



# LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES  
ANCIENS PAYS-BAS MERIDIONAUX  
AU XV<sup>E</sup> SIECLE

3. THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

VOLUME I

DE SIKKEL - ANTWERP

THE NATIONAL GALLERY

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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"

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# LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

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

5

*Fascicules 6-13*

THE NATIONAL GALLERY  
LONDON

by

MARTIN DAVIES

*Deputy Keeper*

Volume I



MCMLIII  
DE SIKKEL, ANTWERP



No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1). *Portrait of a Woman*  
text pp. 49 - 52

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*Jacket designed by D. Acket*

## NOTE BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CORPUS

*One may feel confident of a welcome at someone's house, and yet enter with trepidation, if one's intention is to deflect the activities of the occupants for one's own ends, and willy-nilly occasion disturbance to all.*

*Our fears at the National Gallery were speedily reduced to nothing when, thanks to the Trustees and the Director, Sir Philip Hendy, the doors were thrown open for us. We immediately knew that our work there was to be upon terms of cordial understanding; we have from the first collaborated in perfect harmony in the production of these two new volumes of the Corpus. Our subject is the rich collection of Flemish primitives in the leading picture-gallery of Great Britain — one of the great galleries of the world.*

*The realization of our wishes is due to the Trustees of the National Gallery, to the Director and to his staff — art-historians, laboratory specialists, photographic and publications staffs, and the Gallery's working-party. We offer here to all our warmest and most sincere thanks. The Committee of the Corpus is most grateful to Mr. Martin Davies, Deputy Keeper, for undertaking the laborious task of writing the text. We are indebted to him for his specialized knowledge; we are also indebted to him personally, for his kindness and patience, which we have put to a severe test, and not only on matters directly connected with these two volumes.*

*We wish also to thank all those who have kindly helped us with the solution of particular problems. We would mention in the first place M. A. Schouteet, conservateur-adjoint of the Archives communales at Bruges, the R. P. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, S. J., Bollandiste, and M. le Chanoine Pl. Lesèvre, O. Praem., conservateur of the Archives Générales du Royaume and professor at the University of Louvain. We wish also to record our gratitude to Professor A. Tovar, of the University of Salamanca; M. P. Bautier, member of the Académie royale de Belgique; M. R. Van den Haute, archivist of the commune of Schaerbeek; M. O. le Maire, conservateur of the Office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique; and M. J. Verbesselt, attaché at the Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire in Brussels. We would not wish to leave unmentioned the contribution of the staff of the Laboratoire central des musées de Belgique, and that of the Archives centrales iconographiques d'art national, which supplied almost all the photographic prints for the plates.*

*These volumes of the Corpus that treat of the National Gallery are the first to be published in English. English or French, which are the two official languages of UNESCO, will be chosen for the various volumes of the Corpus, according to the convenience of the institutions directly concerned.*

THE COMMITTEE OF THE CORPUS DES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

16th. November 1953

*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.*

## PREFACE

*These two volumes treat of the Flemish pictures of XV Century style in the National Gallery; the choice has been made according to the general principles of the Corpus. The text is divided according to a scheme approved by the Committee; for some pictures the problems of presentation have proved complicated, but the student will find ample cross-references between the various sections.*

*Section C, Physical Characteristics, has been the concern of the Laboratoire Central des Musées de Belgique. The Laboratory of the National Gallery gave every facility for the work, and a large debt of gratitude is due to Mr. F. I. G. Rawlins, Dr. A. E. Werner and Miss Joyce Plesters for their unfailing help. The examination of the pictures was carried out by M. René Sneyers, with the assistance of Dr. Paul Coremans and M. Jean Thissen. The notes were drafted by M. Sneyers, and my translation into English has been approved by him and by Dr. Coremans.*

*These technical notices include, or seem to include, various corrections to the notes on condition I wrote for my catalogue of 1945 (Early Netherlandish School). This is in part due to the scientific qualifications of the representatives of the Belgian Laboratoire; also to the conditions under which the work has now been done, noticeably better than what was possible during the war. Another reason for some of the differences needs to be explained. In my catalogue of 1945, I attempted to indicate what damages to the pictures might cause difficulties, if overlooked, to the critic of style; there are some mistakes due to faulty observation, or faulty selection for record of what I did see, but the intention was constant — not to give a technical description of the pictures, but to warn the art-historian of points about which to be careful. This aim was further limited by the decision not to record distortions of style due to dirty or yellow varnish. In the present volumes, the technical notes have been made on a different principle, in accordance with what has been agreed for all the volumes of the Corpus; they are descriptions of the structure and preservation of the pictures.*

*For the most part, I have not examined the pictures to see if I agree, or perhaps do not agree, with the technical descriptions here printed; my comments on what my Belgian colleagues state have not been very numerous. But I wish to record that I received every encouragement to make comments, and that I was sure of a friendly welcome for anything that I proposed.*

*The sub-sections Changes in Composition and Marks on the Back need a special note. I frequently refer to them in the historical parts of the text, and I have therefore involved myself deeply in the observation, selection and presentation of what is here recorded; in short, these sub-sections are the joint work of M. Sneyers and myself.*

*Many of the frames, which appeared to be of no technical interest, were not submitted to the representatives of the Belgian Laboratoire; in such cases, I have added to the text "not original", if I have myself been able to examine them.*

*Connected with section C are the Records of Condition and Treatment in section E; these are from National Gallery records, if not otherwise stated.*

*The main part of the text is based on my catalogue of 1945, but considerably amplified in*



accordance with the wishes of the Committee of the Corpus ; there are also corrections of some mistakes. I could not have done so much without help of various kinds. It is naturally to the persons directly concerned with the Corpus that I am most indebted. First of all to the Chairman of the Committee, Professor Jacques Lavalleye, who has not only given me much encouragement, but spared the time to read the drafts of my entries and comment upon them. Dr. Paul Coremans, Director of the Centre, has been always ready to advise me ; I have not scrupled to turn to him for help on numerous occasions, but his patience and kindness have been inexhaustible. The staff of the Centre, Mlle. Nicole Verhaegen and Mlle. Jacqueline Folie, have been unflinchingly helpful in dealing with my persistent questions. Most of the work has fallen to Mlle. Verhaegen, who among many other things has suggested valuable improvements in the text, and has made the index ; she also negotiated the photography or transcription of various documents in Belgium.

I have asked for help from many other persons, and in most cases reference to them is made in the text ; I hope that these kind people will forgive me if I do not make a list here of all the names. I confine myself to recording here my thanks, for help of various kinds, to Dr. Ludwig Baldass, Dr. H. Gerson, Dr. Wilhelm Houben, Mr. Theodore Rousseau and Dr. A. Schönberger.

Most of the plates are from photographs, by ordinary light or infra-red radiations, of National Gallery pictures ; these have been taken by Mrs. Wilson and Miss Close, of the National Gallery Publications Staff, mostly on negatives supplied by the A.C.L. The scales given are accurate to about 2%, except for macrophotographs, where the margin of error is rather more. Some X-radiographs of National Gallery pictures are included in these volumes ; they were taken under the direction of Mr. F. I. G. Rawlins, Scientific Adviser of the National Gallery. A few documentary plates have been added from various sources. The text illustrations are for the most part from drawings by Mr. Roger Versteegen.

The colour plates have been taken by Messrs. Henry Stone & Son, Ltd.

After July 1st, 1953, no major corrections have been made to the text.

MARTIN DAVIES

7th. November 1953

## 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. 25 : GROUP BOSCH (4), THE CROWNING WITH THORNS.

This means : No. 25 of the Corpus (from its beginning) ; group of works associated with Hieronymus Bosch ; 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.
- M2 × macrophotograph twice the size of the original.

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 21 : ANONYMOUS (2). *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND ANGELS IN A GARDEN (TRIPTYCH)*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Netherlandish School.

*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*

No. 1085 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(3.vii.1952)

*Form* : Triptych.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	left panel	67.8 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 18.8 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.9 cm. 26 11/16 $\times$ 7 3/8 $\times$ 3/8 ins.
	centre panel	67.7 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 45.0 ( $\pm$ 0.2) $\times$ 1 cm. 26 5/8 $\times$ 17 3/4 $\times$ 3/8 ins.
	right panel	67.9 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 18.7 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.9 cm. 26 3/4 $\times$ 7 3/8 $\times$ 3/8 ins.
	painting surface on left panel	67.8 $\times$ 17.5 cm. 26 11/16 $\times$ 6 7/8 ins.
	painting surface on centre panel	67.2 $\times$ 43.9 cm. 26 7/16 $\times$ 17 1/4 ins.
	painting surface on right panel	67.9 $\times$ 17.6 cm. 26 3/4 $\times$ 6 15/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, in very good condition ; less thick on the central panel.

*Paint Layer* : In spite of slight wearing, the general condition is very good.

A crack in the lower right hand corner of the central panel.

Restoration in the shadow of the red mantle of S. John the Evangelist, and in the Virgin's blue mantle, to the right of the Child's head.

Brown overpainting of all the cypresses.

In an infra-red photograph, the wings of the angels in the central panel almost disappear, and the steps, etc., show through strongly.

It may be noted that the X-radiograph reveals no contrast between the different colours :

the pictorial technique is less elaborate and more direct than that of the best-known XV Century Flemish painters.

*Changes in Composition* : In the central panel, corrections in the outline of the Virgin's head, and of the head of the distant angel on the left ; there seems to be some change in the head of the saint furthest on the right, a flat cap having perhaps been intended. On S. John the Baptist's wing, the tree-trunks have been altered.

*Ground* : Nearly white, fairly thin ; adheres very well.

*Supports* : Oak ; one panel with grain vertical for each wing ; two panels with grain vertical for the central panel. A crack 3.5 cm. long, 7.5 cm. from the lower right hand corner of the central panel.

The three panels have not been reduced in width, but have all been reduced in height. At the bottoms, a band of unpainted wood below the lower edge of the paint is preserved in the case of the central panel, but not for the wings. At the tops, small areas of wood that seem clearly outside the original edges of the paint are discernible on the central panel both at the left and at the right, and on S. John the Evangelist's panel at the left. These slanting marks suggest that the triptych had originally an arched form, perhaps like that of the variant in the Escorial (Plate II). This interpretation of the marks does not concord perfectly with the position of the horizon in the three sections of the picture, which suggests that the wings are at present too low by about 1 cm. or a little more ; but it is possible that, in the original form, the painted surfaces of the wings extended a little higher than that of the central panel. If the marks are correctly interpreted, and if further it is true that there is no trace of such a mark on S. John the Baptist's wing, it could be deduced that that wing has been cut at the top more than the Evangelist's wing, though perhaps only very slightly, and correspondingly less at the bottom.

The reverses are protected by brown paint ; for the wings this is marbled, and on top of a thin white preparation ; for the central panel it is directly on the wood.

*Marks on the Back* : Inscribed on the central panel, *Ex Coll: Henrici Hamal Leod: (1812. (?)); Hubertus, et Joannes van Eyck fecerunt* ; and crosswise, *Marg: Van Eyck*. On S. John the Baptist's wing, *Joannes Van Eyck* ; on S. John the Evangelist's wing, *Hubertus van Eyck*. (These inscriptions are in similar writing ; an infra-red photograph makes the reading of the date highly probable).

On the central panel, chalk marks of the 1839 Sale, and the label of the Manchester Exhibition of 1857 ; on S. John the Baptist's wing, chalk marks of the 1835 Sale (see *Subsequent History*, below).

On the central panel, fragments of print in French, perhaps used in connection with the framing of the picture.

Reproductions of the backs on Plates XXI and XXII.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

A triptych. In the central compartment, the Virgin sits reading a book. The Child is seated on a cushion on the ground before her. In His left hand He holds a peacock's feather (?) ; His right hand is stretched out to receive (?) a ring from S. Catherine, who

is kneeling on the left, her sword and wheel on the ground by her (*Timmers* <sup>20</sup> 950). On the right kneels another female saint, like S. Catherine rather richly dressed : she has white roses in her lap, and takes a red rose from among white and red roses in the lap of a third female saint. Between the Virgin and S. Catherine, a fourth female saint is kneeling at the stone table on which the Virgin is seated, and on which also are cherries, red roses and a ball of cotton (?) within a wooden hoop ; an angel, who holds a pipe, is receiving from her or offering to her a basket of red roses. On the right, further back, are an angel playing a lute and another playing a harp ; on the left, another angel holds a basin of cherries under a fountain.

The background is occupied mostly by architecture, of fantastic style based mostly on late Gothic ; its two doors and double-window are brightly illuminated. It may be that this is meant for the gateway into Heaven ; a loose comparison may be made with the left wing of *The Last Judgment*, assigned to Memlinc, at Danzig (*Friedländer* <sup>15</sup> Plate VII). The statue of a long-haired, wingless, robed figure with a sword against the window has been claimed to be S. Michael ; this seems uncertain, but it should be mentioned that the similarly placed figure in the variant recorded in section I<sup>2</sup> has an angel's wings. The background on the right is a grove of trees, with cypress prominent. Deep blue sky.

*Left Wing.* S. John the Baptist, in a hairshirt and touching a lamb, kneels on the ground ; he points towards the Infant Christ in the central panel. Behind, S. Agnes with a lamb (*Timmers* <sup>20</sup> 851), and S. Agatha holding one of her breasts in a pair of pincers (*Timmers* <sup>20</sup> 850). Background of orange trees, etc.

*Right Wing.* S. John the Evangelist, blessing a chalice (*Timmers* <sup>20</sup> 943), kneels on the ground. Behind him, an angel gathering red and white roses ; still further back, an angel gathering oranges for a female saint. Background of orange trees, etc. ; the landscape continues from the right part of the central panel.

The iconography may be compared with that of the name-piece by the *Meister des Paradiesgärtleins* at Frankfort ; there also, the Virgin reads a book without attending to the Child, and several other iconographical details are comparable. See the note on that picture by Alfred Wolters in *Meisterwerke* (<sup>17</sup> 39ff.). Cf. also, for the Virgin and Child, the large "Hortus Conclusus" by the Master E. S., reproduced in *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, Vol. 9, 1922, 225.

For changes in composition in this picture, and some indications concerning its original shape, see in section C, above.

## 2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue ; S. Catherine in scarlet dress and cap, green sleeves. The doors and window of the building are bright yellow ; the sky dark blue. On the left wing, S. John the Baptist is in brown with a blue mantle ; on the right wing, S. John the Evangelist is in green with a scarlet mantle. The colours, as seen at present, suggest the approach of night.

## 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 ; the first dates at which it is known to be recorded are 1812 (?) and 1828 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

According to inscriptions on the back (see in section C), the picture was traditionally ascribed to Hubrecht, Jan and Margriete van Eyck in conjunction. Recorded by *Johanna Schopenhauer* (Doc. 1) and by *Passavant* (' 92/4) as by Margaretha van Eyck ; catalogued as Margaretha and John van Eyck in the 1835 and 1839 Sales (see *Subsequent History*). Ascribed to the School of Brabant, 2nd. half of the XV Century, by *Waagen* (° Vol. II, 232/3) ; *Waagen* here makes a slight mention of Quinten Massys, and later on ascribes the picture to this painter (*Waagen* ° 202 and ° Vol. II, 460). The picture entered the National Gallery as doubtfully School of the Lower Rhine (*Catalogue* ° 348) ; this was changed to Flemish School in 1906 (° 210), then the picture was ascribed to Geertgens van Sint Jans in 1913 (° 288), then to a Follower in 1920 (° 110). *Phillips* (° 6ff.) had doubtfully ascribed it to Geertgen tot Sint Jans ; *Cohen* (° 43ff.) says by a follower of Geertgen, showing connections with Massys ; it is called a varied (?) copy of Geertgen by *Valentiner* (° 66/7, 200) ; *Hoogewerff* (° Vol. II, 186/7) thinks it a copy, perhaps after Geertgen. *Hulin* (° 73) suggests it is imitated from Memline by a painter trained in the style of Massys. *Friedländer* (° 577 ; ° 12/3 ; and ° 83/4 and 129, No. 85) ascribes it to the Master of the Morrison Triptych ; this has been accepted by several critics. *Davies* (° 80/1 and 90) catalogues it as Netherlandish School, raising various objections to the attribution to the Master of the Morrison Triptych.

*Davies* (° 90) dubiously suggests a date ca. 1500.

2. Subsequent History

*Records of Ownership*

- 1812(?) Inscribed on the back : *Ex Coll : Henrici Hamal Leod : (1812. (?))* (Plate XXI). The man is probably Henri Hamal, b. 1744, d. 1820 (recorded in the *Biographie Nationale... de Belgique*), and is presumably the same as the Canon of Liège whose drawings and engravings were sold in Paris in 1805. The inscription, indeed, corresponds quite well with the inscription associated with this man by *Frits Lugt, Les Marques de Collections de Dessins et d'Estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, 217, No. 1231. An infra-red photograph makes the reading "1812" highly probable.
- 1828 The picture was seen in the Aders Collection (Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London), in his villa at Godesberg (Doc. 1). Sent by the owner to London soon afterwards (Doc. 1).
- 1831 Seen in the Collection of Karl Aders in London (*Passavant*, publ. 1833, ' 92/4, with identifying description).
- 1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 108), bought by Dr. Willis.
- 1839 (Henry Crabb Robinson) Sale, London, 26 April, 1839 (lot 59), with identifying description, bought by Green.
- In the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley ; seen and described there shortly

- 1854 before 1854 by Waagen (' Vol. II, 460). Lent by J. H. Green to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (Provisional Catalogue, No. 502 ; Definitive Catalogue, No. 416). J. H. Green died in 1863.
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph H. Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* 3 348/9).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A variant exists in the Escorial ; it is a triptych, with arched tops to the panels (Plate II). The figures in the three parts of the National Gallery picture appear (with variations) in the central panel of the Escorial triptych. A few of the differences are as follows : the Virgin's glance there is level, and her right hand is under the book ; there is an extra figure close behind S. John the Baptist ; and the whole of the building in the background (about twice as much as is seen in the National Gallery picture) is included. The wings at the Escorial are different from anything seen in the National Gallery picture. It appears unlikely that the execution of the two triptychs is by the same hand. The one at the Escorial is labelled School of Memlinc ; recorded by V. Poleró y Toledo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del real monastero de San Lorenzo llamado del Escorial*, Madrid, 1857, 70, No. 220, as *Escuela antigua de Colonia* ; size of central panel, 3'10"5''' × 2'6"6''' , width of the wings, 1'3"2'''.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Already in 1945 I raised objections to the attribution of the National Gallery picture to the Master of the Morrison Triptych. In 1946, I was able to examine it and the Morrison Triptych itself side by side ; I am more doubtful than ever if the pictures can be by the same hand. I have not seen an *Adoration of the Kings* in the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, which Friedländer (2<sup>o</sup> Plate LIX) claims as by the Master of the Morrison Triptych ; it may be by the same hand as the present picture.

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- 1847 <sup>3</sup> : G. F. WAAGEN. *Nachträge zur Kenntniss der altniederländischen Malerschulen (Fortsetzung)*, in *Kunstblatt*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 21 October, 1847, no. 51, 201-205.
- 1854 <sup>4</sup> : G. F. WAAGEN. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, Vol. II, London, 1854.
- 1881 <sup>5</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1881.
- 1904 <sup>6</sup> : CLAUDE PHILLIPS. *Gerard of Haarlem (?) at the National Gallery*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. VI, London, October, 1904, 6-17.
- 1904 <sup>7</sup> : WALTER COHEN. *Studien zu Quinten Metsys*, Bonn, 1904.
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- 1928 <sup>15</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, Memling und Gerard David, Berlin, 1928.
- 1929 <sup>16</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VII, Quentin Massys, Berlin, 1929.
- 1932 <sup>17</sup> : *Meisterwerke Alter Malerei im Städelschen Kunstinstitut*, Frankfurt, 1932.
- 1937 <sup>18</sup> : G. J. HOOGEWERFF. *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. II, The Hague, 1937.
- 1945 <sup>19</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 <sup>20</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseyck, 1947.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Document 1

From *Johanna Schopenhauer, Ausflug an den Niederrhein und nach Belgien im Jahre 1828*, Leipzig, 1831, Vol. I :

At Godesberg. (P. 116) "Eine Sammlung bedeutender Gemälde, aus der frühesten wie aus der späteren Zeit, seit dem Wiederaufwachen der Kunst, und die ich noch die Freude hatte, zu sehen, ist seit wenigen Monaten nicht nur für Godesberg, sondern auch für Deutschland, ja sogar für die Freunde der Kunst auf immer verloren. Sie befand sich in jener Villa, deren ich früher erwähnte, als das Eigenthum des Besitzers derselben, eines angesehenen, aus diesen Gegenden stammenden, aber seit vielen Jahren in London etablirten Kaufmanns..." (P. 117) "die Gemäldesammlung ist eingepackt und nach England abgeführt worden, um dort mit einer zweiten vereinigt zu werden, die Herr Aders in London schon besass..." (P. 118) "Nur Eines der vielen sehr werthvollen altdeutschen Gemälde in der godesberger Sammlung will ich erwähnen, weil es das einzige ist, welches meines Wissens der kunstreichen Hand der Schwester beider van Eyck's, der jungfräulichen Künstlerin Margareth zugeschrieben wird. Hier mit Gewissheit über die Echtheit des Bildes zu entscheiden, ist beinahe unmöglich ; dass" (P. 119) "es unmittelbar aus van Eyck's Schule hervorgegangen ist, verbürgen die Behandlung der Farben und die schöne fleissige Ausführung auch der kleinsten Einzelheiten. Die Wahl des heitern Gegenstandes aber beweist nicht nur den reinsten Künstlersinn, sondern ist auch einem jungfräulichen, zartfühlenden Gemüthe völlig angemessen. Es stellt die Mutter Gottes mit dem Kinde vor, wie sie, in einer offenen Gartenhalle sitzend, von lieblichen Engeln bedient wird, welche Blumen und Früchte ihr darbringen".

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 21 : ANONYMOUS (2)

I. Triptych, The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden

B 124 591 1950

II. Comparative Material : Variant in the Escorial	C Mas 91291
III. The Central Compartment	B 124 592 1950
IIIa. <i>The Central Compartment, Colour Plate</i>	N. G. 1953
IV. The two Wings	B 124 593 1950
V. Central Compartment : Upper Half	B 124 595 1950
VI. Central Compartment : Lower Half	B 124 594 1950
VII. The Virgin (1 : 1)	B 124 603 1950
VIII. The Child (1 : 1)	B 124 605 1950
IX. S. Catherine, a Saint and two Angels (1 : 1)	B 124 602 1950
X. Two Saints and an Angel playing a Lute (1 : 1)	B 124 604 1950
XI. Head of S. Catherine (M 2 ×)	B 124 606 1950
XII. Head of a Saint at a Table (M 2 ×)	B 114 234 1952
XIII. Left Wing, Upper Half	B 124 597 1950
XIV. Left Wing, Lower Half	B 124 596 1950
XV. S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)	B 124 600 1950
XVI. Head of S. John the Baptist (M 2 ×)	B 124 607 1950
XVII. Right Wing, Upper Half	B 124 599 1950
XVIII. Right Wing, Lower Half	B 124 598 1950
XIX. S. John the Evangelist (1 : 1)	B 114 213 1952
XX. Right Wing, Detail of the Trees (1 : 1)	B 114 204 1952
XXI. Reverse of the Central Compartment	B 124 608 1950
XXII. Reverses of the two Wings	B 124 609 1950

## 22

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No 22 : ANONYMOUS (3), PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN HOLDING A RING

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Netherlandish School.

A Young Man holding a Ring.

No. 2602 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* :     panel                   18,6 (± 0.1) × 13,4 (± 0.1) × 0,8 cm.  
   7 5/16 × 5 1/4 × 5/16 ins.  
                           painted surface   17,7 × 12,4 cm.  
   7 × 4 7/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, slightly worn at the edges of the craquelure.*Paint Layer* : Good general condition.

Very slight wearing : the paint is slightly raised at the edges of the craquelure.

Some unimportant local restorations on the left and top edges, and by the bend of the elbow ; a disturbing restoration by his right nostril, another to the right of his upper lip.

*Changes in composition* : Beginnings of the turban rather lower on the right, and extending rather lower on the left ; small corrections to the outlines of chin, thumb, etc.

*Ground* : Nearly white, fairly thin. Adheres well.

*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, in good condition. Protected at the back by brown marbled paint over a white preparation, some parts of which are missing.

*Marks on the Back* : "GM" painted in large letters ; also the stencil mark of a Christie sale. Reproduction of the back on Plate XXV.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

The sitter is shown at half-length, turned somewhat towards the right ; he wears a fur-lined coat and a turban. In his right hand he holds a ring (cf. section G). Background, a repeating design of rain falling from clouds, with inscription recorded below (cf. section F. *Comparative Material*).

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

### 2. Colours

In black dress and turban. The right part of the background is light blue, the rest white.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

On the background, several times more or less completely, *har. las. uber. gan* (a prayer that the clouds should pass over). On the side of the ring, perhaps the letters *i d* (Plate XXIII).

## 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 1905 (see *Subsequent History*). Davies ('94/5) cites Dr. Schmidt-Degener's opinion that the dialect of the inscription may be from the frontiers of Holland and Germany.

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Traditionally ascribed to Cranach (label on the back of the frame) ; so ascribed in the sale of 1905 (see *Subsequent History*). It entered the National Gallery as Flemish School (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 110), and was ascribed to Petrus Christus in 1925 (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 58). Davies ('94/5) thinks it is perhaps of the "Early Dutch" School, and doubtfully suggests a date *ca.* 1450 or earlier.

### 2. Subsequent History

#### Records of Ownership

"GM" on the back (see section C, above and Plate XXV) may refer to some former owner.

- 1905 Anon (Salter ?) Sale, London, 25 February, 1905 (lot 15), bought by F. Murray (Catalogue ' 5).  
 Passed into the Collection of George Salting.  
 1910 George Salting Bequest, 1910 (National Gallery Catalogue ' 110).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A drawing, closely similar to the picture, although with some apparent difference in the features (perhaps due to damage), and without the background, is at Berlin. Winkler (' 231 ; 228, reproductions of the drawing and the picture side by side) thinks the drawing a copy : Bock and Rosenberg (' 3, No. 4052).

A painted replica is stated to have been on the art market at Frankfort (Bock and Rosenberg ' 3).

An emblem of rain (?) falling from clouds appears on a huntman's sleeve in a hunting tapestry (bear- and boar-hunting), at Chatsworth (Kurth ' 65 and Plate V).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

It has been suggested that the ring which the sitter holds means that he was a goldsmith, or alternatively that he was a bridegroom ; I do not think that either of these suggestions has been proved.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1905 ' : *Catalogue of Choice Pictures and Drawings, the Property of J. G. Menzies, Esq., and Important Pictures by Old Masters, etc., the Property of a Lady, etc., Auction Sale at Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 25 February, 1905.*  
 1911 ' : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, London, 1911.*  
 1914 ' : FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Some Early Netherland Drawings*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, London, January, 1914, 224-231.  
 1917/8 ' : BETTY KURTH. *Die Blütezeit der Bildwirkerkunst zu Tournai und der burgundische Hof*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. XXXIV, Vienna, 1917/8.  
 1925 ' : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue, London, 1925.*  
 1931 ' : ELFRIED BOCK and JAKOB ROSENBERG. *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Die Niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen, Vol. I (Text)*, Frankfurt, 1931.  
 1945 ' : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 22 : ANONYMOUS (3)

XXIII. Portrait of a Young Man holding a Ring (1 : 1)	B 124 205 1950
XXIV. The Head (M 2 ×)	B 124 206 1950
XXV. The Reverse (1 : 1)	B 124 207 1950

## 23

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 23 : ANONYMOUS (4), PHILIP THE FAIR AND MARGARET OF AUSTRIA

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Netherlandish School.

Philip the Fair and his Sister Margaret of Austria.

Ca. 1493/95 ?

No. 2613 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(5.vii.1952)

*Form* : Two panels with rounded tops (cut).

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panels	1. Philip	23.8 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 16.5 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 0.7 cm. 9 3/8 $\times$ 6 1/2 $\times$ 5/16 ins.
		2. Margaret	23.7 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 16.5 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 0.8 cm. 9 5/16 $\times$ 6 1/2 $\times$ 5/16 ins.
	painted surfaces	1. Philip	23.6 $\times$ 15.4 cm. 9 1/4 $\times$ 6 1/16 ins.
		2. Margaret	23.3 $\times$ 15.4 cm. 9 3/16 $\times$ 6 1/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A thin, matt layer of varnish.

*Paint Layer* : Wearing, accentuated in the backgrounds and dresses, has led to extensive overpaintings.

Restoration of various cracks, and on the hat of Philip. A small filling on Margaret's forehead.

Reinforcement of the outlines of the faces (cf. Plates XXIX and XXX).

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

*Changes in Composition* : Corrections in the outlines of both noses. From the X-radiograph it appears that Philip's hat was originally of a different form, leaving more of the hair visible over the forehead.

*Ground* : Nearly white, fairly thin. Does not adhere perfectly.

*Supports* : Oak ; each, one panel with grain vertical and with several cracks. Each back is covered for the most part with a sheet from some manuscript, now painted black.

*Marks on the Backs* : Agnew label, and brief notes on the pictures in a writing identifiable as George Salting's ; reproduction of the backs on Plate XXXI.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

## 1. Subject

A diptych. In the left panel is shown Philip the Fair at bust length, wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece ; he is identified by an inscription. The plain background is studded with coats of arms, recorded below. In the right panel is shown his sister, Margaret of Austria, at bust length ; she is identified by an inscription. The plain background is studded with coats of arms, recorded below.

For the sitters, see further in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. The two sets of coats are those of titles belonging to the House of Austria. The ones on his panel may be called Austrian, those on her panel Burgundian ; it seems clear that they are to be considered together, and that they do not form two distinct sets, one of Philip's possessions, one of Margaret's.

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

## 2. Colours

He is in red and golden patterned cloak ; cap black. She is in red and golden patterned dress ; black and red headdress. Reddish brown backgrounds.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

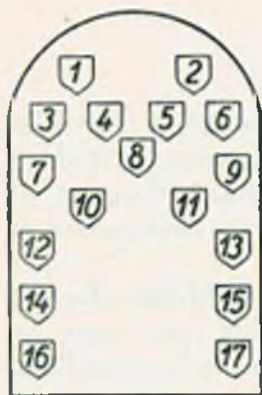
On his panel, his name : *Ph̄ dei gr̄a archi / dux austrie / dux (.u?)rg'zī* (presumably for *Burgundiae*). On her panel, her name : *Margareta filia / Regis / Romanorū*. Besides these inscriptions, there are the following inscriptions and coats of arms :

*Panel of Philip the Fair.* In the centre at the top is a shield with his coat of arms (see text illustration \*) under a coronet of ermine, and partly surrounded by a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The other coats of arms are numbered on the diagram given on p. 12. 1. Inscribed ( ) *stria* ; Austria. 2. Inscribed *Stiri* ( ) ; Styria. 3. Inscribed ( ) *iole* ; Carniola, Krain or Krajina (in Jugoslavia). 4. Inscribed *Carintie* ; Carinthia. See note on these two further on. 5. Inscribed *Tirole* ; Tyrol. 6. Inscribed *Cili* ; Cilli or Celje, in Jugoslavia. 7. Inscribed *Habsbu* ( ) *g* ; Habsburg or Hapsburg, the original title of the House of Austria, in Switzerland between Bâle and Zürich. 8. Inscribed *Schelcklīgen*, (wrongly) for Schelklingen in Württemberg ; see the note further on. 9. Inscribed *Alsatie* ;



Alsace. 10. Inscribed *Slauonice* ; Slavonia, a region near Krain (No. 3 above). In J. van Battele's triptych, referred to further on, it is called by the name of *Windische Mark*. 11. Inscribed *Burgou* ; Burgau in Bavaria, with which the neighbouring Günzburg was associated. 12. Inscribed *Kiburg* ; Kyburg in Switzerland, not far from Winterthur. 13. Inscribed *Phirt* ; Pfirt or Ferrette, near Mulhouse. 14. Inscribed *Terraentia*, (wrongly) for Country on the Enns, or Upper Austria ; see the note further on. 15. Inscribed *Port Nauonis* ; Pordenone, the Roman Portus Naonis. 16. Inscribed *Nelleburg* ; Nellenburg, in Hegau (S. Germany, near the Lake of Constance). 17. Inscribed *Ortēburg* ; Ortenburg, a place in Carinthia (cf. a note by *Prims* \* 45).

\* This illustration is derived from the seal of Maximilian (the father of Philip the Fair), as given by *Wredius, Sigilla Comitum Flandriae*, Bruges, 1639, p. 104; the coat on the picture is meant to be the same, but there are some variations in details and in colours.



*Panel of Margaret of Austria.* In the centre at the top is a woman's shield, the right side showing the same arms as Philip's, the other side blank (showing that she is unmarried). The other coats of arms are numbered on the accompanying diagram. 1. Inscribed *B(o)urgūdia* : the Duchy of Burgundy. 2. Inscribed *Lotheringia* ; Lorraine. 3. Inscribed *Brabātia* ; Brabant. 4. Inscribed *Limburgia* ; Limburg. 5. Inscribed *Luxēburgia* ; Luxembourg. 6. Inscribed *Cheldres* ; Gelderland. 7. Inscribed *Flandria* ; Flanders. 8. Inscribed *Bourgundia* ; the county palatine of Burgundy, or *Franche-Comté*. 9. Inscribed *Artesium* ; Artois. 10. Inscribed *Hānonia* ; Hainault. 11. Inscribed *Namureū* ; Namur. 12. Inscribed *Hollādia* ; Holland. 13. Inscribed *Zeelādia* ; Zeeland (in Holland). 14. Inscribed *Zutphania* ; Zutphen.

