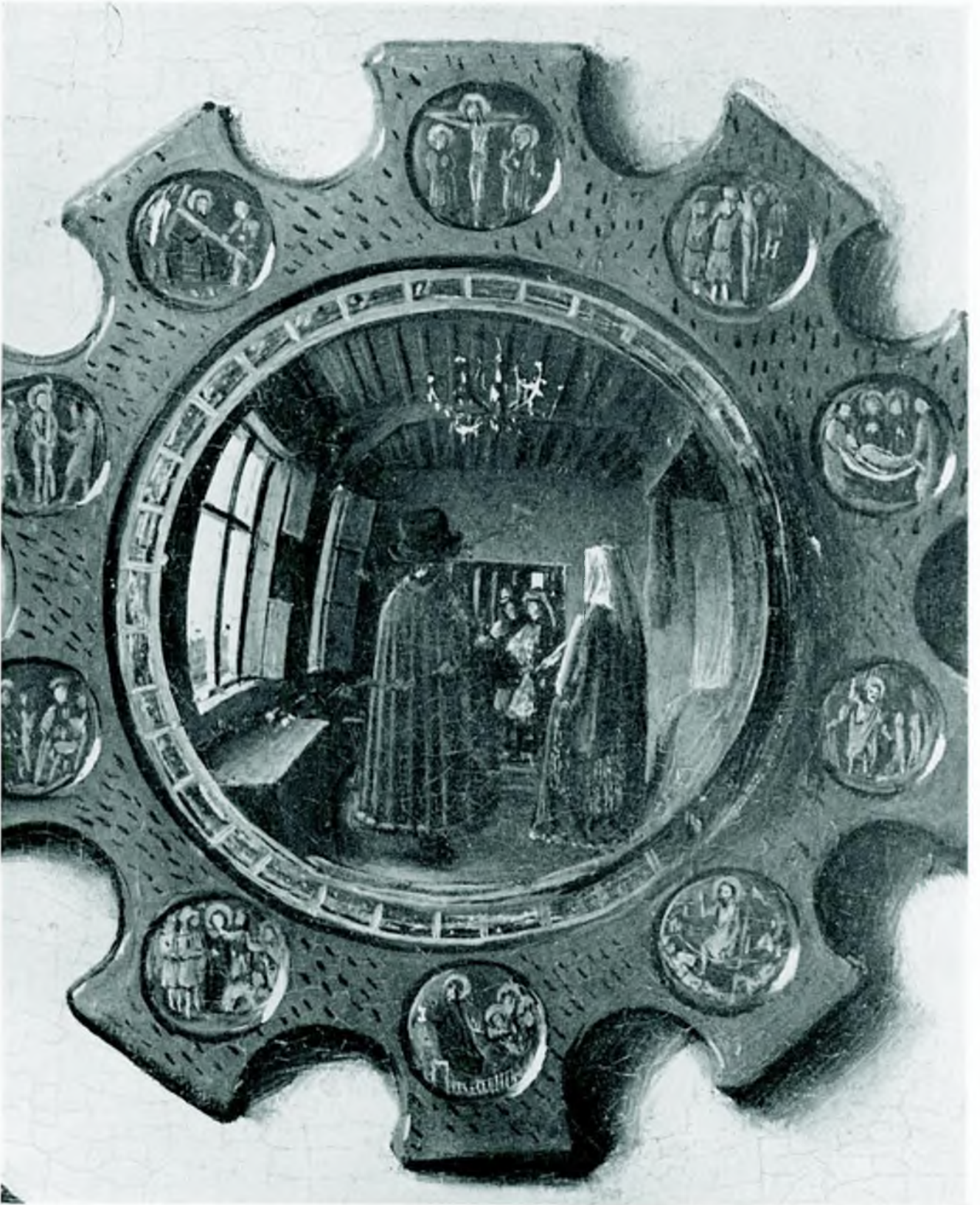
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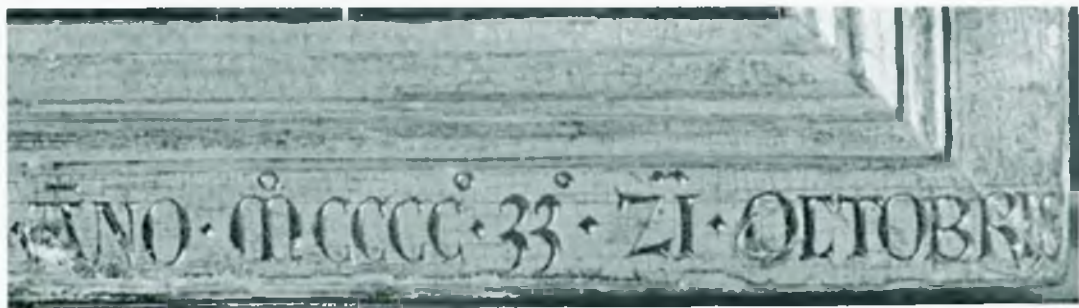
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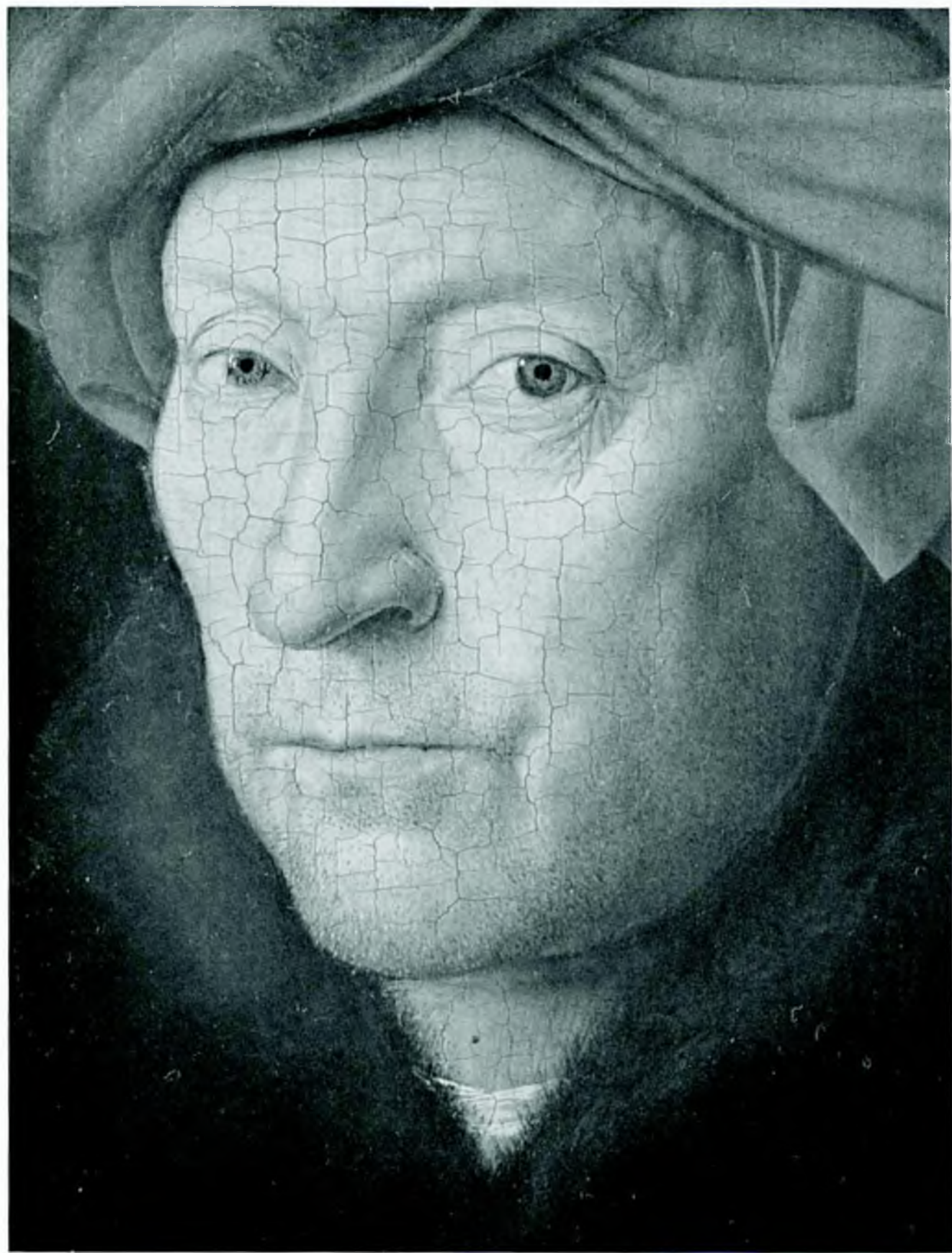
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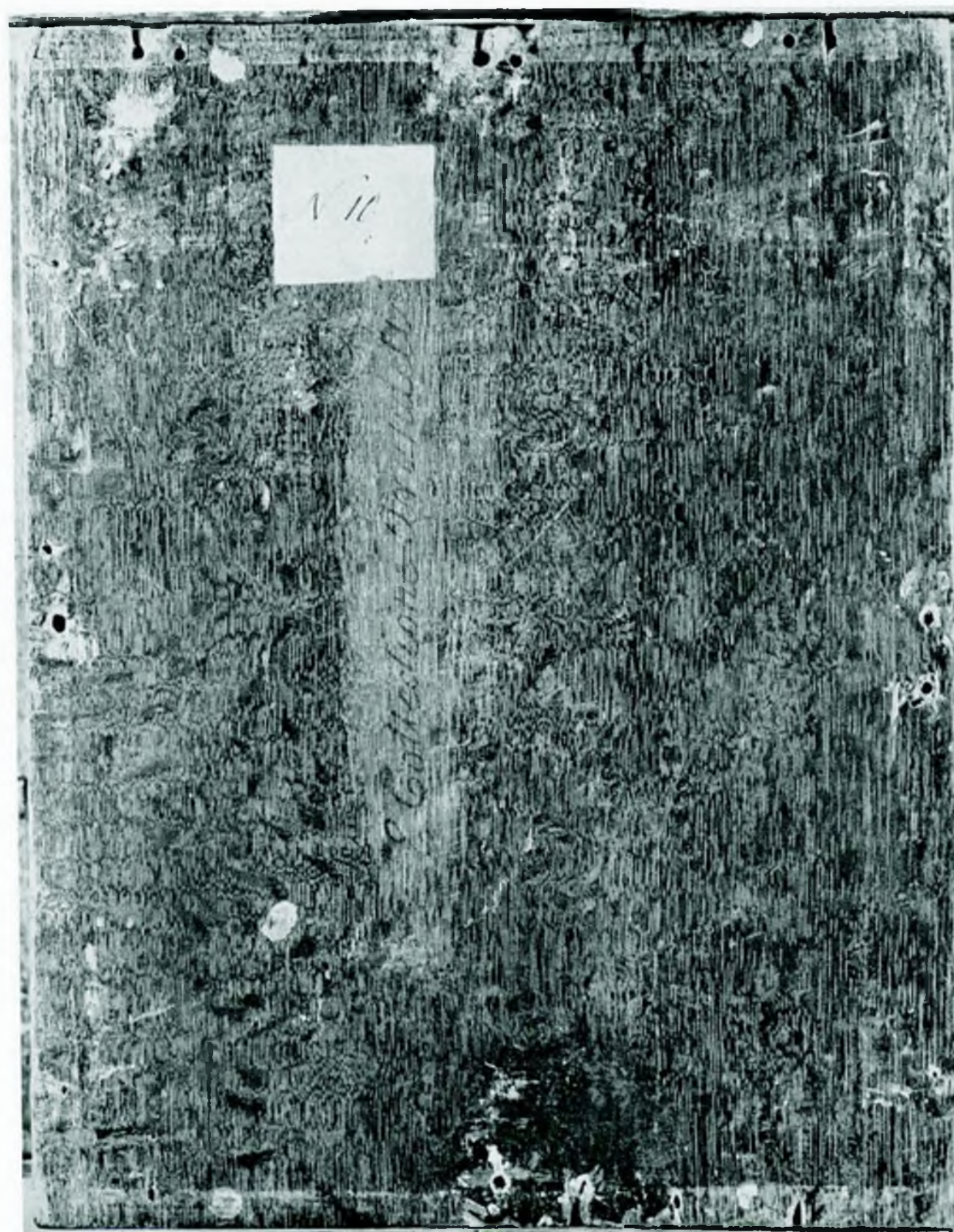
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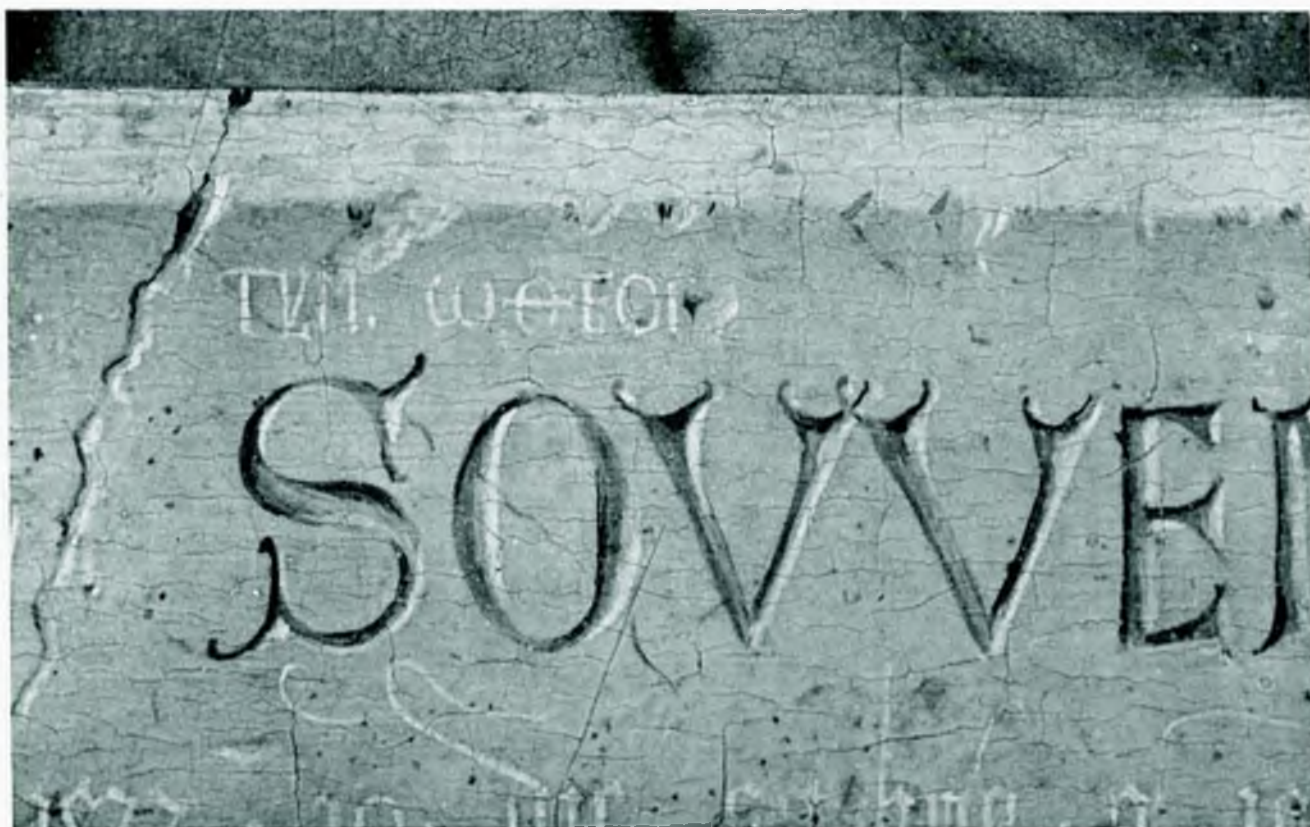
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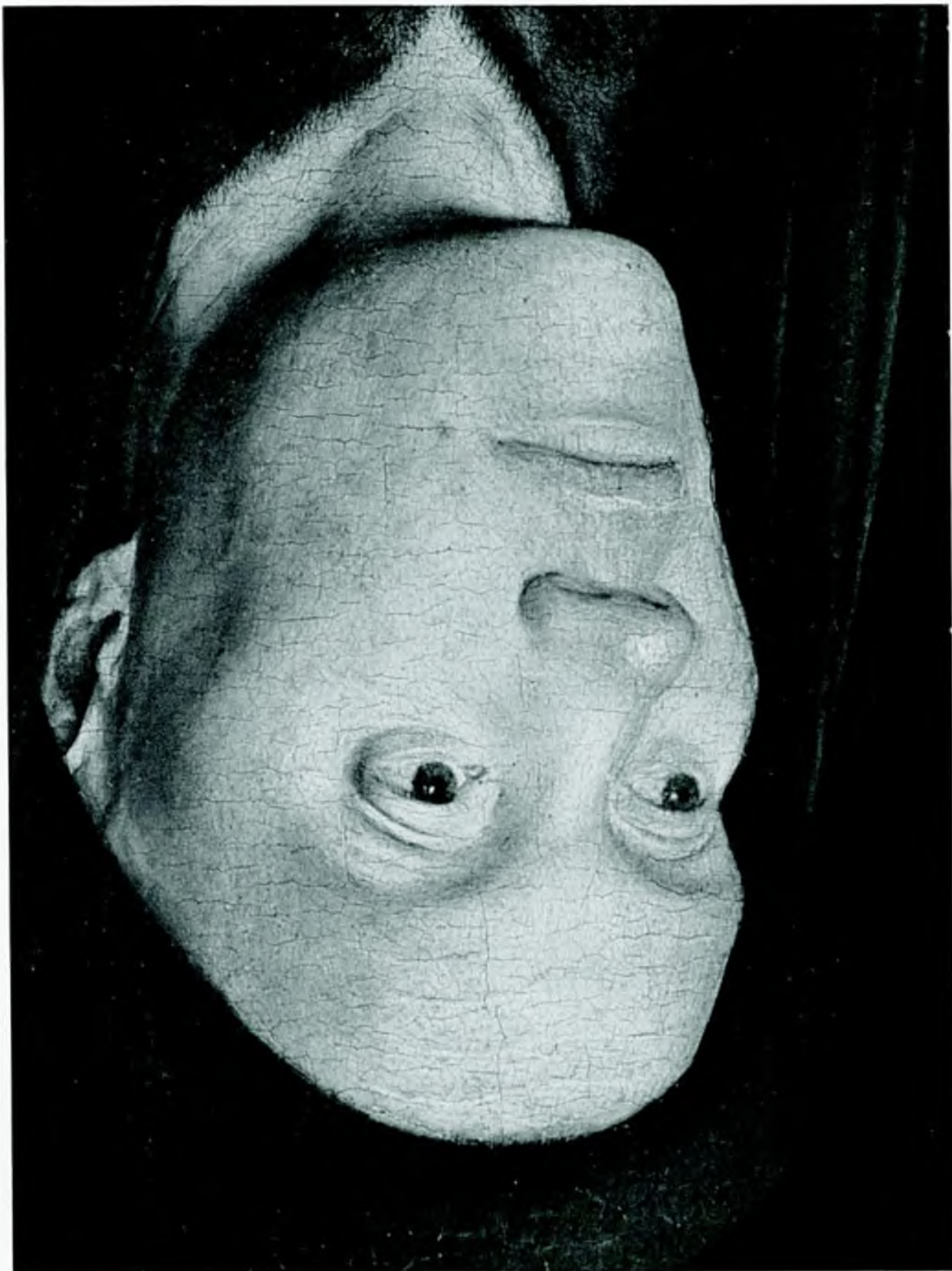


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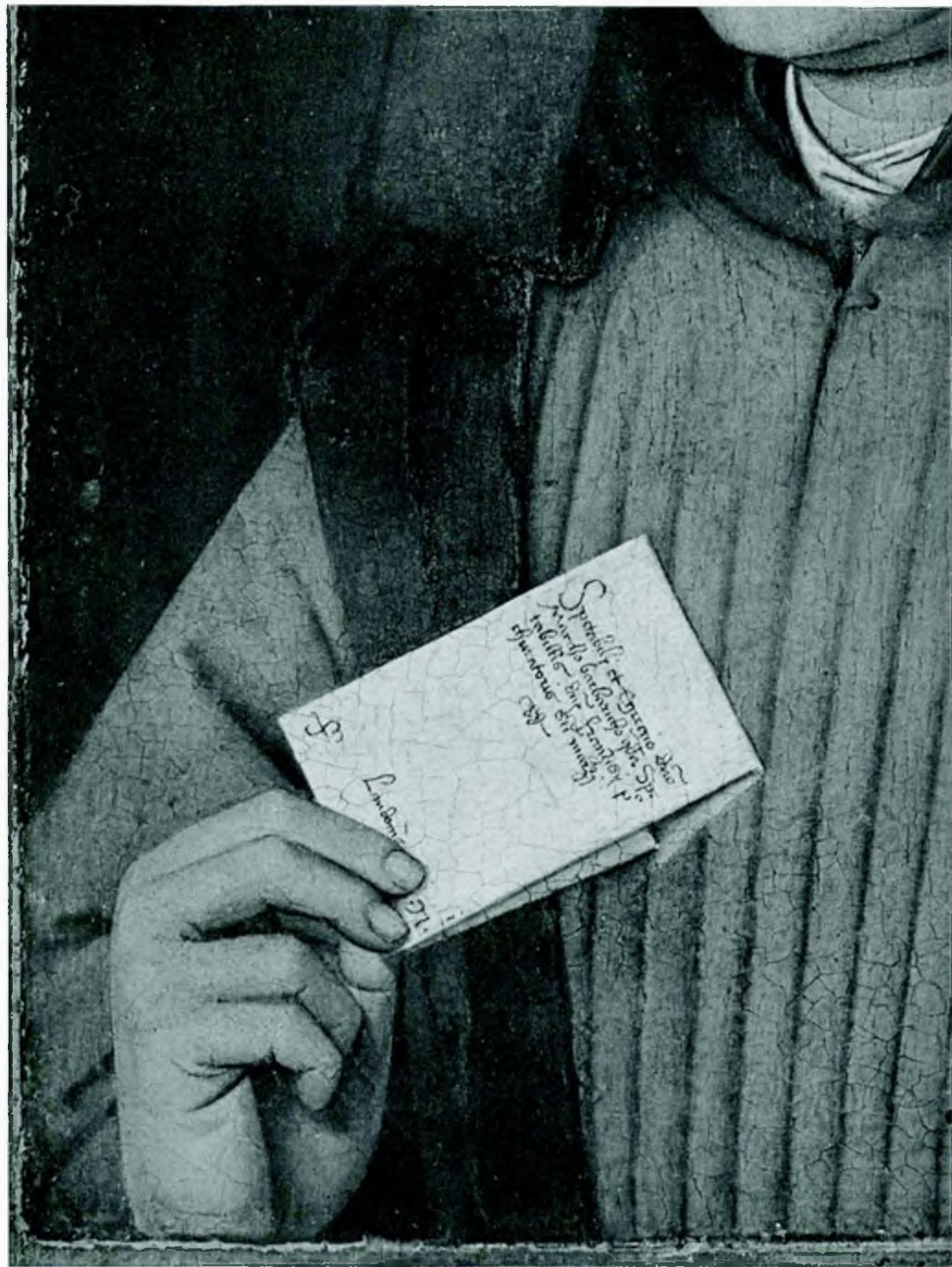
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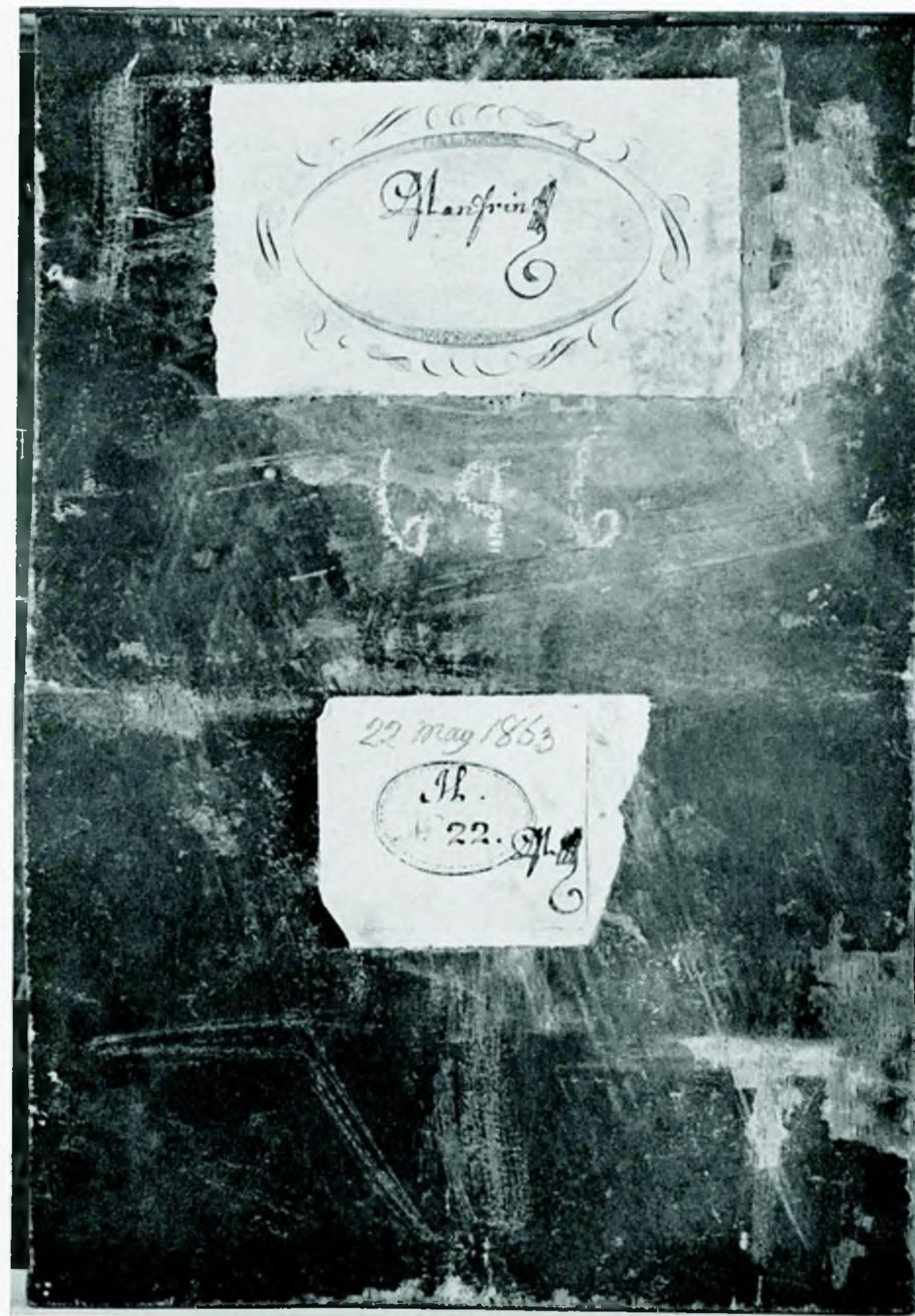
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No. 51 : Group Goes (5). The Nativity. Three Shepherds (?) Pointing to the Star (1 : 1)
text pp. 139 - 141