15. Inscribed *Frisia* ; Friesland. 16. Inscribed *Salins* ; Salins, in the French Jura. 17. Inscribed *Malins* ; Malines.

In connection with the coats of arms, the following material may be cited :

(a), the *Chapelle de Bourgogne* at Antwerp, stated to be ca. 1496 ; publications on it by *Jolly*<sup>1</sup> and *Prims*<sup>2</sup>. There are included two sets of 18 coats, with inscriptions ; some of the variations in the coats common to this chapel and the present pictures receive comment in this entry. The two extra coats in the chapel are Lower Austria and Antwerp (Saint Empire) ; the arms of Lower Austria are included in the present pictures in the arms of Philip and Margaret themselves (see text illustration).

(b), a manuscript known as the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint*, stated to be of 1527, No. 14569 of the *Bibliothèque Royale* at Brussels ; photographs in the National Gallery. Two sets of 18 coats, with the same two extra as in (a).

(c), a triptych by J. van Baltele, 1517, at Malines ; reproduced by *Foncke, Løbeer* and *Goossens* (<sup>12</sup> 195). Most of the coats in the present pictures are repeated there, with inscriptions.

(d), a diptych at Vienna, representing the same sitters as here, datable ca. 1494. Titles, but no coats of arms, are on the frames ; the titles are the same as here, except for Antwerp instead of Zutphen. Reproduced with the frames by *Glück* (<sup>3</sup> opp. 252), and by *Maquet-Tombu* (<sup>4</sup> 261).

A good deal of information about these coats, with notes of when and how the titles became attached to the House of Austria, may be found in the already mentioned work by *Prims* (<sup>2</sup> 43 ff.).

The following comments deal with four cases on Philip's panel, where the identity of what is meant may be disputed.

Nos. 3 and 4. These appear to be correct ; but coats meant for the same, with the labels *Krain* and *Carinthia* inverted, are found in the *Chapelle de Bourgogne* and the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint*. *Jolly* (<sup>1</sup> f. 7 v. of the German part of the text), and *Prims* (<sup>2</sup> 44) make no comment on this.

No. 8. *Schelckligen*. The name is meant for *Schelklingen* in *Württemberg*, but the coat is wrongly labelled, being identifiable as that of *Upper Austria* (information from *Dr. Loehr*, of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna, 1936). See further No. 14 below. What seems

clearly meant for the same coat recurs in the Chapelle de Bourgogne, the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint* and in J. van Battele's triptych. In the Chapelle de Bourgogne, the inscription is read as *Schelking* by *Prims* (° 44). *Jolly* (l. f. 7 v. of the German part of the text) identifies it as *Schelling*. *Prims* (° 44) thinks it is *Schelking* in Courland. In the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint*, the inscription is *Schelling*. In J. van Battele's triptych, the inscription seems to be *Oderanche*, which seems not to have been interpreted.

No. 14, *Terraentia*, meaning Country on the Enns, or Upper Austria. This coat is wrongly labelled, the arms of Upper Austria being identified as No. 8 above. It might be supposed that, by a simple interchange, No. 14 shows the arms of *Schelkingen*, the wrong label of No. 8; but this is not the case. The arms of *Schelkingen* resemble the present coat, but with hends black instead of hends red as here; the coat here corresponds with that of *Ehingen* in *Württemberg* (information from Dr. *Loehr* of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna, 1936). What seems clearly meant for the same coat recurs in the Chapelle de Bourgogne and the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint*. In the Chapelle de Bourgogne, the inscription is read as *Terre Cury* by *Prims* (° 45). *Jolly* (l. f. 7 v. of the German part of the text) identifies it as *Schellenburg*, on comparison with the *Généalogie de Charles-Quint*, where the inscription is *Scellenbourg*. *Prims* makes no comment on this claim.

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

##### 1. Origin

###### a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of these pictures is not known; the first known date at which they are recorded being 1904 (see *Subsequent History*).

The sitters (identified by inscriptions) are the two children of the Emperor Maximilian I. Philip the Fair (Philip I of Spain) was born on 22 July, 1478 and died in 1506; he was granted the collar of the Golden Fleece in 1481. Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, was born on 10 January, 1480 and died in 1530. *Louise Roblot-Delondre* (° 8f. and 153) wrongly identifies the sitter here as Joan the Mad, Philip's wife.

On historical grounds, the date is probably ca. 1493/5. Margaret (born in 1480) was betrothed in 1485 to King Charles VIII of France; he jilted her in 1491, whereupon a war broke out, and Margaret was not free to go to Flanders until the Peace of Senlis (23 May, 1493). Soon after, her father Maximilian planned Spanish marriages for her and for her brother Philip, which were finally settled on 5 November, 1495. Philip married Joan the Mad in 1496; Margaret married John, Prince of Asturias, in 1497. For further details, see *Davies* (° 96); it is enough here to state that Margaret could most properly be described as unmarried, as she is on the picture, between 1493 and 1495 or perhaps 1497. This probable date is not in disaccord with the reference on the picture to Maximilian as King of the Romans; it is true that he had in effect become Emperor in 1493, but he was not crowned until 1508, so it was proper in the interval to refer to him by the lesser title. *Glück* (° 235) says that the fact that Philip on the picture is called Duke of Burgundy implies a date after the summer of 1494, when he was declared a major and took over the government of the Netherlands; but this appears to be a mistake — see the inscription on a seal of 1485 (date checked), given in the catalogue of the *Exposition de la Toison d'Or* at Bruges, 1907, 224.



It has been noted in section D that a double portrait of the sitters, similar in character to this one, exists at Vienna. There the sitters' ages are stated as being 16 and 14, so the date of that picture is ca. 1494; so far as a difficult point can be judged, the sitters' ages need not be very different here.

It is likely that the pictures here, and the ones at Vienna, with the sitters associated together and much insistence on their possessions, are somehow connected with the already mentioned Spanish marriage; see Glück (<sup>1</sup> 254/5).

#### b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Called German School in the Chigi Collection (Anderson's photographs, Nos. 5255/6). Unknown French, with a suggestion of Jean Perréal, at Paris in 1904; Unknown at Bruges in 1907 (see *Subsequent History*). The pictures entered the National Gallery as Burgundian School (*Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 38). Mme. Maquet-Tombu (<sup>1</sup> 284 and <sup>1</sup> 193) ascribes them to the studio of the Master of the Magdalen Legend, saying (wrongly) that they are replicas of an already mentioned diptych at Vienna, which she (<sup>1</sup> 258) ascribes to the Master of the Guild of S. George. Wescher (<sup>11</sup> 276) says Master of the Magdalen Legend. Davies (<sup>12</sup> 96/7) rejects this attribution, holding the pictures to be in the unattributable class. For the probable date ca. 1493/5, see in *Factual Evidence* above.

### 2. *Subsequent History*

#### a. *Records of Ownership*

In the Collection of Margaret of Austria herself, there was a double portrait of the sitters; but Winkler (<sup>10</sup> 129ff.) associates this with a diptych now divided between Versailles and the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, and rightly claims (*ib.*, 132, note 1) that neither the present pictures nor the diptych at Vienna can reasonably be referred to. Another record of pictures in Margaret's Collection almost certainly refers to different sitters, and need not be discussed here (Davies <sup>12</sup> 97, note 14).

The present pictures were in the Chigi Collection at Rome; recorded there in Anderson's photographs, Nos. 5255/6.

1904 Lent by Agnew to the *Exposition des Primitifs Français* at Paris, 1904, No. 143; *Catalogue* (<sup>1</sup> 64). For the identification, see Louise Roblot-Delondre (<sup>1</sup> 8/9, and Plate V).

In the Collection of George Salting, London;

1907 Lent by him to Bruges, *Exposition de la Toison d'Or*, 1907 (No. 44);

1910 George Salting Bequest, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 38).

#### b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

Before 1904 Anderson's photographs Nos. 5255/6 show slight differences from what is seen now.

### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

No replicas of these pictures are known; but, as already mentioned, there exists at Vienna a double portrait of the same sitters, comparable in character and datable ca. 1494. For comparable heraldic material, see in section D, above.

Davies (<sup>12</sup> 96/7) cites two other pictures of different sitters, comparable only in being examples of official iconography.

### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The interest of these portraits seems to me only historical; it would be more, if the occasion for them were definitely known.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1904 <sup>2</sup> : *Exposition des Primitifs Français au Palais du Louvre, etc., Catalogue*, Paris, 1904.
- 1905 <sup>3</sup> : GUSTAV GLÜCK. *Kinderbildnisse aus der Sammlung Margaretens von Österreich, in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna), Vol. XXV, Vienna/Leipzig, 1905.
- 1911 <sup>4</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1913 <sup>5</sup> : LOUISE ROBLLOT-DELONDRE. *Portraits d'Infantes XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1913.
- 1929 <sup>6</sup> : JEANNE TOMBU. *Le Maître de la Légende de Marie-Madeleine*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th. period, Vol. II, Paris, November, 1929, 258-291.
- 1930 <sup>7</sup> : JEANNE TOMBU. *Le Maître de la Légende de Marie-Madeleine (Nouvelles Attributions)*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th. period, Vol. III, Paris, March, 1930, 190-193.
- 1930 <sup>8</sup> : JEANNE MAQUET-TOMBU. *Un Portraitiste Malinois, Le Maître de la Gilde de Saint Georges*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th. period, Vol. IV, Paris, November, 1930, 257-264.
- 1930 <sup>9</sup> : FLORIS PRIMS. *De "Kapel van Burgondië" van Jan van Immerseel*, Antwerp, 1930.
- 1932 <sup>10</sup> : FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Die Bildnisse Philipps des Schönen und Margaretens von Osterreich von 1483*, in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. LIII, Berlin, 1932, 129-133.
- 1941 <sup>11</sup> : PAUL WESCHER. *Das Höfische Bildnis von Philip dem Guten bis zu Karl V* (2nd. article), in *Pantheon*, Munich, December, 1941, 272-277.
- 1945 <sup>12</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 <sup>13</sup> : ROB. FONCKE, LOUIS LEBEER AND KORNEEL GOOSSENS. *Mechelen de Heerlijke*, Malines, 1947.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 23 : ANONYMOUS (4).

XXVI. Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria	B 124 170	1950
XXVII. Philip the Fair and Coats of Arms (1 : 1)	B 124 171	1950
XXVIII. Margaret of Austria and Coats of Arms (1 : 1)	B 124 172	1950
XXIX. Figure of Philip the Fair (M 2 X)	B 124 173	1950
XXX. Figure of Margaret of Austria (M 2 X)	B 124 174	1950
XXXI. The Reverses	B 124 175	1950

## 24

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 24 : ANONYMOUS (5). *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO ANGELS*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Netherlandish School.

*The Virgin and Child with two Angels.*

No. 3379 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	49.1 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 37.1 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.9 cm. 19 5/16 $\times$ 14 5/8 $\times$ 3/8 ins.
	painted surface	46.5 ( $\pm$ 0.4) $\times$ 34.5 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm. 18 5/16 $\times$ 13 9/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : An even layer of varnish, rather worn, but still satisfactory.

*Paint Layer* : Adheres well. Wearing has caused numerous small losses, which have been inpainted. Inpaintings of several knocks and scratches, on the Virgin's eyes, mouth, chin and neck, under the Virgin's right hand, to the right of the Child's head. Reinforcement of the outlines of the faces and the flesh in general. Light overpainting of the right part of the Virgin's mantle. The green edges of the hanging behind the Virgin are transparent to X-rays ; the losses on the right hand edge of this hanging are inpainted directly on the surface of the holes.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : A nearly white layer, of normal thickness ; it tends not to adhere at the edges of the cracks.

*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, perfectly flat. Apart from a deep scratch towards the right and parallel to the right edge, the condition is good. The back has a wide chamfer.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin is seen at half length, supporting the Child, Who is on a parapet and is playing with a pink. A hanging occupies the central part of the background ; on each side is a curtain, behind which is a praying angel in front of a window.

## 2. Colours

The Virgin is in a mauvish grey dress, greenish blue mantle. The patterned hanging is red and golden, with green borders. Curtains pink. The left hand angel is in yellow, the other in white.

## 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 1918 (*Catalogue* ' 6, lot 32).

## b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Called Albert Bouts at the Marks Sale of 1918 (*Catalogue* ' 6, lot 32). It entered the National Gallery as Jacques Daret (*Catalogue* ' 77) ; this was changed to the Master of the S. Ursula Legend in 1929 (*Catalogue* ' 226). *Davies* (' 100) says that it is unattributable, and that the possibility of its being a fake cannot be excluded ; this possibility, following a restorer's report of 1947 in the National Gallery archives, can be excluded.

## 2. Subsequent History

*Records of Ownership*

<sup>1918</sup> Murray Marks Sale, London, 5 July, 1918 (lot 32), with identifying description (*Catalogue* ' 6) ; bought by Brown and Phillips.

Purchased from Brown and Phillips out of the Lewis Fund, 1918 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 77).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

It would be useful if some critic established the region from which it comes ; even so, in my opinion, its interest would be slight.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1918 <sup>1</sup> : *Catalogue of Old Pictures, etc., the Property of Murray Marks Esq., etc.* : Auction Sale by Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 5 July, 1918.  
 1920 <sup>2</sup> : *National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures at Trafalgar Square*, London, 1920.  
 1929 <sup>3</sup> : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, London, 1929.  
 1945 <sup>4</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 24 : ANONYMOUS (5)

XXXII. The Virgin and Child with two Angels	B 124 422	1950
XXXIII. The Head of the Virgin (1 : 1)	B 124 423	1950
XXXIV. The Child (1 : 1)	B 124 424	1950
XXXV. The Virgin's Features (M 2 ×)	B 124 425	1950
XXXVI. The Reverse	B 124 426	1950

## 25

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 25 : GROUP BOSCH (4), *THE CROWNING WITH THORNS*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Hieronymus Bosch.

Christ Mocked (the Crowning with Thorns).

No. 4744 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* : panel and painted surface      73.7 ( $\pm 0.2$ )  $\times$  58.7 ( $\pm 0.1$ )  $\times$  0.4 cm.  
29  $\times$  23 1/8  $\times$  5/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A thin coat of varnish, in good condition in spite of some matt patches. Remains of old, much coloured varnish on the green mantle of the soldier on the left.

*Paint Layer* : Fairly good condition.

General wearing, very marked on the left half of Christ's robe.

Numerous unimportant inpaintings, and restoration along the two joins of the constituent panels.

Extensive overpaintings on the background, forming patches ; overpainting of the blue collar of the soldier on the right ; a light glaze covers the numerous damages on Christ's robe. Strengthening of the deep shadows and of some outlines.

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

*Changes in Composition* : Numerous changes, including an indication of Christ's hands lower down, and a different form for His robe at the neck ; see Plate XXXVIII. Cf. also Plates XLIII, XLIV. Among other alterations, it may be noted that the chin of the Jew on the left was once much less prominent. The X-radiograph reveals across the whole of the top a band about 12 cm. wide, where there is much white lead. The bottom edge of this

band shows signs of having been scraped ; this is clear under the hat of the soldier on the right, where the white lead (with brushmarks horizontal) has been removed by scraping in a vertical direction.

*Ground* : White, of medium thickness ; it does not adhere very well, and one may note that it tends to rise a little along the grain of the wood, and that several small areas are raised in the lower left hand corner of the blue dress of the Jew on the left.

*Support* : Oak, three panels with grain vertical, reduced in thickness and cradled. Good condition.

*Marks on the Back* : Several stamps, apparently connected with the export from Italy (cf. *Subsequent History*) ; reproduction of the back on Plate LII.

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

Christ is shown at half length ; four men represent the soldiers and Jews mocking Him. One of the soldiers is putting the Crown of Thorns on His head. The hood of the Jew in front on the left is ornamented with a crescent and a star.

The picture is not a literal representation of what is recounted in the Gospels. It seems to be derived chiefly from *John*, XIX, 2-6 ; but Christ is not shown wearing a purple robe. The white robe in which He is here wrapped is perhaps that put upon Him by Herod, according to *Luke*, XXIII, 11 (*veste alba* in the Vulgate ; *in a gorgeous robe* in the authorized version ; *in gorgeous apparel* in the revised version).

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

##### 2. Colours

Christ, Who has reddish-brown hair, is robed in white. The soldier on the left has a green mantle and turban ; the one on the right a red dress with blue collar, his hat dark grey. The Jew on the left has a blue dress with scarlet collar, his headdress red ; the one on the right has a red dress, black headdress.

##### 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 1882 (see *Subsequent History*).

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

In 1882 (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 42, No. 198) it was doubtfully called Holbein. Catalogued as Early Flemish School at the Magniac Sale of 1892 (see *Subsequent History*). The design but

not the execution is ascribed to Bosch by Conway (<sup>o</sup> 344). The picture is now generally accepted as Bosch's own work, e.g. by Friedländer (<sup>o</sup> 101).

As for the date, Baldass (<sup>o</sup> 249) suggests probably a little before the *Temptation of S. Anthony* at Lisbon, by which (<sup>o</sup> 246) he seems to suggest the later 1490's; cf. Baldass (<sup>o</sup> 257), where he puts the present picture towards the end of Bosch's middle period.

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

1882 Perhaps in the Collection of Hollingworth Magniac at Colworth. He died ca. 1867, and the collection passed to his son Charles, who lent this picture to the Exhibition of *Works by the Old Masters* at the Royal Academy, London, 1882 (No. 198); *Catalogue* (' 42), with description. Charles Magniac died in 1891.

1892 Sale of the Collection chiefly formed by Hollingworth Magniac, London, 4 July, 1892 (lot 134), reproduced, bought by Crawshay. This appears to have been Robert (apparently not Richard) Crawshay, an English collector who lived at Rome (*Catalogue* ' 3/4).

1934 Purchased out of the Temple-West Fund from the Sangiorgi Gallery, Rome, 1934 (*Catalogue* ' 3/4).

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

1934 Cleaned (photographed before cleaning at the National Gallery).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Several versions of this subject are known, acceptable as originals, copies or schoolpieces of Bosch; none to my knowledge corresponds with this sufficiently closely to be mentioned here.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Acceptable to me as an original by Bosch; I prefer not to commit myself with regard to the date.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1882 <sup>1</sup>: *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, etc., Catalogue*, Royal Academy, London, 1882.

1921 <sup>2</sup>: SIR MARTIN CONWAY. *The van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.

1937 <sup>3</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XIV. *Pieter Bruegel und Nachträge zu den früheren Bänden*, Leyden, 1937.

1939 <sup>4</sup>: *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Supplement to the 1929 Catalogue*, London, 1939.

1945 <sup>5</sup>: LUDWIG VON BALDASS. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1943.

1945 <sup>6</sup>: MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 25 : GROUP BOSCH (4)

XXXVII. The Crowning with Thorns	B 124 556	1950
XXXVIII. Detail: Robe of Christ, and various Hands (infra-red)	N. G.	1952
XXXIX. Upper Part, Right	B 124 559	1950
XXXIXa. Upper Part, Right, Colour Plate	N. G.	1953
XL. Upper Part, Left	B 124 560	1950

XLI. Lower Part, Left	B 124 558	1950
XLII. Lower Part, Right	B 124 557	1950
XLIII. Hands of Christ and of the Jew in the lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 568	1950
XLIV. Head of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 565	1950
XLV. Head of the Soldier on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 562	1950
XLVI. Head of the Soldier on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 561	1950
XLVII. Head of the Jew on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 563	1950
XLVIII. Head of the Jew on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 564	1950
II. Features of the Jew on the Left (M 2 ×)	B 124 571	1950
L. Features of Christ (M 2 ×)	B 124 569	1950
LI. Features of the Soldier on the Right (M 2 ×)	B 124 570	1950
LII. The Reverse	B 124 572	1950

## 26

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 26 : GROUP BOUTS, AELBRECHT (1), CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Style of Aelbrecht Boutts.

Christ Crowned with Thorns.

No. 1083 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* : painted surface   43.9 ( $\pm$  0.2)  $\times$  37.1 ( $\pm$  0.1) cm.  
   17 1/4  $\times$  14 5/8 ins.  
           total thickness           0.5 cm.  
   3/16 in.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, very yellow, of medium thickness, with a fine craquelure.*Paint Layer* : General condition bad. Much damaged in the lower part. The paint is in general not much worn ; it adheres well except along the lower edge.

Numerous restorations of varying importance form darkened patches ; the most important are to be found (1) along the join of the panels forming the support, (2) a little to the left of the middle of the forehead, (3) in the hollow of Christ's right arm, (4) on His lower right arm and on the back of His right hand, (5) in the pit of the stomach, and (6) on the lower edge of the picture.



Light overpainting of the shadows of the body ; old overpainting of the hair ; recent overpainting of several Thorns. The gold of the background seems not to be original.

*Changes in composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : White, of medium thickness, adheres well.

*Support* : Wood, two panels with grain vertical, much reduced in thickness, mounted on canvas and supported by a stretcher with cross-pieces. The surface of the picture is considerably buckled.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. *Subject*

Christ is seen at half length, crowned with thorns ; He is, it would seem, showing the Wounds in His hands to the spectator. He is clothed only in a robe, which presumably recalls the robe put upon Him before the Crucifixion, when He was crowned with thorns (*Matthew*, XXVII, 28/9 ; *Mark*, XV, 17 ; *John*, XIX, 2).

Many figures of Christ, roughly comparable, and associated with Dieric Bouts or Aelbrecht Bouts, have as a pendant a figure of the Virgin Mary ; but this picture could always have been alone.

##### 2. *Colours*

The robe is red ; the Crown of Thorns green ; the background gold.

##### 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 1831 (see *Subsequent History*). There is no known record of a pendant (cf. *Subject* above, second paragraph).

###### b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

*Passavant* (° 96) recorded that in 1831 the picture was ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden, and doubted this ; but the attribution was preserved at the 1835 and 1839 Sales (see *Subsequent History*). Later called Rogier van der Weyden the Younger (*Waagen* ° Vol. II, 459). It entered the National Gallery as Early Flemish School (*Catalogue* ° 346) ; this was changed to Aelbrecht Bouts in 1911 (° 33). It had been ascribed to him by *Durand-Gréville* (° 64). *Friedländer* (° 119 No. 63 : o) records it as Aelbrecht Bouts (see also *Friedländer* (° 66) for his reserves concerning autograph works and studio replicas of Aelbrecht Bouts). *Schöne* (° 198, No. 107 : 27) says certainly Aelbrecht Bouts. *Davies* (° 9) expresses doubt whether Aelbrecht Bouts himself painted it.

There seems to have been no attempt to date this picture at all exactly.

## 2. Subsequent History

*Records of Ownership*

- 1831 Seen in the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London : *Passavant*, publ. 1833 (p. 96) with identifying description.
- 1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 100), bought by Dr. Wilis ; size wrongly given as 15" × 20" ; the description is slight, but part of what was written was repeated literally at the sale of 1839.
- 1839 (Henry Crabb Robinson) Sale, London, 26 April, 1839 (lot 57), bought by Green ; no identifying description, but certainly the picture.  
In the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley ;
- 1854 seen and described there shortly before 1854 by Waagen (p. Vol. II, 459), Lent by J. H. Green to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester (Provisional Catalogue, No. 481 ; Definitive Catalogue, No. 388). J. H. Green died in 1863.
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph H. Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* p. 346).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

For the varying pictures of this subject, classed as by Aelbrecht Bouts or in his style, see *Schöne* (p. 196ff.); he says that none corresponds in composition with this. It seems to be derived loosely from a composition assigned to Dieric Bouts, of which an example, No. 712 of the National Gallery, is included in the present volume (*Corpus* No. 29) ; but the motive as well as the composition has been modified.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This seems to me an inferior work. It is clearly in the style of the pictures associated with the name of Aelbrecht Bouts ; but these pictures seem to have been the work of a factory, if not several factories. It need not be doubted that Aelbrecht Bouts himself painted some of them, and I do not exclude his authorship here. I do not accept it either, since I have no clear idea of what can reasonably be considered his autograph works. For the key-picture of *The Assumption*, No. 534 of the *Musées Royaux* at Brussels, see *Marguerite Wéra, Contribution à l'Etude d'Albert Bouts*, in the *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. XX, 139 ff., Antwerp, 1951.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1833 <sup>1</sup> : J. D. PASSAVANT. *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt, 1833.
- 1854 <sup>2</sup> : G. F. WAAGEN. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, Vol. II, London, 1854.
- 1881 <sup>3</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1881.
- 1908 <sup>4</sup> : 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 <sup>5</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1925 <sup>6</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1938 <sup>7</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938.
- 1945 <sup>8</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 26 : GROUP BOUTS, AELBRECHT (1)

LIII. Christ Crowned with Thorns	B 124 367	1950
LIV. Head of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 368	1950
LV. Hands of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 369	1950
LVI. The Right Hand of Christ (M 2 X)	B 124 371	1950
LVII. The Face of Christ (M 2 X)	B 124 370	1950
LVIII. The Reverse	B 124 372	1950

## 27

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 27 : GROUP BOUTS (1), *THE ENTOMBMENT*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

*Dieric Bouts.**The Entombment.*No. 664 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* : support and painted surface      89.9 ( $\pm 0.1$ )  $\times$  74.2 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) cm.  
    35 7/16  $\times$  29 1/4 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Nil.

*Paint Layer* : A sample of blue from the sky, taken from the top edge, contained white lead and azurite, the medium being glue. A sample of brown from the lower edge contained iron oxide pigment, the medium being glue. (Analyses made by the Laboratory of the National Gallery).

The general condition of this picture may be considered good, if one has regard to the technique employed (tempera).

Marked wearing, particularly in the sky and in the whites of the Virgin's mantle and the shroud, leaving brownish patches in the places where the ground and canvas have been exposed.

Numerous holes along the edges, from an earlier arrangement of the nails fixing the picture to the stretcher. Brighter colours at the left and right and at the top also indicate a change in the amount of the picture surface exposed.

Flaking (cleavage) of the blue in various places on the Virgin's mantle and Nicodemus' (?) dress.

*Changes in Composition* : Changes in the outline of the back of Nicodemus (?), and in his right foot.

*Ground* : Does not cover the whole surface of the picture.

Where it exists, it is formed of a very thin, friable layer, which merely fills up the hollows of the supporting fabric.

*Support* : Very fine cotton (20 vertical threads per cm. ; analysis made by the Institution of Biomolecular Structure, Leeds University), lined with a modern canvas.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

The body of Christ is supported by S. Joseph of Arimathaea and S. Nicodemus (the latter being probably the figure at His feet), and by S. Mary Magdalene, who is kneeling in front of the tomb. Behind are the Virgin, supported by S. John, and two Holy Women. Landscape background.

The actors present at the scene are in accordance with artistic tradition (cf. *Künste* Vol. 1, 490ff.).

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

According to *Eastlake* (*Docs. 1* and *2*), three other pictures may have come from the same ensemble.

##### 2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue with a pale-coloured mantle ; S. John is in red. The Holy Woman furthest to the left is in green, the other to the right of her and behind in light red. S. Joseph (?) is in a patterned dress, mauvish and golden, with blue collar ; light red cap. S. Nicodemus is in blue dress and green overdress. The Magdalen is in a light red dress and a white mantle with green lining. The picture in general effect is pale and greyish.

##### 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 ; the first date at which it is known to be recorded is 1858 (*Doc. 1*). According to *Eastlake* (*Docs. 1* and *2*), three other pictures may have come from the same ensemble.

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Traditionally called Lucas van Leyden, and ascribed by *Eastlake* to Rogier van der Weyden (*Docs. 1* and *2*). This was changed at the National Gallery to Dieric Bouts in 1911 (*Catalogue* ' 33). The first to make this attribution was perhaps *Conway* (¶ 281). The

picture is recorded as Bouts by Friedländer (<sup>9</sup> 9), and is now generally agreed to be by him (Friedländer <sup>9</sup> 38, 105 (No. 3); Baldass <sup>9</sup> 87f.; Schöne <sup>9</sup> 82/4, No. 4).

Critics agree that the picture is an early work of Bouts; Friedländer (<sup>9</sup> 38), doubtfully suggests ca. 1455, Schöne (<sup>9</sup> 7), ca. 1448/56.

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

Once with three others (?) in the Foscari Collection :

- after 1800 purchased in Vienna at the beginning to the XIX Century by Guicciardi, an envoy from Milan (Docs 1 and 2). Perhaps this was Conte Diego Guicciardi (1756-1837), who according to the *Enciclopedia Italiana* was an envoy at the Congress of Vienna, 1814/5.
- 1858 Recorded by Eastlake at Milan ("Guizzardi" Collection) in 1858 (Doc. 1).
- 1860 Purchased from the Guicciardi family at Milan in 1860 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 268).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

What appears to be a derivation (wood 64 × 44 cm.) was in the von Bolin et al. Sale, Munich, 14/5 December, 1934, lot 500, Flemish or Dutch School; reproduced in the catalogue.

The composition is possibly derived from Rogier van der Weyden. Compare, for a general similarity, the small imitation relief in the framing of the central panel of the *Marienaltar* (studio version at Berlin, No. 534 A; *Destrée* <sup>2</sup> Vol. II, Plate 17).

Many of the types recur in the triptychs assigned to Bouts or a copyist at Granada and Valencia (*Schöne* <sup>9</sup> Plates 8-14).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

No historical facts concerning the origin of the picture are known. In particular, there is no documentation either for the attribution or for the date; but on stylistic grounds I see no reason to reject the usual view, that the picture is by Dieric Bouts and one of his earlier works. It is clearly one of the best preserved of early Netherlandish pictures on fabric, and an early example (other examples of such pictures are listed by *Schöne* (<sup>9</sup> 82/3)).

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1861 <sup>1</sup>: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 32nd. edition, London, 1861.
- 1887 <sup>2</sup>: WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY, *Early Flemish Artists*, London, 1887.
- 1903 <sup>3</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Meisterwerke der Niederländischen Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903.
- 1911 <sup>4</sup>: *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1925 <sup>5</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1928 <sup>6</sup>: KARI KÜNSTLE, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Vol. I, Freiburg i/B., 1928.
- 1930 <sup>7</sup>: JULES DESTREE, *Rogier de la Pasture van der Weyden*, Paris and Brussels, 1930.
- 1932 <sup>8</sup>: LUDWIG BALDASS, *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series, Vol. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.

- 1938<sup>9</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938.  
 1945<sup>10</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

Extracts from the note-books of *Sir Charles Eastlake*, MSS. in the National Gallery :

*Document 1*

*Note-book of 1858, Part 1 (Milan)* : "Four drawings or pictures in tempera by Roger Van der Weyden — one under glass only offered for sale — the Deposition from the Cross (for about £ 200) — other subjects — The Adoration of the Kings — Presentation — Annunciation — These drawings, originally in the possession of the Foscari family, found their way to Vienna, where Guizzardi, envoy from Milan, purchased them early in the present century — Ct. Poldi was (in 1858) in treaty for the drawing in question (called, as usual, Lucas Van Leyden) — Q. will the other three be hereafter saleable?"

*Document 2*

*Note-book of 1860, Part 3 (Milan)* : "Casa Guicciardi — Contrada della Cerva — Casa Visconti — no 366 — The drawing or tempera painting by Roger V. der Weyde — (called as usual "Luca di Leida") — 2 — 10¼ h. 2. — 4 w. cloth — under glass. Entombment. C. supported by Jos. of Arim. female more in front supporting feet with Nicod. behind the tomb three Marias & St John — landscape (the landscape being in tempera wants tone in the green).  
 Saw the pendant (in another house) Adoration of Kings not so good (not so well preserved) — The other two are said to be the Crucifixion & the Annunciation".

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 27 : GROUP BOUTS (1)

LIX. The Entombment	B 124 485	1950
LX. S. Mary Magdalene, the Virgin and S. Nicodemus (?)	B 124 486	1950
LXI. The Body of Christ, the Virgin and the other Figures	B 124 487	1950
LXII. Head of the Virgin, two Holy Women and S. John (1 : 1)	B 124 490	1950
LXIII. Christ and S. Joseph of Arimathea (?) (1 : 1)	B 124 491	1950
LXIV. Head and Arm of S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)	B 124 494	1950
LXV. Detail of the Body of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 492	1950
LXVI. Lower Part of the Dress of S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)	B 124 495	1950
LXVII. Landscape, on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 488	1950
LXVIII. Rocks on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 495	1950
LXIX. Heads of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Nicodemus (?) (1 : 1)	B 124 489	1950
LXX. Head of S. John (M 2 ×)	B 124 498	1950
LXXI. Head of Christ (M 2 ×)	B 124 496	1950
LXXII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 497	1950
LXXIII. The Reverse	B 124 499	1950

## 28

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 28 : GROUP BOUTS (2). *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Dieric Bouts.

*The Virgin and Child.*No. 708 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(30.vi.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	21.3 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 16.2 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.9 cm. 8 3/8 $\times$ 6 3/8 $\times$ 3/8 ins.
	painted surface	20 $\times$ 14.5 cm. 7 7/8 $\times$ 5 11/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, rather thick and very brown, falsifying the tone of the flesh and the background.*Paint Layer* : Extensive restoration of the flesh and and the lower part of the Virgin's mantle. Overpainting of the Virgin's dress.

The condition of the background seems, surprisingly, very good.

See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E. below.*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.*Ground* : Nearly white, rather thick ; adheres well.*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical. From the fact that some worm tunnels are exposed along their length, it may be supposed that the back has been reduced in thickness.*Marks on the Back* : Inscribed *B P/ cōprato dal Sig. (?) Angelo ?* ; another inscription on the wood, at the top, has not been read. A label with *(Al)berto Duro*, followed by another line, which has not been read. Reproduction of the back on Plate LXXVI.*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin is seen at half-length, supporting the Child with both hands ; He holds a fruit (?) in His left hand. Background, a hanging.