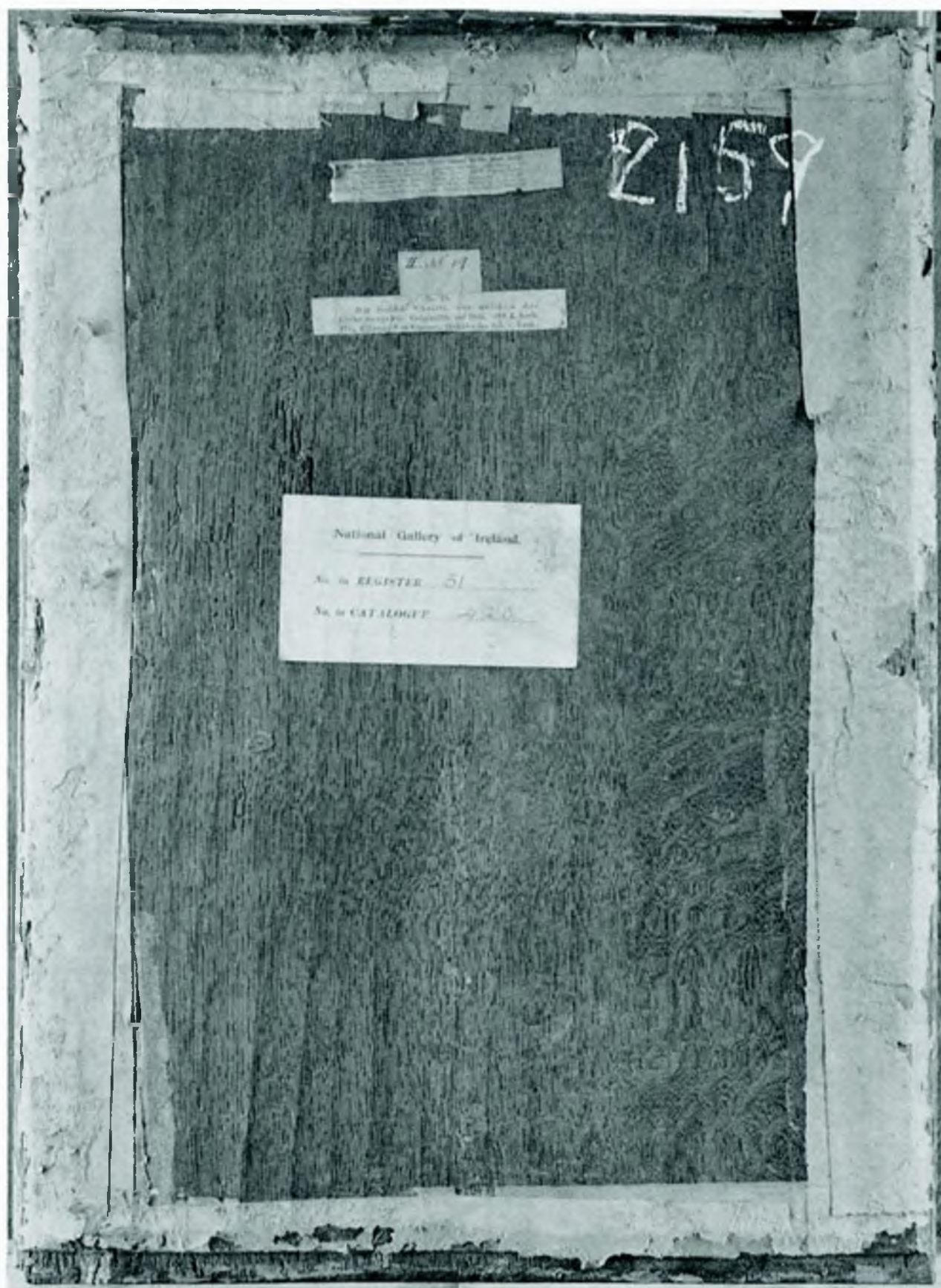
No. 31 : Group Goes (5). *The Nativity. An Angel Announcing the Tidings to three Shepherds (1 : 1)*
text pp. 139-141



No. 51 : Group Goes (5). *The Nativity. The Ox and the Ass* (1 : 1)
text pp. 159 - 161



No. 51 : Group Goes (3). *The Nativity. Head of the Virgin (M 2 X)*
text pp. 159-141



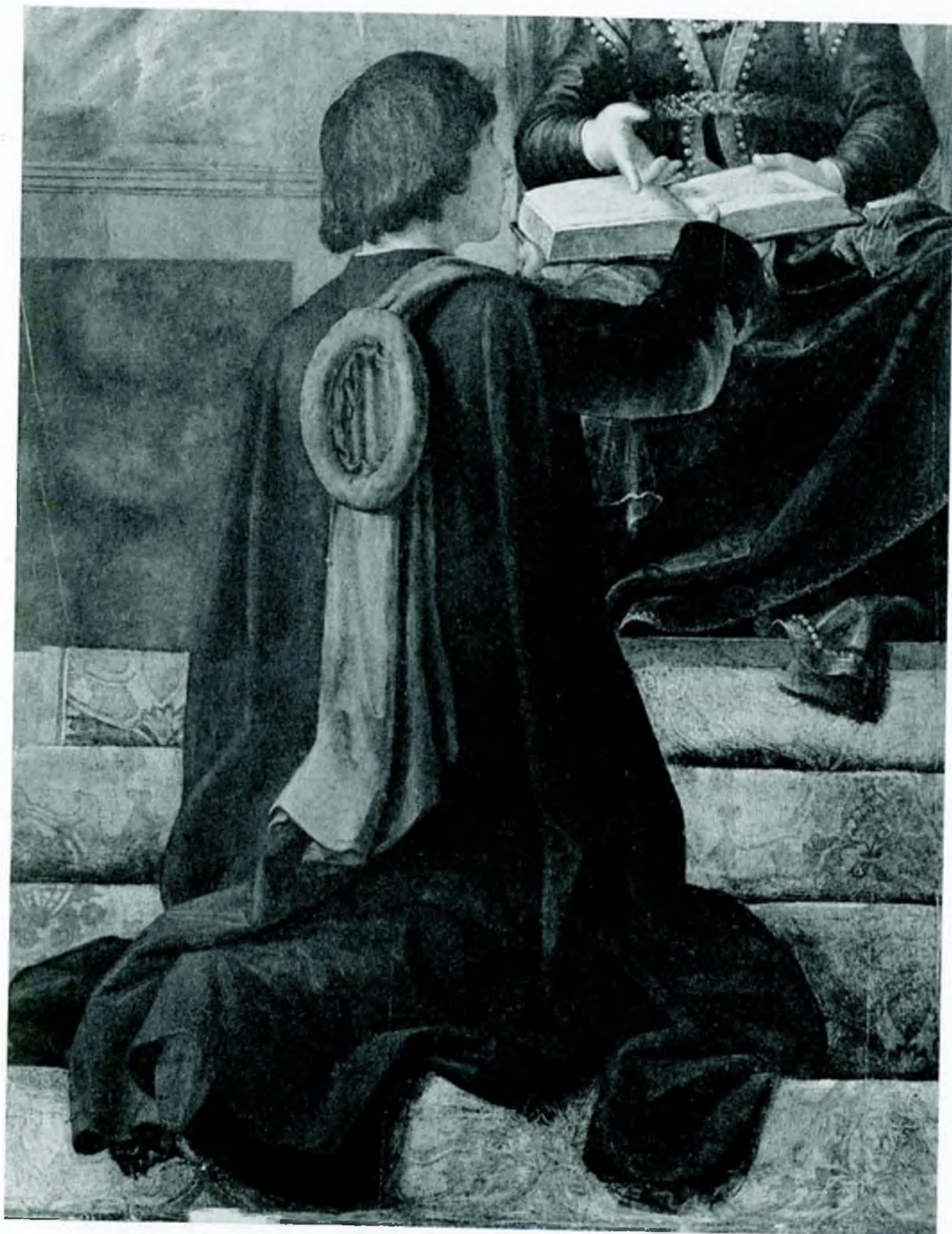
No. 51 : Group Goes (5). *The Nativity. The Reverse*
text pp. 159 - 141



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). *Rhetoric* (?)
text pp. 142-157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music
text pp. 142-157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?). Detail : the Young Man Kneeling
text pp. 142 - 157



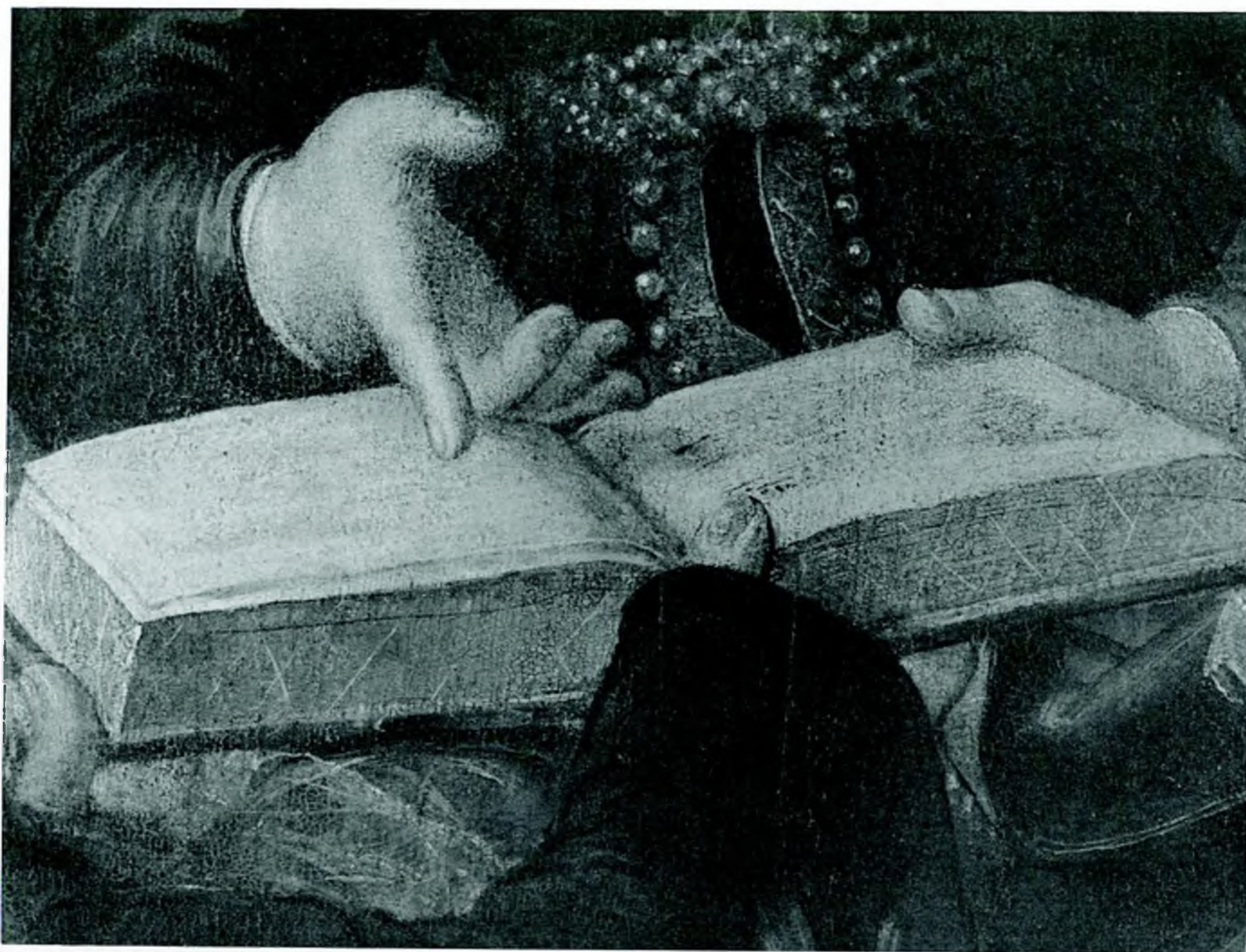
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?). Detail : the Allegorical Figure
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Rhetoric (?). The Head of the Young Man (1 : 1)
text pp. 142-157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?), The Head of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)
text pp. 142 - 157



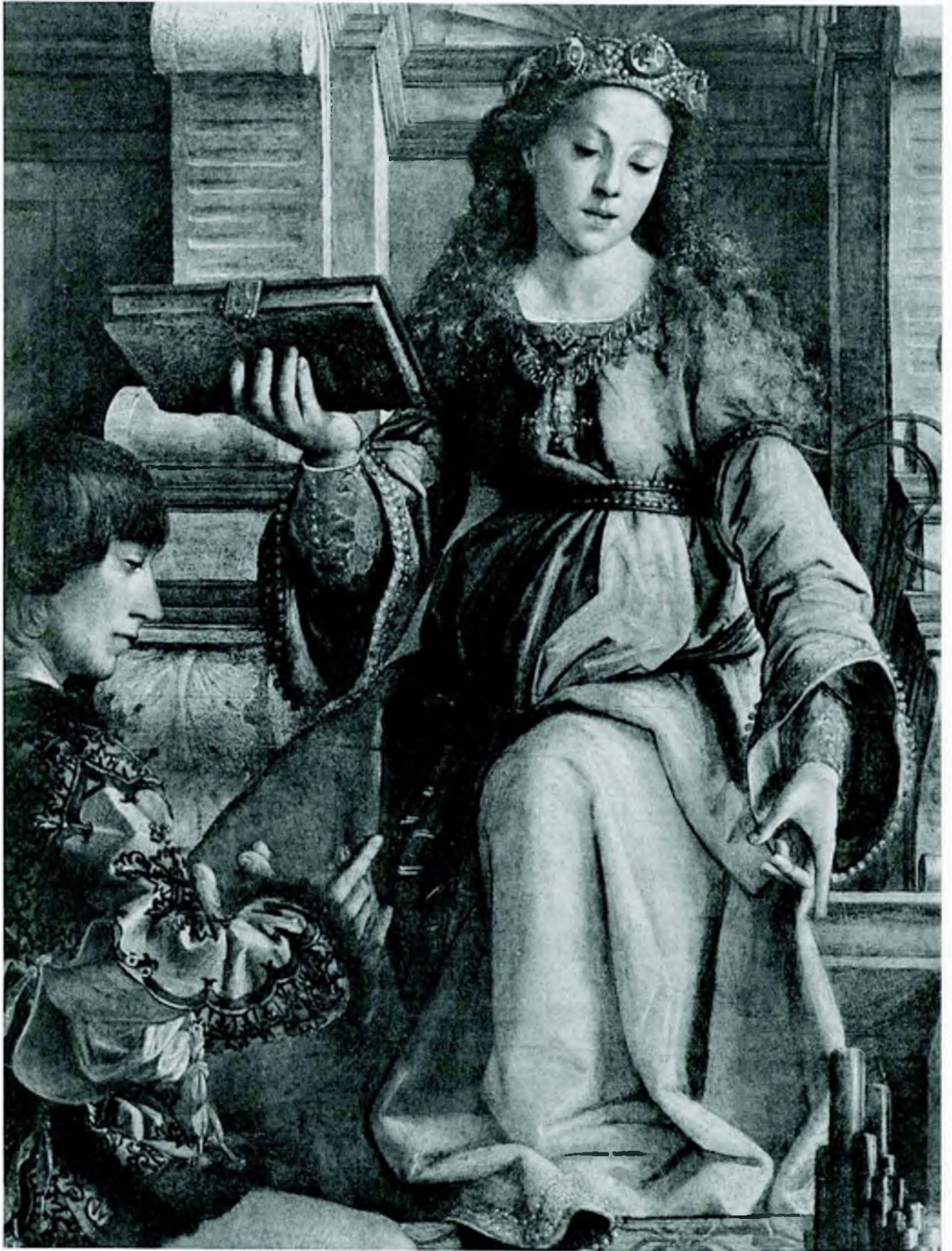
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), *Rhetoric* (?). *The Book and the Hands* (1 : 1)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), *Rhetoric* (?). *The Features of the Allegorical Figure* (N 2 X)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Music. Detail : the Young Man Kneeling
text pp. 142-157



No. 52: Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. Detail: the Allegorical Figure
text pp. 142-157



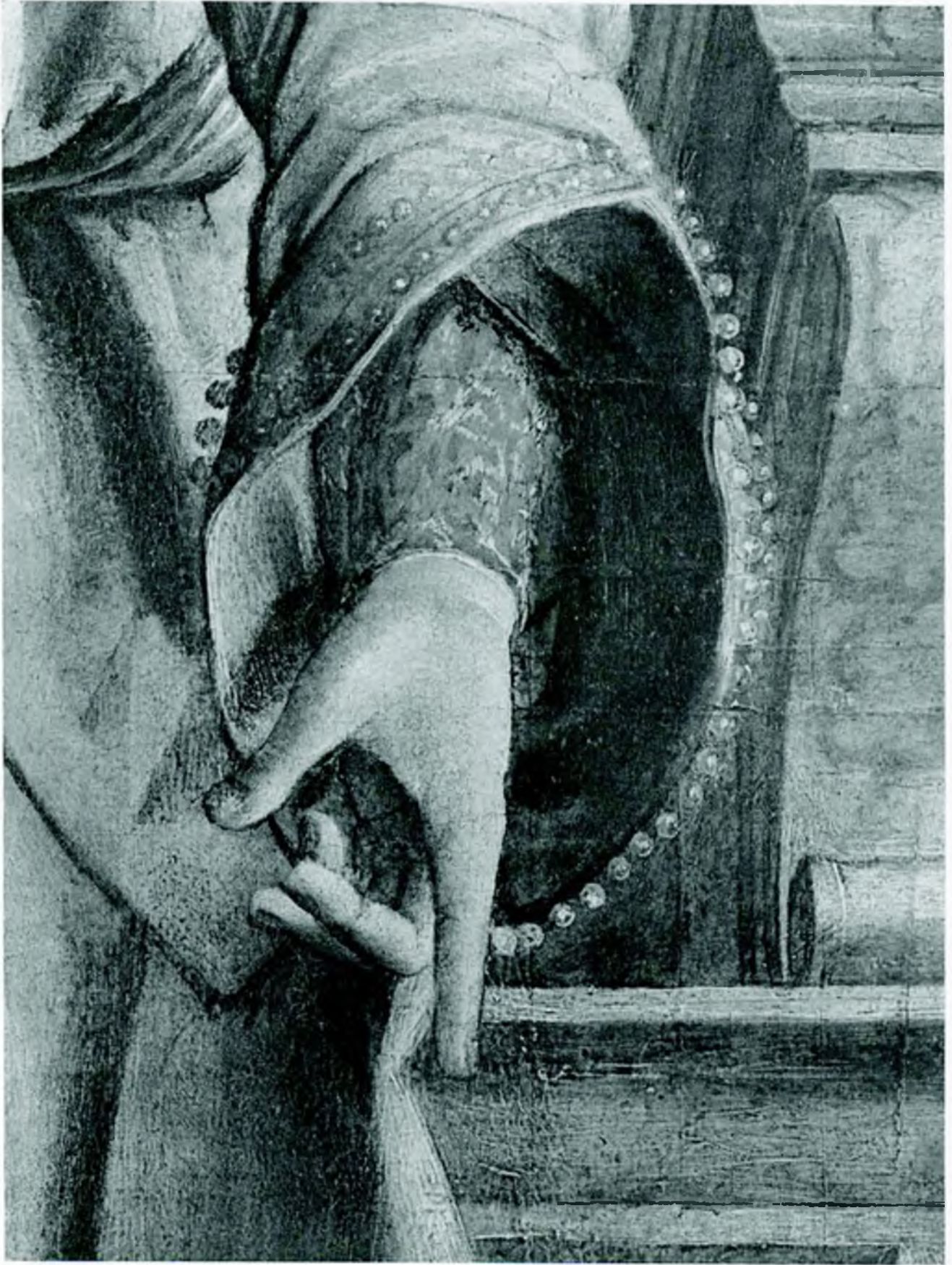
No. 52: Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. *The Head of the Young Man* (1:1)
text pp. 142-157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. The Head of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. *The Right Hand of the Allegorical Figure Holding a Book (1 : 1)*
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Music, The Left Hand of the Allegorical Figure (1 : 1)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52: Group Justus of Ghent (1). Meste. The Hands of the Young Man (1:1)
text pp. 142-157



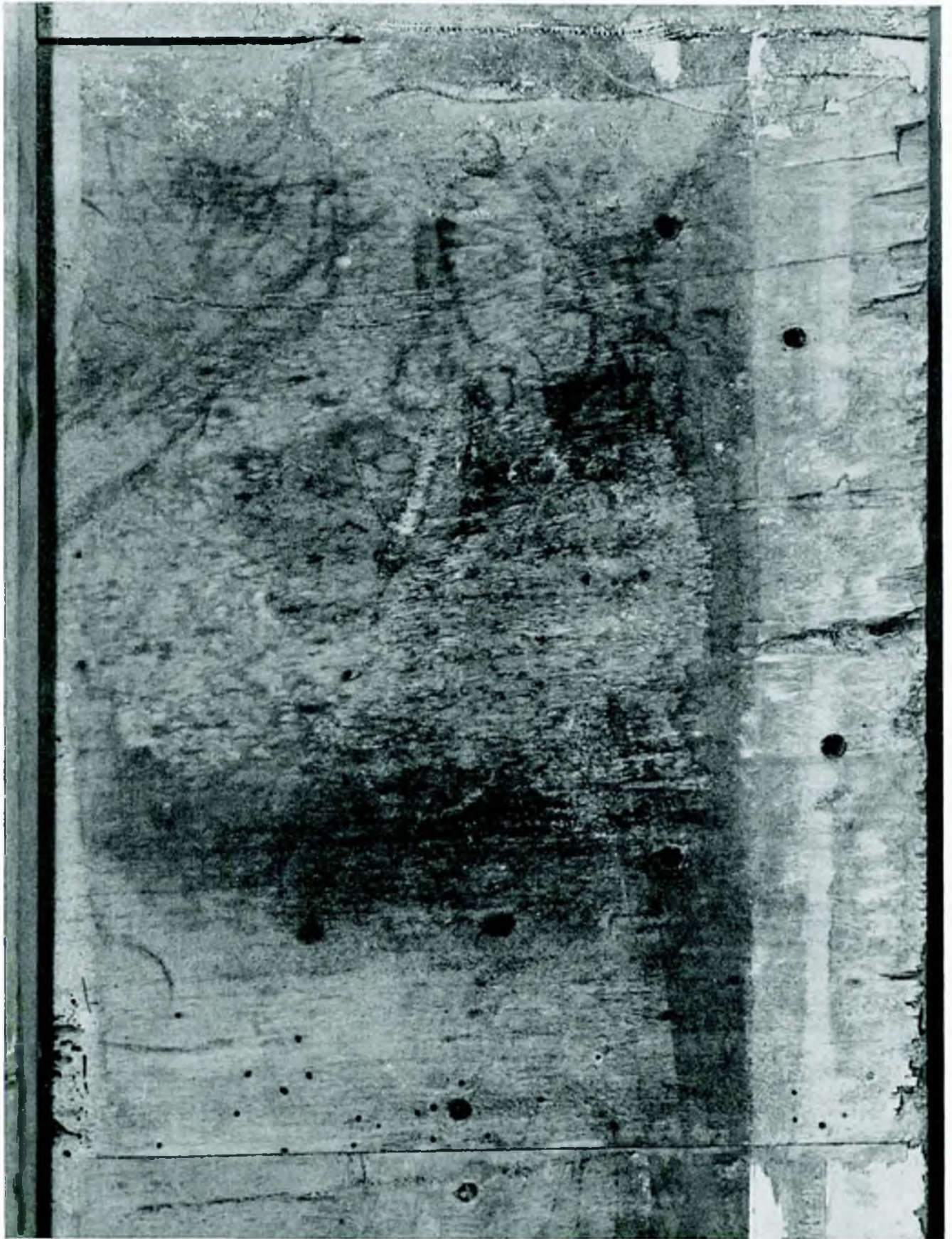
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. The Features of the Allegorical Figure (M 2 X)
text pp. 142 - 157



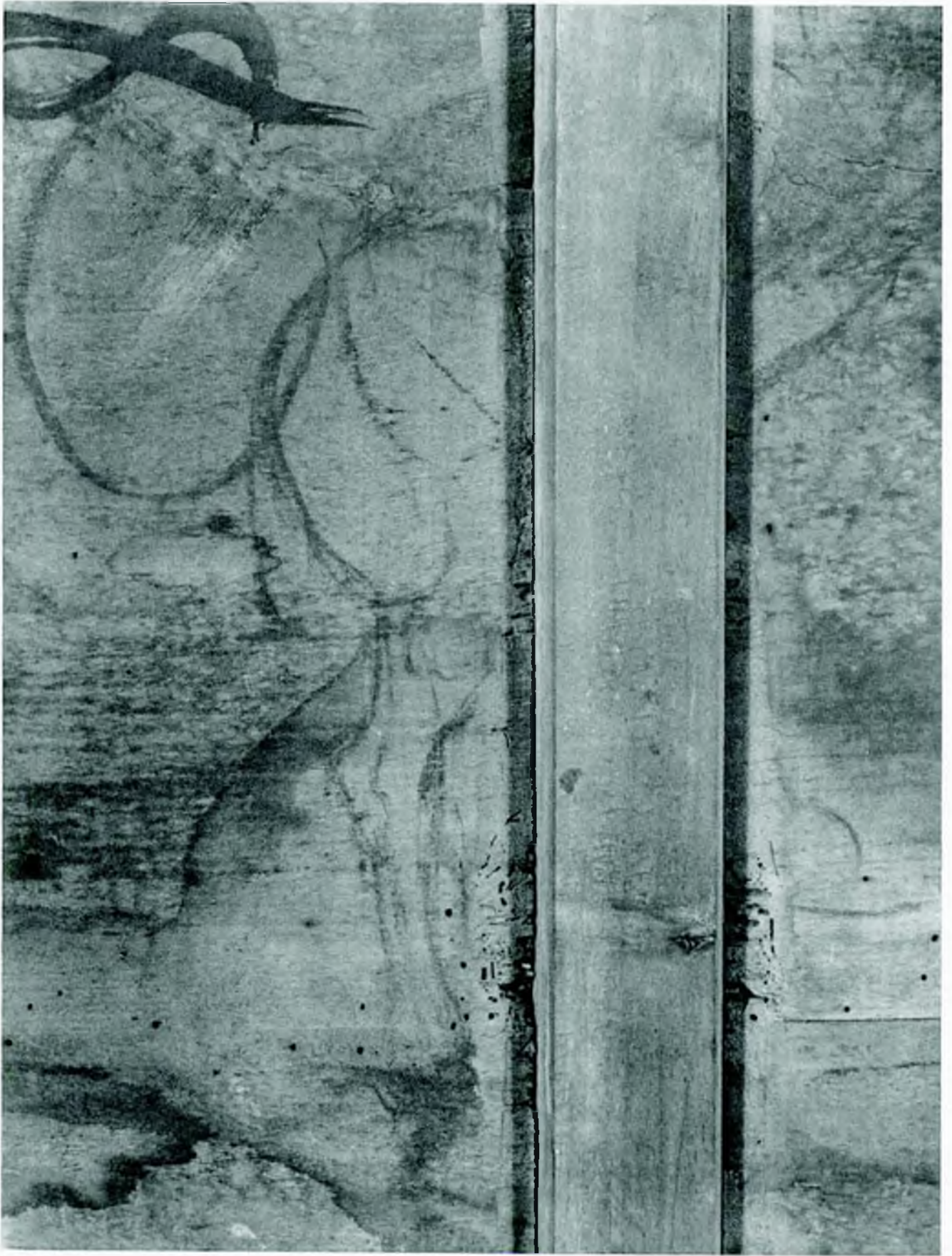
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Rhetoric (?). The Reverse
text pp. 142 - 157



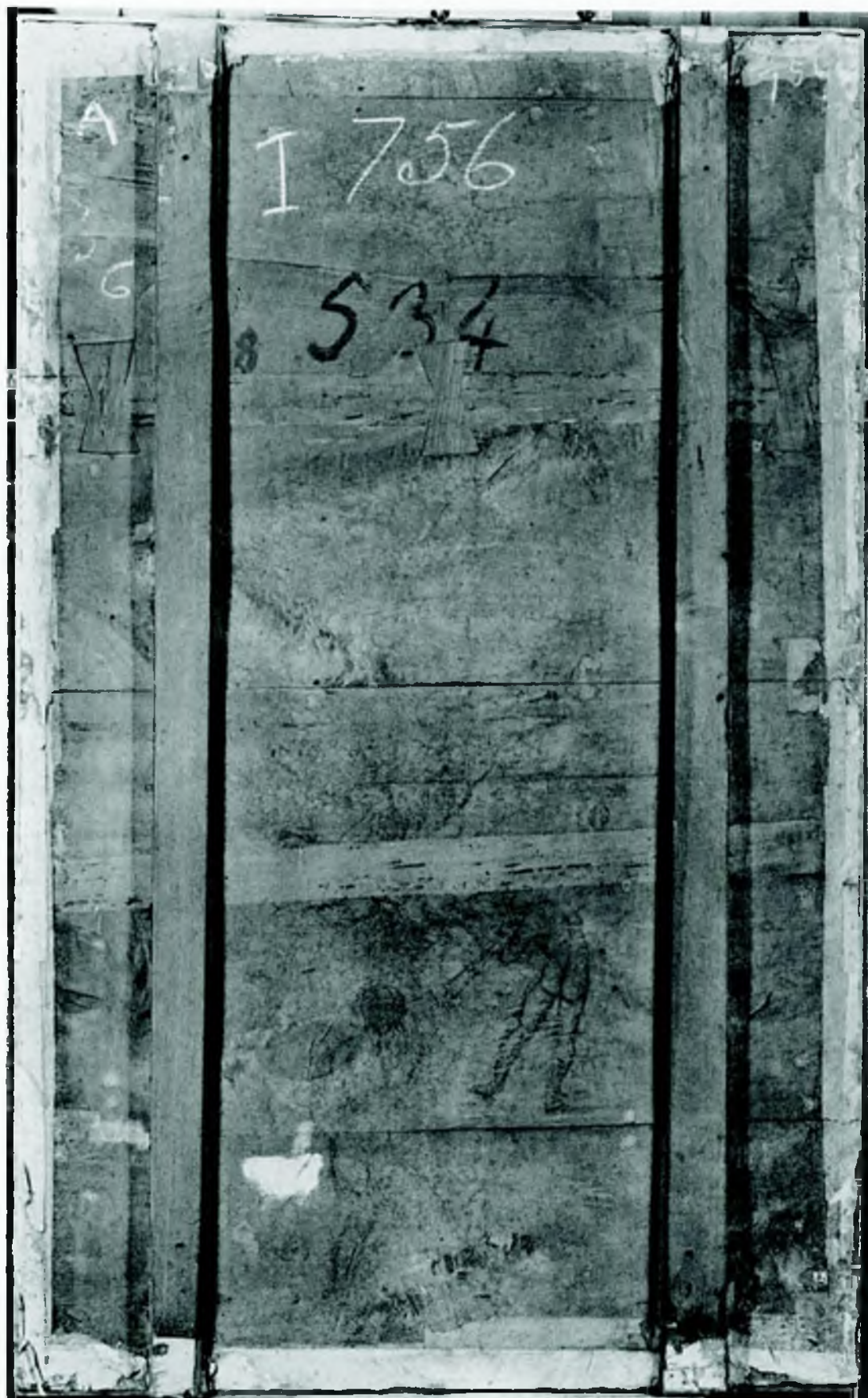
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?), Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 3)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). *Rhetoric* (?). *Drawing on the Reverse* (ca. 2 : 3)
text pp. 142 - 157



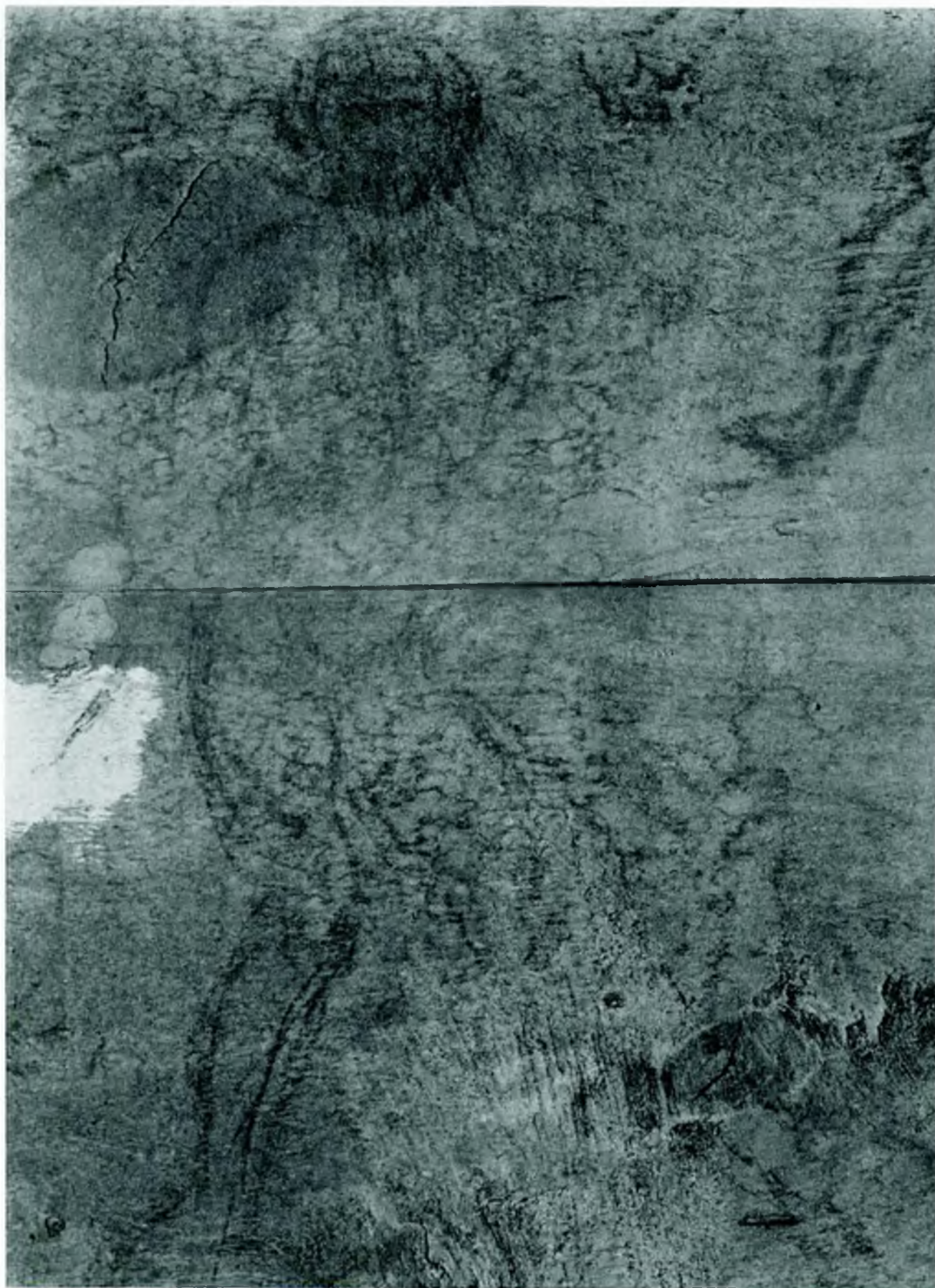
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Rhetoric (?). Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 5)
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. The Reverse
text pp. 142 - 157



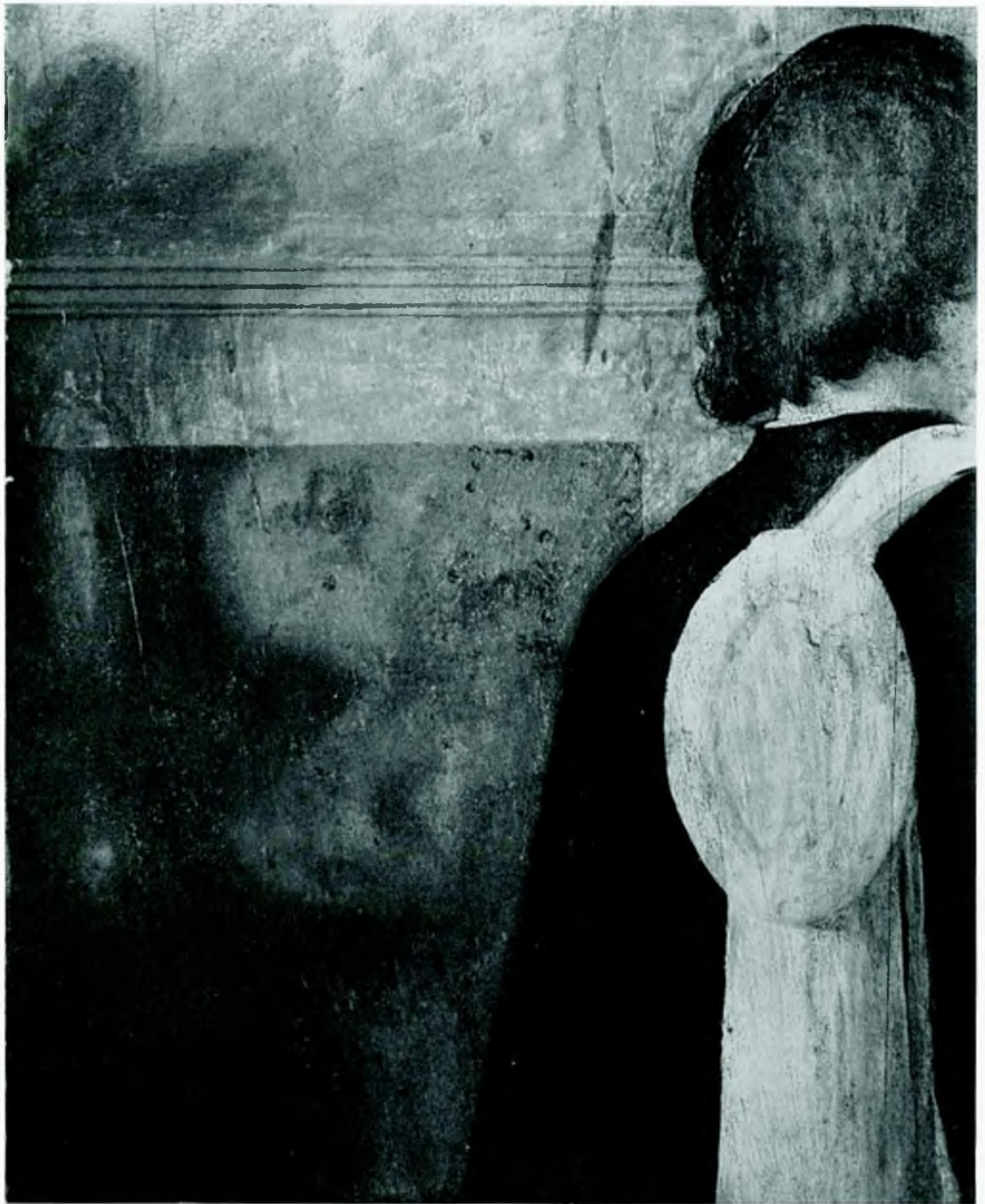
No. 52: Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2:5)
text pp. 142-157



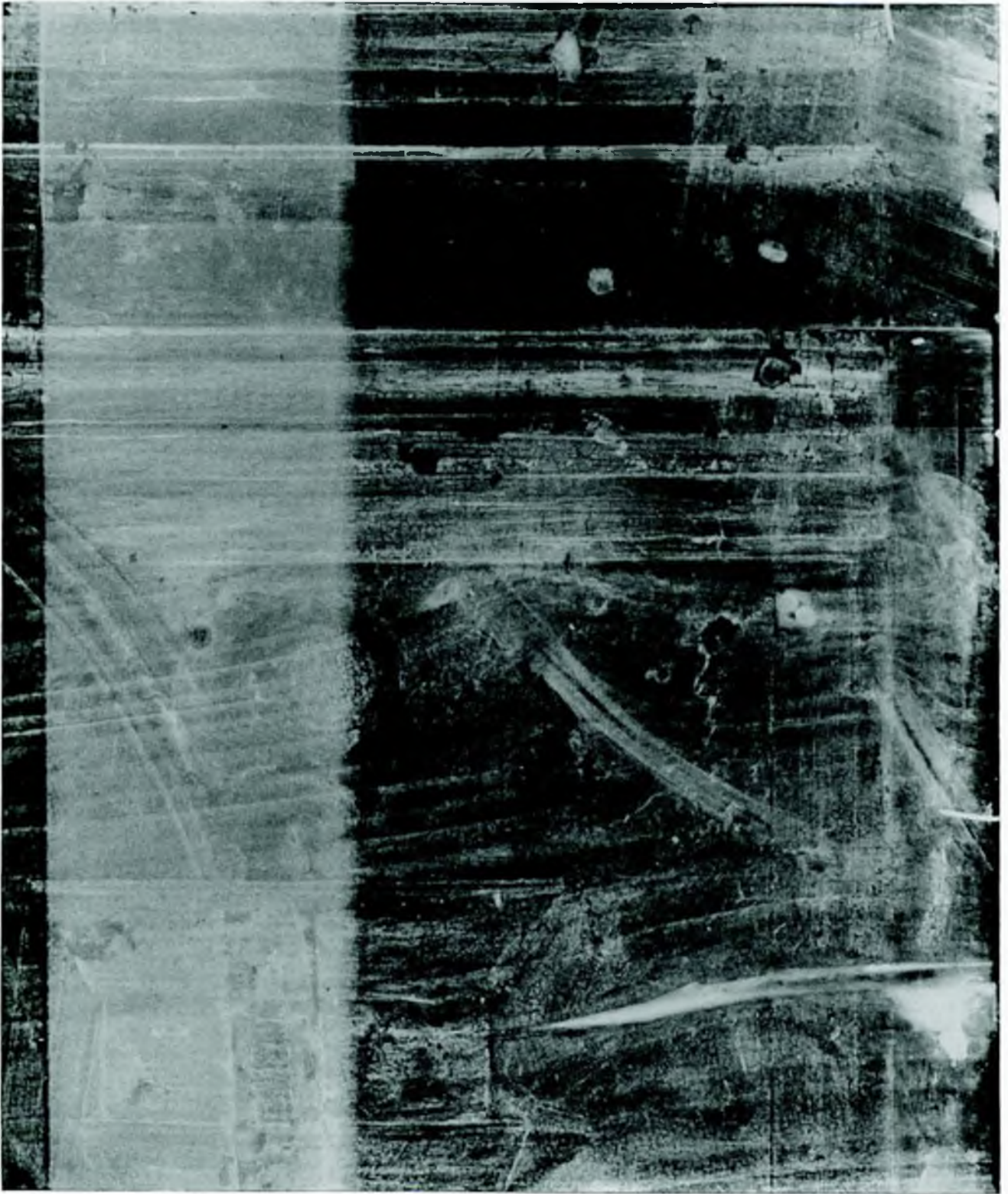
No. 52: Group Justus of Ghent (1). Music. Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2:5)
text pp. 142-157



No. 52: Group Justus al Ghent (1), Music. Drawing on the Reverse (ca. 2 : 5)
text pp. 142-157



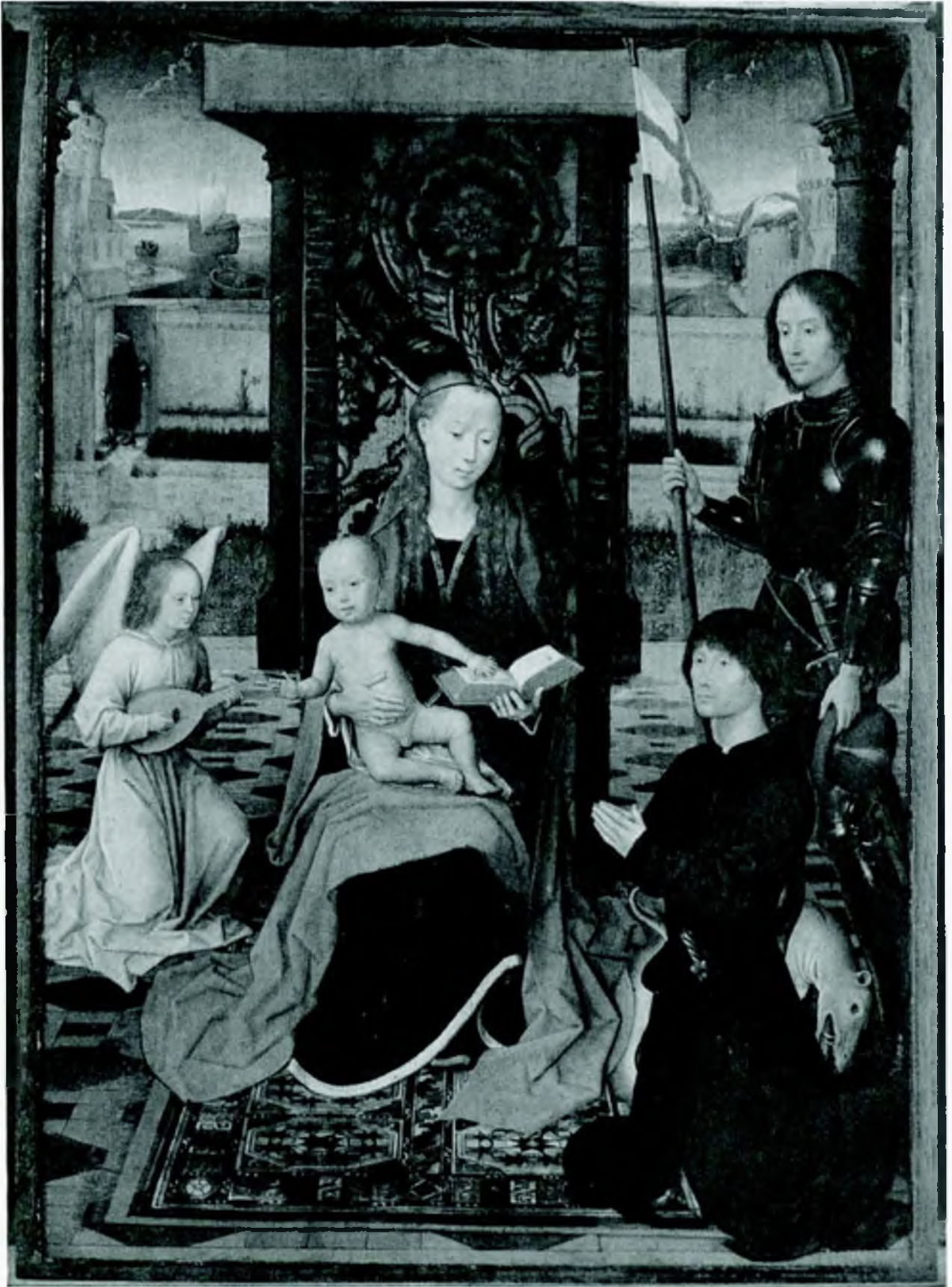
No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?), Shadow Cast by a Throne in a Missing Picture (intra-red)
text pp. 142 - 157



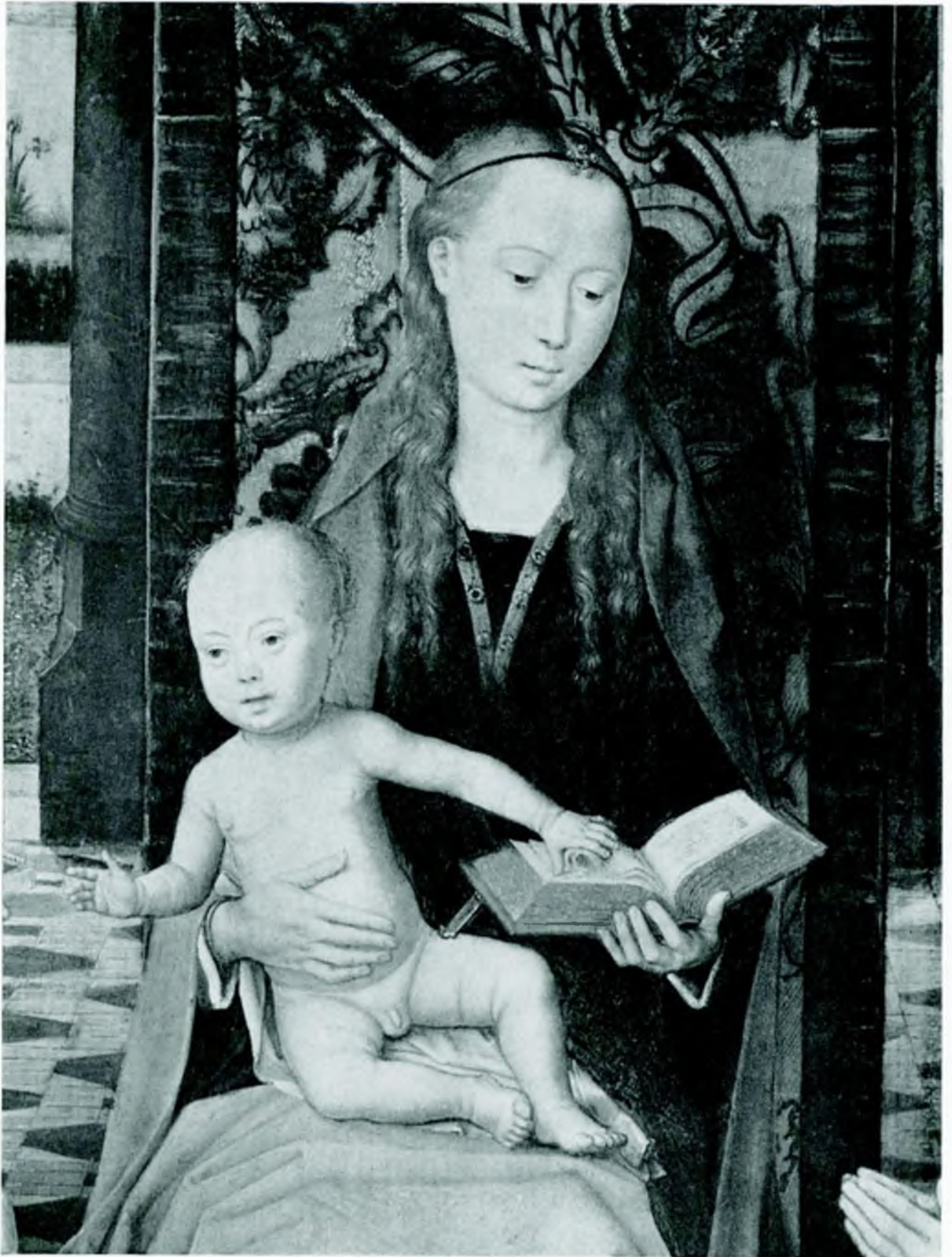
No. 52 : *Group Justus of Ghent (1), Music. Upper right Corner (X-radiograph 27 kV, 15 mA)*
text pp. 142-157



No. 52 : Group Justus of Ghent (1), Rhetoric (?) in Association with Dialectic (?) (formerly at Berlin)
Astronomy (formerly at Berlin) in tentative Association with Music
text pp. 142 - 157



No. 35 : Group Memline (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor*
text pp. 157 - 161



No. 53 : Group Mentlinc (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor* (1 : 1)
text pp. 157 - 161