2. *Colours*

The Virgin is in a blue dress and red mantle ; the hanging is green and golden.

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 ; the first known dated reference to it is of 1815 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

A label on the back (*Alberto Duro*) records an attribution to Albert Dürer; see Plate LXXVI. Probably called Jan van Eyck in 1826/7 (see *Subsequent History*). Called Margaret van Eyck in 1848 (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 24, No. 54) ; doubtfully Gerhart van der Meere by Waagen (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 25, No. 35, and <sup>3</sup> 226), and at Manchester, 1857 (see *Subsequent History*). *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (<sup>1</sup> 115) record that it was attributed to Margaret van Eyck, as which it entered the National Gallery (*Catalogue* <sup>3</sup> 98). This was changed at the Gallery to Flemish School in 1887 (*Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 167). *Lippmann* (<sup>5</sup> 108) thinks it possibly by the Master of the S. Lucy Legend. *Baldass* (<sup>10</sup> 112, 114) says it is by a follower of Dieric Bouts ; under the name of the *Meister der farbenfreudigen Madonnen*, he associates it with three other pictures of the *Virgin and Child* (*Friedländer* <sup>11</sup> 125/6, Nos. 86, 89, 90, and Plates LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV ; see also *Friedländer*, Vol. XIV, 1937, page 91), and perhaps with *The Annunciation* formerly at Leningrad and now in the Gulbenkian Collection (*Friedländer* <sup>12</sup> 110, No. 28 and Plate XXXVIII). *Schöne* (<sup>11</sup> 216, No. 148) says that it is by an imitator of Dieric Bouts. *Davies* (<sup>12</sup> 13) while agreeing that it is by a follower of Dieric Bouts, objects to Baldass' association with the three pictures of the *Virgin and Child*. *Baldass* in 1949 (*Doc.* 2) withdraws the association with *The Annunciation* in the Gulbenkian Collection, but maintains it with two of the pictures of the *Virgin and Child* (*Friedländer* <sup>13</sup> Nos. 89, 90).

Neither *Baldass* (<sup>10</sup>) nor *Schöne* (<sup>11</sup>) suggest a date for this picture.

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

According to an Italian inscription on the back (recorded in section C, above ; see Plate LXXVI), the picture seems to have been purchased at some time by B. P. from Sig. Ange (lo ?).

1815 Stated to be from the Collection of Count Joseph von Rechberg of Mindelheim, and purchased in 1815 by Prince Ludwig Kraft Ernst van Oettingen-Wallerstein, for the Gallery at Wallerstein (*Davies* <sup>12</sup> 13). This provenance may be said to receive some confirmation from *Grupp* (<sup>14</sup> 98ff.). *Grupp*, indeed, appears not to mention the present picture ; but he claims to mention all the Oettingen-Wallerstein acquisitions of importance, except those from the Rechberg Collection, which he deals with more summarily.

1826 (?)/27 Probably No. 35 of Oettingen-Wallerstein Catalogues of ca. 1826/7 (*Doc.* 1), though the description and size are not quite satisfactory. 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* (<sup>14</sup> 105ff.).



- 1841 Probably exhibited in November, 1841, with other pictures in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, at Augsburg (*Kunstblatt*, 1842, 3).
- 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; *Catalogue* (° 24, No. 54) with identifying description. The pictures were bought by the Prince Consort.
- 1854 Recorded at Kensington Palace; *Waagen's Catalogue* (° 25, No. 35); cf. *Waagen* (° 226). Lent by Prince Albert to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (*Provisional Catalogue*, No. 476; *Definitive Catalogue*, No. 395).
- 1863 Presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863 (*National Gallery Catalogue* ° 98).

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

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

### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

An embroidered hanging with a very similar pattern occurs in one of the already mentioned pictures, by Baldass stylistically associated with the present one (*Friedländer* ° Plate LXXIV).

### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The picture seems to me of little interest.

### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1848 <sup>1</sup>: *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient Greek, etc., Pictures now at Kensington Palace* (Prince Louis of Oettingen Wallerstein), London, (1848). (According to *The Art-Union*, London, Vol. X, August, 1848, 251, the catalogue is by L. Gruner).
- 1854 <sup>2</sup>: (G. F. WAAGEN). *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, etc., Pictures now at Kensington Palace*, London, 1854.
- 1857 <sup>3</sup>: G. F. WAAGEN. *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (Vol. IV of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*), London, 1857.
- 1857 <sup>4</sup>: J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1857.
- 1864 <sup>5</sup>: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 38th edition, London, 1864.
- 1887 <sup>6</sup>: *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, London, 1887.
- 1907 <sup>7</sup>: F. W. LIPPMANN. *German and Flemish Pictures in the National Gallery*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XII, London, November, 1907, 108.
- 1917 <sup>8</sup>: GEORG GRUPP. *Fürst Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein als Museumsgründer*, in the *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Nördlingen und Umgebung*, Vol. VI, 1917, 75 - 109.
- 1925 <sup>9</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1932 <sup>10</sup>: LUDWIG BALDASS. *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series, Vol. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.

1938 <sup>11</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1938.

1945 <sup>12</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Document 1

"35. JEAN VAN EYCK — mort 1440. — Madonne tenant sur son bras gauche l'enfant Jesus — Dem. fig. — Bois — H — 8. L. — 9" (i.e. 8 × 9 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 12. A manuscript catalogue of 1827, also in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery), repeats this entry in German.

### Document 2

"Das Bild ist nicht von derselben Hand wie die Verkündigung in der Gulbenkian Samml., früher in Petersburg, doch scheint es mir nach wie vor sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es von derselben Hand herrührt wie Friedländer Nr 89 und 90". From a ms. of 1949 by Ludwig Baldass, in the National Gallery.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 28 : GROUP BOUTS (2)

LXXIV. The Virgin and Child (1 : 1)

B 124 272 1950

LXXV. Heads of the Virgin and the Child (M2 ×)

B 124 273 1950

LXXVI. The Reverse (infra-red, 1 : 1)

N. G. 1952

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 29 : GROUP BOUTS (5), "MATER DOLOROSA" AND CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS (PENDANTS)

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Studio of Dieric Bouts.

"Mater Dolorosa" : Christ Crowned with Thorns.

Nos. 711 and 712 in the *Catalogue Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

No. 711, "*Mater Dolorosa*"  
(30.vi.1952)

**Form :** Rectangular.

<b>Dimensions :</b>	panel	37.3 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 28.0 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.8 cm. 14 11/16 $\times$ 11 $\times$ 5/16 ins.
	painted surface	36.5 $\times$ 27.5 cm. 14 3/8 $\times$ 10 13/16 ins.

**Protective Layer :** Varnish, in excellent condition.

**Paint Layer :** Good general condition. Restoration along the crack in the panel forming the support. Light overpainting of the lips, and on the lower part of the white veil, towards the right. The mantle is overpainted with a general glaze. The gold of the background seems not to be original. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

**Changes in Composition :** Nothing worth recording noted.

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

**Support :** Oak, one panel with grain vertical : a crack for the whole length of the panel has been satisfactorily repaired. Black paint on the back.

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

**Frame :** Not original.

No. 712, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*

(This picture was not examined ; the statements made are derived from the National Gallery's own documentation, 9.vii.1952)

**Form :** Rectangular.

<b>Dimensions :</b>	painted surface	36.5 $\times$ 27.5 cm. 14 3/8 $\times$ 10 13/16 ins.
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**Protective Layer :** No comments for record in this place.

**Paint Layer :** Slightly rubbed. Some retouches on the dress and the background. Restorations along the right hand edge, in the Crown of Thorns, and above Christ's left eye. Very light overpainting of the hair on the right, and of the deep shadows of Christ's left cheek. Some areas of overpainting under the lips and under the nose. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

**Changes in Composition :** There seems to be a change in composition in the upper lip.

**Ground :** No comments for record in this place.

**Support :** Oak, one panel with grain vertical. There is a vertical incised line for most of the length of the panel, which could easily be taken for a join. Black paint on the back.

*Marks on the Back* : A seal of red wax in the upper right hand corner (referred to in *Subsequent History*, below). Some other marks, not worth recording ; reproduction of the back on Plate LXXXVI.

*Frame* : Not examined.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

(No. 711) The Virgin is shown at bust length, facing to the right, weeping and with hands joined in prayer.

(No. 712) Christ is seen frontally, with clasped hands ; He wears a mantle, and the Crown of Thorns is on His head. The mantle presumably recalls the robe put upon Him before the Crucifixion, when He was crowned with thorns (*Matthew*, XXVII, 28/9; *Mark*, XV, 17; *John*, XIX, 2).

The pictures are clearly pendants.

For what seems to be a *change in composition* in No. 712, see in section C, above.

##### 2. Colours

(No. 711) The Virgin is in a mauve dress and blue (?) mantle. Gold background.

(No. 712) Not available for colour notes.

##### 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 these pictures is not known ; the first known date at which they are recorded being perhaps 1813 (see *Subsequent History*).

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The traditional attribution appears to have been Lucas van Leyden (*Doc.* 1), but has also been claimed to be Rogier van der Weyden (*Michiels* <sup>o</sup> 96) ; later the pictures were called van Eyck (*Doc.* 2 ; cf. *Kohler* <sup>1</sup> 318). Catalogued by *Waagen* (<sup>2</sup> 26, No. 37) as Rogier van der Weyden the Younger ; cf. *Waagen* (<sup>1</sup> 227). They entered the National Gallery under this attribution (*Catalogue* <sup>3</sup> 262) ; this was changed to Rogier van der Weyden in 1889 (*Catalogue* <sup>7</sup> 489/90), to his school in 1920 (*Catalogue* <sup>9</sup> 319), and to the Studio of Dieric Bouts in 1945 (*Davies* <sup>12</sup> 12/3). Most modern critics agree that these pictures are derived from Dieric Bouts, but are not originals by his hand ; see *Friedländer* (<sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 ; 122 ; and titles to Plates LXIX and LXX (Follower)) and *Schöne* (<sup>14</sup> 129/30, No. 19 A 2 (copies)).

As for the date, *Schöne* (<sup>14</sup> 129/50, No. 19 A 2) says that these versions are perhaps of ca. 1475-1500 ; *Davies* (<sup>13</sup> 13) does not exclude that they may date from after the death of Dieric Bouts in 1475. With regard to the original pictures of which these are presumed to be copies, *Baldass* (<sup>12</sup> 86) dates the *Mater Dolorosa* in the van der Elst Collection,

which he believes to be an original Dieric Bouts, rather early; *Schöne* (<sup>11</sup> 7, 133) ascribes the presumed originals to a Haarlem period of Dieric Bouts, ca. 1450.

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

The seal on the back of No. 712, recorded in section C, has not been identified.

The pictures are apparently identical with a pair that belonged to Frf. von Welden at Laupheim,

- 1813 and in 1813 to Johann Georg Deuringer at Augsburg,  
 1816 from whom acquired in 1816 by Prince Ludwig Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein for the Gallery at Wallerstein (*Doc. 1*, with a discussion of other claims for the provenance).  
 1824 Recorded at Schloss Wallerstein by Kohler (<sup>1</sup> 318); slight description.  
 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* (<sup>4</sup> 105ff.).  
 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* \* 96, 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; *Catalogue* (<sup>2</sup> 25, Nos. 58 (the Virgin) and 57 (Christ)), with identifying description. The pictures were bought by the Prince Consort.  
 1854 Recorded at Kensington Palace; *Waagen's Catalogue* (<sup>1</sup> 26, No. 37, together); cf. *Waagen* (<sup>1</sup> 227). Lent by Prince Albert to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (Provisional Catalogue, Nos. 480 (The Virgin) and 479 (Christ); Definitive Catalogue, Nos. 389 (The Virgin) and 387 (Christ)).  
 1863 Presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>3</sup> 262).

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

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

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Many versions of these two pictures are known; in some cases they form a pair as here, in others the Virgin or the Christ has been preserved separately. A list is given by *Friedländer* (<sup>10</sup> 124); a longer list is given by *Schöne* (<sup>14</sup> 129 ff.), who does not admit that any of the versions known to him is an original by Dieric Bouts. A selection is recorded here.

### A. Pairs.

- (1). Cabot Collection, Barcelona; *Schöne* <sup>14</sup> 129, No. 19 A 1 and Plates 48 a (The Virgin) and 48 b (Christ).
- (2). Paris, Louvre, Nos. 2200 (Christ) and 2201 (The Virgin); *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 a;

Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 3 ; *Edouard Michel, L'École Flamande du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle au Musée du Louvre*, 1944, 93 f. and Plates XLVIII A (The Virgin) and XLVIII B (Christ).

(3), Czartoryski Collection, Goluchow ; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 b ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 4 ; reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, New Series, Vol. XXVI, 1914/5, 201.

(4), Amsterdam, H. Th. Westenberg etc. Sale, 28-30 October, 1902, lot 10 (Christ) and lot 11 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue ; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 c ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 5. Apparently the same as Lutzen van Voorst Sale, Berlin, 10 February, 1904, lot 73 (Christ) and lot 74 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue ; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 c ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 5. Apparently the same as W. Cornwallis etc. Sale, Brussels, 19/20 December, 1924, lot 135 (The Virgin) and lot 136 (Christ), reproduced in the catalogue ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 7. Apparently the same as A. Hessel Sale, Antwerp, 29 May - 2 June, 1933, lot 67 (together), reproduced in the catalogue.

(5), Anon. Sale, Paris, 22 May, 1914, lot 6 (together), reproduced in the catalogue ; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 d ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 6.

(6), lent by Silberman to Brooklyn, *An Exhibition of European Art 1450-1500*, 1936, No. 33 (Christ) and No. 34 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130, No. 19 A 10.

(7), New York, Metropolitan Museum, *Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, 1947, 49 f., Nos. 71.156 and 157, reproduced.

#### B. Christ Alone.

(1), Berlin, No. 528 D ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 130/1, No. 19 B 11 and Plate 48 d.

(2), Paterson, London, attributed to Quinten Massys ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 12 ; photograph in the Witt Library.

(3), Spanish Art Gallery (Thomas Harris), London, reproduced in the advertisements of *Pantheon*, May, 1928 and April, 1950 ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 13.

(4), Leningrad (ex-P. Stroganoff Collection) ; reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, December, 1925, 355 ; presumably Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 14 and/or No. 19 B 17.

(5), Minneapolis, John R. Van Derlip Bequest ; mentioned in the *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, 7 March, 1936 (Vol. XXV, No. 10), 49 ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 15 ; reproduction in the National Gallery.

(6), Madrid, Rafael Garcia ; photograph in the Rijkshureau vóór Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 16.

(7), J. F. D. Sale, Berlin, 28 November, 1911, lot 84, reproduced in the catalogue ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 18.

(8), Varallo Sesia ; reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, Vol. XI, 1898, Col. 273 ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 20.

(9), Madrid, Lázaro Collection ; Catalogue, *La Colección Lázaro de Madrid*, 1927, 2a Parte, 40, No. 500, reproduced ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131, No. 19 B 21. Presumably the picture mentioned by José Camón Aznar, *Guía Abreviada del Museo Lázaro Galdiano*, Madrid, 1951, 75.

#### C. The Virgin Alone.

(1), Baron van der Elst ; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 f, and <sup>13</sup> 91 ; Schöne <sup>14</sup> 131/2, No. 19 C 22 and Plate 48 c. Baldass (<sup>12</sup> 86) thinks this an original Dieric Bouts ; for an X-Ray of it, see Wilde (<sup>11</sup> 40, Plate V 2).

- (2). Paris, former Martin Le Roy Collection; *Catalogue Raisonné*, Fascicule V (Peintures, etc.), Paris, 1909, 73/4, No. 20 and Plate XVIII; *Friedländer*<sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 c; *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 132, No. 19 C 23. From the Clavé-Bouhaben etc. Sale, Cologne, 4/5 June, 1894, lot 11, reproduced in the catalogue, which is perhaps *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 132, No. 19 C 30.
- (3). Bishop of Coire; *Friedländer*<sup>10</sup> 124, No. 83 g; *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 132, No. 19 C 24; reproduction in the National Gallery archives.
- (4). Nemes Sale, Munich, 2sq. November, 1933, lot 27; Anon. Sale, Berlin, 17 (advanced to 13) April, 1935, lot 477, as ex-Nemes, reproduced in the catalogue; *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 132, No. 19 C 28.
- (5). Anon. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 2 July, 1952 (lot 125); photograph in the National Gallery archives.

In the will of Jan van den Winckele, Louvain, 1505, a *facies Salvatoris* is mentioned, and that of his son of the same names, Louvain, 1554, mentions an *Imaginem beate Virginis* and an *Imaginem Salvatoris coronatam*, all associated with Dieric Bouts (from *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 247, Docs. 83, 84); *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 156/7, Nos. 37, 39, 40) does not exclude that these references may be to pictures of the present design.

The known versions show some variations in design, which are not great, and can be seen in the reproductions cited above; for a discussion of the presumed original forms, see *Schöne*<sup>14</sup> 129ff.).

For a bust of Christ associated with the Studio of Rogier van der Weyden, see the reverse of the *Portrait of a Lady*, No. 1433 of the National Gallery, included in Vol. II of the present publication (*Corpus* No. 60). Other early Netherlandish figures of Christ and the Virgin, where the forms are different and the similarity to the present group is only general, are not recorded here.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

These pictures seem clearly not to be by Dieric Bouts' own hand.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1824<sup>1</sup>: J. C. KOHLER. *Die Sammlung altheutscher Gemälde in dem fürstlichen Schloss zu Wallerstein*, 1st article, in *Kunst-Blatt*, ed. Ludwig Schorn, Fünfter Jahrgang, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1824, 317-9.
- 1848<sup>2</sup>: *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<sup>3</sup>: (G. F. WAAGEN). *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, etc., Pictures now at Kensington Palace*, London, 1854.
- 1857<sup>4</sup>: G. F. WAAGEN. *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (Vol. IV of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*). London, 1857.
- 1864<sup>5</sup>: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 38th. edition, London, 1864.
- 1866<sup>6</sup>: ALFRED MICHELIS. *Histoire de la Peinture Flamande*, 2nd. edition, Vol. III, Paris, 1866.
- 1889<sup>7</sup>: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1889.

- 1917 <sup>a</sup> : GEORG GRUPP. *Fürst Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein als Museumsgründer*, in the *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Nördlingen und Umgebung*, Vol. VI, 1917, 73-109.
- 1920 <sup>b</sup> : National Gallery, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Trafalgar Square*, London, 1920.
- 1925 <sup>10</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1931 <sup>11</sup> : JOHANNES WILDE. *L'Examen des Tableaux à l'Institut Holz knecht de Vienne*, in *Mouseion*, Vol. 16, Paris, 1931 (No. IV), 18-25.
- 1932 <sup>12</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS. *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series, Vol. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.
- 1937 <sup>13</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XIV, *Pieter Bruegel und Nachträge zu den früheren Bänden*, Leyden, 1937.
- 1938 <sup>14</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938.
- 1945 <sup>15</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

"Nro. 141-142.

Leyden, Lukas, van.

Eben so schöne Köpfe, als sie der grosse Dürer schuf, hat hier Lukas van Leyden geliefert, einen Christuskopf mit der Dörnerkrone, und das Bildniss seiner trauernden Mutter. Zwey Gemälde, die tiefen, schmerzhaften Eindruck hinterlassen, die dem Namen seines Urhebers Ehre machen, und wahre Meisterstücke sind. Auf Holz gemalt. Höhe 15 Zoll, Breite 12". From the *Raisonnirender Kunstgemälde-Katalog und Beschreibung der aus grösstentheils niederländischen, auch aus mehreren italienischen, altdeutschen und modernen Kabinettstücken bestehenden Gemälde-Sammlung des J. G. Deuringer zu den drey Mohren in Augsburg*, January, 1813 (Lugt. No. 8290), 67 ; kindly communicated by Dr. F. Zschokke. Identity with the present pictures is claimed by Grupp (<sup>a</sup> 95) as follows : "Eine wertvolle Stütze in seinen Bestrebungen fand der Fürst in Joh. Gg. Deuringer, dem Besitzer des berühmten Gasthofes zu den drei Mohren in Augsburg... Unter den von ihm gelieferten Gemälden fallen in erster Linie auf die nach London geratenen Bilder des Schmerzensmannes und der Schmerzensmutter angeblich von L. v. Leyden oder J. v. Eyck, jetzt dem Rogier van der Weyden zugeschrieben (1816). Ursprünglich besass sie eine Frf. v. Welden zu Laupheim. Sie kosteten dem Fürsten nur 30 Louisdor (330 fl.)".

Davies (<sup>15</sup> 13), following information supplied to H. I. Kay, stated that the pictures were acquired by Prince Ludwig in 1813 from Prince Georg Oettingen at Augsburg ; it may be that this information was from the same source as Grupp's, but in a corrupt transcription.

On the other hand, Prince Ludwig himself, ca. 1844/7, is stated to have told *Michtels* (<sup>a</sup> 96) that the pictures came from the Fugger Collection. Some Fugger documents at Augsburg, which might have given confirmation, were destroyed in 1944; pictures possibly identical are recorded in Fugger possession in 1546 and 1601. "1546 befindet sich im Hausrat der Fugger'schen Handelsfiliale am Hof zu Madrid (*Fuggerarchiv* 2,1,22a ; Fasz. XVII, S. 46) die Angabe von zwei Tafeln, darauf "Unseres Herrgotts und Unserer Frauen Bildnis." 1601 findet sich im Nachlassinventar des Octavian Secundus Fugger in dessen Augsburger Haus,



in der kleine Schreibstube der Hausfrau, die Angabe von zwei (Bildern) Ölbildern auf Holz mit Eichenleisten, von denen das eine ein Ecce Homo, das andere ein Marienbild darstellt (*Fuggerarchiv* 1,1,9 ; Blatt 331)." (From a letter of 28 February, 1952, in the National Gallery archives, from *Prof. Dr. Freiherr von Pölnitz*, Administrator und Archivdirektor der Fugger'schen Stiftungen, Augsburg, who kindly sent this information, and added that nothing else that could be connected with the two pictures had been found in the *Fuggerarchiv*).

#### Document 2

"39. *Jean van Eyck* — *Ecce homo à mains jointes et à manteau de pourpre* — Dem. fig. : — Bois H. 1.2. L. — 10½" (i.e. 1 *Schuh* 2 *Zoll* × 10½ *Zoll*). "40. *Jean van Eyck* — *Mater dolorosa* — Dem. fig. — pendant du précédent — Vois au sujet de ces tableaux le *Kunstblatt* 1824. N° 89. et 90. — Bois H. id. L. id." 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. "39. *Von demselben.*" (i.e. *Johann van Eick*) "*Ecce homo* — en face. Halbe Figur. H. 1.2. B. — 10½. 40. *Von demselben.* *Mater dolorosa.* Seitenstück zu Ziff. 39." From a manuscript *Katalog der Galerie zu Wallerstein. 1827.* also in the *Alte Pinakothek* at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery). The numbers 39 and 40 are to be seen on labels on the backs of the pictures (Plates LXXXV/VI).

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 29 : GROUP BOUTS (3)

LXXVII. "Mater Dolorosa"	B 124 362	1950
LXXVIII. Christ Crowned with Thorns	B 124 213	1950
LXXIX. Head of the Virgin (1 : 1)	B 124 363	1950
LXXX. Head of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 214	1950
LXXXI. Hands of the Virgin (1 : 1)	B 124 364	1950
LXXXII. Hands of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 215	1950
LXXXIII. The Face of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 365	1950
LXXXIV. The Face of Christ (M 2 ×)	B 124 216	1950
LXXXV. Reverse of the "Mater Dolorosa"	B 124 366	1950
LXXXVI. Reverse of the <i>Christ Crowned with Thorns</i>	B 124 217	1950

#### 30

#### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

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

#### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Dieric Bouts.

The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul.

No. 774 in the *Catalogue Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS  
(3.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	70.9 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 53.5 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 0.4 cm. 27 7/8 $\times$ 21 1/16 $\times$ 3/16 ins.
	painted surface	68.8 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 51.6 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm. 27 1/8 $\times$ 20 5/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Yellowish varnish with some matt patches ; it covers remains of older varnish, which forms patches on the picture surface.

*Paint Layer* : Bad general condition.

Much wearing of the flesh, in particular the Child's, and of the writing on the book ; accentuated wearing on the floor.

Restoration of the join of the constituent panels. A filling on the Virgin's dress does not adhere perfectly.

Inpainting and overpainting of the Child's flesh and of S. Peter's green dress.

Overpainting of the shadows of the Virgin's face, and of her dress, particularly in the dark parts ; less important overpainting on S. Paul's blue dress.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : Nearly white, thin. It is very slightly raised in places along the grain of the wood.

*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain vertical, much reduced in thickness and reinforced with cradling, which has caused slight deformations. On the back, some worm-holes have been filled up.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The scene is set in a building, in some ways suggesting a church. The Virgin, seated on a throne, touches with her right hand an open book held by S. Peter (a key on the step by him). The Child, seated on her left knee, stretches out His hands towards a flower offered by S. Paul (his sword leans against the throne). In the stained glass to the left are shown God (between the sun and moon), and an unidentified saint. A landscape is seen through an arch on the right.

2. *Colours*

The Virgin is in blue dress and red mantle ; S. Peter in green ; S. Paul in blue with a light red mantle. The patterned hanging is brown and golden ; the canopy and the cloth on which the Virgin is seated are green.

### 3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

Some marks on the open book held by S. Peter may once have formed words, presumably devotional.

#### 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 recorded in 1857 (*Doc. 1*).

###### b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Ascribed by *Eastlake* to Hugo van der Goes (*Docs. 1, 2*). This was changed at the National Gallery in 1889 to Flemish School (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 147), and then to Dieric Bouts in 1911 (<sup>3</sup> 34). It had been ascribed to Dieric Bouts by *Conway* (<sup>4</sup> 213). This attribution is accepted by *Friedländer* (<sup>5</sup> 109, No. 21), but rejected by *Pächt* (<sup>6</sup> 46/7). *Schöne* (<sup>10</sup> 182/3, No. 70) classes the picture as by the Master of the Pearl of Brabant (whom he identifies with Dieric Bouts the Younger). *Baldass* (<sup>7</sup> 111/2, 114) formerly rejected the attribution to Dieric Bouts, but without admitting *Schöne's* views (<sup>8</sup> 100; <sup>9</sup> 96); he now inclines to accept the picture as by Dieric Bouts (*Doc. 3*). Further bibliographical references may be found in *Schöne* (<sup>10</sup> 182).

As for the date, *Friedländer* (<sup>5</sup> 109) suggested ca. 1465; *Baldass* the 1450's (*Doc. 3*); *Schöne* (<sup>11</sup> 47) ca. 1485.

##### 2. *Subsequent History*

###### *Records of Ownership*

From the Zambeccari Collection at Bologna.

1857 Seen there by Sir Charles Eastlake, who bought it not long after (*Docs. 1, 2*). He died in 1865.

1867 Bought from the Eastlake Collection (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 271/2).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A variant, ascribed to Memlinc, was in 1908 in the collection of the Principe Francesco Marullo di Castellaci at Ragusa Inferiore (Ragusa Ibla), Sicily (*Brunelli* <sup>1</sup> 289/90, reproduced); the collection, including this picture, now belongs to Barone Arezzo at Ragusa Ibla. Two angels there replace SS. Peter and Paul, the Child's attitude is there less upright, and there are numerous other changes. The two angels in that picture do not correspond at all closely with a drawing of two angels, once in the Lanna Collection at Prague, which have been thought to be derived from a lost variant of the National Gallery picture (*Schöne* <sup>10</sup> 150, Plate 52a).

The head of S. Peter here corresponds fairly closely with the head of S. Peter in Bouts' *Last Supper* at Louvain; the head of S. Paul has some resemblance (inverted) to the head of the apostle to the left of S. Peter in the same picture (*Schöne* <sup>10</sup> Plate 21).

It has been claimed (see *Michel* <sup>1</sup> 78/9) that a *Virgin and Child with an Angel* assigned to Memlinc, in the Renders Collection, is derived in part from the present picture; but the connection appears very slight.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

There is no historical evidence for the attribution. Stylistic criticism is here somewhat impeded by the condition of the picture : the condition of critical opinion concerning Bouts, whose documented works are scarce, is a further difficulty ; but the picture seems to me probably an authentic work of rather early date.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1882 <sup>2</sup> : W. M. CONWAY, *A Picture by Roger van der Weyden and One by Dierick Bouts, in The Academy*, Vol. XXI, London, 25th. March, 1882, 212/3.
- 1889 <sup>3</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 70th. edition, London, 1889.
- 1908 <sup>4</sup> : ENRICO BRUNELLI, *Opere d'Arte nel Palazzo Marullo di Castellaci a Ragusa Inferiore*, in *L'Arte*, Rome, 1908, 284-292.
- 1911 <sup>5</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1925 <sup>6</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1927 <sup>7</sup> : OTTO PÄCHT, Review of the preceding, in *Kritische Berichte zur Kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>8</sup> : EDOUARD MICHEL, *Early Flemish Paintings in the Renders Collection at Bruges*, London, 1927.
- 1932 <sup>9</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS, *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien, New Series*, Vol. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.
- 1938 <sup>10</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1938.
- 1940 <sup>11</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS, *Dirk Bouts, seine Werkstatt und Schule*, in *Pantheon*, Vol. XXV, Munich, January-June, 1940, 93-97.
- 1945 <sup>12</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES, *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

"36. M. & C. enthroned. St Peter & St Paul at sides. wood 1-8 1/2 w. about 2-3 h. perhaps Vander Goes. price 100 Nap."

(From an account of the Zambeccari Collection at Bologna, note-book of Sir Charles Eastlake, 1857, Part II, in the National Gallery).

*Document 2*

Referring to this picture, which he had bought some years before from the Zambeccari Gallery. "From the first, I called my picture Ugo van der Goes" (Letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to Sir Henry Layard, 30 December, 1864 ; British Museum, Add. MSS. No. 38990, Layard Papers, Vol. LX).

*Document 3*

"Meine früher geäußerten Zweifel an der Eigenhändigkeit des Bildes halte ich nicht mehr

aufrecht. Es ist wohl ein eigenhändiges Werk des Dirk Bouts aus den Fünfzigerjahren, der Madonna in Granada nahe verwandt."  
(Note by Ludwig Baldass, 1949, in the National Gallery).

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 30 : GROUP BOUTS (4).

LXXXVII. The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul	B 124 290	1950
LXXXVIII. The Virgin and the Child, half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 291	1950
LXXXIX. The Child (1 : 1)	B 124 295	1950
XC. The lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 296	1950
XCI. S. Peter, half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 293	1950
XCII. S. Paul, half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 292	1950
XCIII. Stained Glass behind the Head of S. Peter (1 : 1)	B 124 294	1950
XCIV. Landscape behind the Head of S. Paul (1 : 1)	B 139 136	1952
XCV. Head of S. Peter (M 2 ×)	B 124 297	1950
XCVI. The Reverse	B 124 298	1950

### 31

#### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

##### No. 31 : GROUP BOUTS (5). PORTRAIT OF A MAN

#### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Dieric Bouts.

Portrait of a Man.

Dated 1462.

No. 943 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

#### C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(5.vii and 10.ix.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	32.4 (± 0.1) × 21.4 (± 0.1) × 0.6 cm. 12 3/4 × 8 7/16 × 1/4 ins.
	painted surface	31.6 (± 0.1) × 20.5 (± 0.1) cm. 12 1/2 × 8 1/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A thin coat of dammar varnish in excellent state.

*Paint Layer* : Very good general condition.

Adheres well. The direction of the main cracks of the craquelure is from the lower left corner to the upper right corner (see Plate C). A few inpaintings in limited areas on the

background, along the right edge, on the upper part of the window, on the little finger of the sitter's right hand, in the middle of the neck and on the right part of the cap.

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

*Changes in Composition* : *Pentimento* in the sitter's left shoulder.

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

*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical, very slightly convex. Good state.

*Marks on the Back* : Label with the text of the Aders Sale catalogue of 1855 ; two labels of the Manchester Exhibition of 1857. Stencilled, WYNN ELLIS ESQ and 20 ; a manuscript label (post-1857), referring to the picture and also including the number 20. The numbers perhaps refer to an unidentified catalogue or inventory of the Wynn Ellis collection, or to an unidentified exhibition. See in section E, *Subsequent History*, for the provenance of the picture. Reproduction of the back on Plate CII.

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

The sitter is seen in a room, at half length, in plain dress and cap ; his left hand rests upon the other. A landscape through an open window on the left.

The former claim that the picture is a self-portrait by Memlinc is now not taken seriously ; cf. *Passavant* ('94) and *Friedländer* (° 108, No. 12). It may have been called a self-portrait by Rogier van der Weyden in 1530/1 ; see in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. The picture does not appear to be a self-portrait, nor one wing of a diptych or triptych.

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

##### 2. Colours

The dress and cap are dull brownish red. The glass of the window has a greenish tint.

##### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

Dated, 1462.

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

##### 1. Origin

###### a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture, which is dated 1462, is not known ; first surely known to be recorded in 1831 (*Passavant*, publ. 1835, '94). It has sometimes been identified with a picture of 1462, called a self-portrait by Rogier van der Weyden, which was owned in 1530/1 by Zuam Ram at Venice (*Doc. 1*). The claim that it comes from the Hôpital Saint-Jean at Bruges may be dismissed ; see *Passavant* ('94).