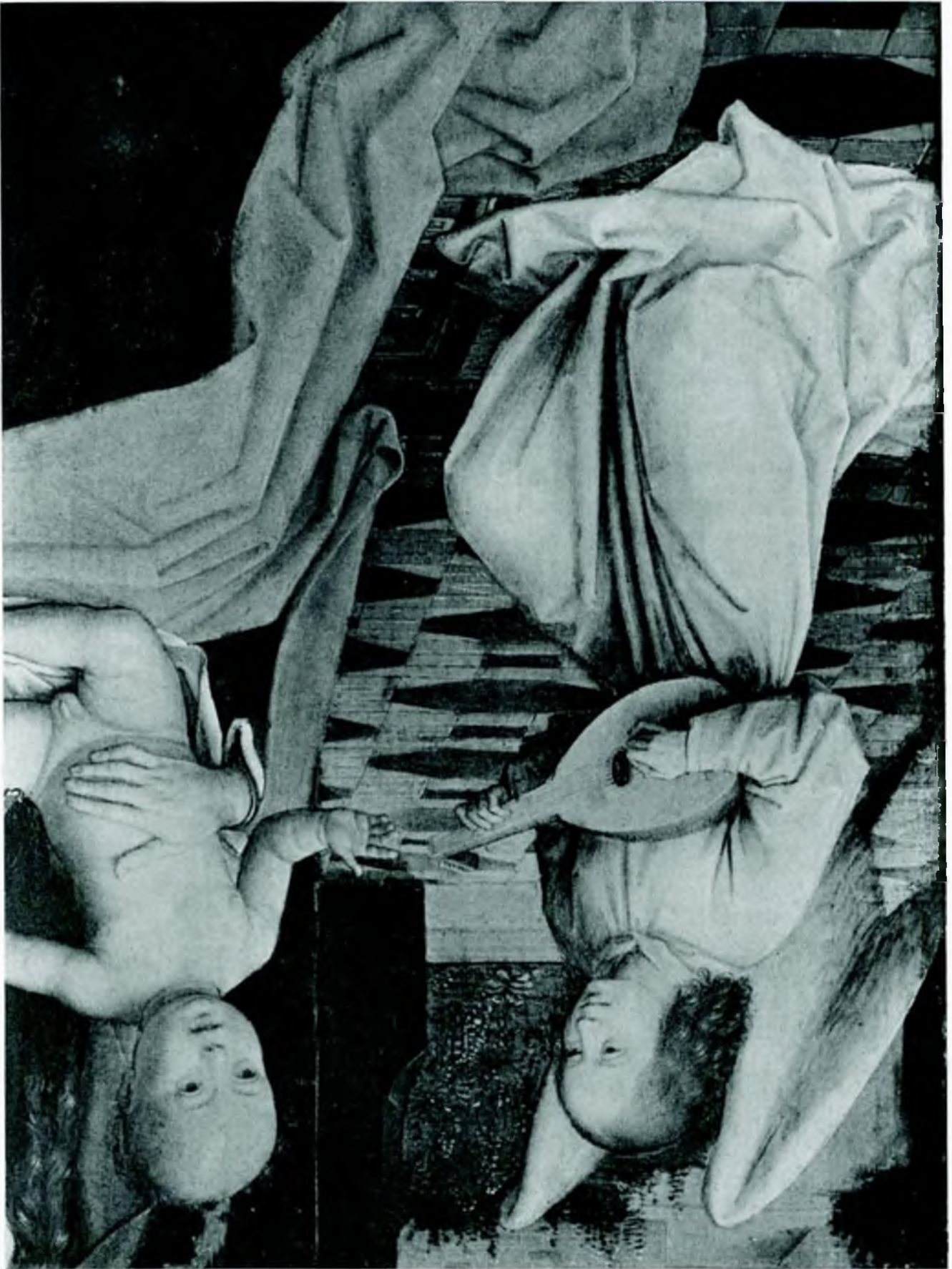
No. 55 : Group Memline (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor.*
The Child (ca. 4 : 5, infra-red)
text pp. 157 - 161

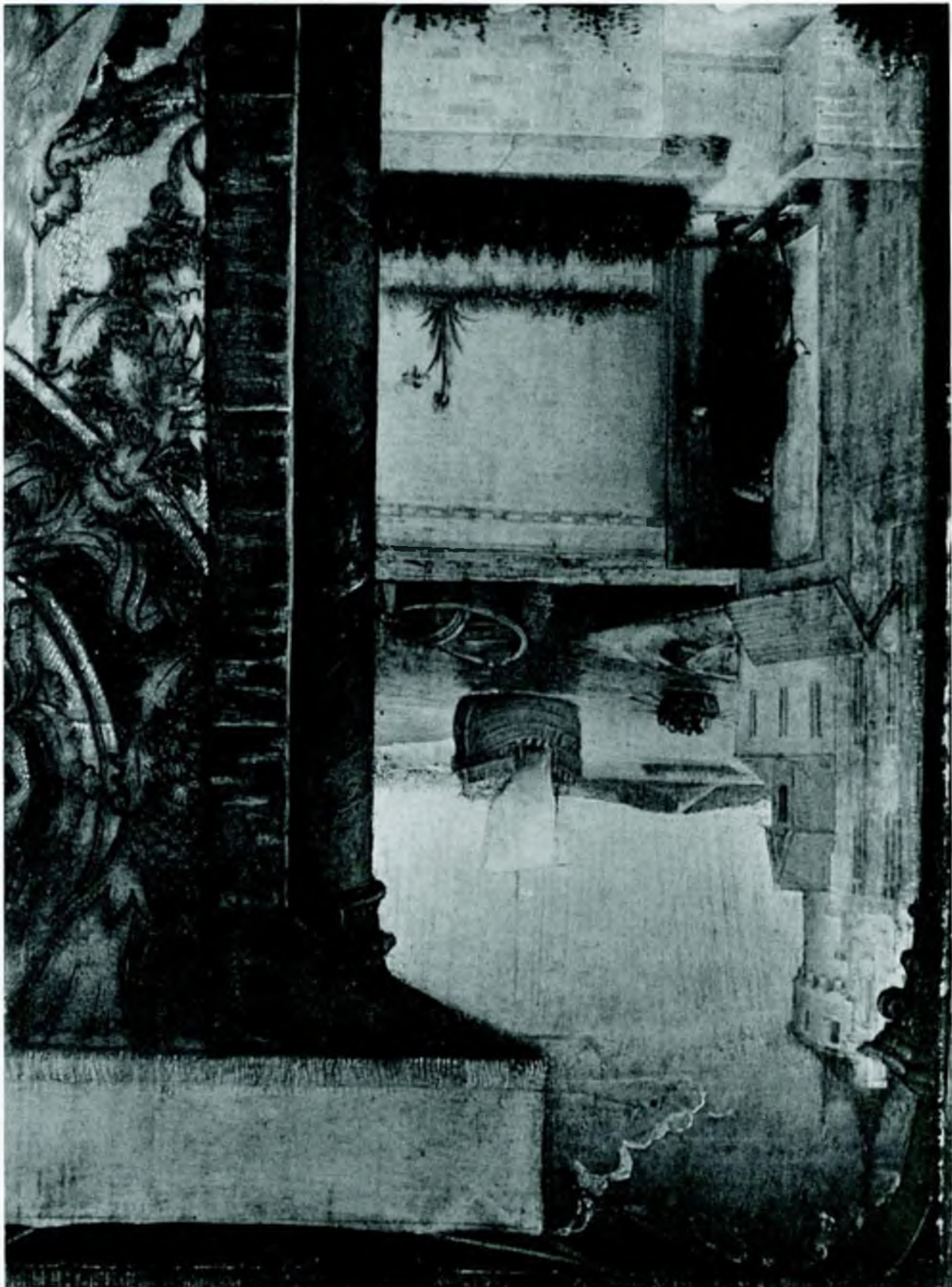


No. 55 : Group Memline (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor.*
Head and Right Hand of S. George, and the Landscape on the Right (1:1)
text pp. 157 - 161



No. 55 : Group Memline (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel. S. George and a Donor. The Donor, the Left Hand and Hat of S. George, and the Dragon (1 : 1)*
text pp. 157 - 161

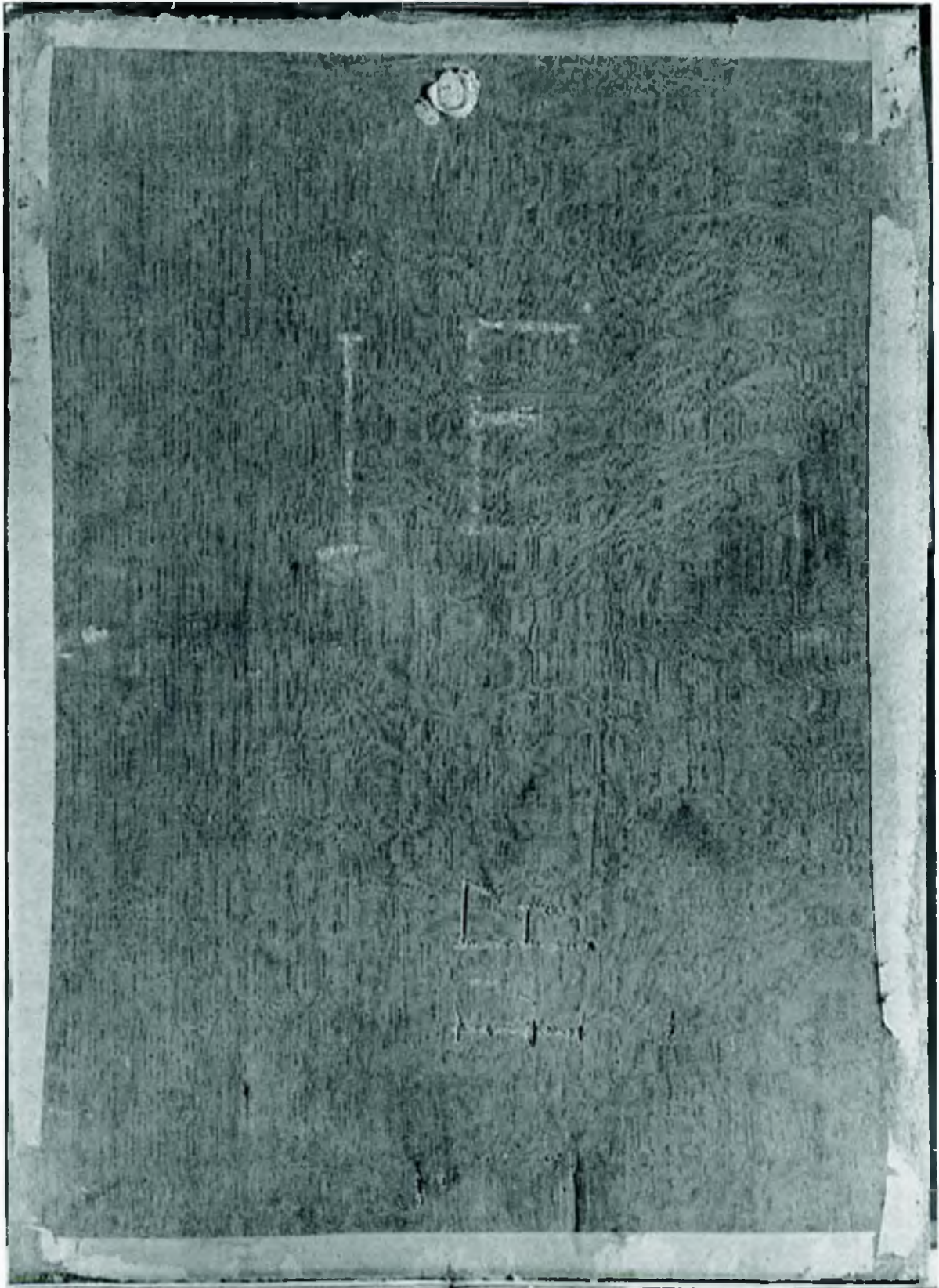




No. 53 : Group Membrane (5). The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor.
The Landscape on the Left (1 : 1)
text pp. 157 - 161



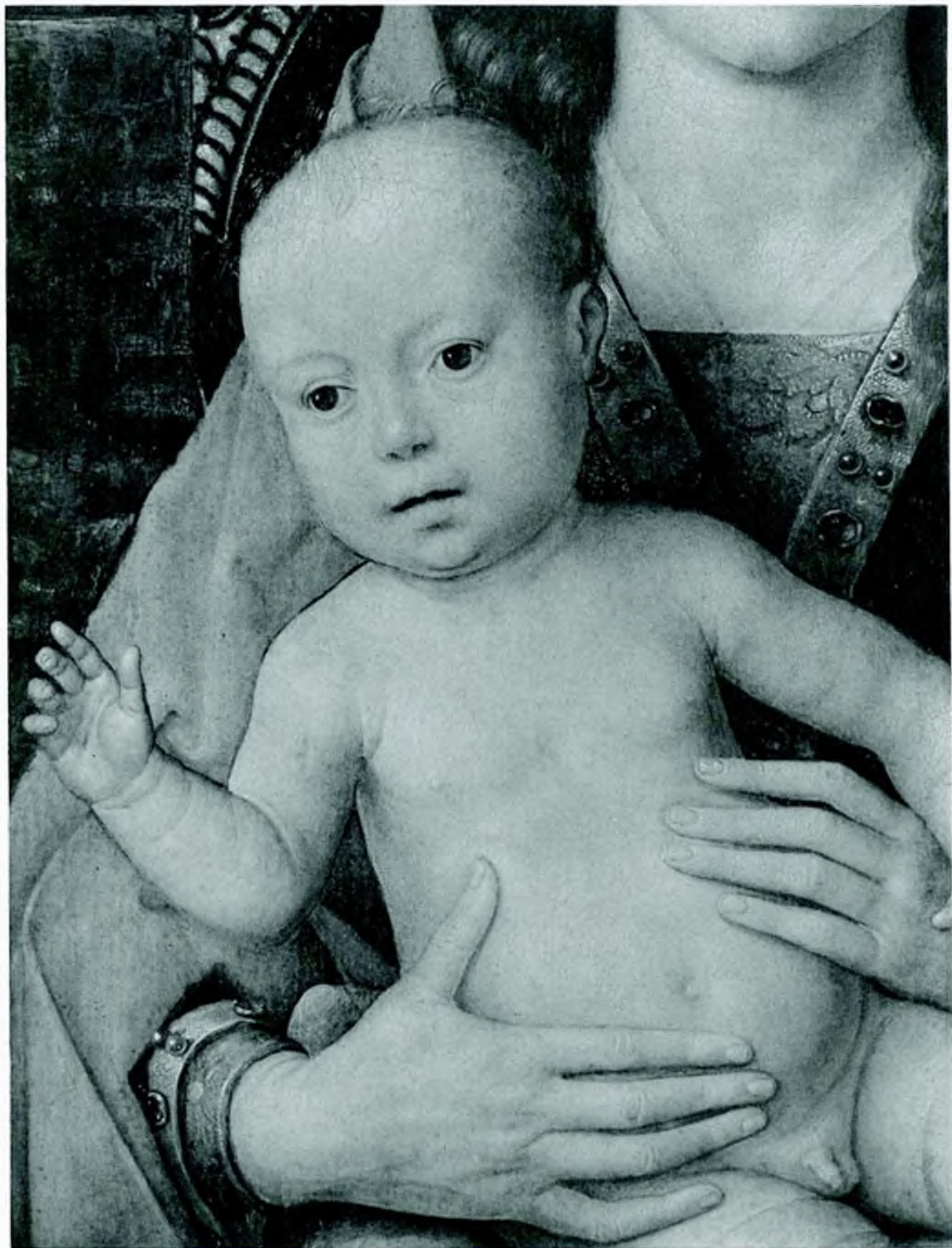
No. 55 : Group Memline (3). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor, Head of the Virgin (M2 X)*
text pp. 157 - 161



No. 55 : Group Memlinc (5). *The Virgin and Child with an Angel, S. George and a Donor.*
The Reverse
text pp. 157 - 161

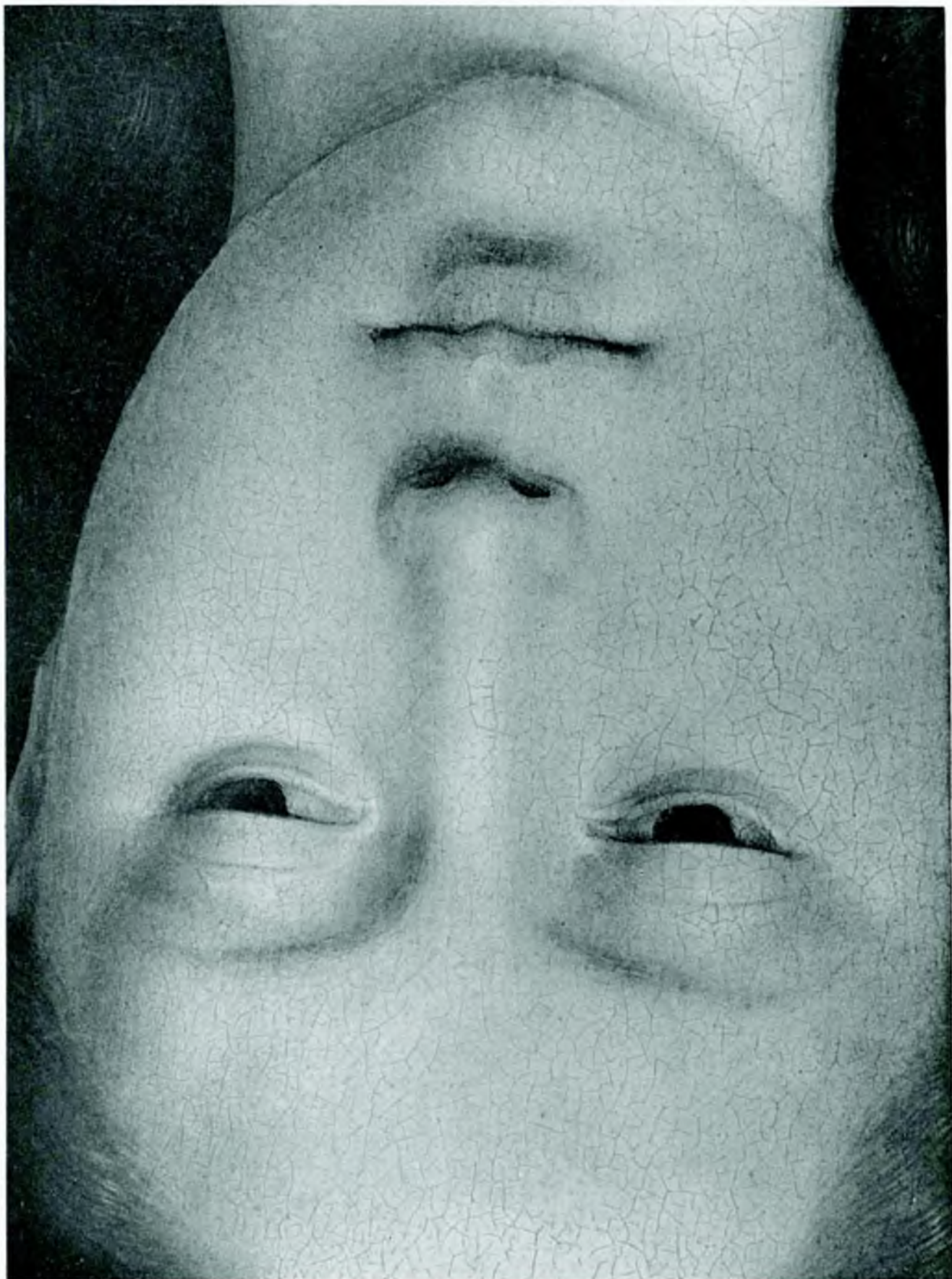


No. 54: Group Memling (4), *The Virgin and Child*
text pp. 162-166

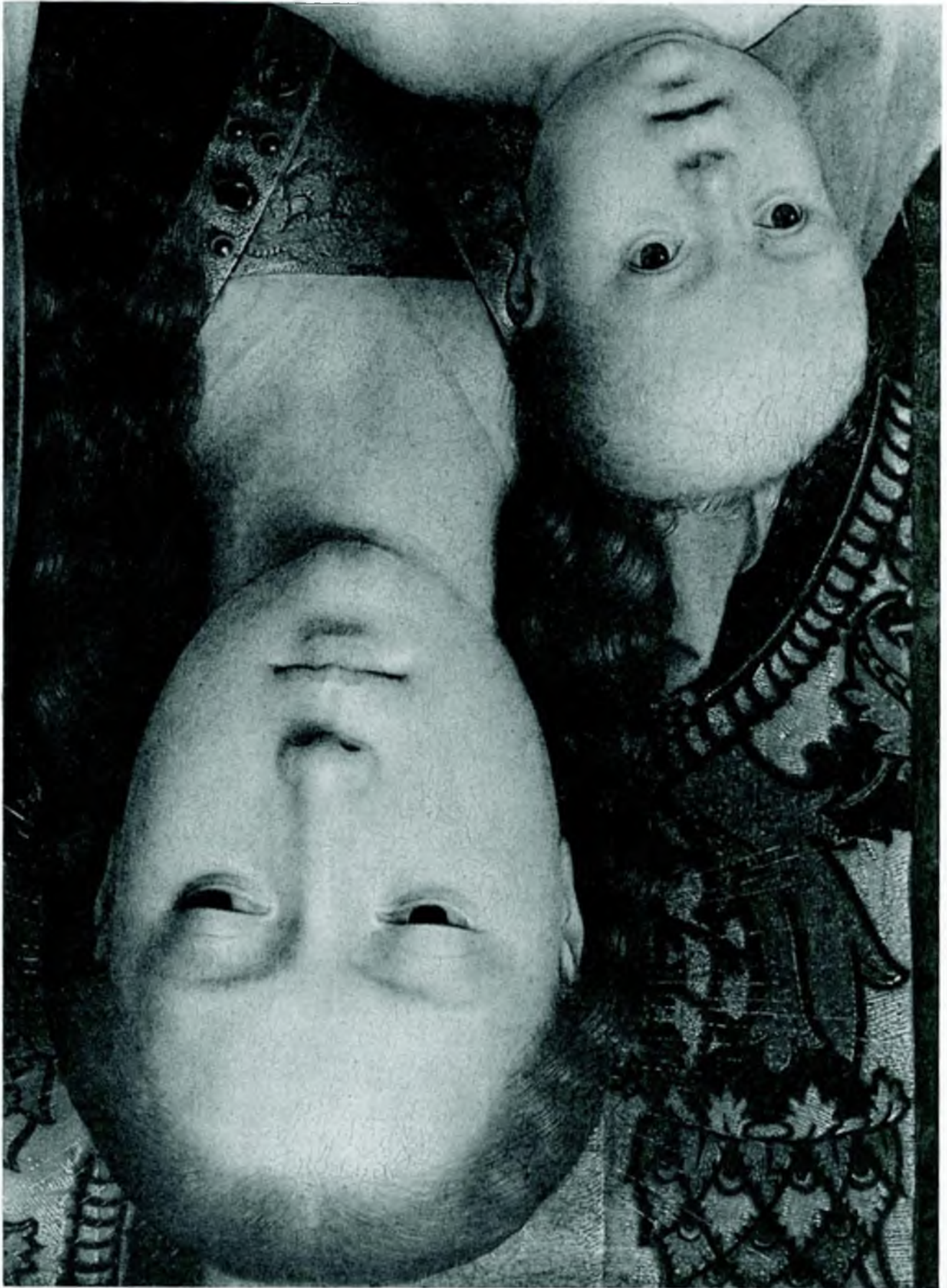


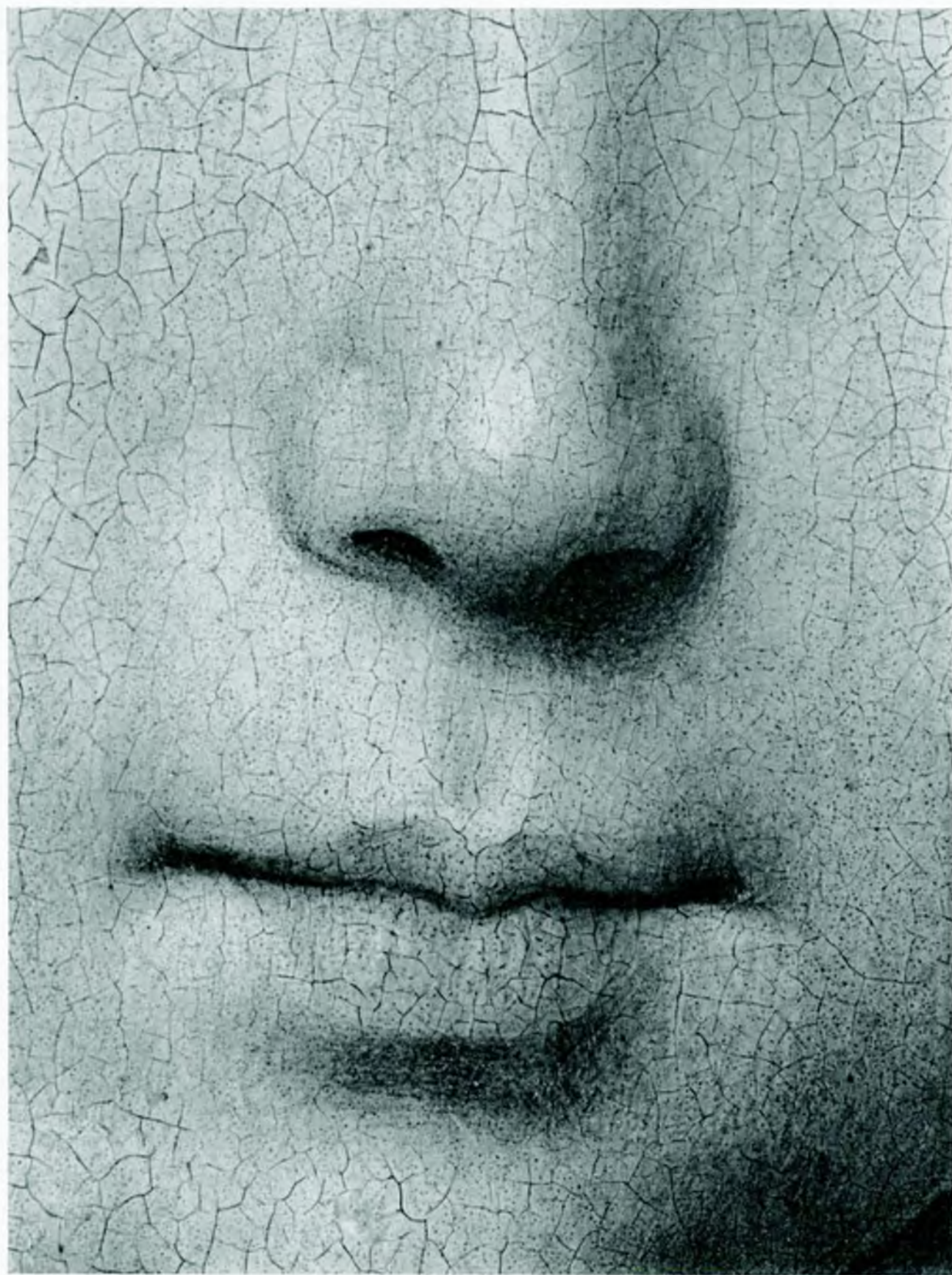
No. 51 : Group Memlinc (?), *The Virgin and Child*. Bust of the Child and Hands of the Virgin (1 : 1)
text pp. 162-166

No. 54 : Group Menting (II). The Virgin and Child. Face of the Virgin (M2X)
text pp. 102-100