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The date of 1462 is not disputed. If the picture is identical with the one in the Ram Collection, it was in 1530/1 ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden (*Doc. 1*). During much of the XIX

Century, the present picture was ascribed to Memlinc; this name was retained with doubt at the National Gallery until 1889 (<sup>1</sup> 147), when it was changed to Flemish School, for which the name of Dieric Bouts was substituted in 1911 (<sup>2</sup> 34). The attribution to Bouts is due to *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (<sup>3</sup> 239/40, 294/5, 365); it is generally accepted, e.g. by *Friedländer* (<sup>4</sup> 108, No. 12), and by *Schöne* (<sup>5</sup> 87/8, No. 6).

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership.

- 1530/1 Perhaps in the Zuan Ram Collection at Venice (*Doc. 1*).
- 1831 In the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London (*Passavant*, publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 94, reproduced).
- 1833 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 111), bought by Solly (the text of the sale catalogue is on a label on the back, Plate CII).
- 1844 Recorded in the Collection of Samuel Rogers, London; *Jameson* <sup>2</sup> 405, No. 43. Exhibitions of *Italian, etc. Masters* at the British Institution, 1848 (No. 61) and 1850 (No. 11), lent in each case by Samuel Rogers.
- 1856 Samuel Rogers Sale, London, 2 May, 1856 (lot 599), with identifying description in the catalogue, bought by Pearce.
- 1857 Lent by Wynn Ellis to the *Exhibition of Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (Provisional Catalogue, No. 496; Definitive Catalogue, No. 400). Lent by the same to the *Exhibition of Italian, etc., Masters* at the British Institution, 1860 (No. 38), and the *National Exhibition of Works of Art* at Leeds, 1868 (No. 524).
- 1876 Bequeathed by Wynn Ellis (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 187).

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment.

- 1952 Cleaned (frequently photographed before).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A copy in reverse, size 12 × 7½ inches, from the Batley Collection, was in an Anon. Sale at Puttick and Simpson's, London, 26 November, 1931 (lot 12), and in 1933 was owned by Richard Schmitt, Hagen, Westphalia; this is clearly the same as one mentioned as in Westphalia by *Schöne* (<sup>5</sup> 87). A picture presumably derived, with a landscape background (size, 29 × 23 cm.), ascribed to Memlinc, was in 1938 owned by August Schubert at München Gladbach. Photographs of both these are in the National Gallery. *Schöne* (<sup>5</sup> 87) mentions a version without hands in the de Ridder Collection; there is or was a photograph of this in the Stadel Institute at Frankfurt, which gave *Schöne* a bad impression of the picture.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

There is no reason to doubt the current ascription to Dieric Bouts. The date of 1462 is the earliest precise date for any known picture acceptable as by Dieric Bouts.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1844 <sup>2</sup>: MRS. JAMESON. *Companion to the most celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London*. London, 1844.
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 1911 <sup>6</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.  
 1925 <sup>7</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Bd. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.  
 1938 <sup>8</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938.  
 1945 <sup>9</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

"In casa de M. Zuan Ram, 1531 (or 1530), A. S. Stephano  
 El ritratto de Rugerio da Burselles pittor antico celebre, in un quadretto de tauola a oglio, fin al ~~cinto~~ petto, lo de mano de linstesso Rugerio fatto al specchio nel 1462".  
 (From *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiel's Notizia d'Opere del Disegno)*, ed. Theodor Frimmel, Vienna, 1888, p. 104).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 31 : GROUP BOUTS (5)

XCVII. Portrait of a Man	B 110 896	1952
XCVIII. The Hands, the Features and the Dress (1 : 1)	B 139 138	1952
XCIX. The Head, the Landscape and the Date (1 : 1)	B 139 137	1952
XCIXa. <i>The Head, the Landscape and the Date, Colour Plate</i>	N. G.	1953
C. The Head (M 2 ×)	B 139 139	1952
CI. The Landscape (M 2 ×)	B 106 704	1952
CII. The Reverse	B 124 261	1950

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

## No. 32 : GROUP BOUTS (6). THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Dieric Bouts.

The Virgin and Child.

No. 2595 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.



## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	original panel	38,8 ( $\pm 0,1$ ) $\times$ 28,8 ( $\pm 0,1$ ) $\times$ 0,8 cm. 15 1/4 $\times$ 11 5/16 $\times$ 5/16 ins.
	painted surface	37,2 $\times$ 27,5 cm. 14 5/8 $\times$ 10 13/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, of medium thickness, in good condition.*Paint Layer* : General wearing, particularly on the hanging and on the Virgin's hair : accentuated on the Child's left cheek and left thigh, where it has been corrected by small stoppings in the craquelure. These retouches are very noticeable.*Restoration along the join* : this has become very apparent on the Child owing to darkening of the tone.*Restoration on the Virgin's neck and chin, on her nose and on her right temple.*See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.*Changes in Composition* : Several small corrections, e.g. in the outlines of the heads, and in the tip of the thumb of the Virgin's right hand.*Ground* : Nearly white, of medium thickness. In some areas in the Virgin's blue mantle and in the hanging, there is a lack of adherence.*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain vertical, reduced in thickness and cradled. Extended in the longer dimension by a strip  $\pm 2$  cm. wide, which has been glued along the bottom edge.*Marks on the Back* : On a cross-piece of the cradling, the following inscription in pencil : *Domingo 12 Abril 63 / engatillada* ("62" was first written, then altered to "63").

Spitzer label ; some numbers, one on a label ; reproduction of the back on Plate CXII.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin, seen in a room at half-length through an opening, is preparing to suckle the Child, Who is seated on a cushion on the sill. There is a view of a landscape and a town (including a tall tower with spire) through a window behind.

It is probable that the Virgin is seated rather than standing ; compare Memlinc's Nieuwenhove diptych in the Hôpital Saint-Jean at Bruges, where the arrangement is rather similar, and where a reflection in a mirror shows that the Virgin is seated.

The attitudes of the two figures make it unlikely that it formed part of a diptych or triptych. For *changes in composition*, see in section C, above.

2. *Colours*

The Virgin is in a blue dress with purple lining. The patterned side of the cushion is green and golden, the underside red. The patterned hanging is red and golden, with a green edging on the left.

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 ; it was apparently in Spain in 1863 (inscription on the back, recorded in section C).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

It was called Flemish School in the catalogue of the *Spitzer Collection* (' 260) ; ascribed to Dieric Bouts by 1895 (*National Gallery Report* ' 7). This attribution is generally accepted, e.g. by *Friedländer* (' 108, No. 14) and by *Schöne* (' 96/7, No. 9).

*Friedländer* (' 46/7) suggests a date ca. 1465 ; *Baldass* (' 94, 114), ca. 1462/5 ; *Schöne* (' 7), 1464/7.

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

- 1863 Apparently in Spain (inscription on the back, recorded in section C).  
 Before 1890 In the Collection of Frédéric Spitzer at Paris (Spitzer label on the back, Plate CXII) ; he died in 1890 (see *La Chronique des Arts*, 27 April, 1890, 134).  
 1893 Spitzer Sale, Paris, 2 June, 1893 (lot 3308) : *Catalogue* (' 260).  
 1895 On loan from George Salting to the National Gallery (*National Gallery Report* ' 7).  
 1910 George Salting Bequest (*National Gallery Catalogue* ' 35).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

- 1863 Cradled (see the inscription on the back, Plate CXII).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A *Virgin and Child*, in which the composition is somewhat allied, is known in two versions. (1), in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (Jules S. Bache Collection), size 29.2×21 cm. ; *Friedländer* ' 127, No. 95a, and ' 91 ; *Schöne* ' 215, No. 146 (wrongly as in the Mellon Collection) ; *Wehle and Salinger* ' 45/7, reproduced.

(2), a picture lent by the Baron d'Albénas of Montpellier to the exhibition at Bruges, 1902 (No. 94), and reproduced by *Winkler* (' Vol. I, 254/5) ; clearly the same as the picture in the F. Engel-Gros Sale, Paris, 30 May, 1921 (lot 3), reproduced, size 32 × 19 cm. See *Friedländer* (' 127, No. 95, and ' 91) ; and *Schöne* (' 215, No. 146 a).

The composition is perhaps inspired by Rogier van der Weyden (cf. for instance his picture of *S. Luke Painting the Virgin*, *Friedländer* ' *Nachträge* Plate IX) ; but the connection with known designs by Rogier is not very close.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The picture is to me acceptable as by Dieric Bouts.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1893 <sup>1</sup> : *Catalogue des Objets d'Art, etc., Collection Spitzer*, Auction Sale, Paris, 17 April-16 June, 1893.
- 1896 <sup>2</sup> : *Annual Report of the Director of the National Gallery to the Treasury for the Year 1895*, London, 1896.
- 1911 <sup>3</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1923 <sup>4</sup> : FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Die Nordfranzösische Malerei im 15. Jahrhundert und ihr Verhältnis zur Altniederländischen Malerei in Paul Clemen, Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vol. I, Munich, 1923, 247-268.
- 1925 <sup>5</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Bd. III, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1932 <sup>6</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS. *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts in the Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien, New Series*, Vol. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.
- 1937 <sup>7</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XIV, *Pieter Bruegel und Nachträge zu den früheren Bänden*, Leyden, 1937.
- 1938 <sup>8</sup> : WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938.
- 1945 <sup>9</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 <sup>10</sup> : HARRY B. WEHLE and MARGARETTA SALINGER. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 32 : GROUP BOUTS (6).

CIII. The Virgin and Child	B 124 280	1950
CIV. The Virgin and the Child at half-length (1 : 1)	B 124 285	1950
CV. The upper left Corner : Head of the Virgin, and the Landscape (1 : 1)	B 124 281	1950
CVI. The upper right Corner : the Brocade (1 : 1)	B 124 284	1950
CVII. The lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 283	1950
CVIII. The lower right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 282	1950
CIX. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 286	1950
CX. Right Hands of the Virgin and the Child (M 2 ×)	B 124 288	1950
CXI. The Landscape (M 2 ×)	B 124 287	1950
CXII. The Reverse	B 124 289	1950

## 33

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 33 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLEMALLE) (1), PORTRAIT OF A MAN AND PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN (PENDANTS)

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Ascribed to "Campin".

A Man : a Woman.

Nos. 653 A and 653 B in the *Catalogue Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1.vii.1952)

*Form* : Two rectangular panels.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panels	42 ( $\pm$ 0,2) $\times$ 29,1 ( $\pm$ 0,1) $\times$ 1,1 cm. 16 1/2 $\times$ 11 7/16 $\times$ 7/16 ins.
	painted surfaces	40,7 $\times$ 28,2 cm. 16 $\times$ 11 1/16 ins.

*Protective Layers* : Varnish, rather thick and yellowed.

*Paint Layers* : Adhere well in general, apart from some raised areas (a) in the middle of the left side of the man's lower jaw, (b) on the woman's headdress and face.

Wide craquelure on the man's red turban. Wearing, corrected by light overpainting (a), in the case of the man, of the deep shadows round the eyes, on the forehead and under the chin ; (b), in the case of the woman, of her headdress on the right hand side.

For the woman, a restoration in the middle of the upper lip, and resinous patches above her right eye and beneath her left eye.

General overpainting of the backgrounds and dresses.

The impasto of the (now greenish) blue of the man's dress may indicate the use of tempera. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E. below.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted for the man. For the woman, a number of corrections in her headdress, apparently of slight importance ; the line of the lower lid of her right eye has been corrected.

*Grounds* : Nearly white ; in general adhere well.

*Supports* : Oak, in each case one panel with grain vertical, in excellent condition. Brown paint over a white preparation isolates the reverses ; there is very little left of it on the woman's panel.

*Marks on the Back* : Nothing worth recording noted ; reproductions of the backs on Plate CXX.

*Frames* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The man (No. 653 A) and the woman (No. 653 B) are shown turned slightly towards each other, at bust length. She wears a wimple, he a turban.

The pictures are clearly companion portraits, presumably of a husband and wife. When acquired by the National Gallery (but not in the earlier references noted below), they were supposed to represent the painter and his wife, the attribution being then to Roger van der Weyden the Younger (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 268/9).

For *changes in composition* in No. 653 B, see in section C, above.

2. *Colours*

No. 653 A : dress blue, turban red. No. 653 B : dark purplish dress ; the stone in the ring she wears is 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 these pictures, clearly companions, is not known ; first recorded in 1832 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

In 1832, Campe called them Quinten Massys, but Sulpiz Boisserée thought that they were from the School of van Eyck or by van Eyck himself (*Firmenich-Richartz* <sup>2</sup> 514). Still as Quinten Massys in the Campe Sale of 1849 (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 5). At the National Gallery called Rogier van der Weyden the Younger (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 269); this was changed in 1889 to Flemish School (*Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 146), and then in 1915 to Campin (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 39). The attribution to the painter who is referred to in the present volume as Campin had been suggested by Bode (<sup>2</sup> 218/9). *Friedländer* (<sup>1</sup> 70/1 and 109, No. 55) calls the pictures Master of Flémalle (i.e., Campin). More recently, *Friedländer* (<sup>2</sup> 84), inclining to consider most of the works assigned to Campin as early works by Rogier van der Weyden, inclines to ascribe these portraits to Rogier.

Attributions that have been made for these pictures depend less on their individual status than on the authors opinions concerning the group often called Campin. It appears therefore undesirable to add further references here ; the student will find some clues to the whole problem in section G.

*Friedländer* (<sup>2</sup> 84) suggests a date 1425/9.

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

1832 Seen by Sulpiz Boisserée in the Campe Collection at Nuremberg, 3 April, 1832 (with some description ; *Firmenich-Richartz* <sup>2</sup> 514).

1849 Dr. Frederick Campe Sale (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 5), London, 18 May, 1849 (lots 37, 38), bought

by Nieuwenhuys ; with some description, which in conjunction with the previous reference identifies with certainty.

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*

1832 "Die Lasuren scheinen abgewaschen, daher kalt" (note by S. Boisserée, *Firmenich-Richartz* 514).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The attribution of these portraits cannot usefully be discussed within the limits of an entry for them. True, it depends primarily on whether they can be accepted as by the same hand as any other known pictures ; and it seems to me probable that they are by the same hand as the key-works of the group often assigned to Campin. But the name to be given to the pictures, and to some extent their dating, would then depend upon whether these key-works are by a painter distinct from Rogier van der Weyden or not. Some references to the conflicting views held on this subject were given by me (° 15ff.) ; to the bibliography there recorded should be added Winkler's entries for Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle in *Thieme-Becker's Dictionary*, Vols. XXXV and XXXVII, Paul Rolland, *La Peinture Murale à Tournai*, Brussels, 1946, and Hermann Beenken, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 1951.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1849 <sup>1</sup> : *Catalogue of the Valuable and Highly Interesting Collection of Italian, German, and Flemish Pictures, Formed by that well-known Amateur, Doctor Frederick Campe, of Nuremburg*. London, Christie and Manson, 18 May, 1849.
- 1861 <sup>2</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 32nd. edition, London, 1861.
- 1887 <sup>3</sup> : W. BODE. *La Renaissance au Musée de Berlin*, 1st. article, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd. period, Vol. 35 (1887, Part I), Paris, 1887, 204-220.
- 1889 <sup>4</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1889.
- 1915 <sup>5</sup> : *National Gallery, Abridged Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the British and Foreign Pictures*, London, 1915.
- 1916 <sup>6</sup> : EDUARD FIRMENICH-RICHARTZ. *Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée als Kunstsammler*, Vol. I, Jena, 1916.
- 1924 <sup>7</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, *Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924.
- 1937 <sup>8</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XIV, *Pieter Bruegel und Nachträge zu den früheren Bänden*, Leyden, 1937.
- 1945 <sup>9</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 33 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLÉMALLE) (1)

*Frontispiece. Portrait of a Woman, Colour Plate*

	N. G.	1953
CXIII. Portrait of a Man	B 124 481	1950
CXIV. Portrait of a Woman	B 124 400	1950
CXV. Head of the Man (1 : 1)	B 124 482	1950
CXVI. Head of the Woman (1 : 1)	B 124 401	1950
CXVII. Features of the Man (M 2 ×)	B 124 483	1950
CXVIII. Features of the Woman (M 2 ×)	B 124 402	1950
CXIX. The Hands of the Woman (1 : 1)	B 139 140	1952
CXX. The Reverses (that of the Man being on the left)	B 124 484	1950

## 34

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 34 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLEMALLE) (2). *THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Imitator of "Campin".

*The Death of the Virgin.*

No. 658 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1.vii.1952)

*Form* : Top corners cut.

*Dimensions* : panel and painted surface 39.3 (± 0.1) × 35.7 (± 0.2) cm.  
15 1/2 × 14 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, yellowish, irregular. Remains of old, very brown varnish form patches.

*Paint Layer* : The blues have changed ; the blue of the Virgin's robe seems to be in tempera. Wearing general, though slight; it is no doubt owing to this that the background and shadows have been gone over. The large tiles of the floor have become less distinct owing to a change in the paint or the medium.

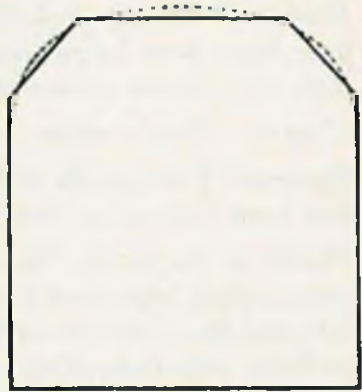
Crack at the join of the constituent panels, in the lower part of the picture for a length of about 8 cm.

The edge of the paint is visible in the upper part of the left hand side ; it subsists, but concealed, along the bottom, where a strip originally without paint has been painted over to extend the flooring. The top of the picture had originally a curved form ; some parts of the curved edge of the paint subsist, clearly visible in X-Ray photographs (cf. Plate CXXXIII).

and these suffice for the reconstruction of the original shape with little chance of error (see text illustration).

Besides extensive restorations at the edges, there should be noted the overpainting of the underdress and dress (as distinct from the mantle) of the kneeling apostle right centre, and retouchings on the arm of the standing apostle next him on the left.

*Changes in Composition* : The picture has undergone extensive alterations, less in the figures than in the setting. Some of the changes are not detectable except in X-Ray photographs ; the understanding of them is assisted by comparison with a variant picture at Berlin (Plate CXXII), discussed in section F. *Comparative Material*.



Originally, the bed here had a tester, that is a flat canopy, with the stuff extended so as to fall vertically as a pelmet or valance for a little way on one or more sides. The pelmet parallel to the picture surface is in part discernible (Plates CXXXIII, CXXXIV). Its upper outline, that is the edge of the canopy itself, is just discernible near the top of the picture as a slightly wavy line, with some oblique lines descending from its highest points — this clearly suggests that the tester was supported from above, perhaps by cords, at intervals. Its lower outline is horizontal, and is almost exactly on a level with the spring of the arch of the window, and the top of the sceptre of God (or Christ) on the right. A horizontal line still lower down is presumably the (inside) edge of the back of the canopy, which being seen from below would be shown on the picture lower down than the front.

Curtains descending from the front part of the tester are discernible on the left and the right. On the left, above the foot of the bed, a bunched curtain hangs down, shaped like an elongated pear (Plate CXXXIII) ; it is almost directly above the censer held by two apostles on the left, and it descends almost to the level of the top of the candle on the left. At the head of the bed, a curtain descends much further down (Plate CXXXIV), free except for being twisted towards the right ; it passes through the body of the angel furthest to the right, and to the right of this angel, and can be traced at least as far as the shoulder of the standing apostle on the right.

The table with bottles and candlestick on the left is an alteration ; originally in this region there was a window, the sill of which nearly touches the drapery of the apostle on the left, near his neck, and the jamb of which (with mouldings clearly marked) passes through the large bottle. See Plate CXXXIII.

Among other changes it may be noted

- (1). that the binding of the book on the floor originally included five studs joined by straight lines ;
- (2). that the right hand of the youthful apostle holding a candle was originally rather lower (Plate CXXXIV) ;
- (3). that near his left hand the drapery of the Virgin's hood has been changed, and that there seem to be faint indications of changes in the Virgin's head, apparently not clear enough to be interpreted ;
- (4). that there have been some changes in the frame and shutters, to the right and at the top, of the window in the back wall (Plate CXXXIII).

For comment on these *changes in composition*, see in section F. *Comparative Material*.



*Davies* (no 19/20) doubtfully suggested that the group of God (or Christ) and angels may once have been larger, and further that it may once have been placed in front of the window, high up ; recent examination has not confirmed either of these suggestions.

*Ground* : Nearly white ; in general adheres well.

*Support* : Two panels with grain vertical ; the join is open in the lower part. The wood has been reduced in thickness and cradled (4 fixed uprights, 4 cross-pieces).

*Marks on the Back* : The reproduction on Plate CXXXV shows two labels, one on top of the other, which have since been removed from the back. What was the lower label has Nro. 3, followed by a letter or number or several, crossed out ; this label is a piece of grey-blue paper, perhaps cut from the cover of a book, and its underside retains fragments of print. *A Pétersbourg, chez M. (C ?)...* The other label, formerly stuck on top of the first, has inscribed on it *C<sup>te</sup>. R. / N. 6. / Marten Schoen.*

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

The scene is a room ; the dying Virgin lies on a testerless bed, the head of which is against or nearly against the wall on the right. The twelve apostles (perhaps all barefoot) are seen around the bed. One (probably S. John) holds a lighted candle ; another dressed as a priest (probably S. Peter) is immersing a holy water sprinkler in the *situla* held by another apostle, and with his other hand touches an open book ; two others are preparing a lighted censer ; the rest are in various attitudes of prayer or meditation. In the air above the Virgin's head is seen God or Christ with crown and sceptre, in a glory ; four angels accompany Him, one with a cross, one with a lily.

The story of how the apostles were miraculously assembled at the death of the Virgin is told in the *Golden Legend* (15 August) ; the subject is somewhat freely interpreted.

A closed book lies on the tiled floor, in the left foreground. A little further back, on the left, is a table with a towel, a candlestick and some bottles. The room is constructed with arches, the one completely visible being of a flattened round shape, and with hollow mouldings ; there are no capitals. This arch leads to an extension of the room, containing a screen and a lamp, and with a wooden ceiling. A window at the end looks out on a garden with a battlemented wall ; this separates the garden from a square in a town, where are seen a few people, a well, houses and a church.

For various important *changes in composition* in this picture, and for its original shape, see in section C, above. The changes are too closely connected with the attribution for convenient discussion in this place ; see, therefore, in *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*, and further details in *Comparative Material*, below.

### 2. Colours

The Virgin is in dark blue ; the bed covering is red. The dresses of the Apostles are of various colours, red, green, brown, etc. God is in red and gold. There is (at present) a sombre tone running through this picture.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

There seems to be the faint remains of a short inscription on the book lying on the floor, perhaps beginning *di*.

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 1830 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Traditionally ascribed to Schongauer (see *Subsequent History*). In the Lawrence and Zachary Sales as Memlinc, in the King of Holland's Collection as Holbein in 1815, as Schongauer in 1850 (see *Subsequent History*). Classed as Schongauer by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (<sup>1</sup> 324/5); by *Galichon* (<sup>1</sup> 324/5); and in the *National Gallery Catalogue* (<sup>2</sup> 236/7). The attribution was rejected by *Eastlake* (*Doc. 1*) and was changed at the Gallery in the *Catalogue* of 1889 (<sup>7</sup> 172) to German School; then to School of Campin in 1911 (<sup>10</sup> 42); to Hugo van der Goes in 1925 (<sup>18</sup> 133).

The attribution of this picture needs to be considered in relation to two versions of it, at Berlin (*Katalog* <sup>11</sup> 123/4, No. 538 B, reproduced; Plate CXXII of the present volume), and at Prague (*Katalog* <sup>12</sup> 149/50, No. 452 and Plate 27); some differences in these versions will be recorded in section F. It is usually agreed:

(a), that the present picture reflects to a greater or less extent the style of the painter referred to in this volume as Campin (i.e. Master of Flémalle, Master of Mérode). *Bode* (<sup>9</sup> 218/9) says that it is by Campin; so does *Tschudi* (<sup>8</sup> 27 ff.); *Winkler* (<sup>13</sup> 14/5) says that it is connected with Campin; *Conway* (<sup>14</sup> 173/4) calls it an early van der Goes under the influence of Campin; *Hulin* (letter of 1936 in the National Gallery) calls it a faithful copy after a lost Campin; *Baldass* (<sup>23</sup> 21) calls it a copy after Campin. An exception to the usual view has been maintained by *Friedländer*, who at one time (<sup>9</sup> 108/9) called it a derivation from van der Goes, but in a different style; later (<sup>15</sup> 117, No. 77), said that it is not by Campin; later still (<sup>18</sup> 69 and 131, No. 25c), said that it has wrongly been connected with Campin; later still (<sup>21</sup> 160), said it has wrongly been ascribed to Campin.

(b), that the Berlin and Prague versions reflect more or less accurately the style of Hugo van der Goes. *Bode* (<sup>9</sup> 218/9) says the Prague version is perhaps by van der Goes (he calls the Berlin version style of Campin); *Tschudi* (<sup>8</sup> 27 ff.) says that they are copies by Marcellus Coffermans after the National Gallery picture, the van der Goes elements being derived mostly from van der Goes' picture of this subject at Bruges (*Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier* <sup>22</sup> 50 ff., *Corpus* No. 11). *Friedländer* (<sup>9</sup> 108/9 and <sup>18</sup> 60 and 131, Nos. 25a and b) calls them copies after a lost van der Goes; *Winkler* (<sup>13</sup> 14/5) says probably copies of a lost van der Goes; *Hulin* (letter of 1936 in the National Gallery) says variants of the National Gallery picture, with the heads in the style of van der Goes.

To this should be added:

(c), that the original design of the present picture (*changes in composition* recorded in section C, above) corresponded quite closely with the Berlin and Prague versions. For details on this point, see in section F.

(d), that it is unlikely that the alterations in the present picture were done long after the execution of the main part. This is a stylistic point (*Davies* <sup>20</sup> 20); the group of God and the angels, which demonstrably in part, indeed clearly *in toto* is an alteration, does not appear

stylistically distinct from other parts of the picture, where no trace of alteration has been detected.

(e), that no records are known concerning major changes in composition in the versions at Berlin and Prague.

Davies (<sup>20</sup> 19ff) thinks that the best hypothesis concerning what happened is as follows. Some painter, using van der Goes' *Death of the Virgin* at Bruges and perhaps some further indications made by van der Goes, executed one or more versions of the picture, roughly in van der Goes' style. The painter of the present version made a somewhat varied copy of the design, and then made extensive alterations to the setting; his style of execution being imitated, in parts fairly closely, from Campin. Davies does not think that there was ever an original picture of this design either by van der Goes or by Campin.

As for the date, most critics appear to believe that this is a XV century picture; thus, Tschudi (<sup>8</sup> 30) says not later than 1460, and Conway (<sup>11</sup> 174) says more than a decade earlier than van der Goes' *Death of the Virgin* at Bruges. Davies (<sup>20</sup> 19ff) claimed that the picture was probably executed in the early XVI Century. He claimed that it is very unusual for a bed to have no tester in the Netherlands in the XV Century, and that the flattened round arch, with hollow mouldings and no capitals, is unlikely before about 1500. Both these points appear to be substantially true, but they do not exclude XV Century execution; it is sufficient here to cite (which Davies did not) two miniatures assigned to the Mansel Master, and stated to be of ca. 1420/40, where the *Death of the Virgin* takes place in a testerless bed and comparable arches occur (Winkler <sup>11</sup> 35, Plate 9). See further in section G.

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

Said by Nieuwenhuys (<sup>2</sup> 105/6, No. 41) to have been in Charles I's Collection; but this may have been merely a misreading of one of two labels, formerly stuck one on top of the other on the back of the picture (see in section C, above). What was the upper label has inscribed on it *C<sup>te</sup>. R. / N. 6. / Marten Schoen* (Plate CXXXV).

- 1830 Sir Thomas Lawrence Sale, London, 15 May, 1830 (lot 123), bought by Zachary; *Catalogue* (<sup>1</sup> 10, no description).
- 1838 M. M. Zachary Sale, London, 31 March, 1838 (lot 21), with some description and Lawrence provenance stated, bought by Fuller.
- 1843 In the Collection at The Hague of King William II of Holland; *Catalogue* (<sup>2</sup> 105/6, No. 41) with identifying description and Lawrence provenance stated;
- 1850 Sale, The Hague, 12 etc. August, 1850 (lot 52), bought by Nieuwenhuys.
- 1857 In the Collection of Edmond Beaucousin at Paris (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle* <sup>3</sup> 324/5);
- 1860 Purchased with the rest of the Beaucousin Collection, 1860 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>3</sup> 237).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

It has already been mentioned that a variant exists at Berlin (*Katalog* <sup>11</sup> 123/4, No. 538B, reproduced; Plate CXXII of the present volume; size 39.5 × 37 cm.), and another at Prague (*Katalog* <sup>12</sup> 149/50, No. 452 and Plate 27; size 35 × 36.5 cm.). The two pictures are reproduced side by side by Joseph Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, 1914, 130. The style of these two pictures reflects that of Hugo van der Goes, the draperies as well as the flesh parts differing in character from what is seen in the present picture. The settings at Berlin and Prague also differ noticeably from what is seen in the National Gallery picture

now ; the group of God with angels and the view of the town being absent at Berlin and Prague.

So far as can be seen in normal light and with the help of X-Ray and infra-red photographs, the details of the present picture before alteration (see the records of *changes in composition* in section C, above) corresponded quite closely with the version at Berlin. At Berlin, the bed has a tester, on the left side of which a bunched curtain descends, and on the right side a more extensive piece of curtain ; all this was closely similar in the National Gallery picture (Plates CXXXIII, CXXXIV). The tester and curtains in the present picture go through parts of the group of God (or Christ) and angels, which in these areas must have been altered ; comparison with the forms seen at Berlin makes it apparently impossible to conceive that the other parts of this group could have been included originally. The bed-head in the present picture, now mostly hidden beneath the glory surrounding God and the angels, but mostly visible in an infra-red photograph (Plate CXXXIV), may be claimed to have been fairly similar to what is seen in the Berlin version. On analogy with the Berlin version, it may reasonably be assumed that the back curtains of the tester in the present picture were behind the second row of apostles, and therefore that the window and view of a town are alterations. The Berlin version has a window on the left, which corresponds very closely with what was originally on the present picture, instead of the table with bottles and candlestick (Plate CXXXIII). The Berlin version, according to the photograph of it, has a top in the shape of a flattened round arch ; this is very similar to the original form of the top here, which can be reconstructed with a good degree of accuracy from the traces remaining (see text illustration, p. 53). At Berlin, the binding of the book on the floor includes five studs on the side, joined by straight lines ; the original form of the binding in the present picture was very similar. The hand of S. John (?) holding a candle was here originally rather lower, and corresponded fairly closely with the hand seen in the Berlin version. It should be added that the head of the Virgin in the two versions is differently posed, and with a hood of different shape ; this part in the National Gallery picture has been somewhat changed, but it has not been possible to establish that the two versions originally corresponded. It should finally be mentioned (1), that the floor at Berlin is composed of wooden planks ; but in the National Gallery picture no trace of any floor except the present tiles has been discovered ; (2), that at Berlin, a rosary is lying on the floor, towards the right ; but no trace of this has been found on the present picture.

The version at Prague is closely similar in composition, and apparently in style, to the one at Berlin. The reproduction shows a flat top at Prague, and less of it than at Berlin. Other variations at Prague are in the decoration of the bed-head (apparently rather less like the original form at the National Gallery than in the Berlin version), and in the position of the rosary on the floor.

Another version of this design, which *Friedländer* (<sup>18</sup> 69 and 131, No. 25d) dates ca. 1525, is reproduced (as Benson) in the catalogue of an Anon. Sale at Lepke's, Berlin, 25 April, 1911, lot 87.

A drawing at Berlin is mentioned by *Friedländer* (<sup>18</sup> 69) and described by *Bock and Rosenberg* (<sup>19</sup> 3, No. 780) ; photograph in the National Gallery. It shows the Virgin and five of the apostles, corresponding quite closely with the versions at Berlin and Prague ; it is stated to be a weak work.

Hugo van der Goes' *Death of the Virgin* at Bruges is discussed by *Friedländer* (<sup>18</sup> 49ff. and 127, No. 14) and by *Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier* (<sup>22</sup> 50ff., *Corpus* No. 11), in

each case with reproductions. *Davies* (<sup>no</sup> 20) perhaps overstates the connection with the present design (rather with the versions at Berlin and Prague than with the one in the National Gallery); but it is correct to say that the lamp and the curtain just behind it correspond fairly closely at Berlin and Bruges, and that the three apostles in front on the left at Bruges are in parts like S. John (?) with a candle, the apostle next him by the Virgin's pillow and the apostle half sitting on the floor at the foot of the bed at Berlin. The Bruges picture includes in the air Christ accompanied by two angels; this does not correspond with the group of God (or Christ) and four angels at the National Gallery.

A drawing at Brunswick (*Friedländer* <sup>no</sup> 70 and Plate LXXVIII) shows some slight connections with the present composition rather than with van der Goes' picture at Bruges, but all rearranged. The connections are less in the forms than in some of the motives, which are similar to what is seen here, and different in the picture at Bruges; see, for instance, in the drawing S. John (?) with a candle, S. Peter (?) and a kneeling apostle with a holy water sprinkler, a book lying on the floor.

Some of the motives in the present composition, such as the preparation of the censer, recur in pictures where the forms differ; e.g., in the two versions of this subject at Cologne and Munich, often referred to as by the Master of the Death of the Virgin (*Ludwig Baldass, Joos van Cleve*, 1925, Plates 26 and 47), and in a picture assigned to the Master of the Life of the Virgin at Nuremberg (*Katalog, Die Gemälde des 15. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1937, Textband, 99, No. 20 and Bilderband, Fig. 324).

The connection between the present design and an engraving of the subject by Schongauer (*Julius Baum, Martin Schongauer*, 1948, Plate 8) seems to be at best very remote. A picture now in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (*Friedländer, Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. X, 1932, Plate XC) is possibly derived from the present composition. A drawing at Berlin is mentioned by *Friedländer* (<sup>no</sup> 70) and described by *Bock and Rosenberg* (<sup>no</sup> 3, No. 5524); it is probably not connected, but no reproduction appears to be available of it.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Parts of the sub-section *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date* record my previously published opinion on the picture. I do not know of good cause for changing these views, but they are liable to modification: they are an attempt to offer the most plausible explanation of the facts and of the stylistic elements noted in the versions in the National Gallery, at Berlin and at Prague, but the problem is difficult and the evidence is insufficient to prove the hypothesis proposed. True, in view of the changes in composition, it is convenient to suppose the present picture later in date than the versions at Berlin and Prague; but this would not stand, if the execution of the present picture seemed clearly in an earlier style. I do not think it is. So far as my knowledge goes, there exists no XV Century Netherlandish picture the painting of which resembles the painting here; until evidence to the contrary is produced, I think it is reasonable to follow the indications already recorded, not cogent but when taken together of some weight, that the picture is a rather late imitation of an early style. Some may object that it is too good to be an imitation; I do not think so, but since any comparable case is likely to be disputed as not in every respect the same, it does not seem worth while arguing the matter in detail. Others may, perhaps more reasonably, object that the picture does not appear to be purely Netherlandish in character; if the execution is by a non-Fleming, whether working in Flanders at the time or not, one might have less difficulty in attributing it to the XV Century. One might, and I

should be interested to read what critics could say, arguing on these lines : yet I have not much hope of being convinced.

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- 1857 <sup>3</sup> : J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1857.
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- 1913 <sup>13</sup> : FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strasbourg, 1913.
- 1921 <sup>14</sup> : SIR MARTIN CONWAY. *The van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.
- 1924 <sup>15</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, *Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924.
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- 1946 <sup>21</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *The Death of the Virgin by Petrus Christus*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LXXXVIII, London, July, 1946, 159-163.
- 1951 <sup>22</sup> : A. JANSSENS DE BISTHOVEN and R. A. PARMENTIER. *Le Musée Communal de Bruges* (in the same series as the present volume), Antwerp, 1951.
- 1952 <sup>23</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS. *Jan van Eyck*, London, 1952.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

## Document 1

"Before I left the borders of the Rhine I did not omit to visit Colmar. The pictures ascribed

to M. Schön which were once in the Library are now in a museum & easily seen. Not one of them has sufficient merit to induce me to alter my preconceived opinion — viz — that the Beaucousin picture cannot be by him. His best work, by far... is the "Madonna mit dem Rosenhaag"... In this picture a Flemish influence is to be traced — but it is as clearly from the Memling type... In the Gallery at Bâle... a small M. & Child, again of the Memling type. In short the Flemish influence, when traceable at all in this painter's works, is rather that of Memling than of R. van der Weyden.

"The name may be retained for our Beaucousin picture but at some future time I shall add an explanatory note".

From a letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to R. N. Wornum, Keeper of the National Gallery, 5 September, 1863, in the National Gallery.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 34 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLEMALLE) (2)

CXXI. The Death of the Virgin	B 124 262	1950
CXXII. Comparative Material : Variant at Berlin	Ehem. Staatl. Mus. Berlin	
CXXIII. Figures in the upper right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 263	1950
CXXIV. Figures in the lower right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 265	1950
CXXV. Apostles in the Centre (1 : 1)	B 124 266	1950
CXXVI. Apostles in the lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 267	1950
CXXVII. Apostles, Still-life and View of a Town in the upper left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 264	1950
CXXVIII. Two Apostles Preparing a Censer (M 2 ×)	B 124 268	1950
CXXIX. The Virgin, S. Peter (?) and two other Apostles (M 2 ×)	B 124 269	1950
CXXX. God or Christ with Angels (M 2 ×)	B 139 141	1952
CXXXI. View of a Town, seen through a Window (M 2 ×)	B 139 142	1952
CXXXII. Book in the Foreground (M 2 ×)	B 124 270	1950
CXXXIII. Upper left Corner (X-radiograph, 20 kV, 15 mA, 1 : 1)	N. G. 26-1-	1952
CXXXIV. Upper Righthand Part of the Picture (infra-red)	N. G. 17-V-	1951
CXXXV. The Reverse	B 124 271	1950

#### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

##### No. 35 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLEMALLE) (3). THE VIRGIN AND CHILD IN AN APSE, WITH TWO ANGELS

#### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

After "Campin" (?).

The Virgin and Child with two Angels.

No. 2608 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

### C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS (5.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* : painted surface      56.8 ( $\pm 0.1$ )  $\times$  44.2 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) cm.  
22 3/8  $\times$  17 3/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish in rather bad condition, covering a very dirty varnish that forms patches over the picture-surface.

*Paint Layer* : In rather bad condition. Marked wearing over the whole surface ; numerous small losses without importance, some restored, some not. Extensive overpaintings : light ones on the red mantle of the angel on the left and in the shadows of the Virgin's dress ; opaque on the green mantle of the angel on the right (cf. Plate CXXXVIII).

Reinforcement of the outlines of the Virgin's face and of her hair (partly discernible on Plate CXL).

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : White, fairly thin ; adheres well except on the mantle of the angel on the right.

*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain vertical, perfectly flat. Good condition in general, in spite of some worm-holes.

*Marks on the Back* : Agnew label and another label ; reproduction of the back on Plate CXLI.

*Frame* : Old. Oak, painted black, with gilt mouldings. The destruction of the original edges of the paint makes it impossible to be sure if it is the original frame.

### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

#### 1. Subject

The Virgin, dressed mostly in white, stands holding the Child. Who takes her breast. On the right stands an angel playing a harp, on the left an angel playing a lute. The scene is a large niche or apse, on the walls of which are attached columns, etc., in two storeys. This niche, according to Robinson (<sup>2</sup> 388), represents the apse of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca ; it does not, and to judge from the reproduction in the *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, Vol. IV, 1928, Plate I opposite p. 24, Robinson must have thought that the framing of the *retablo* against the walls of this apse was part of the architecture. The niche may, on the other hand, be compared with the apse shown in Joos van Wassenhove's *Communion of the Apostles* at Urbino.

#### 2. Colours

The Virgin is mostly in white ; her underdress is blue (or green) and gold. The angel on the left is in a dark dress and red mantle ; the angel on the right is in a dull red dress and dark green mantle.

#### 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 1903 (see *Subsequent History*).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Called Albrecht Dürer at the Ravaisson-Mollien Sale, 1903 (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 21). Called Master of Flémalle (Campin) at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904 (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 3). Winkler (<sup>3</sup> 7ff.) and Friedländer (<sup>4</sup> 114ff., Nos. 74f and g), call it a copy after Campin.

The date of the original composition from which this picture is presumed to be derived is suggested as near that of the Dijon Nativity, meaning before 1433/4, by Winkler (<sup>3</sup> 44 and 31/2) ; Friedländer (<sup>4</sup> 116) agrees in associating it with the Dijon Nativity and suggests ca. 1428 ; Baldass (<sup>11</sup> 16) thinks it early, ca. 1410/20.

2. *Subsequent History*

*Records of Ownership*

- 1903 Félix Ravaisson-Mollien Sale, Paris, 23 November, 1903 (lot 67), bought by Christian de Marinitch (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 21).  
Passed to George Salting, London, who recorded the Ravaisson-Mollien provenance in his note-book at the National Gallery.
- 1904 Lent by Salting to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, Winter Exhibition, 1904 (No. 3) ; *Catalogue* (<sup>2</sup> 3).
- 1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 41).

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Numerous versions are known, some of which are here recorded ; it is usually held that they derive from a lost picture by Campin, but none of the existing versions is recognized as being worthy of him. An article on these derivatives was written by Bazin (<sup>6</sup> 495ff.), with reproductions of many of them. The sizes are sometimes given differently in different references ; these variations are not recorded. It is presumed that the original form of the design was like that of the present picture ; other versions fairly closely corresponding are : —

(1) Formerly at Nuremberg (1886 *Katalog*, No. 41 ; 1893 *Katalog*, No. 40 ; 1909 *Katalog*, No. 65) ; Friedländer <sup>4</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74a and Plate LXIII ; now at Minneapolis (*Flemish Primitives* Exhibition at Kleinberger's, New York, 1929, No. 6, reproduced in the catalogue, with wrong provenance). Size, 17 1/2 × 12 1/2 inches.

(2) Formerly in the Auersperg Collection at Graz ; Coray-Stoop Sale, Lucerne, 29 July, 1925 (lot 57), reproduced in the catalogue ; Friedländer <sup>4</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74b ; exhibited at Vienna, *Drei Jahrhunderte Flämische Kunst*, 1930 (No. 25), lent by Coray. H. Coray Sale, Berlin, 1 October, 1930 (lot 58), reproduced in the catalogue. Size, 52 × 41 cm. Sometimes confused with No. 1.

(3) At New York, Metropolitan Museum ; Friedländer <sup>4</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74c ; New York Catalogue, *Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, 1947, 27, with provenance given, reproduced. Size, 17 3/4 × 13 1/2 inches.

(4) Formerly in the Albert Bassy Collection ; Friedländer <sup>4</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74d ; Anon.

Sale, Amsterdam, 21 November, 1933 (lot 36), reproduced in the catalogue. Coll. Baron R. Gendebien, Brussels (see J. Lavalleye, "Un Cabinet d'Amateur", *Catalogue Raisonné de la Peinture*, in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1937, 72/3). Size, 55.5 × 43.5 cm.

(5) Formerly in the Abel Collection, and then at Sigmaringen; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74e; Berlin Museums Sale, Munich, 1/2 June, 1937 (lot 696), reproduced in the catalogue. Size, 48 × 53 cm.

(6) In the G. Rothan Sale, Paris, 29/31 May, 1890 (lot 39), reproduced in the catalogue; Eugène Richtenberger Sale, Paris, 19 April, 1921 (lot 58), reproduced in the catalogue; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74h. Later in the Ed. Joly Collection, Brussels; reproduced in the *Catalogue de l'Exposition Belge d'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Budapest, May-June, 1927, No. 223, and in the *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Vol. LIV, 1928, 115. Size, 44 × 29 cm.

(7) At Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection (*Catalogue of Paintings*, 1941, 23, inv. 458; stated to be identical with *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74k). Size, 19 1/8 × 13 7/8 inches; photographed.

(8) At Zagreb, Strossmayr Gallery; reproduced in *l'Arte*, 1904, 438.

(9) At Sarasota; *Catalogue of Paintings in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*, 1949, 165, No. 196, with provenance stated; reproduced, 166.

Sometimes the composition has been split up to form a triptych, with the angels on the wings. One example was in the James Mann Sale, London, 3 July, 1929 (lot 30), reproduced in the catalogue; *Barbizon House 1929, An Illustrated Record*, No. 15, reproduced; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. II, 115, No. 74l. Height, 25 inches, width of the central part 15 inches, of the wings 6 1/2 inches each. Another was lent by the Galerie Jos. Fiévez to the Flemish Exhibition at Antwerp, 1930 (No. 139); size of the central panel, 31 × 22 cm; photograph in the Witt Library.

The Virgin and Child alone in an apse appeared in the Hazard Sale, Paris, 1 December, 1919 (lot 107), reproduced in the catalogue; now at Copenhagen (*Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings*, 1951, 375/6, No. 857, reproduced). Size, 53 × 39.5 cm.

A variant accepted as by Gerard David is in the Collection of Jacob Epstein, Chicago; *Friedländer*<sup>7</sup> Vol. VI, 155, No. 217 and Plate XCVIII; *Flemish Primitives* Exhibition at Kleinberger's, New York, 1929 (No. 30), reproduced in the catalogue. Size, 21 1/4 × 16 1/8 inches.

Among variants associated with the style of Bernaert van Orley may be mentioned:

(A) Madrid, Prado; 1949 *Catálogo*, No. 1920; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII, 173, No. 125a and Plate LXXXVIII. Size 54 × 50 cm.

(B) Oldenburg; 1890 *Verzeichniss*, No. 109; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII, 173, No. 125b; reproduced by G. F. Hartlaub, *Die Grossherzogliche Gemälde-Galerie im Augusteum zu Oldenburg*, Vol. II, 1912, Plate 56. Size, 59 × 38.5 cm.

(C) Cadiz Museum; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII, 173, No. 125c; reproduced by Enrique Romero de Torres, *Provincia de Cádiz*, 1934, Vol. II, *Láminas*, Fig. 184. Cadiz Museum, *Catálogo de las Pinturas*, by C. Pemán, 1952, 15, No. 95 and small plate; Pemán states that traces of a semicircular apse are detectable beneath the present (authentic) Renaissance architecture.

(D) Marquis de Victoire de Hérédia Sale, Paris, 15 June, 1912 (lot 39), reproduced in the catalogue; *Friedländer*<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII, 173, No. 125d. Size, 55 × 38 cm.

(E) D. Schevitch Sale, Paris, 4/7 April, 1906 (lot 8); reproduced in the catalogue, and by Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures*, Vol. III, 265; Friedländer<sup>8</sup> Vol. VIII, 173, No. 125f. Size, 85 × 63 cm.

A variant called Antwerp School appeared in the Sanct Lucas Sale, Vienna, 3/4 March, 1921 (lot 3), reproduced in the catalogue.

Connected single figures also occur in: —

(a) Madrid, Prado; 1949 *Catálogo*, No. 2696; reproduced by Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures*, Vol. V, 323, and by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *The Prado Museum*, 1949, Plate CLXXXIII (Follower of Jan van Eyck). Size, 18 × 15 cm.

(b) Pedralbes, Museum. Juan Ainaud, José Gudiol and F.-P. Verrié, *Catálogo Monumental de España, La Ciudad de Barcelona*, 1947, Text, 149 and Plates, No. 847, as alter Patenier.

(c) H. Petri Sale, Amsterdam, 30 November, 1926 (lot 45), reproduced in the catalogue (Blondeel). Size, 51 × 37 cm.

A remote compositional connection may be found in a Netherlandish tondo, No. 1864 of the National Gallery (Davies<sup>10</sup> 93).

It is possible that, after a time, the tradition of this composition became mixed with the tradition of a standing Virgin and Child by Jan van Eyck, e.g., that at Antwerp; compare also the picture rather distantly connected, reproduced in the catalogue of the Chr. R. Ruhl Sale, Cologne, 15 May, 1876, lot 19 (size 54 × 40 cm). It is also possible that the composition or one derived from it was used by Francisco Pacheco for his *Virgin and Child with Angels* of 1590 in the Cathedral Sacristy at Granada (reproduced by Valerian von Loga, *Die Malerei in Spanien*, 1923, 157); there is a version of this, stated to be Flemish XVI Century work, and possibly of 1588, in the University Church at Seville (José Hernández Díaz, *La Universidad Hispalense y sus Obras de Arte*, 1942, 24/5 and Fig. 13). The names of yet other painters (Ysenbrandt, Massys, Dürer) have been mentioned in connection with the composition; but the connections are imprecise.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This is a fairly good version of a composition obviously very popular: I see no reason to reject the general view that a lost original was produced by the painter often referred to as Campin. Robinson's remarks on a connection with Spain seem to me unsound. His claim that the Cathedral of Salamanca is represented has been dismissed already in section D. He comments also on the fact that the Virgin is in white, but this seems to me of little relevance; it was not only in Spain that the Virgin was represented in white. It is true that some versions of the design have come out of Spain; many Flemish pictures have come from Spain, or are still in Spain.

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- 1905<sup>3</sup>: SIR J. C. ROBINSON, *The "Maître de Flémalle" and the Painters of the School of Salamanca*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. VII, London, August, 1905, 387-393.
- 1911<sup>4</sup>: *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1913<sup>5</sup>: FRIEDRICH WINKLER, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strasbourg, 1913.

- 1924 <sup>6</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II, *Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924.  
 1928 <sup>7</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1930 <sup>8</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VIII, *Jan Gossart Bernart van Orley*, Berlin, 1930.  
 1931 <sup>9</sup> : GERMAIN BAZIN. *L'Esprit d'imitation dans l'Art Flamand, Le thème de la Madone dans une abside*, in *L'Amour de l'Art*, Vol. XII, Paris, December, 1931, 495ff.  
 1945 <sup>10</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.  
 1952 <sup>11</sup> : LUDWIG BALDASS. *Jan van Eyck*, London, 1952.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 35 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLÉMALLE) (3)

CXXXVI. The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels	B 124 474	1950
CXXXVII. Angel Playing a Lute (1 : 1)	B 124 477	1950
CXXXVIII. Angel Playing a Harp (1 : 1)	B 124 476	1950
CXXXIX. The Virgin, at half-length, with the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 475	1950
CXL. Head of the Virgin, Hands and Face of the Child (M 2 ×)	B 124 478	1950
CXLI. The Reverse	B 124 479	1950

### 36

#### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 36 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLEMALLE) (4), THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BEFORE A FIRE-SCREEN

#### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

"Robert Campin".

The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen.

No. 2609 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

#### C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions :	panel	63.4 ( $\pm$ 0.1) × 48.9 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm. 24 15/16 × 19 1/4 ins.
	painted surface	63.4 ( $\pm$ 0.1) × 48.5 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm. 24 15/16 × 19 1/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Coloured varnish over remains of yellowed varnish. Several scratches, particularly in the lower left hand corner of the Virgin's dress.

*Paint Layer* : The left edge of the paint is original, with a band of unpainted wood,  $\pm$  0,4 cm. wide, beyond it. What survives of the original painted surface has been increased by modern additions at the top (a band ca. 3 cm. wide) and on the right (a band ca. 10 cm. wide); the measurements given above include these additions. For the original fragment, see Plate CLIII.

In spite of a fairly pronounced general wearing, ruptures along the joins of the support, cracks and numerous retouches, the important parts of the picture are nearly intact. Reinforcement of the shadows of the Virgin's mouth and jaw; reinforcement of the outlines of the Child, and of some outlines of the Virgin, notably the hands.

The general overpainting of the black background has covered up a piece of decorative iron-work above the centre of the screen.

*Changes in Composition* : The Child was originally looking the other way; see Plate CXLVIII. Changes in the Child's right knee and foot; some smaller changes in other outlines of the Child. Many of the draperies in the centre of the picture have undergone small modifications.

*Ground* : Nearly white, of normal thickness; adheres well in general.

*Support* : The original part is composed of two panels of oak with grain vertical; the one on the left is cracked for its whole length. The support has been increased at the top by a strip with grain horizontal, and on the right by a panel with grain vertical, which is worm-eaten. Consolidated by means of a framework (with cross-piece) in soft wood, which is worm-eaten; this has been attached with an adhesive mixture, perhaps containing white lead, which absorbs X-rays to a notable degree.

*Marks on the Back* : Inscribed in the centre towards the top, *conte balviano* (?). Agnew label and two exhibition labels. Reproduction of the back on Plate CLIV.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

The scene is the interior of a room. The Virgin is seated, preparing to suckle the Child; she wears a ring on the third finger of her right hand. Near her, on a cushion on the bench, is an open book with clasps and a protective cover of fabric. Behind her head, and suggesting a halo, is a circular screen in front of the fireplace (cf. section F). Left, a three-legged stool and a window; through the window, a view of a town.

As has been noted in section C, there are additions to the top and right side of this picture; in particular, the cupboard and the chalice on it are not original. What is preserved of the original is clearly a fragment (see Plate CLIII). Among the fairly numerous *changes in composition* noted in section C, it may be recalled that originally the Child's eyes were facing away from the spectator (see Plate CXLVIII).

Meiss has claimed, and maintained, (<sup>13</sup> 143) that the subject is the "Madonna of Humility"; but this classification appears unacceptable.

## 2. Colours

The Virgin is in a white mantle with bluish shadows, lined with grey fur ; blue underdress. The cloth on the settee is green, the cushion red. Reds predominate in the view of the town, except for the church, which is white with a blue roof.

## 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 recorded ca. 1875/6 (?) (see *Subsequent History*).

##### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

In an exhibition at Brussels in 1882 (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 52), it was called Hugo van der Goes. Bode, following a suggestion by Henry Hymans, ascribed it to the painter referred to in the present volume as Campin (*Bode* <sup>2</sup> 218). It has since usually been accepted as belonging to this group, e. g. by *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 68/9 and 110, No. 58; but Weale dubitatively ascribed it to Daniel Daret (*Weale* <sup>3</sup> 205).

The group itself has sometimes been ascribed to the young Rogier van der Weyden ; but the status of the group cannot be discussed within the limits of the present entry. See some bibliographical references given by *Davies* (<sup>13</sup> 15 ff.) ; also *Jan de Jong, Architectuur bij de Nederlandsche Schilders vóór de Hervorming*, 1934, 3 ; *Winkler's* entries for Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle in *Thieme-Becker's Dictionary*, Vols. XXXV and XXXVII ; *Paul Rolland, La Peinture Murale à Tournai*, Brussels, 1946 ; and *Hermann Beenken, Rogier van der Weyden*, 1951.

As for the date, the picture is generally held to be from before 1430, e. g. by *Friedländer* (<sup>10</sup> 110, No. 58 (and 90)) ; *Winkler* (<sup>14</sup> 99) puts it very early.

#### 2. Subsequent History

##### Records of Ownership

Inscribed on the back (XVIII Century ?). "conte balviano (?)" ; this inscription, in the centre towards the top, is discernible on Plate CLIV.

Stated to be from the Collection of the Conte de Bardi at Parma (*Bode* <sup>12</sup> Vol. I, 138), or doubtfully from the Ducal Family at Parma (*Wurzbach* <sup>8</sup> Vol. III, 73). "Conte de Bardi" may be Enrico Carlo Lodovico di Borbone, Conte di Bardi (1851-1905), brother of Robert, the last reigning Duke of Parma ; his collection is referred to by *Frits Lugt, Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, 59, No. 336. The picture is not from Palazzo Chigi at Rome (*Davies* <sup>13</sup> 17/8).

a. 1875/6(?)

Bode tried to purchase it from Riblet, a commission-agent of Florence, for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (*Bode* <sup>12</sup> Vol. I, 138).

1875(?)

Stated to have been acquired by Léon Somzéc in 1875 at Venice (*Wurzbach* <sup>8</sup> 73).

1882

Lent by L. Somzéc to the *Exposition Néerlandaise de Beaux-Arts* at Brussels (*Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 52).

- Tableaux Anciens*, No. 75. measurements given inverted; for a description sufficient to identify, see the *Chronique des Arts* (<sup>o</sup> 155).
- 1892 Lent by Léon Somzée to the *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Netherlandish etc. Schools* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1892 (No. 29). Lent by Léon de Somzée to the New Gallery, London, *Masters of the Flemish and British Schools*, 1899/1900 (No. 48). Lent by L. de Somzée to the *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, Pavillon de la Belgique, 1900 (No. 6). Mathieu Henri Léon (de) Somzée, who had been born in 1837, died in 1901.
- 1902 Lent by C. and G. de Somzée to the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands* at Bruges, 1902 (No. 23); "C" and "G" no doubt stand for Côme and Gaetan, the names of Léon's sons. Several pictures from the Somzée Collection were sold in this year, and were bought through Agnew's by George Salting, London (cf. *Connoisseur* <sup>o</sup> 203; *Friedländer* <sup>o</sup> 7).
- 1904 Lent by Salting to the *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters at the Royal Academy*, London, 1904 (No. 4), and to the *Exposition des Primitifs Français* at Paris, 1904 (No. 31).
- 1907 On loan from Salting at the National Gallery.
- 1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>o</sup> 41/2).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A derivation was reproduced in *The Connoisseur* in 1926; it then belonged to Mme. Reboux, Roubaix (*Destrée* <sup>o</sup> 209/10).

A firescreen of the same type as the one shown here occurs in the de Limbourg miniature for January at Chantilly; reproduced by *Martin* (<sup>o</sup> Plate 92). A bench, differing from the one here except for having lions at the corners, is shown in the Mérode *Annunciation* (*Friedländer* <sup>o</sup> Plate XLVI); cf. the still more different example in Jan van Eyck's *Marriage of Arnolfini*, in Vol. II of the present publication. A three-legged stool, very similar to the one shown here, occurs in the *Virgin and Child* assigned to Campin at Leningrad (*Friedländer* <sup>o</sup> Plate LVII).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This picture appears to me to be one of the key-works of the painter often called Campin. As with the *Portraits of a Man and a Woman* (Nos. 653 A and B of the National Gallery, *Corpus* No 33), I think that to express in this place my views on the Campin-Rogier problem would not be useful.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1882 <sup>1</sup>: *Exposition Néerlandaise de Beaux-Arts, Catalogue Explicatif*, Brussels, 1882.
- 1882 <sup>2</sup>: L. *Correspondance de Belgique*, in *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, Paris, 20 May, 1882, 155/6.
- 1887 <sup>3</sup>: W. BODE. *La Renaissance au Musée de Berlin*, 1st article, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd. period, Vol. 35 (1887, Part I), Paris, 1887, 204-220.
- 1902 <sup>4</sup>: *Flemish Pictures*, in *The Connoisseur*, Vol. IV, London, November, 1902, 203.
- 1903 <sup>5</sup>: W. H. JAMES WEALE. *The Early Painters of the Netherlands as Illustrated by the Bruges Exhibition of 1902*, Article II, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. I, London, March-May, 1903, 202-217.

- 1903 <sup>a</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Meisterwerke der Niederländischen Malerei... auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903.
- 1911 <sup>b</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.
- 1911 <sup>c</sup> : ALFRED VON WURZBACH. *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Vol. III, *Nachträge und Verzeichnis der Monogramme*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1911.
- 1923 <sup>d</sup> : HENRY MARTIN. *La Miniature Française du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1923.
- 1924 <sup>e</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. II. *Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister von Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924.
- 1926 <sup>f</sup> : JOSEPH DESTREE. *Altered in the Nineteenth Century? A Problem at the National Gallery, London*, in *The Connoisseur*, Vol. LXXIV, London, January - April, 1926, 209/10. (In French, *Un Primitif Flamand de la National Gallery modifié au cours du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *La Revue d'Art*, Vol. 28, Antwerp, July-December, 1926, 32/3).
- 1930 <sup>g</sup> : WILHELM VON BODE. *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930.
- 1945 <sup>h</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1950 <sup>i</sup> : F. WINKLER. *Meister von Flémalle in Thieme-Becker's Dictionary*, Vol. XXXVII, Leipzig, 1950.
- 1951 <sup>j</sup> : MILLARD MEISS. *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 36 : GROUP CAMPIN (MASTER OF FLÉMALLE) (4)

CXLII. The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen	B 124 311	1950
CXLIII. The Virgin at half-length, with the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 312	1950
CXLIV. Detail of the Virgin's Mantle, lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 316	1950
CXLV. The Book and Cushion on the Bench (1 : 1)	B 124 314	1950
CXLVI. Upper left Corner ; Window with a View of a Town (1 : 1)	B 124 313	1950
CXLVII. The Child (1 : 1)	B 124 319	1950
CXLVIII. The Child (1 : 1, X-radiograph 20 kV. 15 mA)	N. G.	21-III-1951
CL. Lower right Corner : the Virgin's Mantle, and Part of the Cupboard (1 : 1)	B 124 315	1950
CL. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 317	1950
CLI. Head and left Arm of the Child (M 2 ×)	B 139 143	1952
CLII. View of a Town, seen through a Window (M 2 ×)	B 139 144	1952
CLIII. The Original Part of the Picture, with the Modern Additions excluded	B 124 311	1950
CLIV. The Reverse	B 124 318	1950



## 37

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 37 : GROUP CHRISTUS (2), PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Petrus Christus.

Portrait of a Young Man (Left Wing of a Diptych ?).

No. 2593 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	37.7 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 28.2 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 1.1 cm. 14 7/8 $\times$ 11 1/8 $\times$ 7/16 ins.
	painted surface	35.2 $\times$ 26.2 cm. 13 7/8 $\times$ 10 3/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A rather thick layer of varnish, in fairly good condition.*Paint Layer* : Fairly good general condition.

No unpainted edges ; the paint is bordered on all four sides by a gold band in powdered gold.

General wearing, marked in the flesh.

Wide horizontal craquelure on the red part of the dress, the flesh and the background.

Light overpainting in brown in the modelling of the face ; light overpainting in red glaze on the dress. Overpainting of the hair and the black parts of the dress.

Restoration with overpainting on the dark grey part of the background.

Reinforcement of the drawing of the sitter's right sleeve.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.*Ground* : Fairly thick. Adheres perfectly except in certain well defined areas above the head and to the right of the cheek.*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical ; cracked in the upper and lower left corners, and for the whole height very slightly to the left of the sitter's right arm.*Marks on the Back* : 257 / Luca d'Olanda written on the wood ; Northbrook label and another label. Reproduction of the back on Plate CLXIII.*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

## 1. Subject

The sitter in civilian dress is seen at half-length, turned partly to the right, and holding an

open prayer-book. A purse is at his waist. The tradition that he is Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (see *Weale* <sup>3</sup> 16) is to be rejected. Possibly the left wing of a triptych. On the wall behind hangs an illuminated text, the head of Christ in a cruciform aureole and some verses of a hymn to S. Veronica. Left and right are seen parts of arches giving on to the open. That on the left (a door) is ornamented with three statues of unidentified religious figures ; through the window on the right, a strip of landscape is seen.

## 2. Colours

In red dress. The head of Christ is on a blue ground.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The first word on the open prayer-book is *Bedice* ; the rest consists mostly of marks on the page, not meant to be read. The clasp of the prayer-book is inscribed *mai*, apparently. On the illumination, the head of Christ has  $\bar{A}$  and  $\bar{\Omega}$  on either side. The text of the hymn is as follows :

### *Incipit orō ad scām Veronicā*

<i>Salve s̄acta facies</i>	<i>Salve o sudariū</i>
<i>Nostri redeporis</i>	<i>Nobile iocale</i>
<i>In q' (ni ?)tet (species ?)</i>	<i>Es n̄m solaciu</i>
<i>D̄ni splendoris</i>	<i>Et memoriale</i>
<i>Imp̄essa p̄aniculo</i>	<i>Non depicta mat̄bus</i>
<i>Niuei coloris</i>	<i>Scolpta vel polita</i>
<i>Data q : Veronice</i>	<i>Hoc scit s̄u' Artifex</i>
<i>Si(gnū ?) ob (amo)ris</i>	<i>Qui te fecit ita</i>
<i>Salve n̄ra gloria</i>	<i>Esto nobis q̄sim'</i>
<i>In hac vita dura</i>	<i>Tutū adiuuamē</i>
<i>Labili qz fragili</i>	<i>Dulce refrigeriū</i>
<i>Cito transitura</i>	<i>Atq : osolamen</i>
<i>Nos p̄ duc ad p̄r̄am</i>	<i>Ut nobis nō noceat</i>
<i>O felix figura</i>	<i>Hostile grauamen</i>
<i>Ad videndū faciem</i>	<i>Sz fruamur requie</i>
<i>Que est x̄p̄i pura</i>	<i>Dicam' d̄nes amē'</i>

### *Explicit.*

The lettering of the hymn is not quite clear in every detail (Plate CLXII) ; some corrections are here made to the transcription given by *Davies* (<sup>2</sup> 22). For various other texts of the hymn, see *Pearson* <sup>2</sup> 22ff. ; cf. also *Timmers* (<sup>10</sup> 1000/1).

## 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 referred to as existing in 1863 (see *Subsequent History*). It may have been the left wing of a triptych ; not of a diptych if the other panel represented a Virgin and Child.

### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Once ascribed to Lucas van Leyden (see section C, *Marks on the Back*); recorded also to have been ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden (Weale<sup>1</sup> 16). The attribution to Petrus Christus seems to be due to Weale; the picture is recorded doubtfully as Christus in 1880 (*Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> 41), and definitely in 1889 (Weale<sup>2</sup> 15/6). This attribution is generally accepted, e. g. by Hulin (' 5); Friedländer (" 155/6); and Pächt (' 158).

As for the date, Friedländer (' 156 and 170) connects it stylistically with two altarwings of 1452 at Berlin, and dates it ca. 1460. Pächt (' 158) is in substantial agreement with this.

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

- 1863 Acquired by Thomas Baring in 1863 from Farrer (of London) (Weale<sup>2</sup> 16).  
 1873 Thomas Baring died in 1873, and bequeathed it with other pictures to his nephew Lord Northbrook (created Earl of Northbrook in 1876); see the *Northbrook Catalogue*<sup>2</sup>, Introduction.  
 1880 Exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1880, No. 194 (*Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> 41).  
 1889 *Northbrook Catalogue*, 1889, No. 16 (Weale<sup>2</sup> 15f.).  
 1892 *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Netherlandish etc. Schools*, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1892 (No. 10).  
 1894 Still belonging to the Earl of Northbrook in August, 1894 (from a minute at the National Gallery).  
 Acquired by George Salting, and  
 1895 lent by him to the National Gallery from 1895 (*Davies*<sup>3</sup> 22). *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands* at Bruges, 1902 (No. 18).  
 1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue*<sup>2</sup> 54).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A purse of rather similar design occurs in a picture at Copenhagen, accepted as by Petrus Christus; see *Hughes* (" 49).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This appears acceptable as a rather late work by Petrus Christus. It may be mentioned that the abbreviation for *Christi* at the bottom of the first column of the hymn is similar to the form of Christus' signatures.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1880<sup>1</sup>: *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, Royal Academy, Winter Exhibition, *Catalogue*, London, 1880.  
 1887<sup>2</sup>: KARL PEARSON. *Die Fronica*, Strasbourg, 1887.  
 1889<sup>2</sup>: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to the Earl of Northbrook. The Dutch, Flemish, and French Schools by Mr. W. H. James Weale; the Italian and Spanish Schools by Dr. Jean Paul Richter*. London, 1889.  
 1902<sup>4</sup>: GEORGES H(ULIN) DE LOO. *Bruges 1902, Exposition de Tableaux Flamands, Catalogue Critique*, Ghent, 1902.  
 1911<sup>5</sup>: *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.