No. 51: Group Memline (4), The Virgin and Child (1:1)
text pp. 162-166

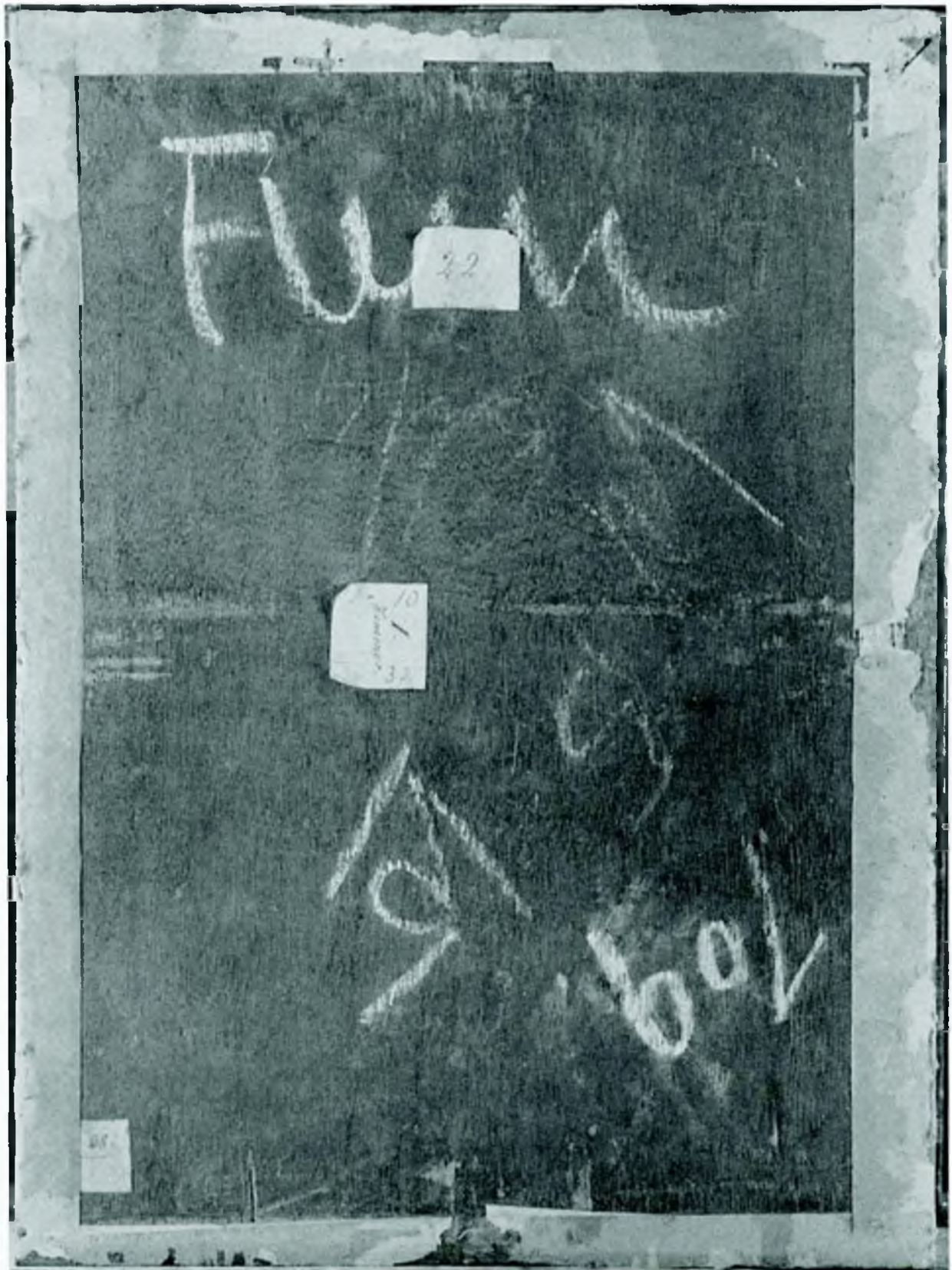




No. 51: Group Memline (4). *The Virgin and Child*. Mouth and Nose of the Virgin (M 4 1/2 X)
text pp. 162-166



No. 54: Group Memline (4), *The Virgin and Child*, Left Eye and Nose of the Child (M 4 1/2 X)
text pp. 162 - 166



No. 54: Group Memline (4). *The Virgin and Child. The Reverse*
text pp. 162 - 166



No. 55 : Group Memling (5). *Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence*
 text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Memline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.
Head of S. John the Baptist, Landscape and Architectural Framework (1 : 1)
text pp. 166-169



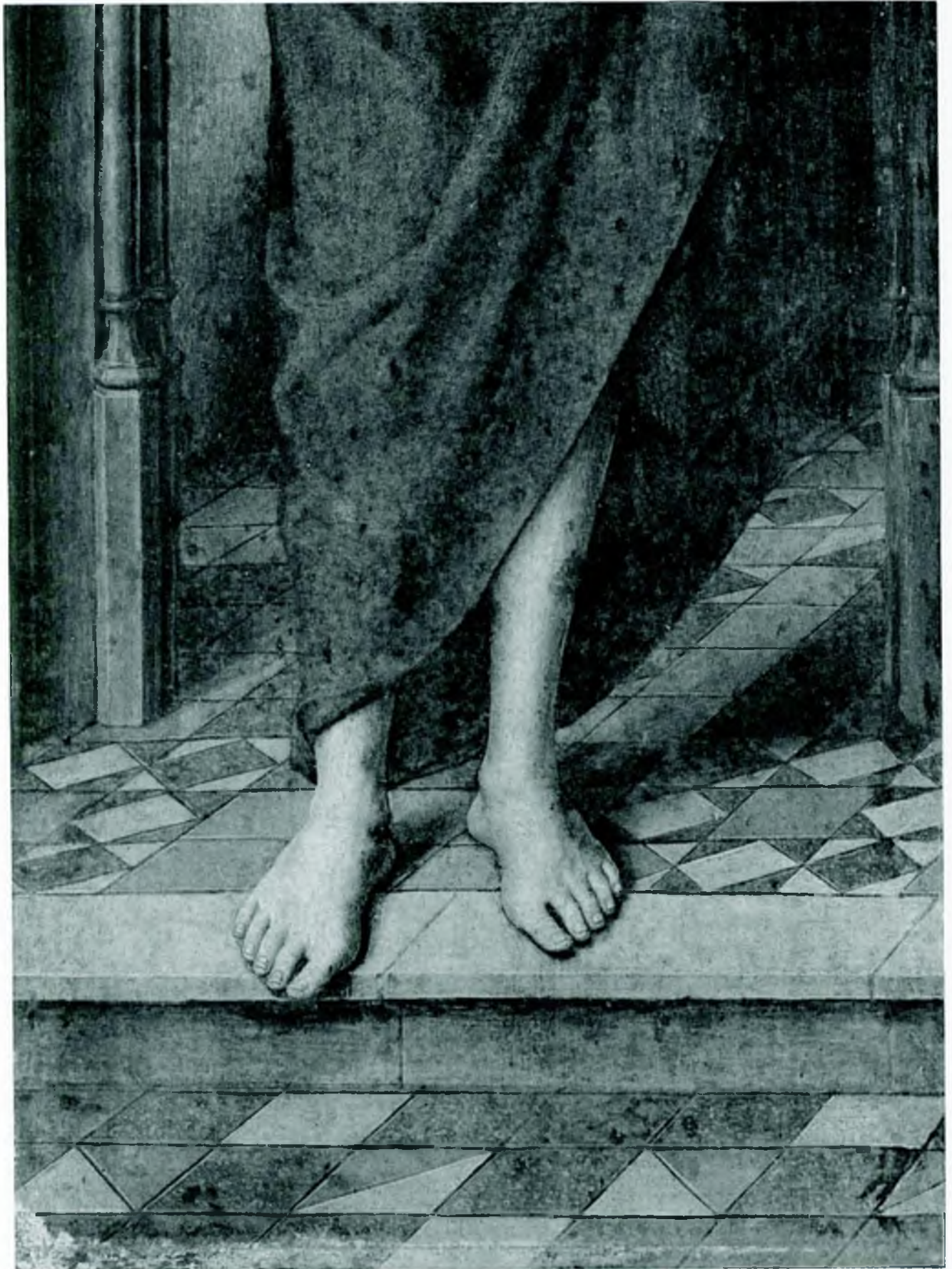
No. 55 : Group Memline (5), Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.
 Head of S. Lawrence, Landscape and Architectural Framework (1 : 1)
 text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Memline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.
Bust of S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)
text pp. 166-169



No. 55 : Group Memlinc (5). *Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.*
Bust of S. Lawrence (1 : 1)
text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Memline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.
Lower Part of S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)
text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Menline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence,
Lower Part of S. Lawrence (1 : 1)
text pp. 166 - 169



No. 73 : Group Memline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.
Head of S. John the Baptist (M 2 X)
text pp. 166-169



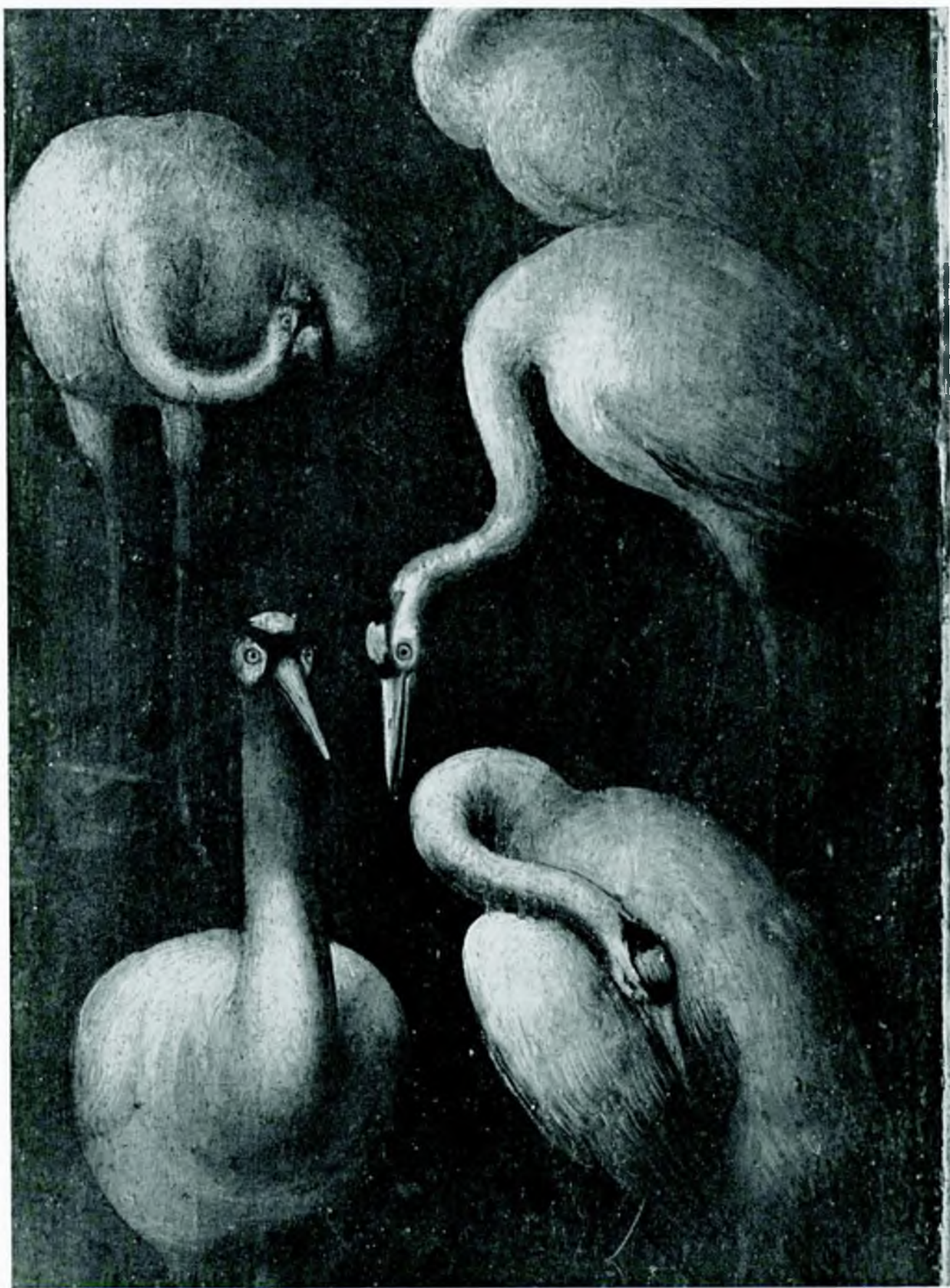
No. 55 : Group Memline (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence
text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Memling (5). Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence. The Reverses
text pp. 166 - 169



No. 55 : Group Memline (5), Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence,
Detail, Reverse of S. John the Baptist's Panel : Cranes (1 : 1)
text pp. 166-169



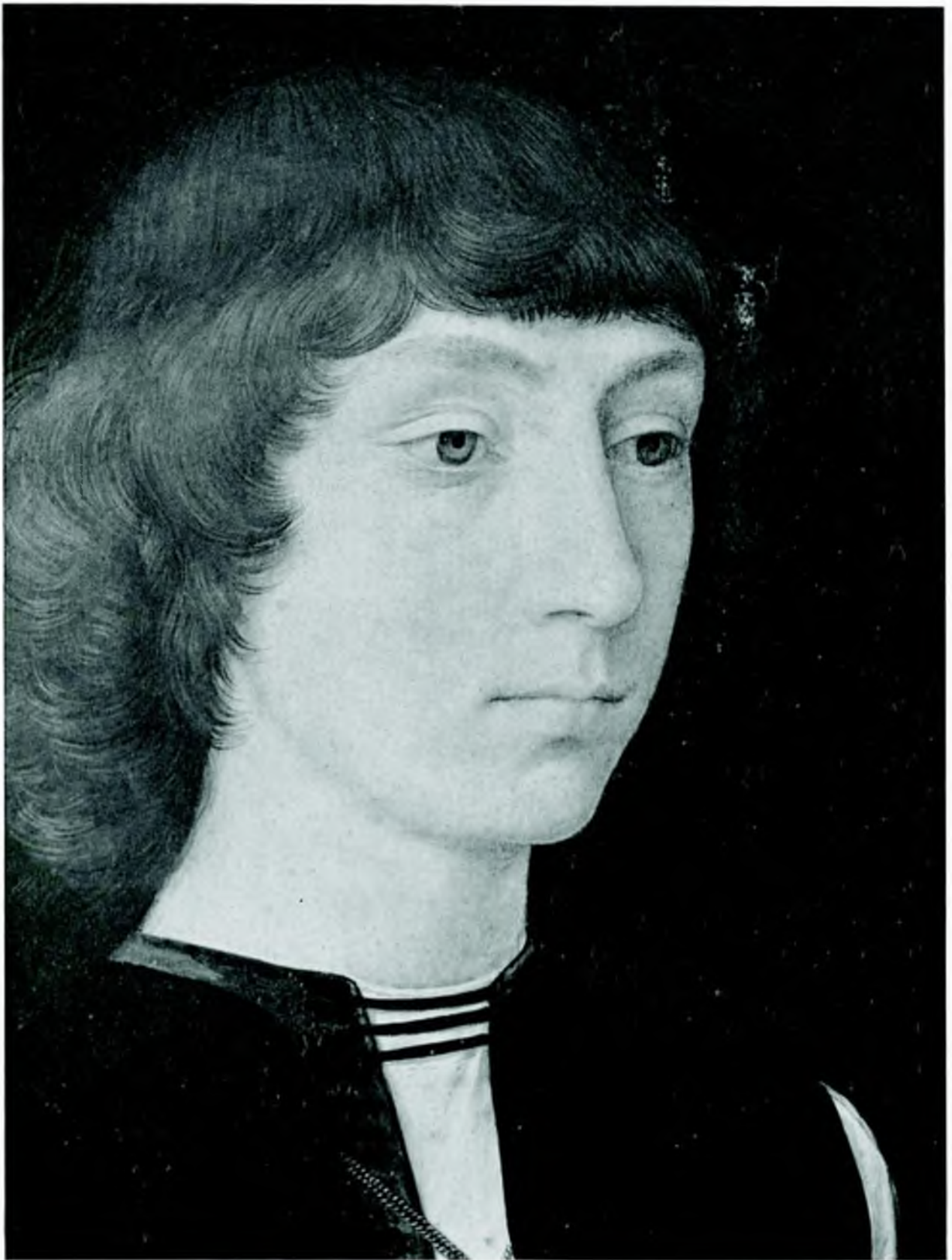
No. 55 : Group Memline (5). *Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.*
Detail, Reverse of S. Lawrence's Panel : Cranes (1 : 1)
 text pp. 166-169



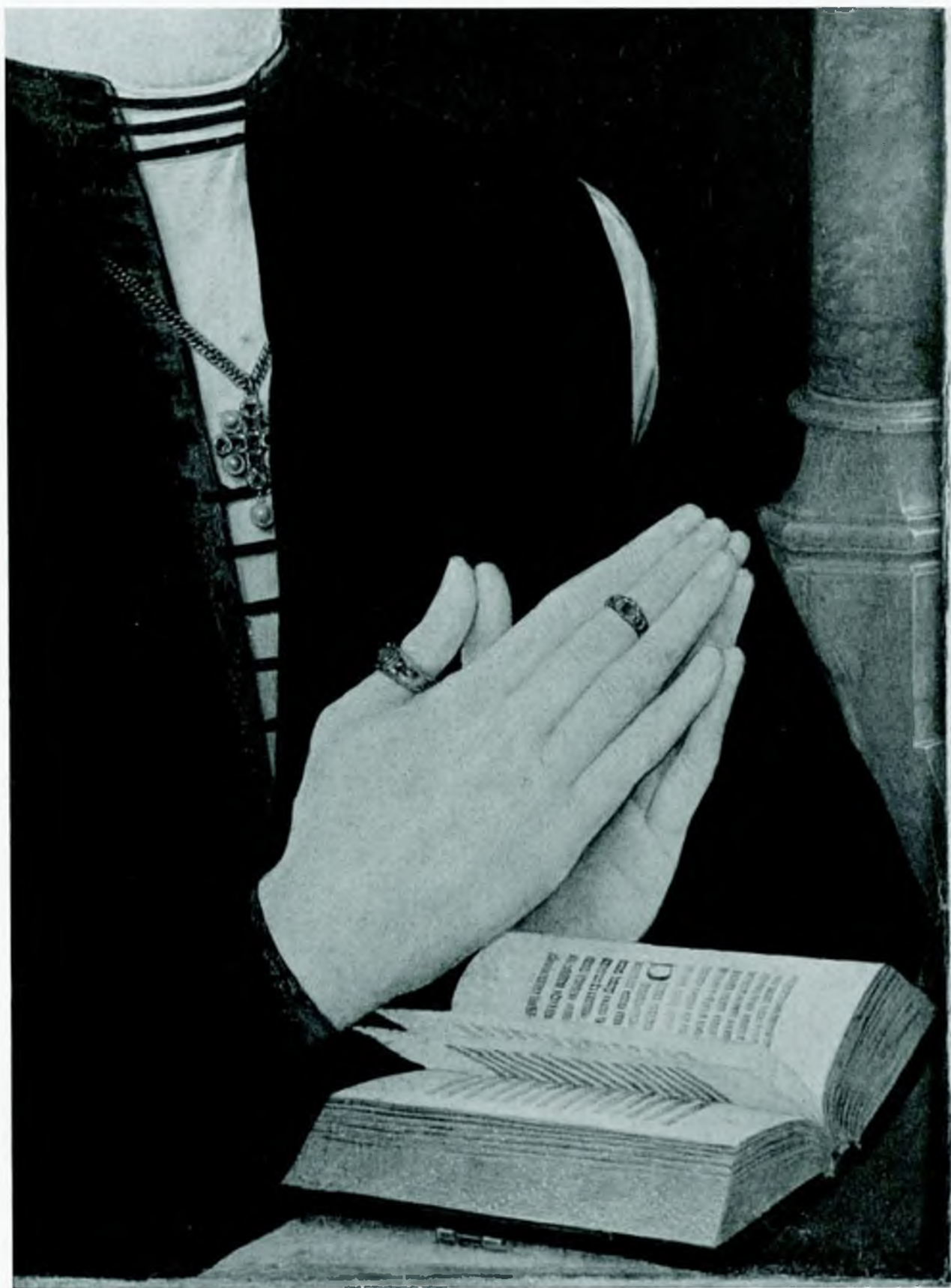
No. 55 : Group Memling (5). *Two Shutters : S. John the Baptist and S. Lawrence.*
Detail. Reverse of S. John the Baptist's Panel : Coat of Arms (1 : 1)
text pp. 166 - 169



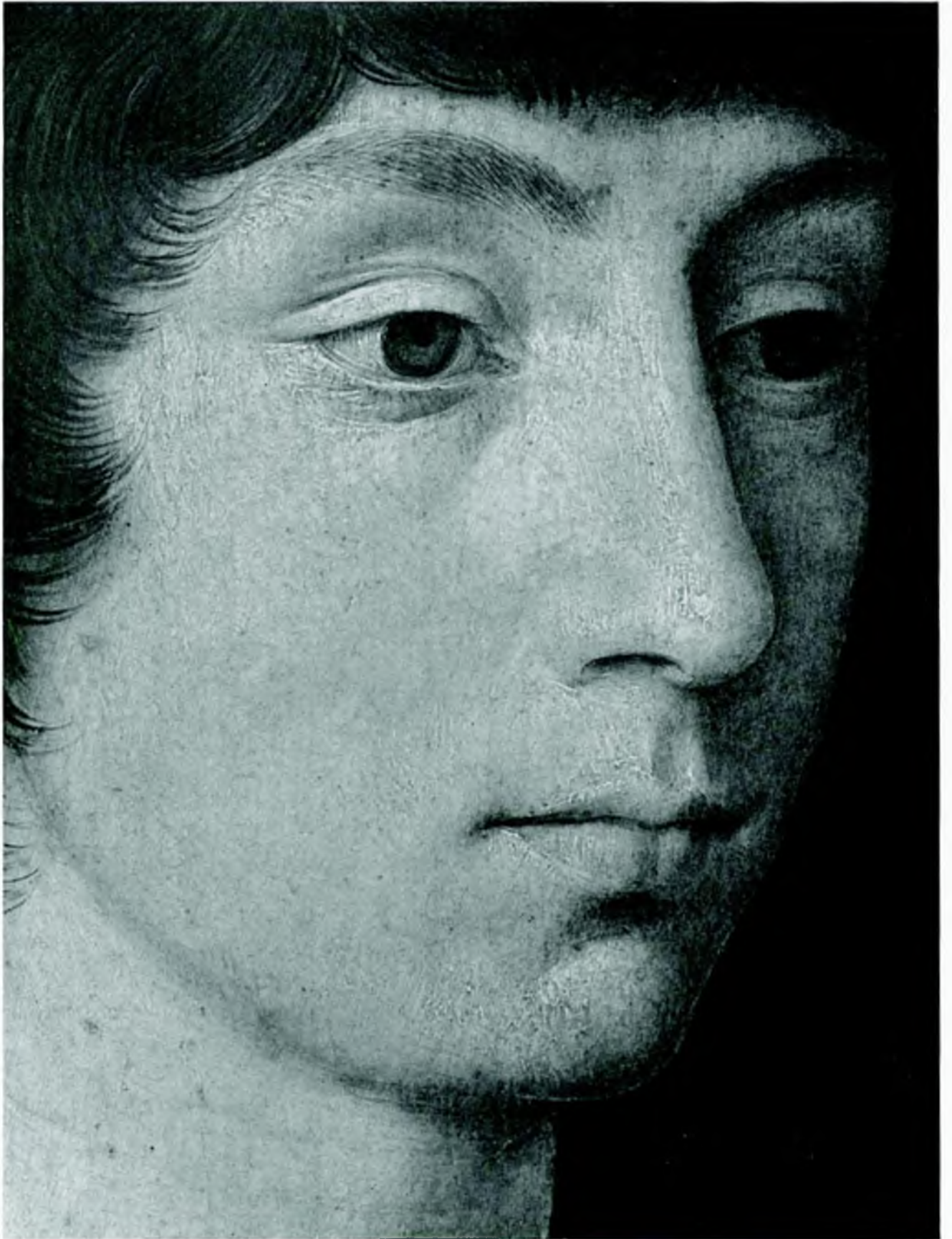
No. 56 : Group Memling (6). *Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer*
text pp. 170-172



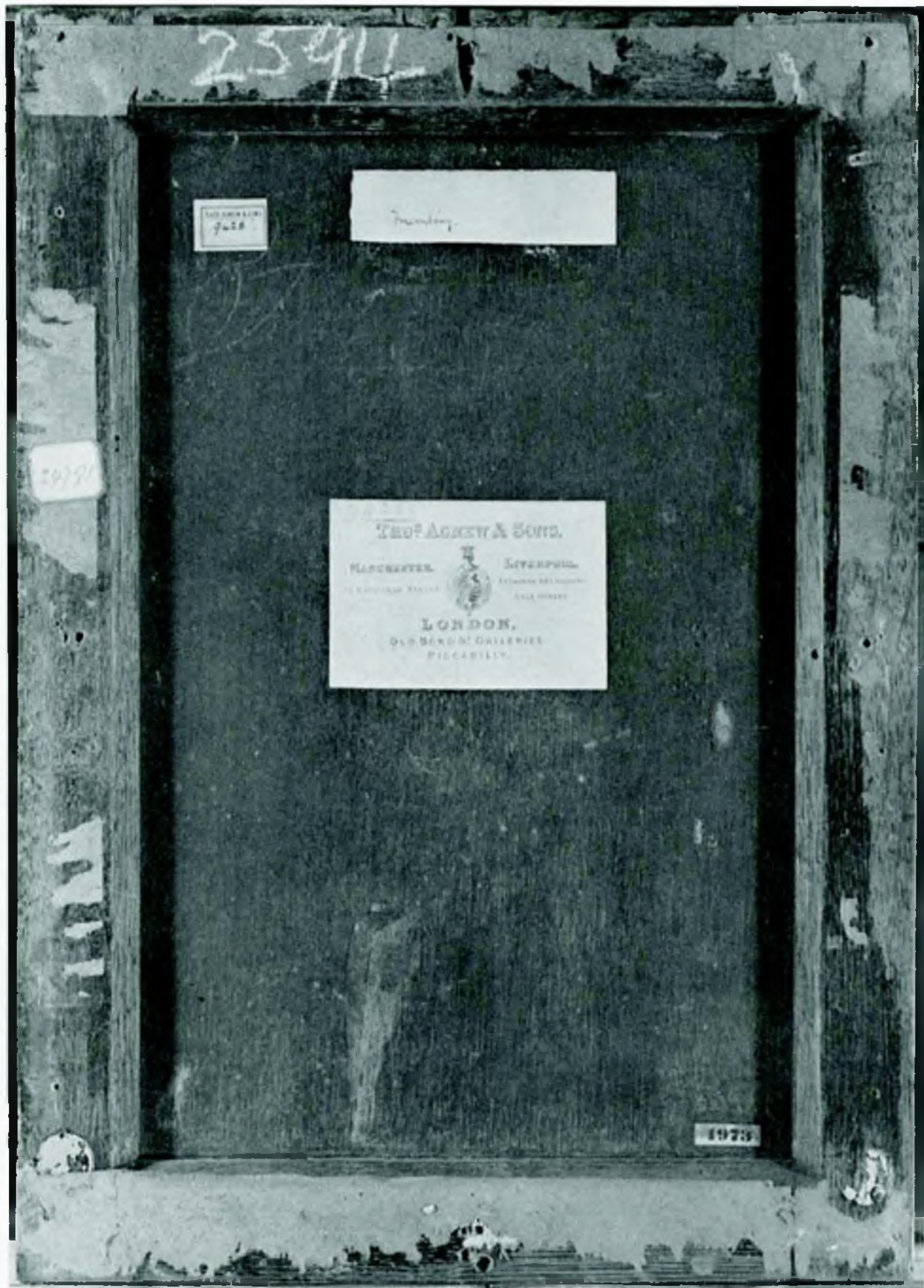
No. 56: Group Memlinc (6), *Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer* (1:1)
text pp. 170-172