- 1924 <sup>6</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. 1, *Die van Eyck. Petrus Christus*, Berlin, 1924.
- 1926 <sup>7</sup> : OTTO PÄCHT. *Die Datierung der Brüsseler Beweinung des Petrus Christus*, in *Belvedere*, Vienna, 1926, 155ff.
- 1928 <sup>8</sup> : CHRISTOPHER HUGHES. *A Slip in James Weale's "The van Eycks" ?*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LIII, London, July, 1928, 49.
- 1945 <sup>9</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 <sup>10</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maaseyck, 1947.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 37 : GROUP CHRISTUS (2)

CLV. Portrait of a Young Man	B 124 223	1950
CLVI. Detail of the Sitter, including his Head and his Hands (1 : 1)	B 124 224	1950
CLVII. The lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 225	1950
CLVIII. The upper left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 227	1950
CLIX. The upper right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 226	1950
CLX. Head of the Sitter (M 2 ×)	B 124 228	1950
CLXI. The Sitter's Hands, and the Book (M 2 ×)	B 124 229	1950
CLXII. The Illuminated Text on the Wall (M 2 ×)	B 124 230	1950
CLXIII. The Reverse	B 124 231	1950

### 38

#### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 38 : GROUP DAVID (5), S. PETER AND A DONOR ; REVERSE, S. JEROME, GRISAILLE : S. PAUL AND A DONATRIX ; REVERSE, S. NICHOLAS, GRISAILLE (TWO SHUTTERS)

#### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Follower of Gerard David.

Wings of an Altarpiece.

No. 657 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

#### C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

These pictures were not examined ; the statements made are derived from the National Gallery's own documentation, consulted 11.vii.1952.

*Form* : Two rectangular panels.

*Dimensions* : painted surface, each      81,5 × 26,5 cm.  
    32 1/16 × 10 7/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Apparently in good condition, slightly yellow.

*Paint Layer* : General wearing along the vertical crackles, especially on the donor's mantle (where also there has been flaking) and on S. Paul's left shoulder. A scratch on S. Peter's nose. Paint missing above the donatrix' left eyebrow. The modelling of the donor and his left shoulder have been gone over ; so have the outlines of the donatrix, and the folds of her robe. The grisaille paintings on the back are in good condition, but their backgrounds have been partially overpainted.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : Some lack of adherence.

*Support* : Oak. The grisaille paintings on the back are recorded in section D. *Subject*.

*Marks on the Back* : No marks worth recording here have been noted ; reproduction of the backs on Plates CLXXI - CLXXIV.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. *Subject*

*Left Panel*. The donor, in a fur-lined dress and bareheaded, kneels under the protection of S. Peter, who holds a key. Sky in the background.

*Right Panel*. The donatrix, in a furred dress cut square at the neck and wearing a white headdress, kneels under the protection of S. Paul, who holds a sword. A rosary hangs from her waist. Sky in the background.

*Reverse of Left Panel*. Grisaille. In a niche, S. Jerome dressed as a cardinal, reading a book and patting the head of a lion (*Timmers* <sup>2</sup> 928ff.).

*Reverse of Right Panel*. Grisaille. In a niche, S. Nicholas restoring three children to life (*Timmers* <sup>2</sup> 972/3).

(The position of the reverses is wrongly given inverted by *Davies* (' 32)).

The pictures were clearly the shutters of a triptych.

### 2. *Colours*

The pictures were not available for colour notes.

### 3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

None.

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

### 1. *Origin*

#### a. *Factual Evidence*

The origin of these pictures is not known. They clearly formed the shutters of a triptych ; the central part is not known to have been identified. The first known date at which they are recorded is 1860 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 78).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Acquired as by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 78). Scheibler (<sup>2</sup> 28) rejected this, and doubtfully said near Gerard David or the young Gossaert. Ascribed to Aelbrecht Cornelis by Wescher (<sup>3</sup> 251). Changed at the National Gallery from Jacob Cornelisz. to Follower of Gerard David in 1945 (*Davies* <sup>4</sup> 32). As for the date, *Davies* (<sup>4</sup> 32) says soon after 1500.

2. *Subsequent History**Records of Ownership*

From a collection at Bois-le-Duc (*Doc. 1*).

<sup>1860</sup> Purchased with the rest of the Edmond Beaucousin Collection at Paris, 1860 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>1</sup> 78).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

I think this an inferior work. It clearly shows some influence of Gerard David.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1861 <sup>1</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 52nd. edition, London, 1861.
- 1882 <sup>2</sup> : L. SCHEIBLER. *Die Gemälde des Jacob Cornelisz van Amsterdam*, in the *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. III, Berlin, 1882, 13-29.
- 1931 <sup>3</sup> : P. WESCHER. *Some Portraits by Albert Cornelis*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LVIII, London, May, 1931, 246-251.
- 1945 <sup>4</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.
- 1947 <sup>5</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseeyck, 1947.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

"Formerly the doors of a small altar piece — Then in a collection at Bois-le-Duc" (*National Gallery MS. catalogue*).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 38 : GROUP DAVID (3)

CLXIV. Two Shutters : S. Peter and a Donor, S. Paul and a Donatrix	B 124 452	1950
CLXV. The Donor, Detail (1 : 1)	B 124 453	1950
CLXVI. The Donatrix, Detail (1 : 1)	B 124 454	1950
CLXVII. Head of S. Peter (1 : 1)	B 124 455	1950
CLXVIII. Head of S. Paul (1 : 1)	B 124 456	1950
CLXIX. Head of the Donor (M 2 X)	B 124 457	1950

CLXX. Head of the Donatrix (M 2 ×)	B 124 458	1950
CLXXI. The Reverses : S. Nicholas and S. Jerome, in grisaille	B 124 459	1950
CLXXII. Reverse. Detail of the compartment with S. Nicholas : Three Children Restored to Life (1 : 1)	B 124 462	1950
CLXXIII. Reverse. Bust of S. Jerome (1 : 1)	B 124 460	1950
CLXXIV. Reverse. Bust of S. Nicholas (1 : 1)	B 124 461	1950

## 59

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 39 : GROUP DAVID (4). PORTRAIT OF AN ECCLESIASTIC PRAYING

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.

An Ecclesiastic Praying (Right Wing of a Diptych ?).

No. 710 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(30.vi.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* :

panel	35.9 (± 0.2) × 28.6 (± 0.1) × 0.8 cm.
	14 1/8 × 11 1/4 × 5/16 ins.
painted surface	34 × 26.7 cm.
	13 3/8 × 10 1/2 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish, yellowed, in rather bad condition.

*Paint Layer* : In very sound general condition.

Some retouches on the breast, on the sitter's right hand and in the lower part of his habit. Many slight retouches on the features, which alter the character of the face ; something of this is discernible on Plate CLXXVIII. The shadows of the face have been lightly gone over, on the jaw, under the ear and at the nostril. See also *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E, below.

The paint of the figure in this picture is to a considerable degree transparent to X-Rays.

*Changes in composition* : in the hands ; change of outline in the sitter's left shoulder. The tower on the right appears to be an afterthought, with the landscape continuing beneath it ; it is further possible that the tower as first painted in had a narrower form than now, but the X-radiograph is difficult to interpret in this area.

*Ground* : Nearly white, adheres well.

*Support* : Oak, one panel with grain vertical. The back is protected by black paint over a very thin, nearly white preparation.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

The sitter is seen to the waist, kneeling in a doorway (?). His habit would accord with his being an Augustinian or a Cistercian (Beck <sup>14</sup> 297) ; Veys (<sup>19</sup> 450/1), claims that the first alternative is right, especially because a fold in the sitter's habit at the waist seems to imply the Augustinian belt. At one time, the sitter was wrongly called Floreins van der Ryst (cf. 1848 *Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 25 ; Waagen <sup>4</sup> 227 ; or Crowe and Cavalcaselle <sup>5</sup> 266). Presumably the right wing of a diptych.

The tower seen in the background to the left is similar to that of Notre Dame at Bruges, which is reproduced in several more or less contemporary pictures, e. g., in *Friedländer* <sup>25</sup> Plates LXI, LXIII, LXIV ; a modern view of it is reproduced in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. P. Clemen, 1925, Vol. I, 99. Davies (<sup>17</sup> 26) says that the other tower is not identifiable ; but Th. van de Walle de Ghelcke (in an unpublished thesis of 1949) claimed that it is the tower of S. Sauveur at Bruges. This identification is admitted as highly probable by Veys (<sup>19</sup> 425). He cites in comparison Marc Gheeraert's Plan of Bruges of 1562 (photograph of the part showing S. Sauveur in the National Gallery archives) ; A. Claeissins' *Mars omringd door de Kunsten* of 1605 at Bruges (reproduced by Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture à Bruges*, 1922, Plate 84) ; and an engraving of ca. 1830. The last has not been seen by the present writer ; Claeissins' representation seems somewhat fanciful ; Gheeraert's version may be more accurate, but is considerably different from the tower here. Another picture containing what may be the same two towers as here is a *Portrait of a Donor* in the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, assigned to the Master of the S. Ursula Legend (reproduced by *Friedländer* <sup>25</sup> Plate LVI ; photograph in the National Gallery) ; yet another picture containing perhaps the same two towers (in this case certainly towers at Bruges) is the *Saint Evêque* assigned to the Master of S. Augustine at Bruges (reproduced by *Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier* <sup>18</sup>, *Corpus* No. 15). But these last two examples offer little detail for comparison. The identifications in the present picture remain not quite certain, because the left hand tower appears not exactly like and the right hand one considerably unlike the towers of Notre Dame and of S. Sauveur, and also because the two towers are seen as set in the country rather than in the town of Bruges. It should be added that the tower on the right appears to be an afterthought and further that its present shape appears to be a second attempt ; see the note on this subject in section C, above. Veys (<sup>19</sup> 432), thinking that the identification of the towers is acceptable, suggests that the view was taken from the Augustinian house at Bruges on the Quai des Augustins. For changes in composition in this picture, see in section C, above.

### 2. Colours

The sitter is in black. The tower in the background to the left is grey ; the other, grey with a brownish tint, the roof greenish.

### 5. 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, though what has been said in section D, *Subject*, suggests that it may come from Bruges. Presumably it formed the right wing of a diptych. The first known dated reference to it is of 1815 — see under *Subsequent History*.

b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The picture has been called School of van Eyck (*Kohler* 318), Memline (*Doc 1* and 1848 *Catalogue* 25), Gossaert (*Waagen* 26/7 or 227), and Hugo van der Goes (*National Gallery Catalogue* 258). The last attribution was maintained at the Gallery until the *Catalogue* of 1887 (2167), when it was changed to Flemish; in 1915 (2184), it was changed to School of David. *Bodenhausen* (229, No. 124) says that the picture is connected with David, and that the variant mentioned in section F is connected with Ysenbrandt. Classed as Gerard David by *Friedländer* (2180 and 2156, No. 223).

The date appears to have been left undefined.

2. Subsequent History

a. Records of Ownership

- 1815 Stated to be from the Collection of Count Joseph von Rechberg of Mindelheim, and purchased by Prince Ludwig Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein for the Gallery at Wallerstein (*Davies* 2126). This provenance may be said to receive some confirmation from *Grupp* (2198ff.). *Grupp*, indeed, appears not to mention the present picture; but he claims to mention all the Oettingen-Wallerstein acquisitions of importance, except those from the Rechberg Collection, which he deals with more summarily.
- 1824 Recorded (no description) at Schloss Wallerstein (*Kohler* 318).
- 1826(?) 27 Recorded in the Wallerstein Collection (*Doc. 1*). 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* (21105 ff.).
- 1841 Probably exhibited in November, 1841, with other pictures in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, at Augsburg (*Kunstblatt*, 1842, 3).
- ca. 1844 Seen in Paris when the Prince was "Bavarian ambassador" there (*Michiels* 21Vol. IV, 122, 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* 225, No. 59, with identifying description. The pictures were bought by the Prince Consort.
- 1854 Recorded at Kensington Palace; *Waagen's Catalogue* 226/7, No. 38; cf. *Waagen* 2227. Lent by Prince Albert to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (Provisional Catalogue, No. 514; Definitive Catalogue, No. 438).
- 1863 Presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863 (*National Gallery Catalogue* 2258).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

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

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A similar picture was in the Rodolphe Kann Collection in Paris (*Catalogue<sup>10</sup> Pictures*, Vol. II, 16, No. 111, with reproduction, as Netherlandish), and is now, as Netherlands School, at Cleveland, U. S. A. (*Catalogue<sup>10</sup> 22*, No. 12, Plate II). The Cleveland picture does not represent the same sitter. The sitter there has an open book in front of him (no trace of a book in the National Gallery picture), and there are several other variations. For the towers in the background, see in section D, above.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Friedländer's attribution to Gerard David seems to me defensible.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1848 <sup>2</sup> : *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient Greek, etc. Pictures now at Kensington Palace* (Prince Louis of Oettingen Wallerstein), London, (1848). (According to *The Art-Union*, Vol. X, London, August, 1848, 251, the catalogue is by L. Gruner).
- 1854 <sup>3</sup> : (G. F. WAAGEN). *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, etc. Pictures now at Kensington Palace*, London, 1854.
- 1857 <sup>4</sup> : G. F. WAAGEN. *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (Vol. IV of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*), London, 1857.
- 1857 <sup>5</sup> : J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1857.
- 1864 <sup>6</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 58th. edition, London, 1864.
- 1866 <sup>7</sup> : ALFRED MICHIELS. *Histoire de la Peinture Flamande*, 2nd. edition, Vol. IV, Paris, 1866.
- 1887 <sup>8</sup> : *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, London, 1887.
- 1905 <sup>9</sup> : EBERHARD FREIHERR VON BODENHAUSEN. *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905.
- 1907 <sup>10</sup> : *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection, Pictures*, Vol. II, Paris, 1907.
- 1915 <sup>11</sup> : *National Gallery : Abridged Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the British and Foreign Pictures*, London, 1915.
- 1916 <sup>12</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, Berlin, 1916.
- 1917 <sup>13</sup> : GEORG GRUPP. *Fürst Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein als Museumsgründer*, in the *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Nördlingen und Umgebung*, Vol. VI, 1917, 73-109.
- 1923 <sup>14</sup> : EGERTON BECK. *Art and History*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, London, December, 1923, 293-298.
- 1928 <sup>15</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.

- 1942<sup>10</sup> : *Catalogue of the John L. Severance Collection*, Cleveland, 1942.  
 1945<sup>10</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.  
 1951<sup>10</sup> : A. JANSSENS DE BISTHOVEN and R. A. PARMENTIER. *Le Musée Communal de Bruges (Vol. I of the present Corpus)*, Antwerp, 1951.  
 1952<sup>10</sup> : DOM ANSELM VEYS, O. S. B. "Portrait of an Ecclesiastic", in the *Album English*, Bruges, 1952.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Document 1

"43. *Jean Hemeling*. — Portrait d'un dominiquain, priant à une certaine distance de son eglise, qui forme la perspective du tableau. — dem. fig : — Bois — H. 1. 1½. L. — 11" (i.e. 1 Schuh 1½ Zoll X 11 Zoll). From a lithographed *Catalogue de la Gallerie de Wallerstein* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery), datable ca. 1826, page 14. "43. *Johann Hemeling*. — Bildniss eines Dominikaners, im Hintergrund die gothische Pfeiler einer Kirche. Halbe Figur — H. 1. 1½. B. — 11". From a manuscript *Katalog der Gallerie zu Wallerstein 1827*, also in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (photostats in the National Gallery).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

### No. 39 : GROUP DAVID (4)

CLXXV. Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying	B 124 417	1950
CLXXVI. The Sitter's Head and Hands, and the Landscape (1 : 1)	B 124 418	1950
CLXXVII. The Hands (M 2 ×)	B 124 420	1950
CLXXVIII. The Head (M 2 ×)	B 124 419	1950
CLXXIX. The Reverse	B 124 421	1950

## 40

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 40 : GROUP DAVID (5), BERNARDINUS DE SALVIATIS AND THREE SAINTS (LEFTHAND SHUTTER OF AN ALTARPIECE)

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.  
 Canon Bernardus de Salviatis and three Saints (Left Wing of an Altarpiece).  
 No. 1045 in the *Catalogue Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(7.vii.1952)

Form : Rectangular.

Dimensions :	panel	104,5 ( $\pm$ 0,2) $\times$ 94,5 ( $\pm$ 0,3) $\times$ 1,5 cm. 41 1/8 $\times$ 37 3/16 $\times$ 5/8 ins.
	painted surface	103,4 ( $\pm$ 0,3) $\times$ 94,4 ( $\pm$ 0,1) cm. 40 11/16 $\times$ 37 1/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A fairly thin layer of varnish, slightly yellowed, with a fine craquelure, worn ; it covers the remains of old, very brown and dirty varnish, which forms innumerable small patches.

*Paint Layer* : Very good general condition. Adheres perfectly. Slight wearing of S. Bernardino's grey habit. Very slight wearing has led to the overpainting of the shadows of the jaws of the four faces.

Restoration of the two joins towards the right.

Overpainting of the upper part of the sky, of the vegetation in the middle of the picture, and of the foreground.

The picture has been cut at the top. In the top corners, the edge of the original painted surface is curved ; it may be supposed that the picture originally had a curved top.

The right edge of the support is cut, so far as can be judged, to the original edge of the paint.

*Changes in Composition* : The line of the hill on the horizon continued initially towards the left, to within 2 or 3 cm. of S. Martin's mitre. *Pentimento* in S. Martin's profile.

*Ground* : Nearly white, of normal thickness ; adheres well. The edge of the original paint is preserved only at the left and bottom.

*Support* : Oak, 4 panels with grain vertical, fixed together by tongue and groove ; slightly convex. The joins are reinforced with three strips of canvas glued on the back.

There is a painting on the reverse ; see in section D. *Subject*, and *Records of Condition and Treatment* in section E. This painting has all the characteristics of XV Century work. Reproductions of the back on Plates CXCIV-CXCVI.

*Marks on the Back* : A mark, apparently *HL*, in an oval ; it resembles No. 1331 of F. Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, 1921, 237, which is not identified. 689 E at the top is perhaps the mark of the Barrett Sale of 1859 ; see *Subsequent History*.

Reproduction of the back on Plate CXCIV.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. *Subject*

This is the lefthand shutter of an altarpiece, the other parts of which have not been identified ; see further in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

Landscape setting. The donor, who is identified in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*, as Canon Bernardinus de Salviatis, kneels in the foreground. He is under the protection of S. Bernardino, who wears the Franciscan habit and holds a book marked *itis* within a sun (*Timmers* ' 880).

In front of S. Bernardino stands S. Donatian — his presence here accords with the claim that the picture comes from S. Donatian's at Bruges — see further in section E. *Origin (Factual*

*Evidence*). He holds as his distinctive emblem a wheel with five tapers (*Timmers* <sup>17</sup> 900/1). He also holds an archbishop's cross; S. Donatian was in fact Bishop of Reims, which had been made an archbishopric by the time the picture was painted (the same error occurs in Jan van Eyck's altarpiece at Bruges; *Friedländer* <sup>14</sup> Plate XXIII, *Corpus* No. 9). On this cross are represented the Virgin and Child and three saints; on S. Donatian's morse, the Virgin and Child with two angels playing musical instruments.

Behind S. Bernardino stands S. Martin, shown with his beggar in the landscape behind him (*Timmers* <sup>17</sup> 966). Embroidered on his cope: the Adoration of the Kings; the Virgin and Child; S. Donatian holding a wheel with three tapers; S. Bernardino holding a sun with *ih̄s*; S. Martin with his beggar kneeling before him; S. John the Baptist holding a haloed lamb on a book; and S. Mary Magdalene holding a vase. The presence of the two saints last mentioned is apparently explained by the provenance of the picture; see in section E. *Origin (Factual Evidence)*. On S. Martin's morse is seen the saint himself dividing his cloak, with the beggar kneeling before him; on his crozier the Virgin and Child, with an angel offering a lily, another angel below.

For notes on the vestments in this picture, see *Weale* (<sup>11</sup> 18f). *Weale* particularly mentions the *spilla* of the hood of S. Martin's cope (Plate CLXXXVIII); *spillae* are recorded in inventories, and there are some other pictorial representations, but no example appears now to exist.

*Reverse*. The reverse contains much damaged remains of paint, mostly plain, but showing at the top what seems to be the figure of Christ at an open window (Plates CXCIV-CXCVI). No representation strictly comparable has yet been discovered.

For *changes in composition* in this picture, and for its original shape, see in section C, above.

## 2. Colours

S. Bernardino is in grey; dull red book. S. Martin's cope and mitre are basically red; the beggar is in greyish blue dress and hat. S. Donatian's vestments are predominantly yellow and black. Subdued colour scheme, as seen at present. On the reverse, the plain paint is green; the figure is in a white dress and red mantle.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

"*ih̄s*" is twice inscribed on the emblem in the two representations of S. Bernardino.

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

#### 1. Origin

##### a. *Factual Evidence*

The first certain, known reference to this picture is of 1792 (see *Subsequent History*); but there is an acceptable claim that it comes from the altar of SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene in the church, later cathedral, of S. Donatian at Bruges, and that the donor represented on it is Bernardinus de Salviatis, canon of S. Donatian's.

The documentary evidence in favour of this identification, summarized in the following paragraphs, has been referred to in various publications by *Weale* and has been checked in part; so far as is known, it is by itself inconclusive.

*Weale* (<sup>11</sup> 17 and *Doc.* 7) seems indeed to claim that the picture remained on the altar until 1787; this evidence, if explicit, would be of great value, but the document to which *Weale* refers has not been discovered.

Bernardinus de Salviatis, the illegitimate son of a Florentine merchant, was born in Bruges ; he became secretary to the Chapter of S. Donatian's there in 1489, canon in 1498, and died on 25 January, 1518 (1519 n.s.). See *Beffroi* (° 86), quoted in part in *Doc. 5*. Bernardinus was incorrectly called Bernardus in *Beernaerts* (° 168) followed by *Davies* (° 27) ; but cf. for instance *Gilliodts-van Severen* (° Vol. VI, 447).

Canon Bernardinus obtained leave on 7 January, 1501 to restore the altar of S. John the Baptist in S. Donatian's at Bruges (*Doc. 2*) ; his work appears to have been in progress on 17 October, 1502 (*Doc. 3*).

*Weale* (*Docs. 4, 6, 7*) says that the altar was dedicated to SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene. The tomb referred to in *Doc. 5* is stated by *Gailliard* (° 122) to have been near the chapel dedicated to *Notre Dame Salva me ex ore leonis* ; but possibly the dedication of the chapel or the position of the tombstone was changed at some time.

So far the known documentary references ; the identification of the picture receives very strong confirmation from internal evidence. The donor is under the protection of S. Bernardino, a saint not very often represented in early Flemish painting ; he may therefore be supposed to have been himself named Bernardinus. The prominent position of S. Donatian accords with a provenance from S. Donatian's at Bruges. It has been stated that the altar restored by Canon Bernardinus was dedicated to S. John the Baptist and apparently also to S. Mary Magdalene ; these saints are represented in small on S. Martin's cope, and such a reference to the dedication may be considered adequate for what was clearly only a shutter. Indeed, *Weale* (° 17 and *Doc. 7*) implies that it was stated in 1787 to be the shutter of a reredos (a carving ?).

The whereabouts of the pendant shutter is not known ; *Weale* (° 496 and ° 344, *Docs. 4* and *6*) suggests that it may have shown three saints and Canon Bernardinus' mother, Christine van Rossem. For some references to her, see *Docs. 1, 2* and *5*.

If the identification has been correctly made, and it would be unreasonable to doubt it, documents 2 and 3 suggest that the date is 1501 or soon after.

No known document gives any authority for the attribution.

### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The picture was ascribed to Gossaert when acquired in 1792 by Thomas Barrett (*Walpole* ° 110 and *Doc. 8*) ; still with this attribution in the 1817 *Catalogue* (° 42) and the 1859 *Sale Catalogue* (° 20, lot 154). Ascribed to Gerard David by *Weale* (° 494ff. ; ° 342ff. ; ° 17ff.). This attribution is generally accepted, e.g. by *Bodenhausen* (° 149ff., No. 22) and by *Friedländer* (° 92f. and 156, No. 219).

The date of ca. 1501, claimed to be justified on documentary grounds, is not disputed by *Bodenhausen* (° 149ff.) or by *Friedländer* (° 92f. and 156, No. 219).

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

- 1787 Stated to have remained *in situ* in S. Donatian's at Bruges.
- 1787 and to have been sold in 1787 by order of the chapter (*Weale* ° 17 and *Doc. 7*), with a pendant.
- 1792 Imported into England in 1792 and acquired by Thomas Barrett of Lee Priory in Kent (*Doc. 8*) ; sent to Lee Priory about May, 1792 (*Walpole* ° 110, 327) ; no record of the pendant.
- 1817 Lee Priory *Catalogue* (° 42, No. 65, no description). Thomas Barrett had died in 1803 ; Lee

Priory had been bequeathed to his sister's grandson, who was the eldest son of Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges and in 1811 took the surname of Barrett, thus becoming named Thomas Barrett Brydges Barrett. He died in 1834, and the collection passed to his brother, Sir John William Egerton Brydges, who died in 1858. Shares in the collection then passed to representatives of his three sisters, Elizabeth Jemima, who had married in 1817 Col. Holmes and died in 1853; Jemima Anne Deborah, who had married in 1817 Edward Quillinan and died in 1822; and Charlotte Katherine, who had married in 1820 Frederick Dashwood Swanne (Lee Priory Catalogue <sup>2</sup> introduction; Burke <sup>3</sup>, s.v. Brydges; 1859 Catalogue <sup>1</sup> Introduction).

- 1850 Barrett Sale, London, 28 May, 1859 (lot 154), bought by (William Benoni) White. Identifying description in the Catalogue (<sup>1</sup> 20) and in Weale's references (e.g. <sup>6</sup> 494ff.).
- 1878 Bequeathed by William Benoni White, 1878 (National Gallery Catalogue <sup>10</sup> 108/9).
- b. Records of Condition and Treatment
- 1951 Overpaint on the back removed (except for small places, visible on Plate CXCIV).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Weale (<sup>11</sup> 20) says that the beggar behind S. Martin is painted from the same model as the S. Anthony in *The Marriage of S. Catherine*, No. 1432 of the National Gallery (Corpus No. 43), described in the present volume; but this seems to be incorrect.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Clearly an important work, and to me acceptable as by Gerard David.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1817 <sup>2</sup>: *List of Pictures at the Seat of T. B. Brydges Barrett Esq. at Lee Priory in the County of Kent*, 1817.
- 1857 <sup>3</sup>: SIR BERNARD BURKE. *Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, 19th. edition, London, 1857.
- 1859 <sup>4</sup>: *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Pictures of Thomas Barrett, Esq. deceased, of Lee Priory, Kent: Auction Sale at Christie and Manson*, London, 28 May, 1859.
- 1861 <sup>5</sup>: J. GAILLIARD. *Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale, Arrondissement de Bruges*, Vol. I, Bruges, 1861.
- 1866 <sup>6</sup>: W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Gérard David, II, Œuvres Attribuées*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1st. series, Vol. XXI, Paris, November 1866, 489-501.
- 1866/70 <sup>7</sup>: ANON. *Le Couvent des Sœurs de Notre Dame, dit de Sion*, 2nd article, in *Le Beffroi*, Vol. III, Bruges, 1866/70, 76-93.
- 1866/70 <sup>8</sup>: (W. H. JAMES WEALE). *Gerard David in Le Beffroi*, Vol. III, Bruges, 1866/70, 334-346.
- 1876 <sup>9</sup>: L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN. *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges, Inventaire des Chartes, Première Série*, Vol. VI, Bruges, 1876.
- 1881 <sup>10</sup>: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 74th. edition, London, 1881.
- 1895 <sup>11</sup>: W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Gerard David Painter and Illuminator*, London, 1895.

- 1905 <sup>12</sup> : *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Vol. XV, London, 1905.  
 1905 <sup>13</sup> : EBERHARD FREIHERR VON BODENHAUSEN. *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905.  
 1924 <sup>11</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. I, *Die van Eyck — Petrus Christus*, Berlin, 1924.  
 1928 <sup>13</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1945 <sup>16</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.  
 1947 <sup>17</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseyck, 1947.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

(Christine van Rossem)

"Actum in capitulo ordinario, domino decano presidente. Lune 3a Februarii anno XCIII altera Purificationis (3 February 1494).

"...Visa cedula foundationis concepte de sex lb. par. cum 4 gr. annue pro obitu Cristine van Rossem inhumate in navi ecclesie singulis annis celebrando.....domini mei dictam foundationem admiserunt decernentes litteras in forma sub magno sigillo."

(marginal note) "Fundatio matris mee Cristine van Rossem quam ego Bernardinus de Salviatis pro anima eius fundavi et jacet ante pilare in navi ecclesie ubi ymago Sancti Donatiani est affixa inter duos magnos sarcofagos".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van de collegiaalkerk van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1492-1506, f. 31 ; transcription by M. Schouteet).

*Document 2*

(Bernardinus de Salviatis obtains leave to restore the altar of S. John the Baptist, 1501).  
 "Actum in capitulo ordinario Jovis altera Epiphanie Domini" (7 January, 1501) "domino decano presidente.

"...Ordinatum fuit per dominos meos quod ego scriberem magistro Johanni Cotten, cappellano ad altare Sancti Johannis Baptiste situm in navi huius ecclesie inde extra chorum existenti, in Oostende commoranti, ut ipse.....celebrare deberet et debet missas...

"Preterea ad requestam domini et magistri Bernardini de Salviatis domini mei consentierunt ut altare Sancti Johannis predictum juxta quod mater sua sepulta existit reparare possit pro suo libito."

(marginal note) "Datur licentia de Salviatis ad reparandum altare S. Johannis".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van de collegiaalkerk van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1492-1506, f. 157 v. ; transcription by M. Schouteet).

*Document 3*

(Work near the altar of S. John the Baptist, 1502).

"Actum in capitulo ordinario Lune XVII<sup>a</sup> Octobris" (1502) "domino decano presidente.  
 "...Die eodem concessum fuit magistro Bernardino de Salviatis instanti et requirenti quod possit quoddam parvum pilare existens in muro et juxta altare Sancti Johannis Baptiste huius ecclesie, quia summo ibidem est impedimento, eciam et quoddam sedile vetus amovere seu



amoveri facere, salvo quod murus et sedile huiusmodi de novo reficiantur et reparentur ita quod nullum exinde dicte ecclesie dampnum sive periculum eveniant."

(marginal note) "Salviatis conceditur amovere quoddam pilare".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van de collegiaalkerk van Sint-Donuvas over de jaren 1492-1506, f. 195 v. ; transcription by M. Schouteet).

#### Document 4

(Remarks by Weale).

"...un panneau.....qui autrefois formait le volet droit du retable de l'autel de Saint-Jean-Baptiste et Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, dans la cathédrale de Saint-Donatien, à Bruges. Ce retable fut exécuté aux frais de Bernardin de Salviatis...

"Qu'est devenu l'autre volet ? Il est vraiment à souhaiter qu'il puisse se retrouver : et c'est pour faciliter cette découverte que nous croyons devoir dire qu'il s'y trouve représenté Christine van Rossem, la mère du donateur, accompagnée de sainte Christine et de deux autres saintes".

(Weale ° 494 and 496).

#### Document 5

(Biographical material concerning Bernardinus de Salviatis).

"Bernardin de Salviatis.....décéda le 25 Janvier 1519 et fut enseveli à l'église de Saint Donatien devant l'autel de Saint Jean Baptiste et Sainte Marie Madeleine, sous une pierre bleue recouverte de cuivre, ornée de son effigie et de celle de sa mère, et portant cette légende : Hier onder light begraven dheer Bernardyn de Salviatis, canoninck van Sint Donaes, fondateur van de cappelle daer hy vooren light met syne moeder, die starf den xxv Januarij m d xviiij".

(Beffroi ' 86).

#### Document 6

(Remarks by Weale).

"Volet droit du retable de l'autel de Saint Jean Baptiste et Sainte Marie Madeleine à l'église de Saint Donatien, à Bruges...vers 1501.

"Bernardin de Salviatis.....ayant obtenu du chapitre de cette église, le 7 Janvier 1501, la permission de restaurer l'autel de Saint Jean Baptiste et de Sainte Marie Madeleine, fit peindre deux volets pour le retable. Nous ne savons pas quand ces volets furent enlevés de l'autel qu'ils ornaient...

"Qu'est devenu l'autre volet ? Il est vraiment à souhaiter qu'il puisse se retrouver ; et c'est pour en faciliter la découverte que nous croyons dire qu'il s'y trouve représentée la mère du donateur, accompagnée de trois saints probablement Saint Jean Baptiste, Sainte Christine et Sainte Marie Madeleine".

(Weale ° 342 and 344).

#### Document 7

(Remarks by Weale).

"In 1501.....Canon Bernardin Salviati.....having obtained leave to restore and embellish the altar of SS. John Baptist and Mary Magdalene, commissioned Gerard David to paint the shutters of the reredos. These shutters, together with those of several other altar reredoses in the nave of the church, were, at the request of the sacristan, who complained that they

were always breaking the wax candles, sold in a lot by order of the chapter in 1787 for an insignificant sum of money".  
(Weale<sup>21</sup> 17).