No. 56 : Group Memline (6). *Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer. The Hands and the Book* (1 : 1)
text pp. 170-172



*No. 56: Group Menline (6). Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer (M 2 ×)
text pp. 170-172*



No. 56 : Group Memline (6), *Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer, The Reverse*
text pp. 170 - 172



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading*
text pp. 175-179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4), *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading*. Detail
text pp. 175-179



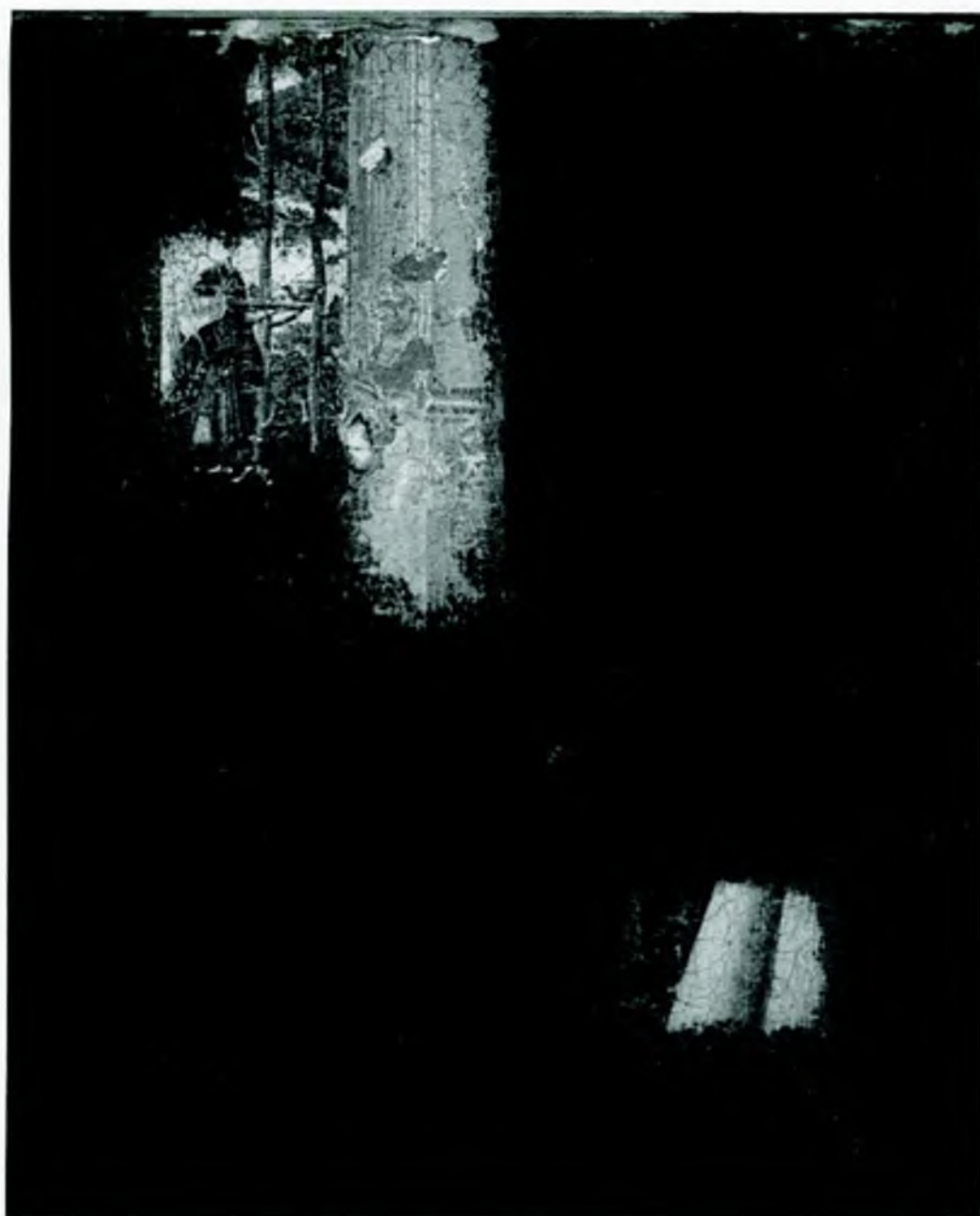
No. 37 : Group Weyden (1). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
The Head, Hands and Book of the Magdalen (1 : 1)
text pp. 173 - 179



No. 57 : Group Wexden (4). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
Detail of the Dress, lower left Corner (1 : 1)
text pp. 175-179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading. Detail of the lower right Corner, including the Jar (1 : 1)
text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
The Background, left Centre near the Top,
with the Overpaint Removed in two Areas (1 : 1)
text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading* (M 2 X)
text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (-4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.*
The Hands of the Magdalen (N1 2 X)
 text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4), Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
 X-Radiograph of the Background, left Centre, near the Top : Landscape and Buttress seen through a
 Window, Right Hand of S. Joseph Holding a Rosary, Drapery over his left Arm and Hand
 (1 : 1, 20 kV, 15 mA)
 text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4), Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
 X-Radiograph of the Background, left Centre : Window-Seat, Rosary in S. Joseph's Right Hand,
 Stick held in his left Hand ; the Magdalen's Book in the lower Right Corner (1 : 1, 20 kV, 15 mA)
 text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
X-Radiograph of the Background, Top Right : Cupboard behind the Magdalen's Head (20 kV, 15 mA)
text pp. 175-179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.*
Heads of S. Catherine (?) and S. Joseph
(Two Fragments from the same Altarpiece as the Magdalen Reading) : 16-photographs
text pp. 173-179



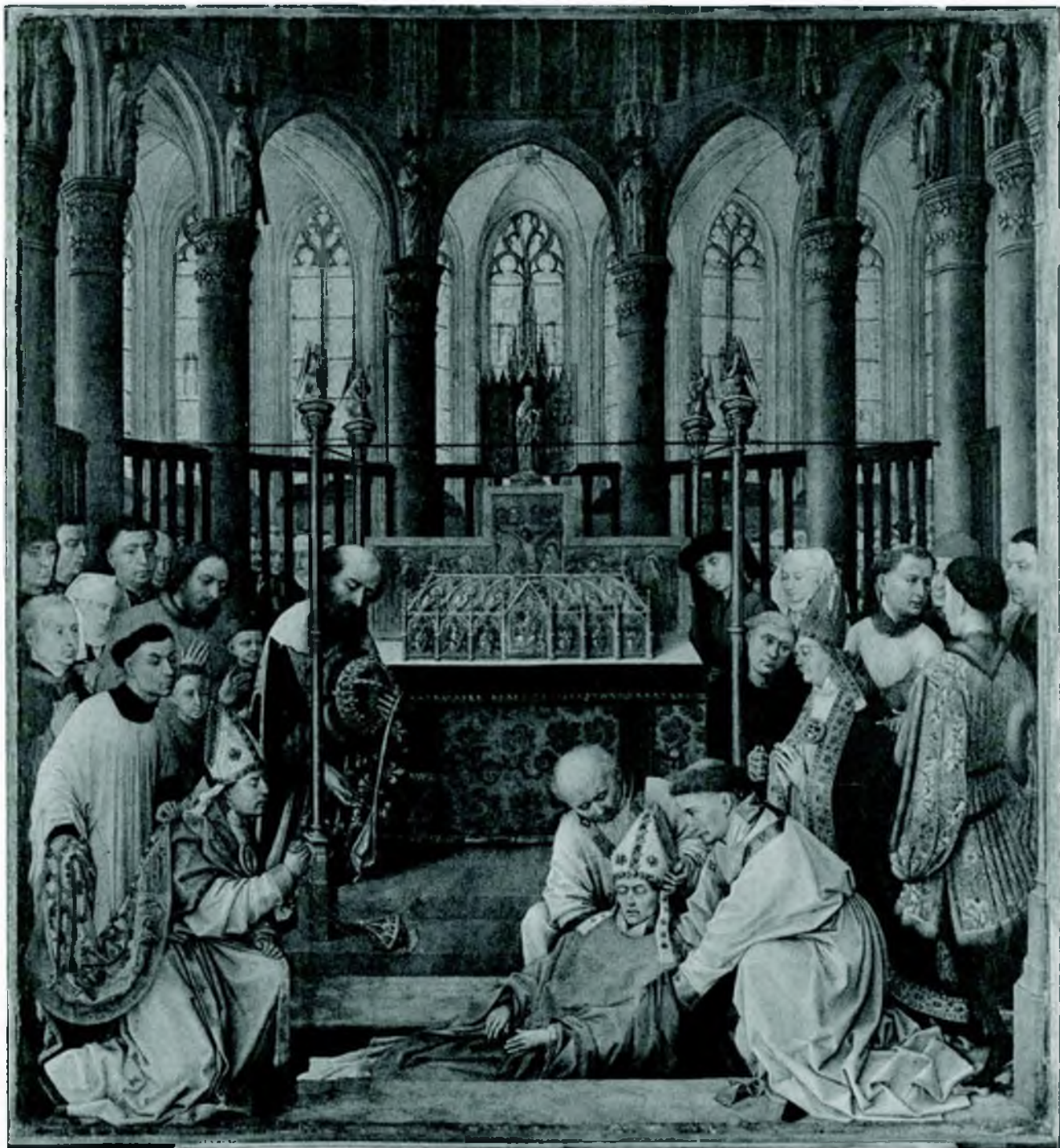
No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.
The Head of S. Joseph in Association with the Magdalen Reading
(X-Radiograph of the Background) : re-photograph
text pp. 175 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading.*
The Head of S. Joseph in Association with the Magdalen Reading
(Background with the Overpaint Removed in two Areas): re-photograph
text pp. 173 - 179



No. 57 : Group Weyden (4). *Fragment of an Altarpiece : The Magdalen Reading. The Reverse*
text pp. 175 - 179



No. 58: Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert*
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert*. Group of Figures on the Left
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Group of Figures on the Right*
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Heads of S. Hubert and the two Supporting Acolytes*
text pp. 179 - 195

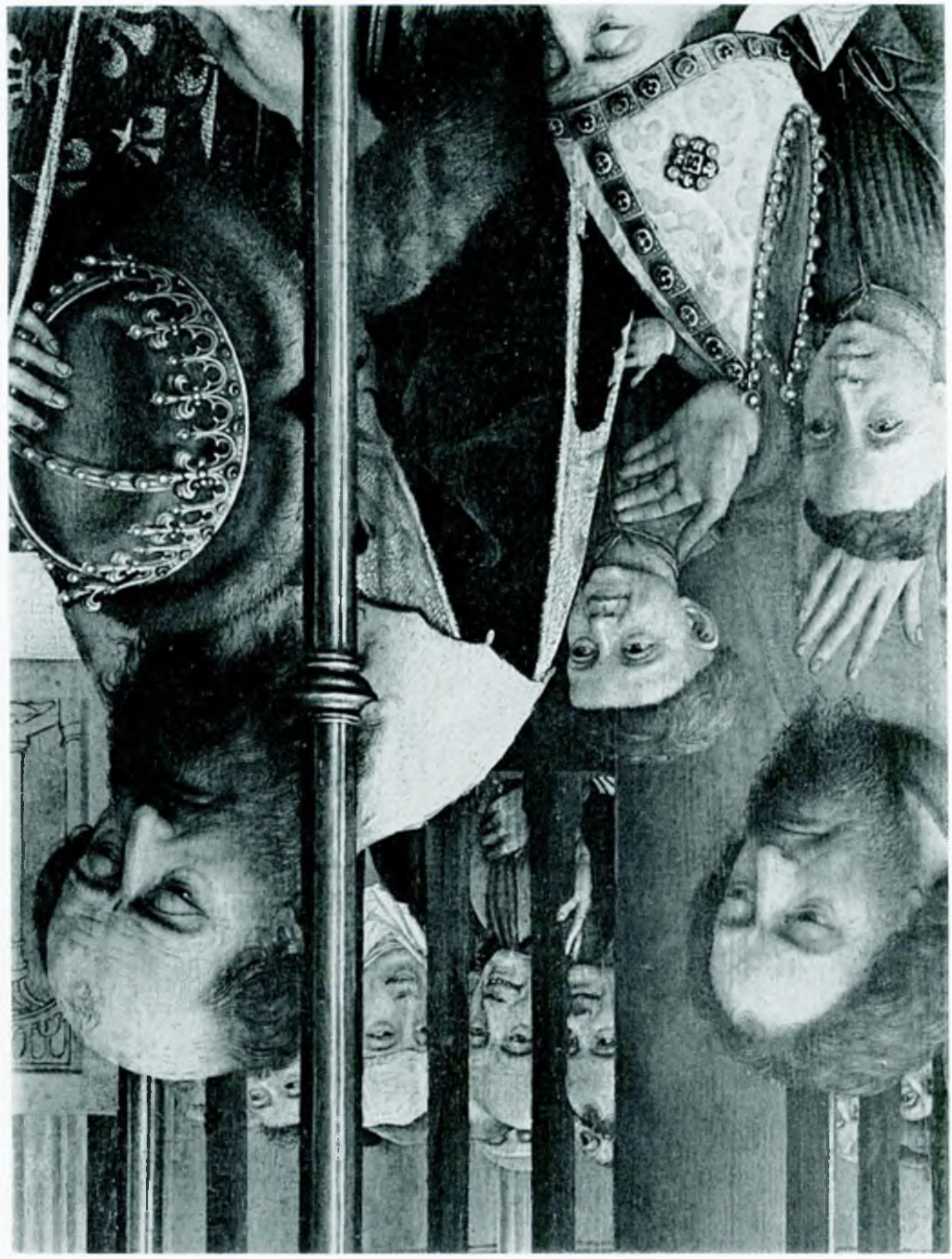


No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. The Body of S. Hubert and a Censer (1 : 1)*
text pp. 179 - 195

No. 58: Group of Figures to the Left of Louis le Debonnaire (2) (1:1)
text pp. 179-195



No. 58: Group Weyden (5), The Examination of S. Hubert.
Half-length of Louis le Debonnaire (?), and Background Figures (1:1)
text pp. 179-195



No. 38 : Group Weyden (5). The Exhumation of S. Hubert.
Group of Figures on the Extreme Right, half-length (1 : 1)
text pp. 179 - 193



No. 58 : Group Weylen (3), The Exhumation of S. Hubert, Half-length of Adelbald, Archbishop of Cologne (?), and Figures on his Left (1 : 1) text pp. 179-195





No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Half-length of Walcandus, Bishop of Liège (?)* (1 : 1)
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Lower right Corner* (1 : 1)
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert*. Detail of the Architecture to the Left
text pp. 179 - 193



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert*. Detail of the Architecture to the Right
text pp. 179 - 193



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Four Statues of Apostles on the Left (1 : 1)*
 text pp. 179 - 195



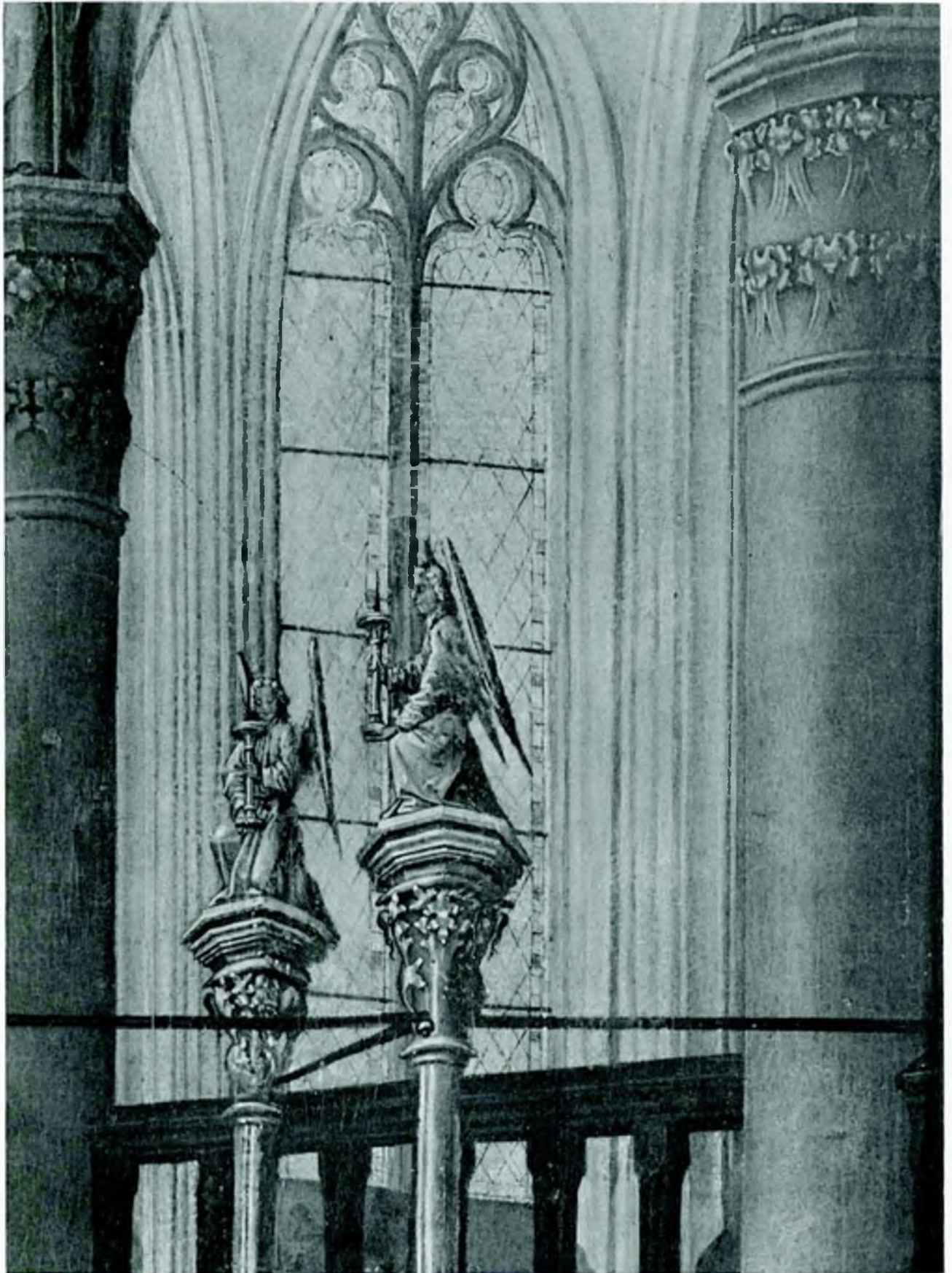
No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Two Statues of Apostles in the Centre (1 : 1)*
 text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Four Statues of Apostles on the Right (1 : 1)*
 text pp. 179 - 195



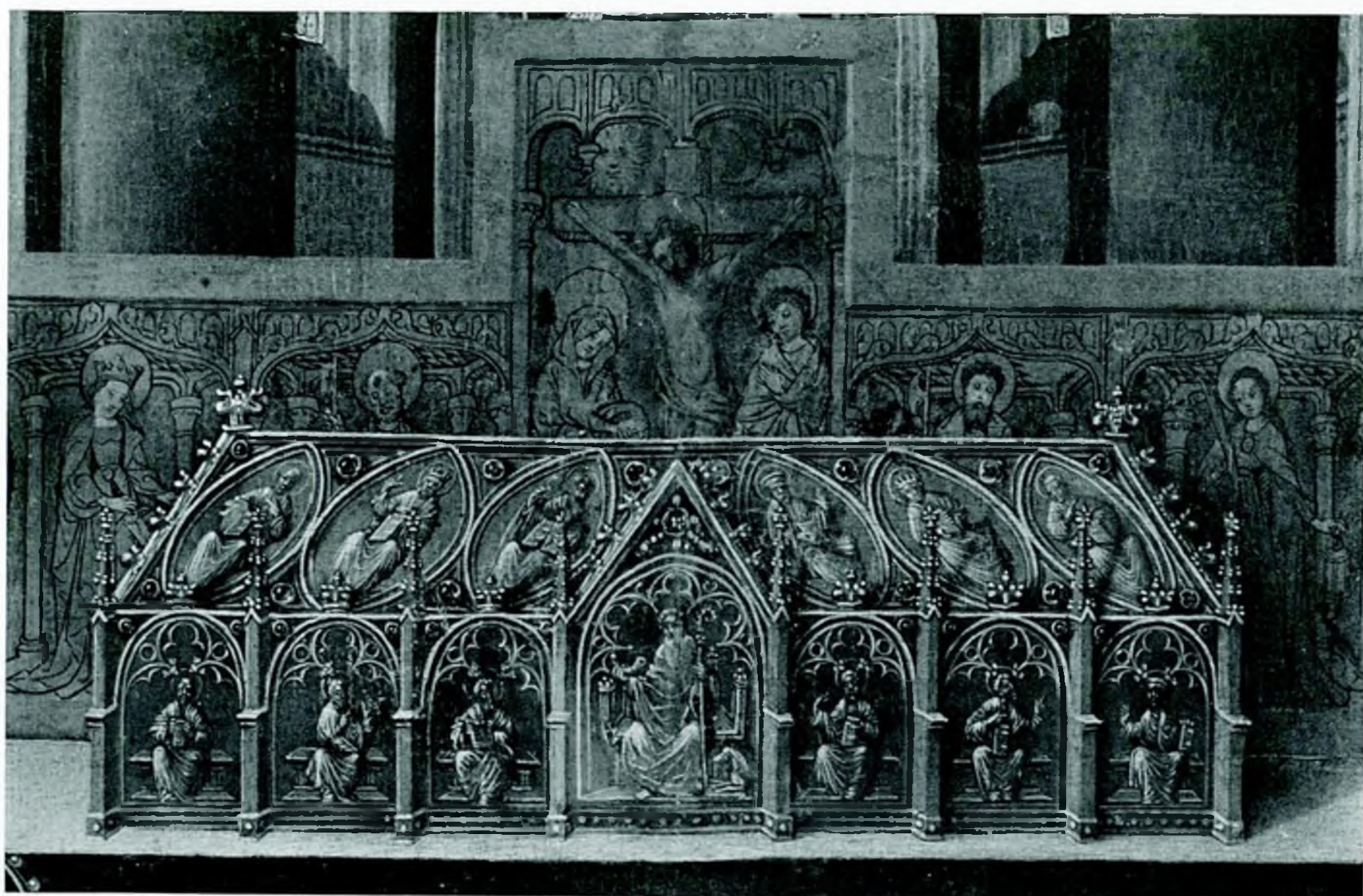
No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Two Statuettes of Angels Bearing Candlesticks, on the Left (1 : 1)*
 text pp. 179 - 195



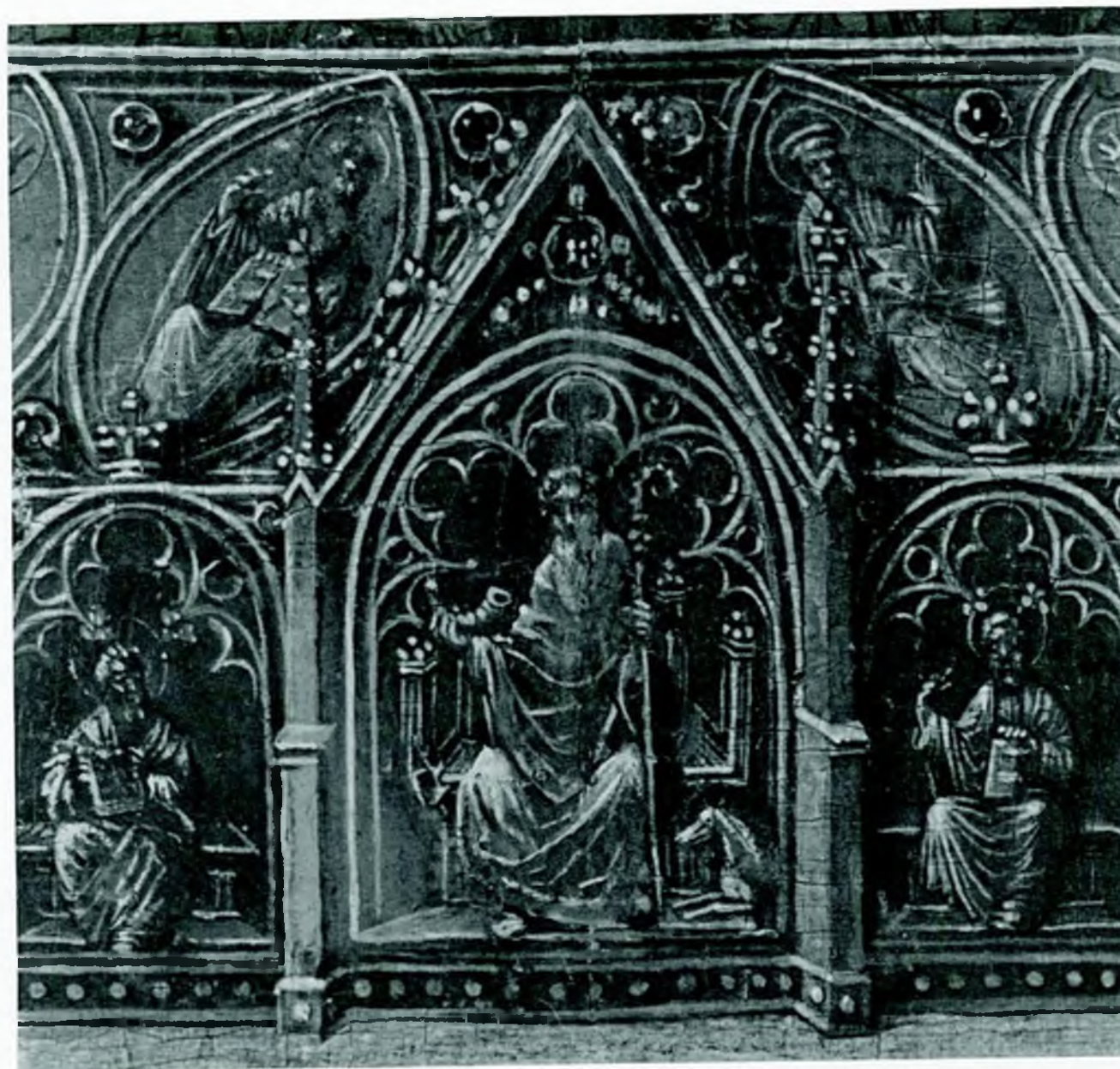
No. 58: Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert.*
Two Statuettes of Angels Bearing Candlesticks, on the Right (1:1)
text pp. 179-195



No. 58: Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert.*
Tabernacle with a Statue of S. Peter above the Altar (1:1)
text pp. 179-195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Reliquary of S. Hubert, and Painted Retable (1 : 1)*
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. Detail of the Reliquary, showing the Figure of S. Hubert (M 2 X)*
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert.*
Heads of an Acolyte and a Child behind Walcandus (?) (M 2 ×)
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert*. Head of S. Hubert (M 2 X)
text pp. 179 - 195



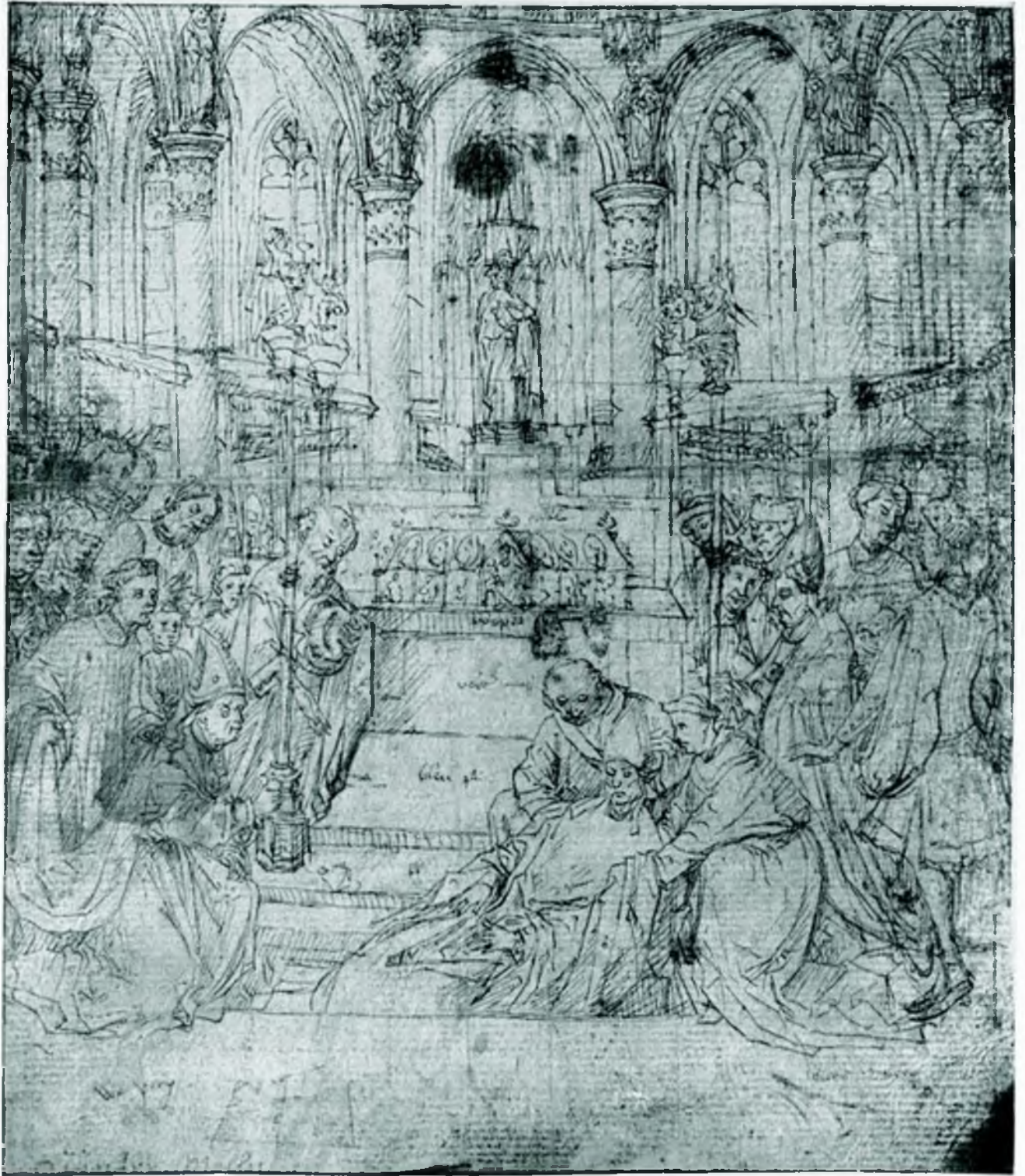
No. 58: Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert.*
Heads of Adelbald (?) and the Figure next him (M 2 X)
text pp. 179-195



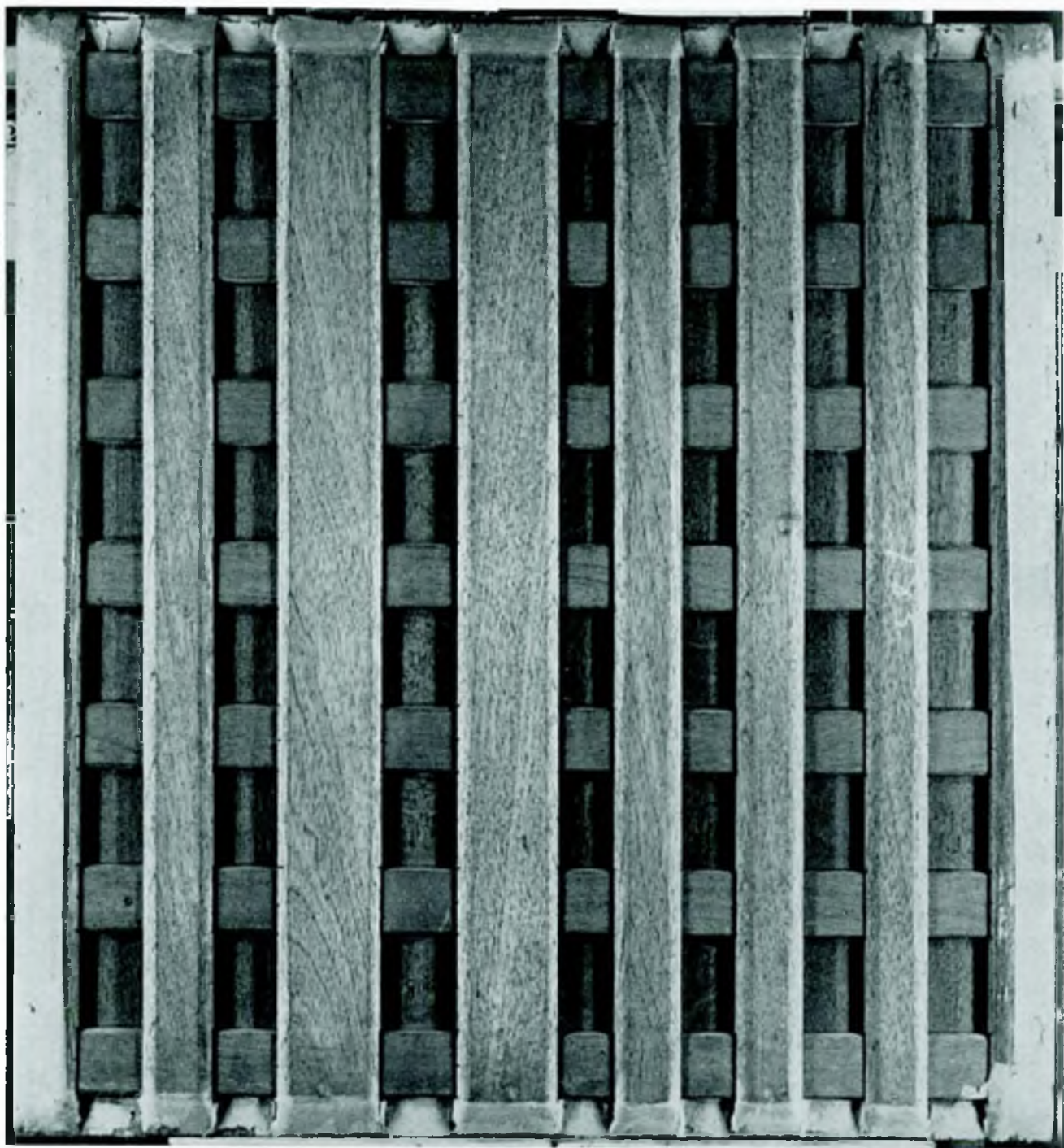
No. 58: Group Weyden (5). *The Exhumation of S. Hubert.*
Left Arm of a Man Standing in the Right Foreground (1:1, infra-red)
text pp. 179-195



No. 58 : Group Weyden (5). "The Exhumation of S. Hubert"
in Association with "The Dream of Pope Sergius" : Reconstruction according to the Description of Dubuisson-Aubenay
text p. 184



No. 58. Comparative Material: Drawing after the Exhumation of S. Hubert, at Rotterdam text p. 186

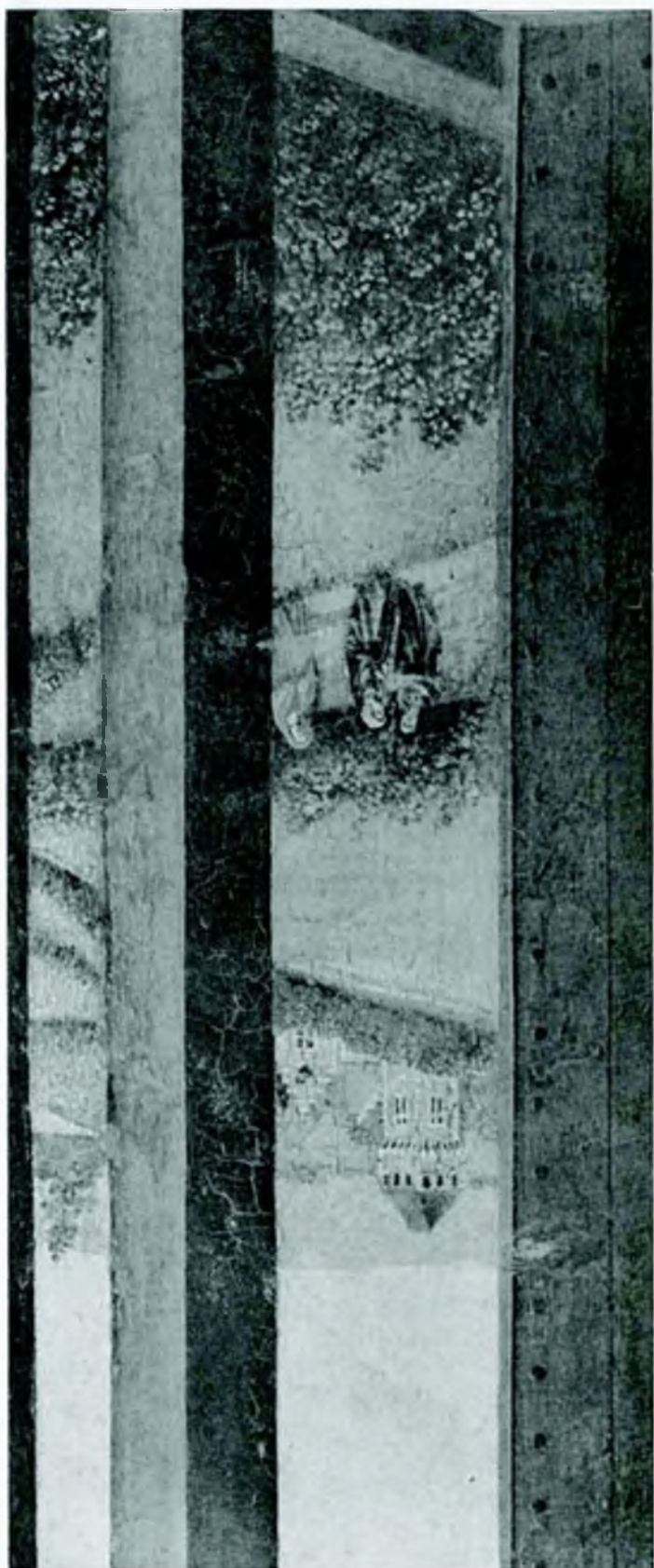


No. 58 : Group Weyden (5), *The Exhumation of S. Hubert. The Reverse*
text pp. 179 - 195



No. 59 : Group Weyden (6), *Christ appearing to the Virgin*
text pp. 195 - 196

No. 59 : Group Weyden (6). Christ appearing to the Virgin.
Landscapes seen through the Door and through a Window (1 : 1)
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No. 59 : Group Weyden (6). Christ appearing to the Virgin. Detail
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No. 59 : Group Weyden (6), Christ appearing to the Virgin (1 : 1)
text pp. 195 - 196



No. 59 : Group Weyden (6), Christ appearing to the Virgin (1 : 1)
text pp. 195 - 196

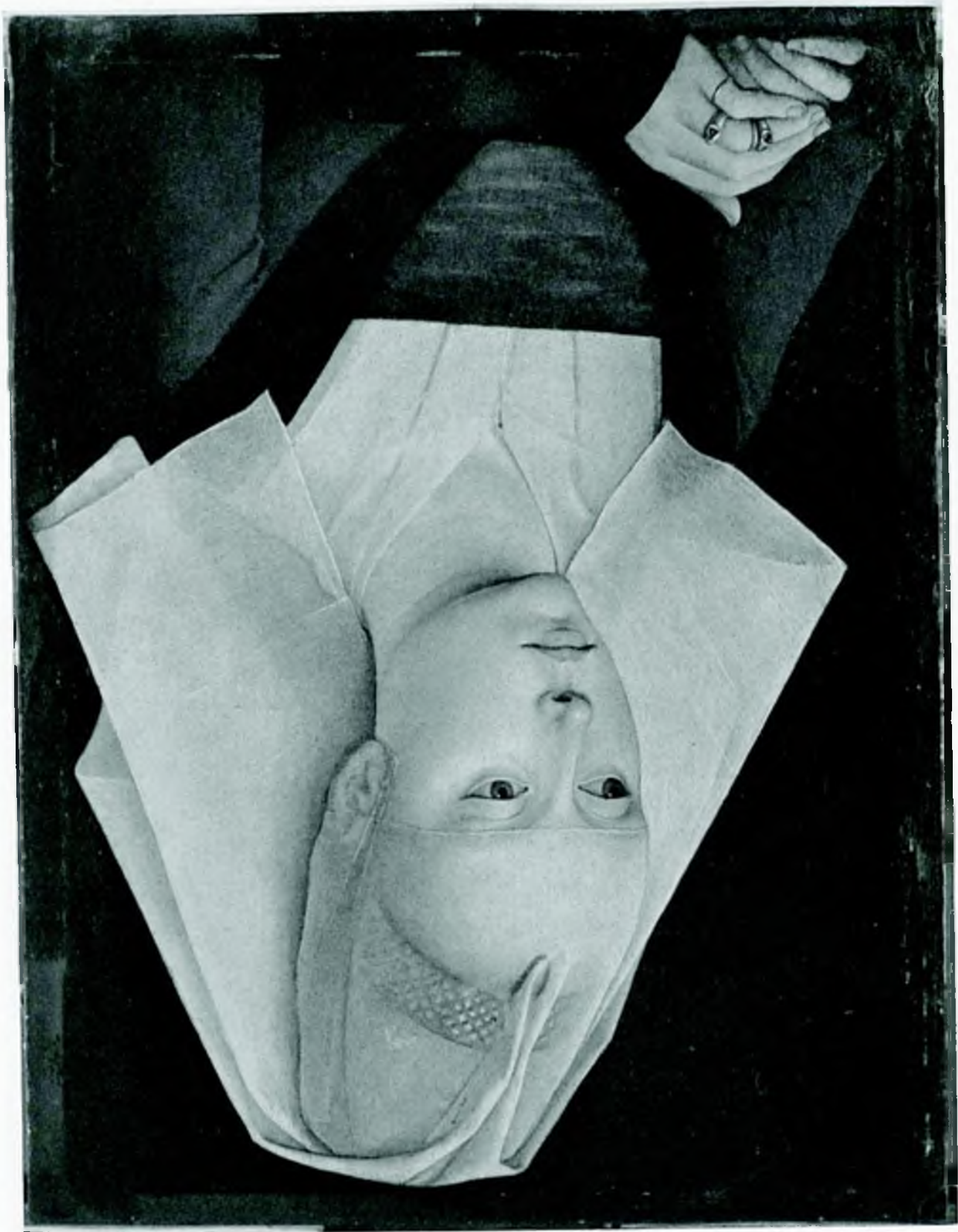


No. 59 : Group Weyden (6). *Christ appearing to the Virgin. Head of Christ (M 2 ×)*
text pp. 195 - 196

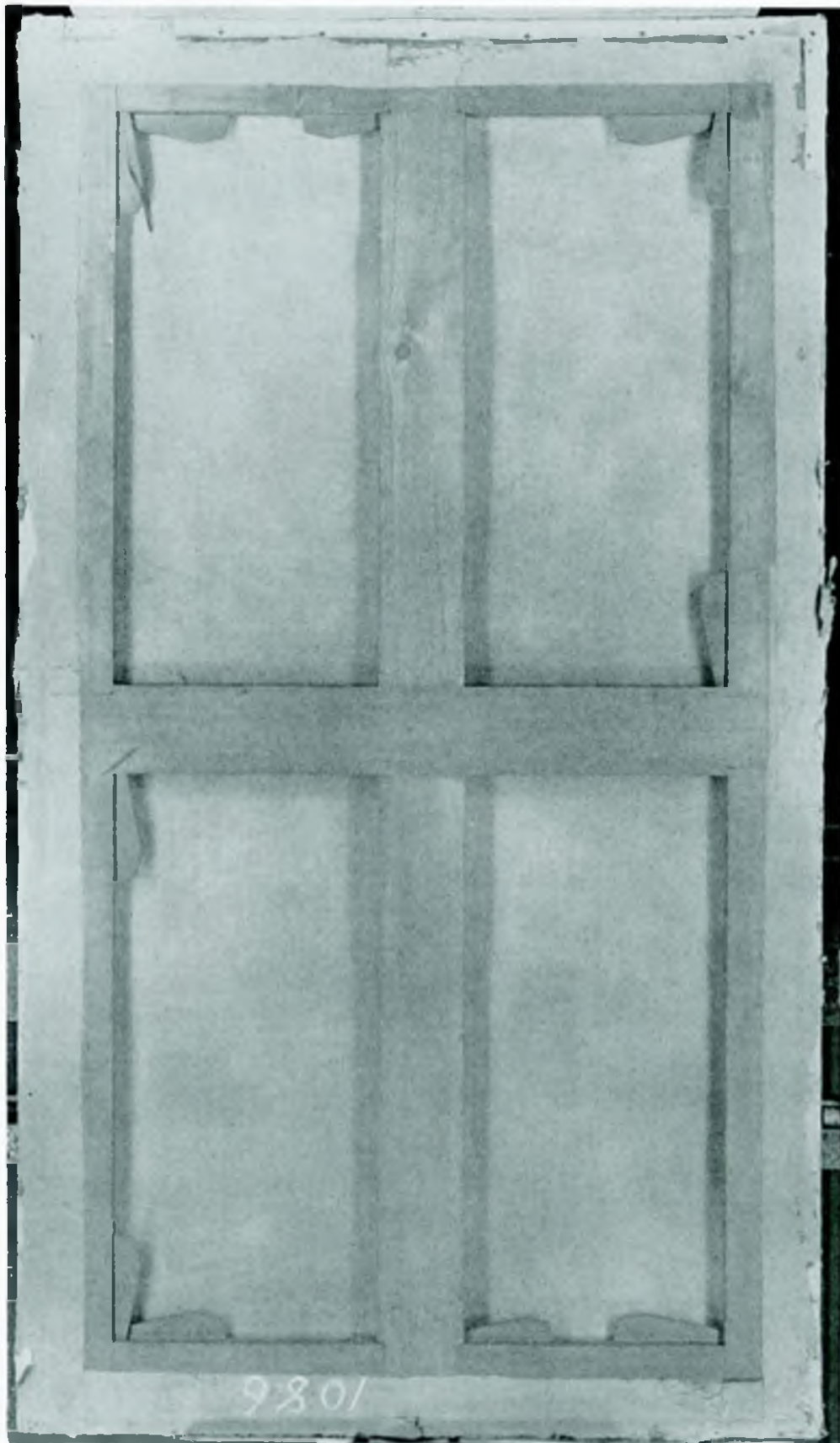


No. 59: Group Weyden (6). Christ appearing to the Virgin. Head of the Virgin (M 2 X)
text pp. 195-196

No. 60 : Group Weyden (?), *Portrait of a Lady*
text pp. 196 - 199

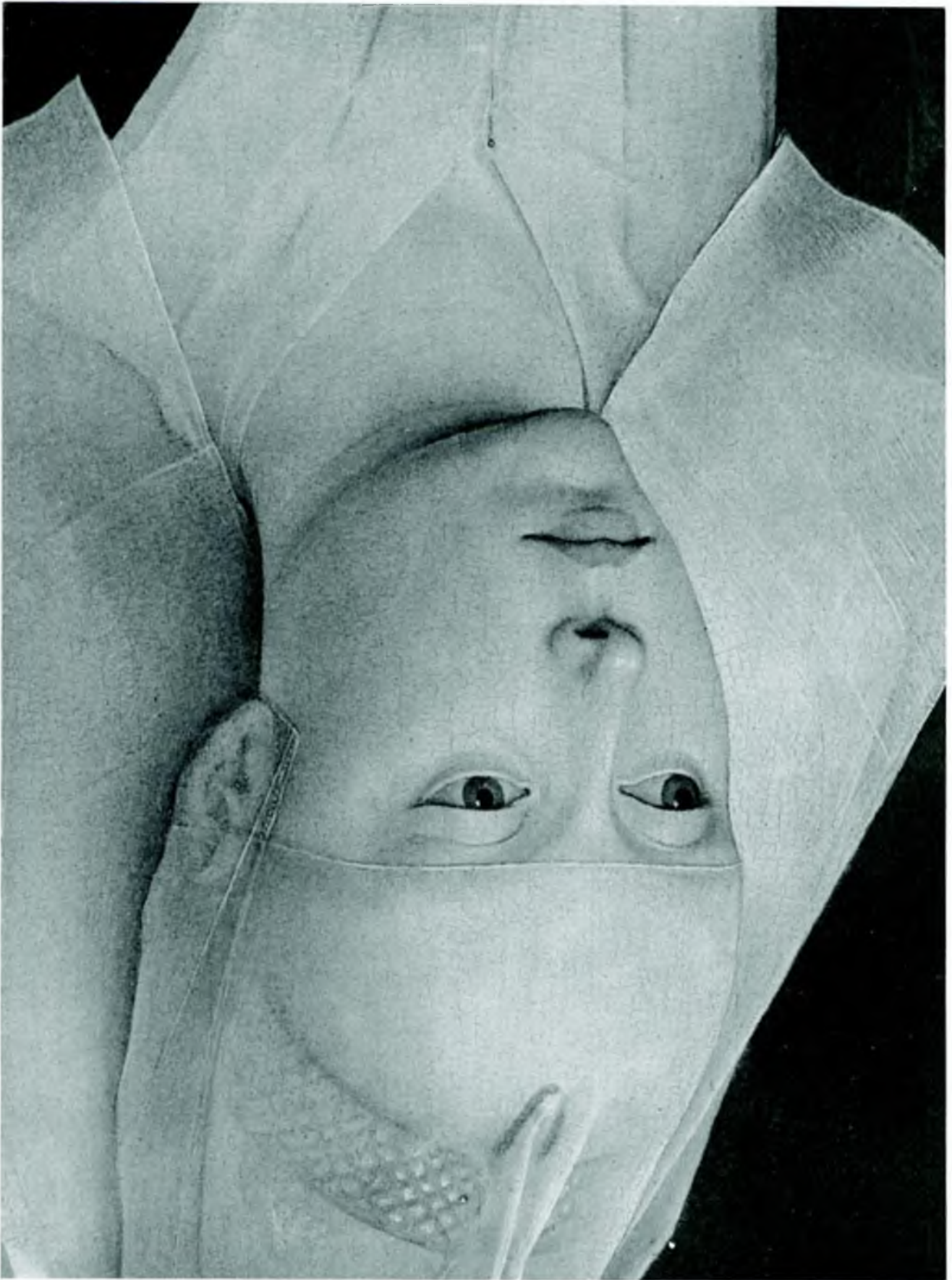


No. 59 : Group Weyden (6). Christ appearing to the Virgin. The Reverse
text pp. 195 - 196



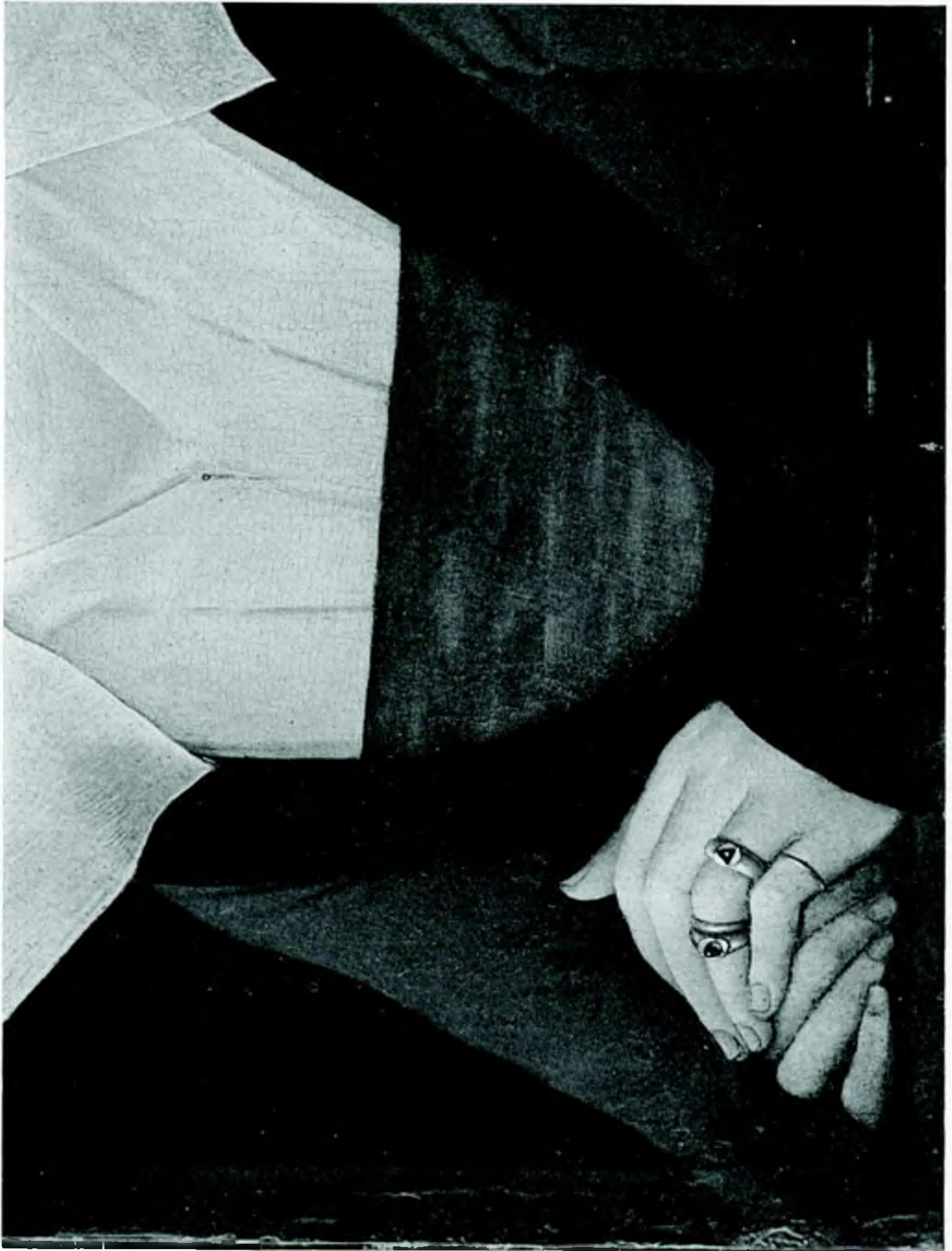


No. 60 : Group Weyden (?), *Portrait of a Lady* (1 : 1)
text pp. 196-199





No. 60 : Group Weyden (?), *Portrait of a Lady* (M 2 X)
text pp. 196 - 199



No. 60 : Group Weyden (7). *Portrait of a Lady. The Hands (1 : 1)*
text pp. 196 - 199