*Document 8*

"...a picture by the same hand" (i.e., Gossaert)... "brought to England in 1792. It is evidently a fragment of a larger, and probably an altarpiece, containing only two Bishops and two Apostles, facing towards, it would seem, the Virgin and Child, which are wanting. The heads are most admirable, the draperies and ornaments exquisitely finished. This most valuable picture was purchased by Thomas Barrett, Esq., and is now in his beautiful Gothic Library at Lee, near Canterbury". From an undated note by Horace Walpole, printed by Maurice W. Brockwell, *The 'Adoration of the Magi' by Jan Mabuse*, London, 1911, Appendix B, page 10. For the identity of the picture referred to, see in *Subsequent History*, above.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 40 : GROUP DAVID (5).

CLXXX. Lefthand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints	B 124 500	1950
CLXXXI. S. Martin and S. Bernardino	B 124 502	1950
CLXXXII. Canon Bernardinus de Salviatis	B 124 501	1950
CLXXXIII. Detail of the three Figures and the Landscape to the Right	B 124 503	1950
CLXXXIV. Head of S. Donatian, and Landscape with Buildings (1 : 1)	B 124 504	1950
CLXXXV. Head of S. Donatian, his Morse and Part of his Cross (1 : 1)	B 124 505	1950
CLXXXVI. Head of Bernardinus de Salviatis ; Hands and Book of S. Bernardino (1 : 1)	B 124 506	1950
CLXXXVII. Head of S. Bernardino ; Top of S. Martin's Crozier (1 : 1)	B 124 507	1950
CLXXXVIII. Head of S. Martin ; his Mitre, and the Hood of his Cope with Spilla (1 : 1)	B 105 642	1952
CLXXXIX. S. Martin's Hands ; his Morse ; Part of the Orphrey (showing S. Donatian) of his Cope (1 : 1)	B 124 510	1950
CXC. Orphrey of S. Martin's Cope (showing S. Bernardino, S. Martin, S. John the Baptist and S. Mary Magdalene) (1 : 1)	B 124 512	1950
	and B 124 511	1950
CXCI. The Beggar behind S. Martin (1 : 1)	B 124 509	1950
CXCII. Face of Bernardinus de Salviatis (M 2 X)	B 124 514	1950
CXCIII. Head of S. Martin's Crozier (M 2 X)	B 124 515	1950
CXCIV. The Reverse, Remains of an Unidentified Subject (Christ at a Window ?)	L 354 C	1951
CXCV. Detail of the Reverse, Remains of the left Hand and Mantle of Christ (?) (1 : 1)	L 352 C	1951
CXCVI. Detail of the Reverse, Remains of an Open Window (?) (1 : 1)	L 353 C	1951

## 41

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 41 : GROUP DAVID (6). *THE DEPOSITION*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.

*The Deposition.*

No. 1078 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(7.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	64.7 ( $\pm$ 0.2) $\times$ 63.5 ( $\pm$ 0.2) $\times$ 0.4 cm. 25 1/2 $\times$ 25 $\times$ 5/32 ins.
	painted surface	63 $\times$ 62 cm. 24 3/4 $\times$ 24 1/2 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A thin, worn coat of varnish. This covers the remains of old, much coloured varnish ; these remains are to be found in certain well defined areas, where they completely falsify the tone.

*Paint Layer* : General wearing, rather marked.

A vertical rupture from the knee of the Holy Woman on the left to the lower edge of the paint ; another in the middle of the cheek of the Holy Woman furthest to the right.

Restoration of the lower part of the crack on the left, and of the join crossing the body of Christ.

Restoration of the edges, with overpainting. Overpainting of the upper part of the sky, and of the shadowed parts of the faces and hair of S. John and Christ. Overpainting of the shadows of the dress of the Holy Woman supporting the Virgin. Partial overpainting in brown glazes of the Magdalen's green dress. Overpainting of the foreground.

In an infra-red photograph, the underdrawing shows very little ; it is markedly different from the clear and vigorous underdrawing of No. 1079 below.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : A very thin layer ; adheres well. It shows the grain of the wood, and covers the whole surface of the panel.

*Support* : Oak, three panels with grain vertical, reduced in thickness and cradled. Good state.

*Marks on the Back* : A red label on the cradling, with *King (?) / 157* written on it ; a similar label is on the back of No. 1079 below. Chalk marks of the Aders Sale of 1835

and (on the cradling) a label of the Manchester Exhibition of 1857 (cf. *Subsequent History*, in section E below). Reproduction of the back on Plate CCIX.

Frame : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

The body of Christ is supported by the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist. The Magdalen, identified by an inscription, anoints one of the wounds on His feet from a vase of ointment ; this motive recurs in the two pictures assigned to Ysenbrandt in Bruges, S. Sauveur and at Antwerp, mentioned in section F. At the left and right are two of the Maries or Holy Women. The female saint supporting the Virgin, if not another Holy Woman (*Jameson and Eastlake* <sup>2</sup> 187), is perhaps S. Anne. Behind, on the left, is seen part of the Cross with a ladder against it. On the ground at the left are the three nails (cf. *Timmers* <sup>11</sup> 275/6), the Crown of Thorns and a metal ewer and basin. The tomb is seen in a cliff, in the background to the right ; two male figures, clearly SS. Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus, are leaving it through a small gate. In the distance, a landscape. Possibly from the same series as the picture discussed next ; see further in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

##### 2. Colours

The Virgin is in a blue dress and a lighter blue mantle. S. John in light red. The Magdalen in green ; the Holy Woman on the left in light blue.

##### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

M. A. M. A. on the headdress of S. Mary Magdalene.

#### 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 recorded in 1831 (*Passavant*, publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 96). It was then in the same collection as *The Adoration of the Kings* (the subject of the next entry), which is very nearly of the same size and similar in style ; it is possible that they formed parts of a single altarpiece.

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Recorded in 1831 by *Passavant* (publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 96) as School of van Eyck ; he does not connect it with *The Adoration of the Kings*, the subject of the next entry. In the *Aders Sale Catalogue* of 1835 (<sup>2</sup> 16 of typescript copy, lot 102) as Memlinc, with a claim that a mark (presumably the letters on the Magdalen's headdress) is Memlinc's signature ; record is made of recent doubts if it is by the same hand as *The Adoration of the Kings*, the subject of the next entry. In *Waagen* (<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, 459/60) recorded as Rogier van der Weyden the Younger, with a note that it has a close affinity to *The Adoration of the Kings* (the subject of the next entry), and that it is by the same hand as *The Baptism of Christ* at Bruges, which is *Friedländer* <sup>2</sup> Plate LXVIII, and *Corpus* No. 6. In the *National Gallery Catalogue* (<sup>1</sup> 345) as Flemish School (changed to School of David in the *Catalogue* of 1925

(\* 87)). *Bodenhausen* (\* 190f., No. 41) says that the composition is David's, but the execution is not autograph. Admitted as Gerard David by *Friedländer* (\* 150, No. 194).

On stylistic grounds the picture is claimed to be a late work of David's; this is because some elements in it, e.g. the colour, and the figure of the Magdalen, are reminiscent of Quinten Massys, and it is reasonable to assume that Massys is more likely to have influenced Gerard David after 1515 than before. *Bodenhausen* (\* 18) dates it 1515-1525; dated late by *Friedländer* (\* 96 and 150, No. 194).

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

- 1831 In the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London (*Passavant*, publ. 1835, <sup>1</sup> 96, with identifying description).
- 1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 102) (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 16 of typescript copy), bought by Dr. Willis. In the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley, where recorded by
- 1854 *Waagen* (\* Vol. II, 459/60). Lent by J. H. Green to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (*Provisional Catalogue*, No. 483; *Definitive Catalogue*, No. 449).
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph H. Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>4</sup> 345).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

There are many variants, some inverted, of this composition; apparently no picture exactly corresponding is known, and in some cases the connection is slight. *Friedländer* (\* 150, Nos. 194a and b) mentions in connection with the present picture one with the heads of Christ and the Virgin at Leningrad (reproduced by *Bodenhausen* \* 191), and a similar picture with S. John added in the Fondi Sale, 1895. A variant of the first picture mentioned, less like the present example, is at the Hague, Mauritshuis, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 1935, 13/4 and *Beknopte Catalogus*, 1946, 4, No. 725, as Benson; photograph at the National Gallery.

A picture with figures of the Virgin and Christ alone, from the Kauffmann Collection and now in the Kröller-Müller Museum, is connected, inverted; reproduced by *Bodenhausen* (\* 192) and in the catalogue of the *Gerard David Exhibition* at Bruges, 1949, Plate XII.

Among pictures assigned to Ysenbrandt may be cited: this subject included as one of the scenes in *The Virgin of Seven Sorrows* in S. Sauveur at Bruges, inverted (reproduced by *Bodenhausen* \* 214); a picture at Antwerp, No. 571; one in the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, No. 358 (reproduced in the large *Catalogue*, Vol. II, 256); one in the Ch. Léon Cardon Sale at Brussels, 27 June, 1921 (lot 41), reproduced in the catalogue.

Among pictures assigned to Benson (loosely connected) may be mentioned one in the Prado at Madrid (*Friedländer* \* Plate LXXXIV); one reproduced in the catalogue of the C. J. Wawra Sale at Vienna, 6 May, 1935 (lot 1) (*Friedländer* \* 141, No. 254); one reproduced in the catalogue of the Victor Hahn Sale at Berlin, 27 June, 1932 (lot 12) (the same picture as *Friedländer* \* 143, No. 253).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The picture seems to me acceptable as Gerard David's own work, probably after 1515.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1833 <sup>1</sup> : J. D. PASSAVANT. *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt, 1833.  
 1835 <sup>2</sup> : *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).  
 1854 <sup>3</sup> : G. F. WAAGEN. *Treasures of Art*, Vol. II, London, 1854.  
 1881 <sup>4</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, Foreign Schools*, 7th. edition, London, 1881.  
 1881 <sup>5</sup> : MRS. JAMESON and LADY EASTLAKE. *The History of Our Lord*, 4th. edition, London, 1881.  
 1905 <sup>6</sup> : EBERHARD FREIHERR VON BODENHAUSEN. *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905.  
 1925 <sup>7</sup> : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, London, 1925.  
 1928 <sup>8</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI. *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1933 <sup>9</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XI. *Die Antwerpener Manieristen, Adriaen Ysenbrant*, Berlin, 1933.  
 1945 <sup>10</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.  
 1947 <sup>11</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseyck, 1947.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 41 : GROUP DAVID (6)

CXCVII. The Deposition	B 124 439	1950
CXCVIII. Detail, the Principal Figures	B 124 440	1950
CIC. S. Mary Magdalene and Figures on the Right	B 124 441	1950
CC. S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)	B 124 443	1950
CCI. Head and Hands of the Holy Woman on the Right, S. Joseph of Arimathaea and S. Nicodemus (1 : 1)	B 124 442	1950
CCII. The Body of Christ (1 : 1)	B 124 445	1950
CCIII. Heads of Christ, the Virgin, S. John and S. Anne (?) (1 : 1)	B 124 444	1950
CCIV. The Holy Woman on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 446	1950
CCV. Landscape behind the Ladder and the Cross (1 : 1)	B 124 447	1950
CCVI. Rocks, upper right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 448	1950
CCVII. Head of the Holy Woman on the Right (M 2 X)	B 124 449	1950
CCVIII. Head of S. Mary Magdalene (M 2 X)	B 124 450	1950
CCIX. The Reverse	B 124 451	1950

## 42

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 42 : GROUP DAVID (7). *THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.

*The Adoration of the Kings.*No. 1079 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(7.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	62.4 ( $\pm$ 0.1) $\times$ 61.3 ( $\pm$ 0.2) $\times$ 0.7 cm. 24 9/16 $\times$ 24 1/8 $\times$ 1/4 ins.
	painted surface	59.5 $\times$ 58.5 cm. 23 3/8 $\times$ 23 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Varnish that has lost its brilliance, dirty and slightly yellowed. Some remains of older varnish form brown patches.

*Paint Layer* : Slight general wearing. Adheres well. Various damages of little importance all over the surface. Some repaints of losses in the Virgin's robe. Restoration along the join ; also at the bottom of the picture, extending over all the foreground. Overpainting of the brown cap of the second King, of the blue shadows in the Virgin's robe, and of the bottom of the third King's mantle.

In an infra-red photograph, the underdrawing shows much more in this picture than in No. 1078 above.

*Changes in Composition* : *Pentimenti* in the drapery on which the Child is seated, and in the back of the stone seat. Change of composition to the right of the second King's left arm.

*Ground* : White, fairly thin, adheres well ; it continues beyond the painted surface to the edges of the support.

*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain vertical ; they are fixed together by three wooden pins, exposed at the back when the panel was reduced in thickness previous to cradling. Good general condition.

*Marks on the Back* : Written on a red label, *King* (?), and 157 ; a similar label is on the back of No. 1078 above. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCXXVI.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

## 1. Subject

The scene is set in a ruin (presumably for David's palace; Timmers <sup>21</sup> 216). The Virgin, holding the Child, is seated on the left, on a stone seat in which some plants are growing. The three kings kneel, or prepare to kneel, offering their gifts; their followers are in part seen on the right. S. Joseph is a little behind, on the left, descending a spiral staircase. Background, a meadow, with the ox and the ass (James <sup>22</sup> 74; cf. *Isaiah*, I. 3), and a view of a town.

In accordance with a tradition apparently not formed until the XV Century (although its roots are older: *Mâle* <sup>14</sup> 215/6), one of the kings is shown as a negro. It seems likely that the negro is meant for S. Balthazar, who earlier was called *fuscus*, and the negro is certainly S. Balthazar in Gossaert's picture, No. 2790 of the National Gallery (*Friedländer* <sup>19</sup> Plate XIX; *Davies* <sup>20</sup> 41); nevertheless, Timmers (<sup>21</sup> 219) thinks that S. Gaspar may be the negro. There is an early example of a black king in a picture at Utrecht, claimed to be of ca. 1410; Centraal Museum, Utrecht, *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, 1933, 260ff., No. 528 and Plate 83.

For changes in composition in this picture, see in section C, above. Possibly from the same series as the preceding picture; see further in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

## 2. Colours

The Virgin is in a blue dress and a lighter blue mantle. The first king is in a mauve and golden patterned dress and a red mantle. The second king is in a blue dress and a mauve mantle lined with green; reddish brown hat. The black king is in a pink and golden patterned dress, a green mantle with blue lining and collar, and yellowish brown boots.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

A W is on the purse of the Moorish king (S. Balthazar?); see Plate CCXVI. OUVVATER (not contemporary) has been scratched into the paint in the left hand bottom corner; see Plate CCXXII.

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 recorded in 1831 (*Passavant*, publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 95). It was then in the same collection as *The Deposition* (the subject of the preceding entry), which is very nearly of the same size and similar in style; it is possible that they formed parts of a single altarpiece.

## b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Recorded in 1831 by *Passavant* (publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 95) as School of van Eyck, probably Master A.W., and by the same hand as a picture at Munich, which is *Friedländer* <sup>19</sup> Plate LXXXI. In the Aders Sale Catalogue of 1835 (<sup>2</sup> 16 of typescript copy, lot 103) as Memline; record is made of recent doubts if it is by the same hand as *The Deposition* (the subject of the preceding entry). *The Adoration of the Kings* is stated to be nearer in style to van Eyck.



and admitted by all judges to be by the same hand as *Friedländer* <sup>18</sup> Plate LXXXI. *Passavant* (<sup>3</sup> 39) wrongly says that it is the same composition (he also says by the same hand) as the miniature of this subject in the Grimani Breviary at Venice (*Destrée* <sup>22</sup> reproduction opp. p. 146); *Passavant* therefore inclines to ascribe it to Lievin de Witte, then supposed to have participated in the work for the Grimani Breviary. This attribution is doubted by *Waagen* (<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, 459); *Waagen* records it as Rogier van der Weyden the Younger, stating that it is by the same hand as *Friedländer* <sup>18</sup> Plate LXXXI, and that it has a close affinity to *The Deposition* (the subject of the preceding entry). *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* (<sup>2</sup> 286/7) point out that the miniature in the Grimani Breviary corresponds in composition with *Friedländer* <sup>18</sup> Plate LXXXI, doubt if the present picture can be by Lievin de Witte, and point out that the letters A W occur also on the headdress of the principal temptress in *The Temptation of S. Anthony* (Master of Kappenberg) in S. Victor's, Xanten (reproduced by *Clemen and Firmenich-Richartz* <sup>21</sup> Plate 43). In the *National Gallery Catalogue* (<sup>7</sup> 345) as Flemish School; changed to Gerard David in the *Catalogue* of 1920 (<sup>14</sup> 78). *Hulin* (<sup>9</sup> 96) says that the execution is not by Gerard David himself, and suggests that A W may be the signature of Arend Winne (this name had already been suggested by *Michiels* (<sup>6</sup> Vol. III, 185)). *Bodenhausen* (<sup>10</sup> 184ff.) says that the composition and (for the Virgin and Child) the execution is by Gerard David, the rest of the execution being from the studio; he presumes that the letters A W are merely of decorative significance. Admitted as Gerard David by *Friedländer* (<sup>13</sup> 180 and <sup>18</sup> 148, No. 182). *Armstrong* (<sup>29</sup>) wrongly claims that the inscription OUVVATER is the signature of Gerard David; *Conway* (<sup>15</sup> 289) follows this ("Oudewater"). *Davies* (<sup>20</sup> 28/9) suggests that the letters A W may be a tasteless application of A Ω; the inscription on a picture by Juan de Flaundes, which he mentions in a note as perhaps comparable, seems not to be A Ω, perhaps rather A M. As for the date, it has already been pointed out that this picture is possibly from the same altarpiece as *The Deposition*, the subject of the preceding entry, which see. *Bodenhausen* (<sup>10</sup> 184) calls it late (post-1515); *Friedländer* (<sup>18</sup> 96 and 148, No. 182) calls it late.

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

- 1831 In the Collection of Karl Aders, a German merchant living in London; *Passavant*, publ. 1833, <sup>1</sup> 95, with identifying description.
- 1835 Charles Aders Sale, London, 1 August, 1835 (lot 103) (*Catalogue* <sup>2</sup> 16 of typescript copy), bought by Dr. Willis.
- 1854 In the Collection of Joseph Henry Green at Hadley, where recorded by *Waagen* (<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, 459). Lent by J. H. Green to the Exhibition of *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* at Manchester, 1857 (Provisional Catalogue, No. 482; Definitive Catalogue, No. 415).
- 1880 Bequeathed by Mrs. Joseph H. Green, 1880 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>7</sup> 345).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A copy, size 165 × 190 cm., and with small additions to the field left and right, canvas apparently mounted on panel, and stated to be signed Damianus Van der Goude and dated 1555, was in 1924 owned by a friend of Eduardo Díaz at Huelva (photograph in the National Gallery). *Friedländer* (<sup>18</sup> 148, No. 182a) records a workshop copy in Spain. There are pictures of the same subject assigned to David at Brussels (*Bodenhausen* <sup>10</sup> reproduction opp. p. 144) and at Munich (reproduced by *Bodenhausen* <sup>10</sup> 118; also by

*Friedländer*<sup>18</sup> Plate LXXXI) ; they are not closely comparable. In some respects the picture appears to show some connection with Gossaert's *Adoration of the Kings* in the National Gallery (*Friedländer*<sup>19</sup> Plate XIX).

The entrance to the town in the background is repeated with variations in two pictures reproduced by *Bodenhausen* (<sup>10</sup> 92 and 94) ; cf. *Conway* (<sup>13</sup> 283).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

This picture seems to me acceptable as Gerard David's own work, probably after 1515.

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## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 42 : GROUP DAVID (7)

CCX. The Adoration of the Kings	B 124 632	1950
CCXI. The Virgin and Child and the First King	B 124 634	1950
CCXIa. <i>The Adoration of the Kings, Colour Plate</i>	N. G.	1953
CCXII. The Second and Third Kings, and their Followers	B 124 633	1950
CCXIII. The Virgin and Child (1 : 1)	B 124 640	1950
CCXIV. The First King (1 : 1)	B 124 639	1950
CCXV. The Second King (1 : 1)	B 124 637	1950
CCXVI. The Negro King and his Followers (1 : 1)	B 124 636	1950
CCXVII. Legs of the Negro King (1 : 1)	B 124 635	1950
CCXVIII. Architecture on the Left, with S. Joseph (1 : 1)	B 124 642	1950
CCXIX. Landscape, Centre : View of a Town (1 : 1)	B 124 638	1950
CCXX. Landscape in the upper right Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 646	1950
CCXXI. Lower left Corner (1 : 1)	B 124 641	1950
CCXXII. Inscription OUVVATER in the lower left Corner (M 2 ×, infra-red)	N. G. 3 IX	1952
CCXXIII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 645	1950
CCXXIV. Head of the Second King (M 2 ×)	B 124 644	1950
CCXXV. Heads of the Followers of the Kings (M 2 ×)	B 124 643	1950
CCXXVI. The Reverse	B 124 647	1950

## 43

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 43 : GROUP DAVID (8). *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND DONOR*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.

*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*

No. 1432 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(7.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	107,5 (± 0,5) × 146,7 (± 0,2) × 2,1 cm. 42 5/16 × 57 3/4 × 13/16 ins.
	painted surface	107,5 (± 0,3) × 144,3 (± 0,1) cm. 42 5/16 × 56 13/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A coat of varnish of medium thickness, with a fine craquelure, discoloured and with dull patches.

*Paint Layer* : Fairly good general condition. General wearing noticeable; much accentuated on the Child's white drapery, through which the blue of the Virgin's robe shows in many places (cf. Plate CCXXXVII).

Wide cracks, particularly in the flesh (Plates CCXLVII, CCXLVIII).

The dark blue central part of the hanging behind the Virgin's head does not adhere perfectly.

Some worm-holes at the left towards the top, and various damages of little importance. Restoration for its whole length of the join passing a little below the Virgin's knees.

The picture has been almost entirely gone over with a light glaze of warm tone, which clouds the wide cracks, makes the blues greenish and yellows the whites. Besides this, there may be noted the overpainting of the deep shadows of the flesh, particularly the faces of the Virgin, S. Barbara and the Magdalen; and the overpainting of the draperies of these two saints and of the hanging behind the Virgin.

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

*Changes in Composition* : The Magdalen's right hand originally had the fingers stretched upwards; the fingers as at present conceived have further been changed. Changes in her collar, and the top and left part of her headdress. The collar of S. Barbara was once rounded at the neck; change in the sloping roof behind her head. Changes in the Child's outlines. An X-radiograph of the Child's flesh, taken after the date of these notes, shows marked differences of density; since a re-examination of the original picture was not possible, no explanation of these differences is here suggested.

The right hand fold of fur falling from the donor's left arm has been added over S. Catherine's drapery; the dog has been painted on top of the floor.

In general, the figures on the left have been less changed than those on the right.

*Ground* : Nearly white, rather thick; adheres well except for the filling of the central join where it traverses the donor.

*Support* : Oak, four panels with grain horizontal; the central join is strengthened at the back by 5 butterfly-keys, let into the wood against the grain.

The obverse is slightly convex.

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

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

The scene is a walled garden (the *Hortus Conclusus*; cf. Timmers<sup>14</sup> 440). In the centre, the Virgin is seated holding the Child; He has a rosary across His body. On the right are seated S. Barbara (an ornament in the form of a tower on her forehead, Plate CCXXXV, and an unfinished tower in the background; cf. Timmers<sup>14</sup> 875) and S. Mary Magdalene with a vase (inscriptions recorded below). Left, S. Catherine of Alexandria in royal robes.

her wheel and sword by the pillar behind (Plate CCXLIII), kneels to receive a ring from the Infant Christ ; for her emblems and her mystic marriage, see *Timmers* (no 950).

The donor kneels in front, on the left. On the ground near him is a greyhound ; a coat of arms on its collar is identified in *Inscriptions and Heraldry* below. Also on the ground is a staff with figures of the Trinity and two adorers. It will be explained in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*, that the donor is identifiable as Richardus de Capella (Richard de Visch de la Chapelle) ; this identification depends in part upon the coat of arms on the dog's collar, and receives support from the staff shown in the picture.

In the background right centre is S. Anthony Abbot with a crutch (cf. *Timmers* no 868ff.). In the background to the left is an angel (presumably), gathering grapes (?) ; flowers seen in the garden include lilies of two colours, roses and iris. The architecture of the buildings in the background recalls Bruges.

As will be explained in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*, the picture is claimed to come from the altar of S. Catherine in the chapel of S. Anthony in S. Donatian's at Bruges. This may be linked with the presence here of S. Catherine and S. Anthony Abbot ; the character of the architecture, recalling Bruges, is also in accord with the provenance claimed. For changes in composition, see in section C, above.

## 2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue. The drapery on the throne is scarlet ; the hanging dark, in the patterned parts brown and golden ; the pillars are dull red. S. Catherine is in a patterned dress red and golden ; S. Barbara in a brown and golden dress, grey mantle ; the Magdalen in green, mantle brown. A book-cover on the ground is blue.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

On the vase held by S. Mary Magdalene is M (?) MA, on her headband MAGDALEN.

The marks on the open book held by S. Barbara may possibly once have formed words, presumably devotional.



The arms on the collar of the dog by the donor (Plate CCL) are identifiable as those of de Visch de la Chapelle (reproduced here from *Gailliard* 205). *Weale* (11 16) claims that the shield shown in the picture contains in chief the arms of van Axele (reproduced in *Gailliard* 203 and opp. 205) ; the marks here do suggest a red chevron, possibly within the outline of a shield, but they do not correspond with the arms of van Axele as given by *Gailliard*, and they are not original (confirmed by the *Laboratoire Central des Musées de Belgique*).

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

The first certain, known reference to this picture is of 1877 (see *Subsequent History*) ; but there is a claim supported by a good deal of factual evidence that it comes from the altar dedicated to S. Catherine in the chapel of S. Anthony in the church, later cathedral, of S. Donatian at Bruges, and that the donor represented on it is Richardus de Capella (Richard de Visch de la Chapelle), cantor of S. Donatian's.

The documentary evidence in favour of this identification, summarized in the following paragraphs, has been referred to in various publications and has been checked in part ; so far as is known, it is by itself inconclusive.

Weale (<sup>10</sup> 391 and *Doc.* 7) claims indeed that the picture remained on the altar until 1793 ; this evidence may be decisive, but Weale (<sup>11</sup>) makes no mention of it, and the document he may be presumed to have been using has not been discovered.

Richardus de Capella or Richard de Visch de la Chapelle was still young in 1444 (*Beffroi* <sup>3</sup> 121), and became cantor of S. Donatian's at Bruges in 1463 ; he died in 1511, and was buried in the chapel of S. Anthony (*Doc.* 5). For his life, see *Beffroi* (<sup>3</sup> 121) quoted in part in *Doc.* 6 ; also *Beernaerts* (<sup>2</sup> 98, 160) and *Gailliard* (<sup>3</sup> 205/6).

On 26 June, 1500, he obtained leave to restore the chapel of S. Anthony (*Doc.* 1) ; his work appears to have been in progress on 17 October, 1502 (*Doc.* 2).

The historical records of the last two paragraphs are by themselves of little value for the identification of the picture ; but there is other evidence in support. The arms on the dog's collar correspond with those of de Visch (see *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, above). That Richard is the member of the family concerned is strongly indicated by the staff shown on the picture ; Richard was cantor of S. Donatian's, and a cantor's staff comparable with what is seen is described in various inventories of the church (*Doc.* 5). It is true that there is nothing in the iconography of the picture to indicate a provenance from the church of S. Donatian ; but two of the saints shown, S. Anthony Abbot and S. Catherine of Alexandria, may be associated with the altar claimed. The chapel itself was dedicated to S. Anthony, presumably S. Anthony Abbot (*Doc.* 1, etc.) ; the altar is stated to have been dedicated to S. Catherine, presumably S. Catherine of Alexandria (*Beernaerts* <sup>2</sup> 160 ; *Doc.* 6 ; Weale, *Docs.* 7 and 8). Certainly, Richard did have a particular devotion to S. Catherine of Alexandria (*Doc.* 4), and is stated to have founded a feast in her honour in 1500 (*Doc.* 6).

It is conceivable that the presence of S. Barbara on the picture is explained by the fact that the first (?) chaplaincy held by Richard, though only for two days, was the chaplaincy of S. Barbara in S. Donatian's (*Doc.* 6).

Although further clarifications are desirable, it would be unreasonable to doubt that the identification claimed is right. The claim made in the *Outran Sale Catalogue* of 1877 (<sup>1</sup> 12) that the picture was painted for the chapel of the Marchese Giustiniani, need not be taken seriously. It is indeed claimed in *L'Art* (<sup>9</sup> 116 (*Doc.* 9)) that the picture did come from an altar in Italy, meaning the altar of this chapel, at some time before the sale ; but cf. Weale (<sup>10</sup> 391) and *Doc.* 7.

From the historical information available, the date cannot be fixed exactly. *Davies* (<sup>12</sup> 30) wrongly states that it was in 1511, presumably by will, that the donor founded the altar of S. Catherine in the chapel of S. Anthony ; it was a chaplaincy that he founded in this year (*Doc.* 4), stated to have been at the altar of S. Catherine in the chapel of S. Anthony (*Beernaerts* <sup>2</sup> 160 ; *Beffroi* <sup>3</sup> 121 and *Doc.* 6). There is nothing to suggest that the portrait is posthumous, so presumably the picture is not later than 1511. Presumably it is not earlier than 1500, when Richard obtained leave to restore the chapel of S. Anthony (*Doc.* 1). In September, 1504, his mother was reinterred in this chapel (*Doc.* 6) ; the structural alterations to the chapel would probably have been completed by then, but the date is not necessarily connected with the date of the picture. A retable with three statues of SS. Catherine, Barbara and Agnes, stated to be of 1500 (*Doc.* 6), would appear to be unconnected with the present picture ; the date of 1502 when Richard was legitimized

(Doc. 6) appears irrelevant to the presence of the de Visch arms on the picture (cf. Doc. 1). Weale's datings, presumably based on historical grounds, are 1499-1511, and commissioned ca. 1501 or a little earlier; see Weale (<sup>10</sup> 391 and <sup>11</sup> 15), Docs. 7 and 8.

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

In the *Outran Sale Catalogue* of 1877 (<sup>12</sup>) the picture was ascribed to Hugo van der Goes, whose monogram (really the donor's arms) was claimed to be on the dog's collar. This attribution was maintained for a time, e.g. in the catalogue of the Paris exhibition of 1878, but with a note that some critics ascribed the picture to Gerard David; this presumably refers to articles by Michiels (<sup>1</sup>) and Gonse (<sup>19</sup> 20). Weale (<sup>10</sup> 391) says probably the joint work of David and Joachim Patenier; but critics now see no connection with Patenier, and the picture is generally accepted as David's, e.g. by Friedländer (<sup>14</sup> 155, No. 216).

As for the date, the historical evidence and Weale's claims have been already recorded. Bodenhausen (<sup>13</sup> 158/9), while not disputing a date of 1501 for the commission, thinks that, for stylistic reasons, the painting was not carried out until ca. 1505/9. Friedländer (<sup>11</sup> 93, 155, No. 216) dates it 1501-1511, with a preference on stylistic grounds for 1511 apparently.

## 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

- Till 1703 Stated to have remained *in situ* in S. Donatian's at Bruges (Weale <sup>10</sup> 391 and Doc. 7). Apparently not identical with either of two pictures recorded in the church in 1665 by Monconys (<sup>1</sup> 185), whose text from another edition is quoted in *Le Beffroi* (<sup>1</sup> 234) and by Janssens de Bisthoven and Parmentier (<sup>13</sup> 46, their Doc. 6). The church was demolished in 1799 (Gailliard <sup>3</sup> 9).
- Till ca. 1877(?) Stated to have been in the chapel of the Marchese Giustiniani in Italy, for which alleged to have been painted (*Outran Sale Catalogue* <sup>12</sup>). A claim in support of this provenance was printed in *L'Art* (<sup>11</sup> 116); Doc. 9. Weale (<sup>10</sup> 391, and Doc. 7), nevertheless, believed that it had never travelled further south than Paris.
- 1877 Edward O(utran) etc. Sale, Paris, 18 January, 1877 (lot 7), with identifying description, bought by Gauchez; see *Outran* (<sup>12</sup>). In *L'Art* (<sup>11</sup> 116, and Doc. 9), it seems implied that this picture did not belong to Outran; it is there stated that it was bought at the sale by a dealer, who sold it soon afterwards to Lebrun.
- 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. 116).
- 1881 Baron de Beurnonville Sale, Paris, 14-16 May, 1881 (lot 287), reproduced in the catalogue. Passed into the collection of Mrs. Lyne Stephens in Paris.
- 1805 Bequeathed by Mrs. Lyne Stephens, 1895 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>12</sup> 140/1).

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1877 "L'expert." (at the Outran Sale) "malheureusement, l'avait enduite, ou pour mieux dire, l'avait poissée d'un vernis épais, grossier, qui empêchait presque de la voir". Alfred Michiels in *Le Constitutionnel* (<sup>1</sup>).  
 "Quelques parties sont fort bien conservées, elles ont tout leur éclat primitif; d'autres ont à peu près disparu sous une restauration toute récente" (Gonse <sup>19</sup>).  
 These statements are denied by P. Tesse and anonymously in *L'Art* (<sup>11</sup> 114 and 116). Tesse says: "Le tableau est cependant en parfait état. Seulement, par un scrupule

peut-être un peu exagéré, on y laissé subsister partiellement un ancien vernis qui donne au tableau une certaine inégalité d'aspect, qu'un nettoyage plus audacieux et surtout plus dangereux eût fait disparaître, au préjudice de l'œuvre". A passage from the anonymous contribution to *L'Art* is given in Doc. 9.