No. 60: Group Weyden (7). *Portrait of a Lady*. The Reverse: *Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns*
text pp. 196-199



No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1).
Ecce Homo (Christ Presented to the People)
text pp. 199 - 202



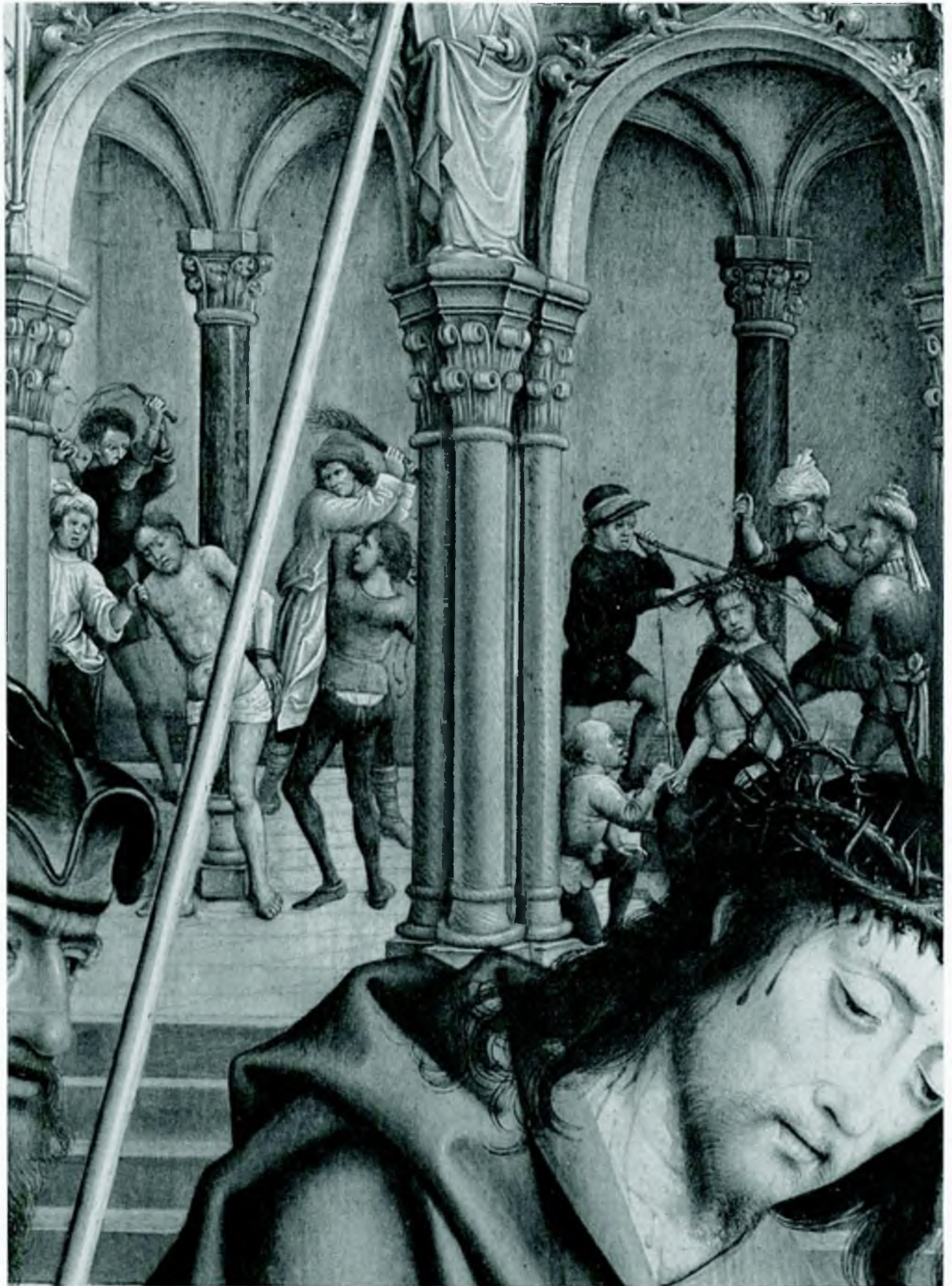
No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1), *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People) (1 : 1)
text pp. 199 - 202



No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1), *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People).
Heads of Jews and Soldiers, middle distance (1 : 1)
text pp. 199 - 202



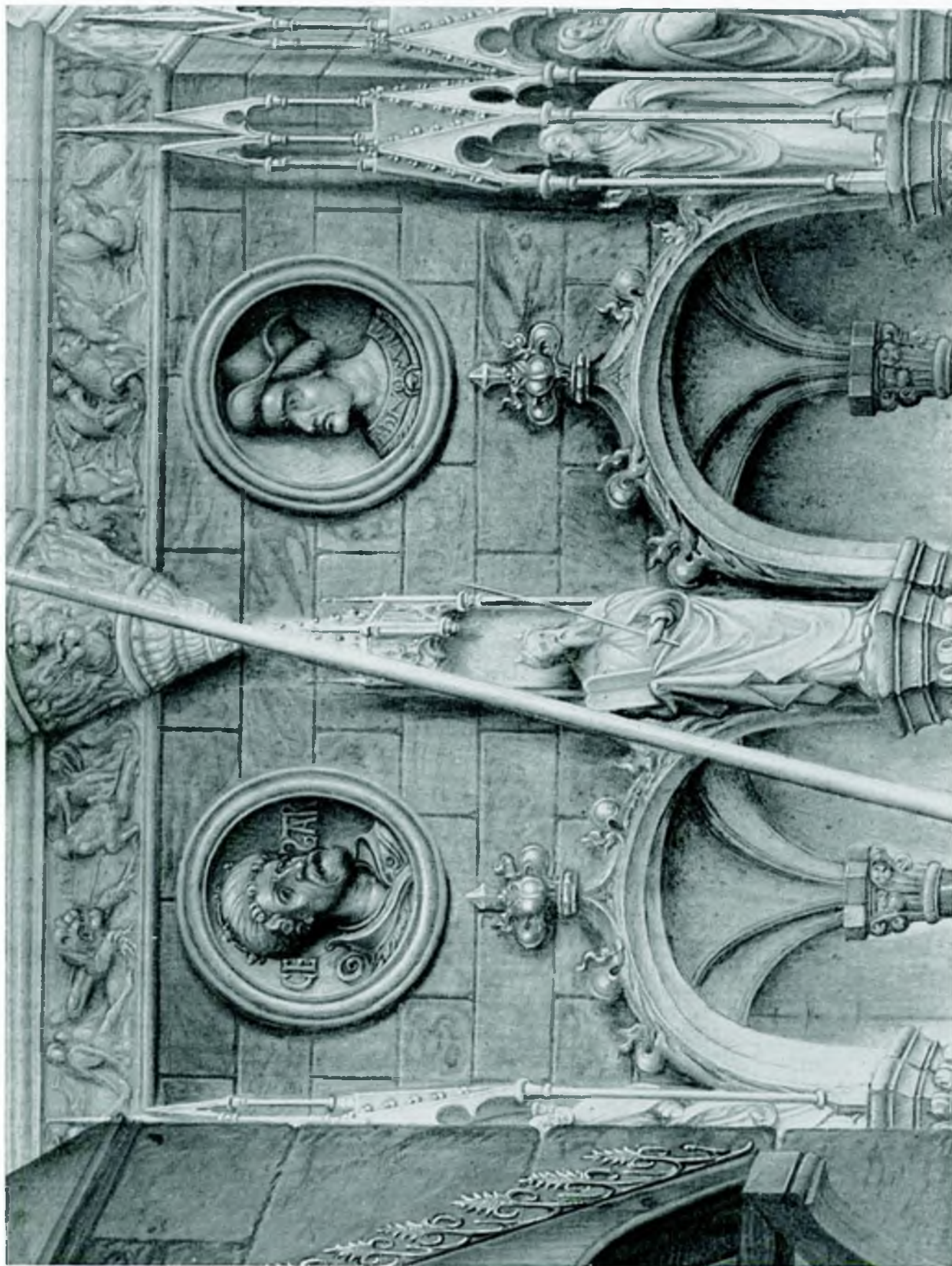
No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1). *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People).
Bust of the Jew in the Foreground (1 : 1)
text pp. 199 - 202



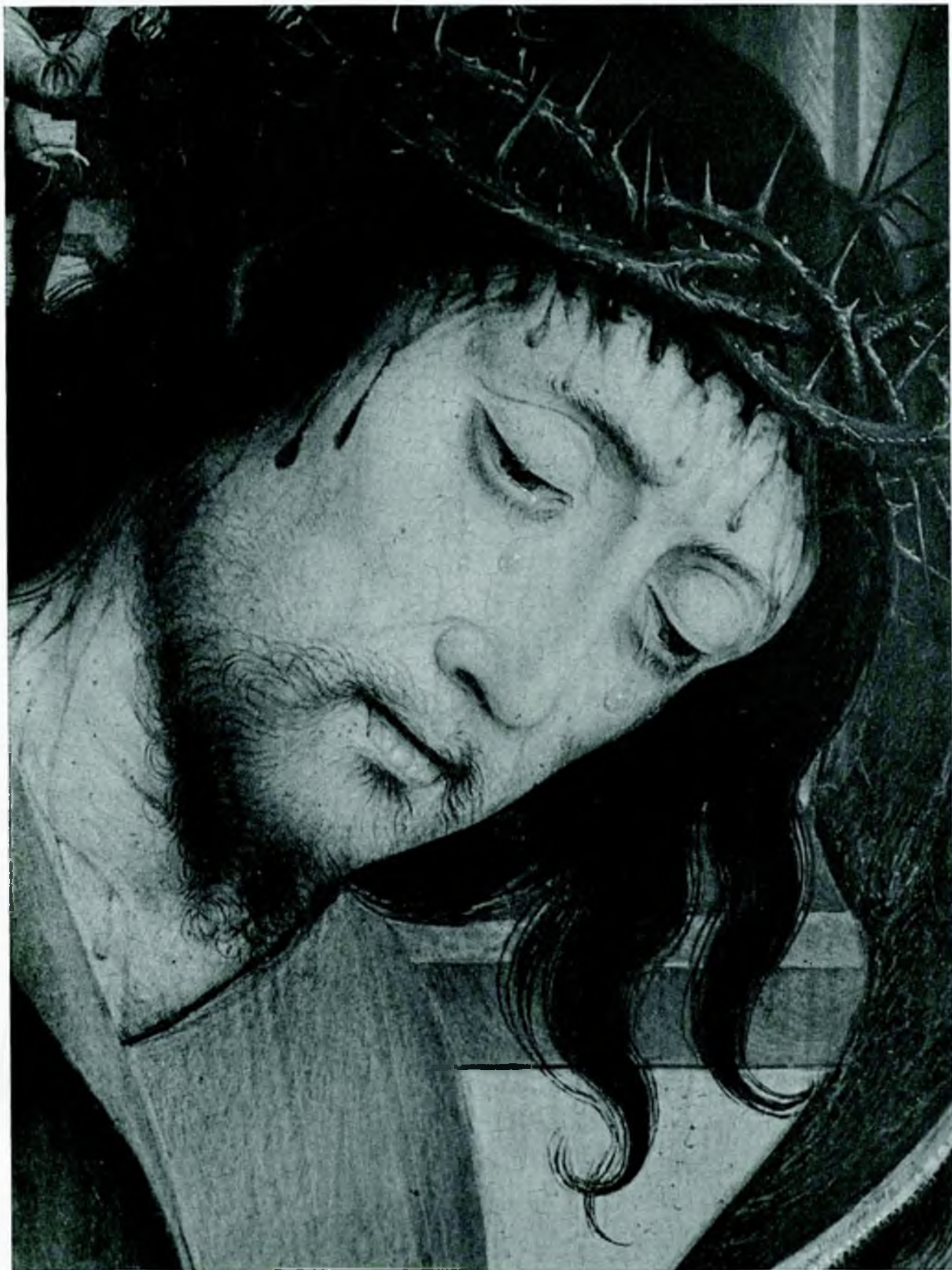
No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1). *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People).
Two Scenes in the Background : the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns (1 : 1)
text pp. 199 - 202



No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1). *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People).
View of the Town, in the upper right Corner (1 : 1)
 text pp. 199 - 202



No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1). *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People).
Detail of the Architecture on the Left (1 : 1)
text pp. 199 - 202

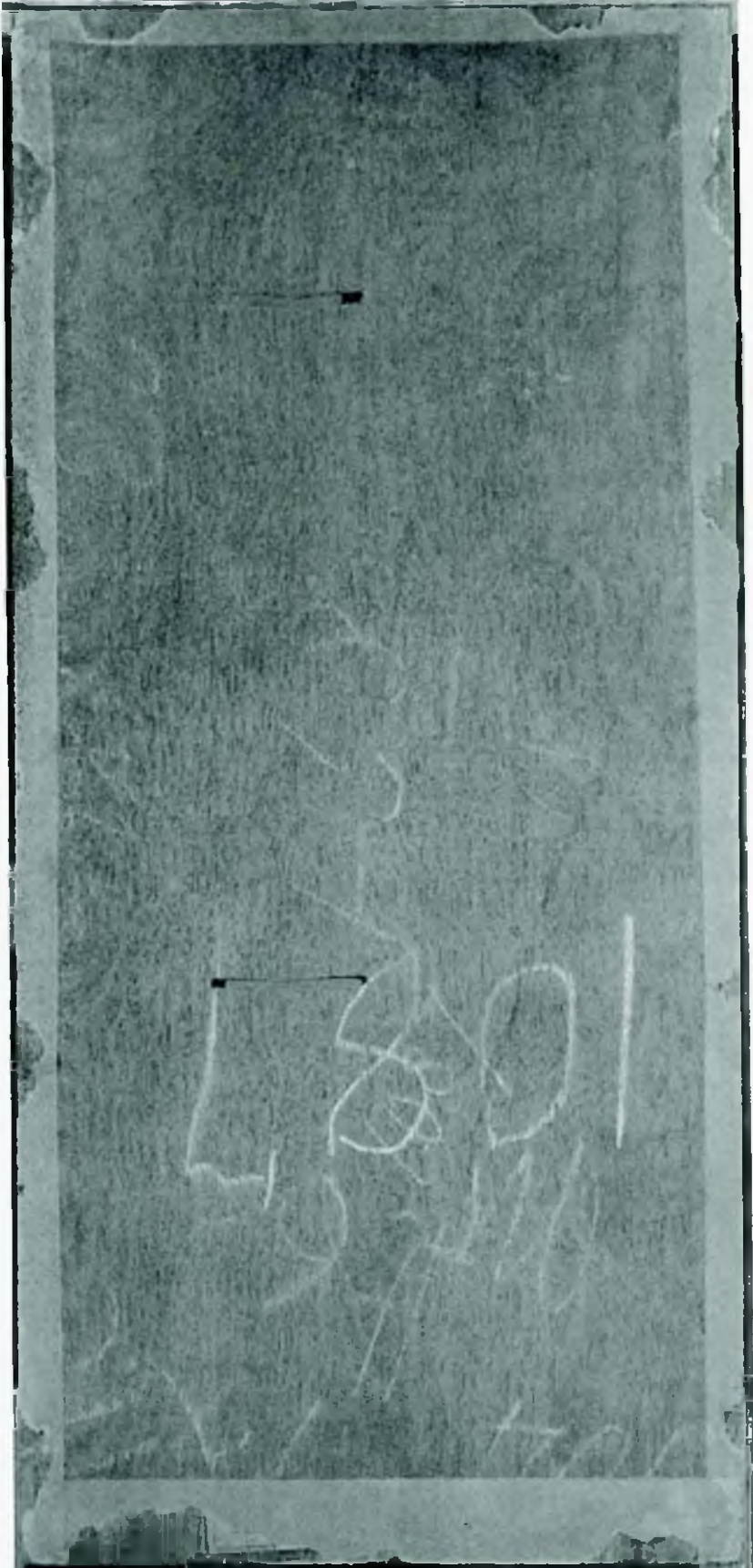


No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (1), *Ecce Homo* (Christ Presented to the People) (M 2 X)
text pp. 199 - 202

No. 62: Master of the View of Sainte Gudule (I). Portrait of a Young Man (I: 1)
text pp. 202-207



No. 61 : Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes (I).
Ecce Homo (Christ Presented to the People). The Reverse
text pp. 199 - 202





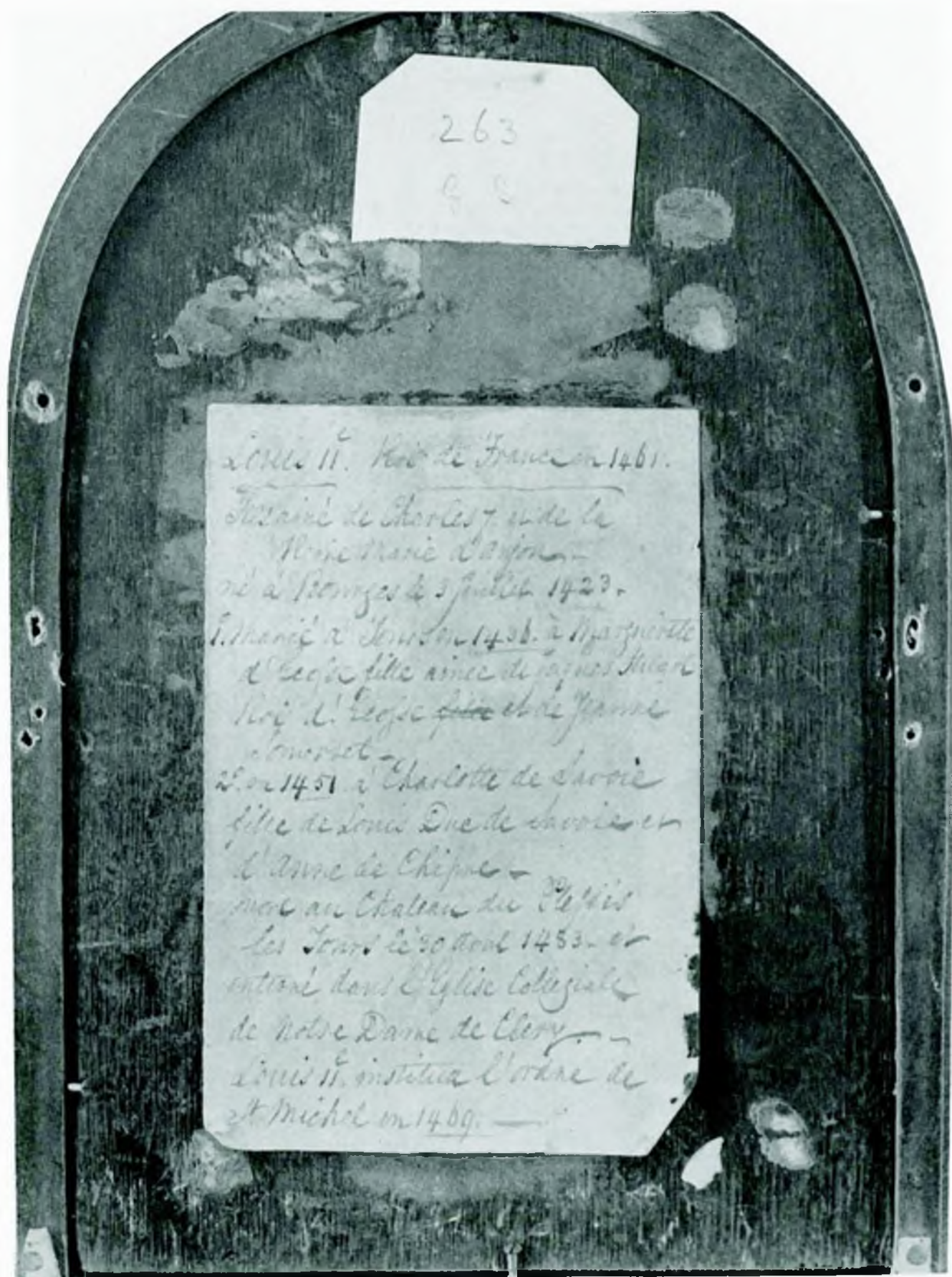
No. 62 : Master of the View of Sainte Gudule (1), *Portrait of a Young Man*.
Background on the Left : the Church of Notre Dame du Sablon at Brussels (M 2 X)
text pp. 202 - 207



No. 62 : Master of the View of Sainte Gudule (1). Portrait of a Young Man.
 Background on the Right : the Landscape and the Walls of Brussels (?) (M 2 X)
 text pp. 202 - 207



No. 62: Master of the View of Sainte Gudule (1), Portrait of a Young Man (infra-red, 1 : 1)
text pp. 202 - 207



No. 62: Master of the View of Sainte Gudule (I). Portrait of a Young Man. The Reverse (I:1)
 text pp. 202-207



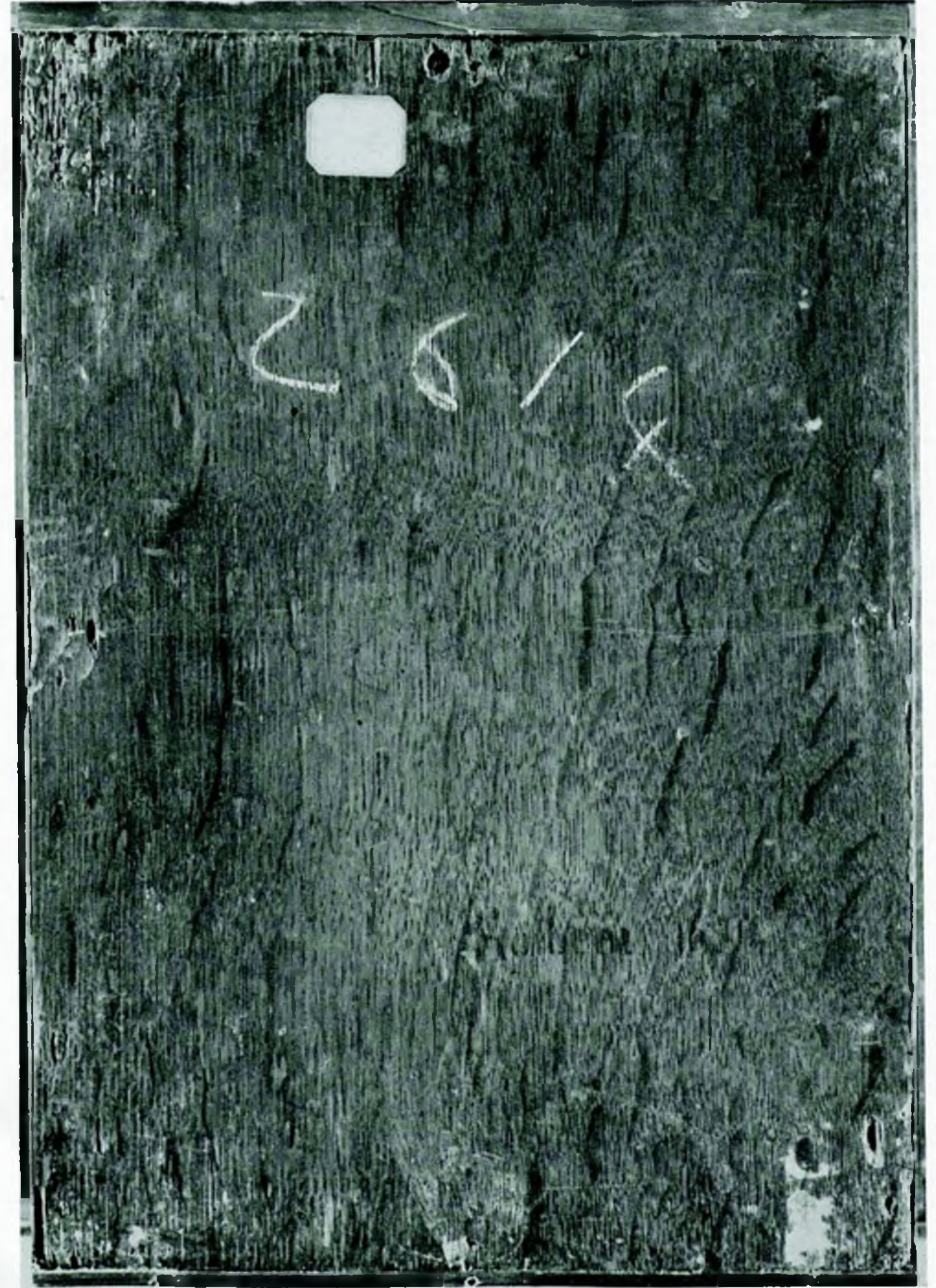
*No. 65 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (I), S. Mary Magdalene
text pp. 207 - 210*



No. 65 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (1), S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)
text pp. 207 - 210



No. 65 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (1), S. Mary Magdalene. The Hands, the Jar, and the Dress (1 : 1)
text pp. 207 - 210



No. 65 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (1), S. Mary Magdalene. The Reverse
text pp. 207 - 210