1895 Most of the varnish removed (the photograph in the Beurnonville Sale Catalogue of 1881 is by no means clear, but it may give some indication of the picture's condition before 1895).

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The head of S. Barbara is fairly closely similar to the head of that saint in David's picture of 1509 at Rouen (*Friedländer* <sup>11</sup> Plate XCVI) ; cf. *Weale* (<sup>11</sup> 301).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The picture seems clearly to be one of the most important works of Gerard David.

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- 1861 <sup>3</sup> : J. GAILLIARD. *Inscriptions Funéraires et Monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale, Arrondissement de Bruges*, Vol. I. Bruges, 1861.
- 1863 <sup>4</sup> : *Le Beffroi*, Vol. I, Bruges 1863 : anon. (W. H. JAMES WEALE), *Gerard David* (223-234).
- 1864/5 <sup>5</sup> : *Biographical Note on Richard de Visch de la Chapelle* included in anon., *Inventaires du Trésor de la Collégiale de Saint Donatien à Bruges*, 2nd. article, in *Le Beffroi*, Vol. II, Bruges, 1864/5, 104-138.
- 1877 <sup>6</sup> : *Catalogue de 52 Tableaux Anciens composant en partie la collection de M. Edward O(utran)*, Paris, 18 January, 1877.
- 1877 <sup>7</sup> : ALFRED MICHELS. *Un tableau de Gérard David*, in *Le Constitutionnel*, Paris, 19 January, 1877 (typescript copy in the National Gallery).
- 1877 <sup>8</sup> : LOUIS GONSE. *Un Nouveau Tableau de Gérard David*, in *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, Paris, Année 1877, 20 January, 19-20.
- 1877 <sup>9</sup> : P. TESSE. *Un Tableau de Hugo van der Goes*, followed by the periodical's *Chronique de l'Hôtel Drouot*, in *L'Art*, Vol. I of the 3rd. year (Vol. VIII from the beginning), Paris-London, 1877, 113 ff.
- 1878 <sup>10</sup> : W. H. JAMES WEALE. *Loan Exhibition of Pictures at the Tuileries (First Notice — Early Masters)*, in *The Academy*, Vol. XIV, London, 19 October, 1878.
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- 1898 <sup>12</sup> : *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery. Foreign Schools*, London, 1898.
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## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Document 1

(Richardus de Capella is given leave to restore the chapel of S. Anthony in S. Donatian's at Bruges, 26 June, 1500).

"Actum in capitulo extraordinario Veneris XXVI<sup>a</sup> Junii" (1500) "domino decano presidente. Domino et magistro Richardo de Capella cantori huius ecclesie fuit data licentia ut capellam Sancti Anthonii que est in navi et sub organis huius ecclesie posset facere reparari pro suo libito et quod in vitreis novis ibidem ponendis posset depingi facere arma seu intersignia sua et suorum parentum qui in dicta capella inhumati sunt".

(marginal note) "Domino cantori datur licentia reparandi capellam S. Anthonii".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van de collegiaalkerk van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1492-1506, f. 147 v. ; transcription by M. Schouteet).

### Document 2

(ornaments in the chapel of S. Anthony)

"Actum in capitulo ordinario Lune XVII<sup>a</sup> Octobris" (1502) "domino decano presidente. ..." "concessum fuit venerabili magistro Richardo de Capella cantori huius ecclesie quod possit deponere et amovere quecumque ornamenta lignea et seu lapidea nunc circa altare et in capella Sancti Anthonii in navi dicte ecclesie existentia eciam et clausuram capelle huiusmodi ac iterum et de nova alia seu aliam magis preciosa juxta suam bonam discretionem ibidem statuere et ordinare eciam et illa que nunc sunt ad alia altaria et pro eorum ornatu in dicta ecclesia suis tamen sumptibus et expensis transferre".

(marginal note) "Conceditur domino cantori ornare capellam Sancti Anthonii".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van de collegiaalkerk van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1492-1506, f. 195 v. ; transcription by M. Schouteet).

### Document 3

(concerning Richardus de Capella, 4 September, 1511)

"Eodem die lecto ibidem testamento et extrema voluntate prefati quondam magistri Richardi per quod sepulturam sui cadaveris apud parentes in capella sancti Anthonii in hac ecclesia elegit... domini mei ...annuerunt..."

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapittelakten van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1506-1522, f. 94 r).

### Document 4

(bequests of Richardus de Capella : 3 September, 1511).

"Postea vero magister Bernardinus de Salviatis... exposuit dominis meis qualiter dictus quondam magister Richardus, per dictum suum testamentum ...dedit et legavit fabrice eiusdem ecclesie certa jocalia... quequidem jocalia... voluit et ordinavit ipse quondam testator in solemnibus festis collo ymaginis sancte Katherine argentee dicte fabrice spectantis appendi... Preterea quia prefatus quondam magister Richardus capelaniam de extra chorum cum onere trium et quatuor missarum alternatis ebdomadis ac refectionem unam de XII lb. parisiensibus

pro choro perseveranti quatuor horis et XXIII solidis par. ad opus musicorum sive succentorum et cantorum ipso die sancte Katherine verginis et martiris de mense Novembris distribuendis, necnon unam missam etiam in musica in festo Translationis eiusdem sancte Katherine, cum certis aliis oneribus et obitum eiusdem quondam magistri Richardi, ad instar obitus domini Johannis, domini de Capella, militis, in dictam ecclesiam fundatam per dictum suum testamentum, petiit et ordinavit... domini mei... dicta jocalia et fundationem acceptantes, litteras... consenserunt".

(Bruges, Episcopal Archives, kapitellakten van Sint-Donaas over de jaren 1506-1522, f. 95 r.).

#### Document 5

(from the inventories of S. Donatian's at Bruges, description of cantor's staffs).

"Item, duo baculi argentei deaurati in parte cantorie quilibet superius cum tribus ymaginibus deauratis cum vno pede quibus vtuntur cantores in maioribus festis et dedit nicholaus de bochout cantor". (inventory of 1417, p. 2).

"...et sunt capita eorundem baculorum ponderis simul Quatuor marcharum Sex vnciarum Baculi vero ipsi cum clavis inferius et ligno seu ferro interius ponderis sunt sex marcharum". (inventory of 1488, p. 5).

"Item duo baculi argentei quibus vtuntur domini cantores in sollennibus festis. In vno illorum est imago Sancte Trinitatis et adhuc due adorantium argenteae deaurate : in altero vero imago Virginis Marie, similiter et due adorantium argenteae deaurate, Quos dedit dominus Nicolaus de Bouchoute cantor et canonicus huius ecclesie anno Domini M. iij<sup>c</sup>. xxxviiij. Et sunt capita eorundem baculorum ponderis simul quatuor marcharum et sex vnciarum. Ipsi vero baculi cum clavis ferreis inferius, et ligno interius sunt ponderis vj marcharum valent x marchas, vj vncias".

(In the margin) "Deest in vno imago Christi, et fiat alia" ; (lower down) "Conflata anno 1578". (inventory of 1559, p. 5).

(Bruges, Episopal Archives, Inventaires du Trésor de Saint-Donatien : printed with some variations in *Le Beffroi*, Vol. I, p. 537, Bruges, 1865).

#### Document 6

(biographical material concerning Richardus de Capella).

"Richard de la Chapelle... fut nommé chapelain de la chapellenie de Sainte Barbe derrière le chœur de Saint Donatien le 24 Février 1444. Il permuta ce bénéfice le 26 du même mois avec Gilles Ade ... Il fut légitimé par lettres de Philippe le Beau du 6 Février 1502... Son corps fut, d'après sa dernière volonté, transporté à Bruges et enterré auprès de ceux de son aïeul et de son oncle en l'église de Saint Donatien, devant l'autel de la chapelle de Saint Antoine près des fonts baptismaux, où il avait fait transporter le corps de sa mère en Septembre 1504. Il avait orné cette chapelle en 1500 d'un nouveau retable avec trois statues en pierres de Sainte Catherine, de Sainte Barbe et de Sainte Agnès et de vitraux peints où l'on voyait ses armoiries et celles de ses parents... Richard se montra le bienfaiteur de l'église de Saint Donatien. Il y fonda le 18 Mai 1500 une fête en l'honneur de Sainte Catherine, vierge et martyre. Par son dernier testament... il ordonna de fonder une chapellenie extra-chorale à l'autel de Sainte Catherine dans la chapelle de Saint Antoine..." (Le Beffroi<sup>s</sup> 121).

*Document 7*

(remarks by Weale)

... "painted between 1499 and 1511 for Richard de Visch van der Cappelle... This picture adorned the altar of S. Catherine in St. Donatian's church until 1793... I have long had a clue to the whereabouts of this altarpiece, and unless I am much mistaken it has never travelled further south than Paris".

(Weale<sup>10</sup> 391).

*Document 8*

(remarks by Weale)

"About 1501, or perhaps a little earlier, Gerard was employed to paint a picture for the altar of Saint Katherine in the chapel of S. Anthony in the collegiate church of S. Donatian at Bruges..."

(Weale<sup>11</sup> 15).

*Document 9*

"La vérité, l'indiscutable vérité, la voici : Le tableau n'a été enlevé de l'autel qu'il ornait que pour être envoyé directement d'Italie à M. Etienne Le Roy, l'éminent commissaire-expert des musées royaux de Belgique, dont le profond savoir et le talent sont universellement respectés. M. Le Roy s'est bien gardé de restaurer un tableau admirablement conservé ; il n'y a absolument rien fait qu'enlever partiellement l'encrassement produit par la fumée des cierges. Aucun tableau de cette époque n'est dans un état de conservation aussi parfait que cet admirable Hugo Van der Goes".

(From *L'Art* 9 116).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 43 : GROUP DAVID (8)

CCXXVII. The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor	B 124 610	1950
CCXXVIII. The Virgin and Child	B 124 615	1950
CCXXIX. S. Catherine of Alexandria and the Donor, Richardus de Capella	B 124 613	1950
CCXXX. S. Barbara and S. Mary Magdalene	B 124 611	1950
CCXXXI. Trees and Buildings in the Background on the Left	B 124 614	1950
CCXXXII. Buildings in the Background on the Right	B 124 612	1950
CCXXXIII. Head of S. Catherine (1 : 1)	B 124 624	1950
CCXXXIV. Heads of the Virgin and the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 619	1950
CCXXXV. Head of S. Barbara, with S. Anthony Abbot in the Background (1 : 1)	B 139 145	1952
CCXXXVI. Head of S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)	B 124 617	1950
CCXXXVII. Body of the Child, and Left Hand of S. Catherine (1 : 1)	B 124 620	1950
CCXXXVIII. Head of the Donor, Richardus de Capella, and the Angel (?) behind (1 : 1)	B 124 622	1950
CCXXXIX. Hands of the Donor, Right Hand and Part of the Dress of S. Catherine (1 : 1)	B 124 621	1950
CCXL. Hands of S. Barbara and S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)	B 124 616	1950
CCXLI. The Donor's Staff and Book (1 : 1)	B 124 625	1950

CCXLII. The Donor's Greyhound (1 : 1)	B 124 626	1950
CCXLIII. The Wheel and Sword of S. Catherine, and an Iris (1 : 1)	B 139 146	1952
CCXLIV. Lilies between the Virgin and S. Barbara (1 : 1)	B 139 147	1952
CCXLV. Building behind S. Catherine (1 : 1)	B 124 623	1950
CCXLVI. Jewel above the Virgin's Head (1 : 1)	B 139 148	1952
CCXLVII. Head of S. Catherine (M 2 X)	B 124 629	1950
CCXLVIII. Head of the Virgin (M 2 X)	B 124 628	1950
CCIL. Features of the Donor (M 2 X)	B 124 630	1950
CCL. Head of the Greyhound, with the Donor's Arms on the Collar (M 2 X)	B 124 627	1950
CCLI. The Reverse	B 124 631	1950

## 44

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

## No. 44 : GROUP DAVID (9), S. JEROME IN A LANDSCAPE

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Studio of Gerard David.

S. Jerome in a Landscape.

No. 2596 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(4.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

*Dimensions* :           panel       36.7 ( $\pm 0.1$ )  $\times$  25.1 ( $\pm 0.1$ )  $\times$  1 cm.  
  147/16  $\times$  97/8  $\times$  13/32 ins.  
                          painted surface   35.2  $\times$  23.8 cm.  
  13 7/8  $\times$  9 3/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A thin layer of varnish, slightly coloured, with a fine craquelure ; it has lost some of its transparency.

*Paint Layer* : General wearing.

Besides restorations, which affect the character of S. Jerome's features but are mostly of little importance, there is to be noted the overpainting of the upper part of the sky, of a good part of the saint's dress, and of the shadowed parts of the lion and the tree on which the crucifix is fixed.

The gold rays are overpainted with powdered gold.

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : Nearly white, fairly thin. Lack of adherence in some places.

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

*Marks on the Back* : An Agnew label, and a label of the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1904; reproduction of the back on Plate CCLVI.

*Frame* : Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

S. Jerome kneels in a landscape before a crucifix; he is about to strike his breast with a stone. His lion is on the ground by him (*Timmers* <sup>14</sup> 928ff.).

##### 2. Colours

S. Jerome is in grey; red robe and hat behind him.

##### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

*inri* is inscribed on the crucifix.

#### 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 recorded, apparently, at Brussels in 1882 (*Exposition Néerlandaise* <sup>1</sup> 68).

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Apparently with an attribution to Memlinc in 1882 (*Exposition Néerlandaise* <sup>1</sup> 68). As School of David in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of 1892; attributed to David at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1900; as David at the Exhibition at Bruges, 1902. The attribution to David is usually accepted, e.g. by *Bodenhausen* (<sup>6</sup> 98/9, No. 6 and 104) and by *Friedländer* (<sup>11</sup> 91, 156, No. 221). *Davies* (<sup>12</sup> 31) thinks that it is mostly studio work. As for the date, *Hulin* (<sup>1</sup> 45), *Friedländer* (<sup>6</sup> 17) and *Bodenhausen* (<sup>6</sup> 98/9) call it early; *Friedländer* (<sup>11</sup> 91) puts it 16th. in a roughly chronological list of David's works. *Conway* (<sup>10</sup> 284) calls it late. *Davies* (<sup>12</sup> 31) doubts if it is very early.

##### 2. Subsequent History

###### *Records of Ownership*

- 1882 Apparently lent by L. Somzée to the *Exposition Néerlandaise de Beaux-Arts*, Brussels, 1882, *Tableaux Anciens*, No. 159bis, no description, size 37 × 25 cm.; see *Exposition Néerlandaise* <sup>1</sup> 68. Cf. L. (<sup>2</sup> 155), who gives a little description, so the identity of the picture need not be doubted.
- 1892 Lent by Léon Somzée to the *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Netherlandish and Allied Schools* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1892 (No. 37), with identifying description in the catalogue.
- 1900 Lent by L. de Somzée to the Pavillon de la Belgique at the *Exposition Universelle*, Paris,

- 1900 (No. 7). Mathieu Henri Léon (de) Somzée, who had been born in 1837, died in 1901.  
 1902 Lent by C. and G. de Somzée to the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands* at Bruges, 1902 (No. 172); "C" and "G" no doubt stand for Côme and Gaetan, the names of Léon's sons. Several Somzée pictures were sold in this year, and were bought through Agnew's by George Salting, London (cf. *Connoisseur* <sup>4</sup> 205). The present picture is recorded as belonging to Agnew by *Friedländer* (<sup>5</sup> 17); *Bodenhausen* (<sup>6</sup> 98) says that Salting acquired it in 1905.  
 1904 Lent by George Salting to the Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters at the Royal Academy, London, 1904 (No. 5).  
 1910 Bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>8</sup> 88).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A design of S. Jerome fairly similar to the present figure is known in a number of versions, mostly ascribed to Ysenbrandt; *Friedländer* (<sup>12</sup> 130/1, Nos. 137 and 140) lists seven. *Friedländer* <sup>12</sup> No. 137 is reproduced by him, Plate LIX. *Friedländer* <sup>12</sup> No. 137a is reproduced by *Valentiner* (<sup>9</sup> 235). *Friedländer* <sup>12</sup> No. 137c is reproduced in the catalogue of the Edouard Fétis Sale, Brussels, 8-12 November, 1909. *Friedländer* <sup>12</sup> No. 140 is reproduced by him, Plate LX. It is uncertain if these versions are derived from the picture in the National Gallery, or from some lost variant. The composition is perhaps connected with the *S. Jerome* assigned to Memling at Bâle (*Voll* <sup>7</sup> Plate 159).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

I cannot feel much enthusiasm about the picture, the attribution and dating of which seem uncertain.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1882 <sup>1</sup>: Exposition Néerlandaise de Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue Explicatif*, Brussels, 1882.  
 1882 <sup>2</sup>: L. *Correspondance de Belgique* in *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, Paris, 20 May, 1882, 155-156.  
 1902 <sup>3</sup>: GEORGES H(ULIN) DE LOO. *Bruges 1902, Exposition de Tableaux Flamands, Catalogue Critique*, Ghent, 1902.  
 1902 <sup>4</sup>: *The Connoisseur*, Vol. IV, London, November, 1902, 203.  
 1903 <sup>5</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Meisterwerke der Niederländischen Malerei... auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge*, Munich, 1903.  
 1905 <sup>6</sup>: EBERHARD FREIHERR VON BODENHAUSEN. *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905.  
 1909 <sup>7</sup>: KARL VOLL. *Memling, Des Meisters Gemälde in 197 Abbildungen* (Klassiker der Kunst series), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909.  
 1911 <sup>8</sup>: *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1911.  
 1913 <sup>9</sup>: W. R. VALENTINER. *Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Vol. II of *A Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some Art Objects* (J. G. Johnson), Philadelphia, 1913.  
 1921 <sup>10</sup>: SIR MARTIN CONWAY. *The van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.  
 1928 <sup>11</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1933 <sup>12</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. XI, *Die Antwerpener Manieristen, Adriaen Ysenbrant*, Berlin, 1933.

1945<sup>13</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

1947<sup>14</sup> : J. J. M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond-Maeseeyck, 1947.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 44 : GROUP DAVID (9)

CCLII. S. Jerome in a Landscape	B 124 520	1950
CCLIII. Figure of S. Jerome, and the Lion (1 : 1)	B 124 522	1950
CCLIV. The Crucifix and the Landscape, Left Centre (1 : 1)	B 124 521	1950
CCLV. S. Jerome, half-length (M 2 X)	B 124 523	1950
CCLVI. The Reverse	B 124 524	1950

#### 45

##### A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 45 : GROUP DAVID (10). *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD*, TRIPTYCH WITH INSCRIPTIONS ON THE WINGS

##### B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Studio of Gerard David (After Hugo van der Goes ?).

The Virgin and Child.

No. 3066 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, 1945.

##### C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9.vii.1952)

*Form* : Triptych.

<i>Dimensions</i> : painted surfaces, left wing	41.0 ( $\pm$ 0.1) X 11.9 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm.
	16 1/8 X 4 11/16 ins.
centre	32.6 ( $\pm$ 0.1) X 21.5 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm.
	12 13/16 X 8 1/2 ins.
right wing	40.9 ( $\pm$ 0.1) X 11.7 ( $\pm$ 0.1) cm.
	16 1/8 X 4 5/8 ins.

*Protective Layer* : Remains of old varnish, which make the white parts and the flesh very yellow.

*Paint Layer* : Apart from some minute damages, this picture is in a very pure state.

Very slight wearing of the whole surface ; adheres perfectly. A loss on the Child's left cheek ; several losses on the background, to the right of the Child.

Wide craquelure on the Virgin's veil.

Retouching of the outline of the Child's cheek. Light overpainting in glaze of the shadow of His arm.

*Changes in Composition* : *Pentimento* in the Virgin's left eye. Changes in some of the outlines of the Child, especially in the lower outline of His arm.

*Ground* : White, of normal thickness ; adheres well. There are some losses, especially at the Child's left cheek and in His hair.

*Support* : Centre panel, oak, one panel with grain vertical, painted black on the back, in excellent state.

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

*Frames* : The frame of the central panel is composed of two parts. The original frame supporting the panel consists of a narrow moulding ; this is set in a larger frame, which is the principal frame if the triptych is considered as a whole. On the shutters, the edges of the paint and frame correspond, which indicates that the frames are contemporary with the panels.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

A triptych. In the central compartment the Virgin at half length is holding the Child, Who has a rosary across His body. The shutters have inscriptions in Gothic lettering painted on them. A *change in composition* in the Virgin's left eye has been noted in section C, above.

##### 2. Colours

The Virgin is in blue (?).

##### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

On the left shutter, "Aue Sanctissima Maria  $\overline{m}$ r Dei Regina Celi porta Paradisi Domina Mudi pura Singularis tu es Virgo Tu sine pec $\overline{c}$  Concepta concepisti  $\overline{I}$ lm sine  $\overline{o}$ nj macula". On the right shutter, "Tu Peperisti, Creatorem et saluatore $\overline{m}$  Mundi In quo non Dubito libera me Ab omni mala Et Ora pro Peccato Meo Amen." For this prayer, see Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1927, Vol. I, 299 and 336 ; Vol. II, 32 and 190).

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

##### 1. Origin

###### a. Factual Evidence

The origin of the picture is not known ; to judge from its appearance, it may have been painted for private devotion. First known to be recorded at Madrid in 1872 (*Doc. 1*).

###### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Recorded in 1872 as perhaps by Rogier van der Weyden (*Doc. 1*), it seems also to have



been called *Petrus Christus* (Doc. 2), and it has also been ascribed to Memlinc (Doc. 3). Morelli (Doc. 3) doubtfully suggested Hugo van der Goes. Kaemmerer (\* 40) calls it between van der Goes and Memlinc. Friedländer (' 72, 152, No. 27) says that it is perhaps a copy after Hugo van der Goes by Gerard David, or that it is a work in common; a slightly later view of Friedländer (\* 154, No. 210) is that it is probably a copy by David after van der Goes. It was at first called van der Goes at the National Gallery (Catalogue <sup>3</sup> 117); changed to Flemish School in 1929 (\* 121).

As for the date, Friedländer (\* 91) puts it 15th. in a roughly chronological list of David's works.

## 2. Subsequent History

### Records of Ownership

- 1872 Bought at Madrid in the autumn of 1872 by Sir (Austen) Henry Layard (Doc. 1), who was at that time British Minister at Madrid. Most of the pictures in the Layard Collection, including the few that were at Madrid, were transferred to Palazzo Cappello at Venice in 1875/6 (information from the Layard MSS. in the British Museum); this picture seems to have been so transferred in 1875 (Doc 2). This picture is referred to at Venice, *inter al.* by Frizzoni (' 476). Sir Henry Layard died in 1894, leaving a life-interest in the collection to Lady Layard, his widow; she died in 1912.
- 1916 Incorporated in the National Gallery (Sir Henry Layard Bequest), 1916 ( *National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>3</sup> 117).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Nothing precisely corresponding with the composition of the *Virgin and Child* appears to be known.

Triptychs, the wings of which are painted with inscriptions instead of pictures, are rather unusual. Two examples are reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, November, 1925, 219, Plates H and L. The first was in the C. Hoogendijk Sale, Amsterdam, 14 May, 1912, lot 88, reproduced. The second is now in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano at Madrid (Gutá, 1951, 116, as Quintín Metsys).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The style of painting resembles that of Gerard David, but the picture is seemingly too weak in execution to be by his own hand. The type of the Virgin, the treatment of her hair, perhaps the design suggest Hugo van der Goes; it seems therefore reasonable to suppose that the picture follows more or less closely a lost cartoon or picture by van der Goes.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1896 <sup>1</sup>: GUSTAVE FRIZZONI. *La Galerie Layard*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd. Period, Vol. XVI, December 1896, Paris, 455-476.
- 1899 <sup>2</sup>: LUDWIG KAEMMERER. *Memling*, Bielefeld & Leipzig, 1899.
- 1920 <sup>3</sup>: *National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures at Trafalgar Square*, London, 1920.
- 1926 <sup>4</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. IV, *Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1926.

1928 <sup>a</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.

1929 <sup>a</sup> : *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, Catalogue*, 86th. edition, London, 1929.

1945 <sup>r</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

### Document 1

"Depuis mon retour à Madrid j'ai acheté un petit triptich de l'Ecole flamande qui n'est pas mal. Il consiste d'une Madonne avec l'Enfant et deux inscriptions en latin mais en écriture 'Gothique' — Le tout très bien conservé et intacte. Je crois la Madonne de la même main que la Madeleine" (*Davies* <sup>r</sup> 100, No. 3116) "que j'ai aussi acquis ici et que vous étiez disposé à attribuer à un des Van der Weyden" (Letter from *Sir Henry Layard* to Giovanni Morelli, 26 October, 1872 : British Museum, Add. MS. 38966, *Layard Papers*, Vol. XXXVI).

### Document 2

A propos of the arrival of pictures at Venice from Madrid : — "Le tryptique de Christophsen, peint sur du bois très épais, paraît avoir excité les soupçons de MM. les Douaniers qui sans doute croyaient y trouver un faux fonds avec des cigares", etc. (Letter from *Sir Henry Layard* to Giovanni Morelli, 6 June, 1875 : British Museum, Add. MS. 38966, *Layard Papers*, Vol. XXXVI).

### Document 3

"A tryptich, with Virgin & Child, by a Flemish painter of the 15: century — attributed by some to Memling — by Morelli, doubtfully, to Van der Goos. In excellent condition — neither picture nor inscription having been retouched or restored". (*Sir Henry Layard's MS. Catalogue of his Pictures*, No. 50 ; original MS. in the National Gallery).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

### No. 45 : GROUP DAVID (10)

CCLVII. Triptych : the Virgin and Child, with Inscriptions on the Wings	B 124 232	1950
CCLVIII. The Central Panel : the Virgin and Child	B 124 233	1950
CCLIX. Head of the Virgin, Head and Hand of the Child (1 : 1)	B 124 234	1950
CCLX. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B 124 235	1950
CCLXI. The Reverse, Central Panel and Wings	B 124 236	1950

## 46

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 46 : GROUP DAVID (11). *CHRIST NAILED TO THE CROSS*  
(CENTRAL PANEL OF A TRIPTYCH)

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Gerard David.

Christ Nailed to the Cross.

No. 3067 in the Catalogue *Early Netherlandish School* (National Gallery Catalogues), 1945.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9.vii.1952)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> :	panel	49.4 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 95.1 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 1.2 cm. 19 7/16 $\times$ 37 7/16 $\times$ 1/2 ins.
	painted surface	48.3 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) $\times$ 93.8 ( $\pm 0.1$ ) cm. 19 $\times$ 36 15/16 ins.

*Protective Layer* : A top layer of varnish, in good condition, covers remains of old varnish.

*Paint Layer* : Very marked wearing, particularly in the brown soil, which is completely overpainted in glaze. Numerous restorations of varying importance, particularly on the right hand side and along the join of the constituent panels.

Overpainting of the upper part of the sky, more marked on the right, where it is flaking off. The greenish-blue distance, which is much worn, conserves remains of overpaint. Overpainting of the blouse of the man digging.

Christ and the man on the extreme left are in good condition.

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

*Changes in Composition* : Nothing worth recording noted.

*Ground* : White, of normal thickness ; at present adheres well. To judge from the numerous punctures in the paint layer, the picture must have been treated several times for blister-laying.

*Support* : Oak, two panels with grain horizontal ; slightly convex, some worm-holes. The back is covered with a layer of black paint, which is not original ; it has been impregnated with wax (?). A horizontal crack, starting from the left edge, has been fixed with a button.

*Marks on the Back* : A seal with the Virgin of Loreto and (I.U)OGO.PIO.DI.N.S.D(I. I)ORETO.FIDEL. Another seal, rather damaged, which has not been deciphered. Reproduction of the back on Plate CCLXXIX.

*Frame* : Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The cross is on the ground, and Christ is being nailed to it by several men. Another man is digging a hole in the ground, in which to place the cross; other people are looking on, or approaching. In the foreground is a skull, which marks the place as being Golgotha.

This picture is considered to be the central part of a triptych. What are reasonably held to be the two wings are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Antwerp, Nos. 179 and 180, representing *Les Saintes Femmes* and *Juges Juifs et Soldats Romains*; original sizes stated to be 45 × 42.5 cm. each (the sizes of the painted surfaces including additions are 46 × 44 cm. and 51.7 × 42.6 cm.). It seems that Otto Mündler in 1865 may have suspected that the three pictures belonged together (Doc. 2); they were definitely associated by Friedländer (<sup>9</sup> 12/3). See Delen (<sup>11</sup> 88); the plate in Bodenhausen (<sup>10</sup> 84); the *David Exhibition Catalogue (Bruges)* (<sup>11</sup> 15 and Plates IV, V); and small reproductions of the pictures, showing their field at present, on Plate CCLXXX. There is no historical proof of the association; see further in section E, *Origin (Factual Evidence)*.

The subject is not described in the Gospels, but there exist several paintings of it, usually with the cross on the ground as here — for instance in Memlinc's *Passion Scenes* at Turin (Friedländer <sup>9</sup> Plate XXVI; *Corpus* No. 18). The figures shown in the wings at Antwerp are not necessarily included in representations of the subject; but cf. a miniature, assigned to the Master of Mary of Burgundy, at Vienna (Pächt <sup>12</sup> Plate 13). It is possible that representations of the subject are derived from the *Meditations* of the Pseudo-Bonaventura through mystery plays; see Mâle (<sup>8</sup> 40).

2. *Colours*

The man on the left is in yellow, with blue tights; the drapery on the ground by him is light blue. The man nailing Christ's hand is in a red dress with blue lining, and yellowish green tights. The man digging is in brown, with greenish-blue trousers. The man nailing Christ's feet is in green with violet tights and red hat. The foremost man pulling the rope is in pink underdress, blue and brown dress and yellow boots.

3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

None on the front of the present picture. On the new frame of No. 179 at Antwerp are the arms of Adolphe de Bourgogne.

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 recorded, it seems, in 1860 (Doc. 1). The already mentioned wings at Antwerp came to that museum in 1841 from the Van Erilborn Collection; there is no known record of their being originally attached to the present picture. The coat of arms of Adolphe de Bourgogne, mentioned in *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, seems to throw no light on the origin of the Antwerp pictures or the present picture. The costumes seen in the present picture are not in disaccord with a date of ca. 1480/90.

### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The picture seems to be referred to as German School, possibly Schongauer, in 1860 (Doc. 1.). It is recorded without attribution in 1862 and 1869 (see *Subsequent History*) and in 1863 (Doc. 2). It was ascribed by Bode and others to Geertgen tot Sint Jans (Docs. 3 and 4); classed as Old Dutch in Burckhardt-Bode (<sup>o</sup> 650); doubtfully as Geertgen by Frizzoni (<sup>o</sup> 476). It is now generally accepted as by Gerard David; see Friedländer (<sup>o</sup> 12/3); Bodenhausen (<sup>o</sup> 85ff., No. 1); Friedländer (<sup>o</sup> 84f., 144, No. 162). The attribution of the two wings at Antwerp was to Gossaert in Joh. Alf. De Laet's *Catalogue* (<sup>o</sup> 64).

As for the date, Bodenhausen (<sup>o</sup> 12/3) implies pre-1483. Friedländer (<sup>o</sup> 91) puts it 8th. in a roughly chronological list of David's works. It has already been noted that the costumes seen in the picture are not in disaccord with a dating 1480/90.

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

For two seals on the back, which may offer a clue for the provenance, but have not been interpreted, see section C. above. The picture comes from the Collection of the Conte di Thiene at Vicenza (Doc. 4); this may have been Conte Ercole di Thiene, who certainly had a collection of pictures at Vicenza in 1856 (MS. note by Otto Mündler in the National Gallery).

- 1860(?) Acquired from Conte di Thiene by Sir (Austen) Henry Layard (Doc. 4); the date is not precisely fixed, but negotiations for the acquisition are probably referred to in a letter of 11 October, 1860 (Doc. 1).
- 1862 Lent by Sir Henry Layard to the British Institution, London, *Works of Ancient Masters*, 1862 (No. 101); the catalogue of the exhibition is not sufficient for identification, for which see Jameson and Eastlake (<sup>o</sup> Vol. II, 133).
- 1862 Seen in Sir Henry Layard's Collection, London, by Eastlake and Mündler (Doc. 2).
- 1869 Exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, as a part of the Layard Loan Collection, 1869 (No. 17). Thereafter transferred on loan to Dublin for some years. Many of the pictures in the Layard Collection were transferred from Dublin to Palazzo Cappello at Venice in 1875/6 (information from the Layard MSS. in the British Museum). This picture is recorded at Venice *inter al.* by Frizzoni (<sup>o</sup> 476). Sir Henry Layard died in 1894, leaving a life-interest in his collection to his widow; Lady Layard died in 1912.
- 1916 Incorporated in the National Gallery, Sir Henry Layard Bequest, 1916 (*National Gallery Catalogue* <sup>o</sup> 79).
- 1927 *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* at the Royal Academy, London, 1927 (No. 95), with the two wings from Antwerp.
- 1949 *Exhibition Gerard David and his Followers*, The Arts Council of Great Britain, at the Wildenstein Gallery, London, 1949 (No. 4).

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

Before  
1906

The Plate in Bodenhausen (<sup>o</sup> 84) shows the picture with some differences, e. g. in a piece of the foreground under the skull; in some stones near Christ's feet; in the fingers of the right hand of the man digging, and in the stones by his spade. Bodenhausen's plate corresponds with a photograph in the National Gallery, not stamped, but probably Alinari No. 13608.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

There seem to be no pictures strictly comparable in composition ; for the subject, see under that heading.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

It appears reasonable to accept this picture as a very early work by Gerard David.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1849 <sup>1</sup> : JOH. ALF. DE LAET. *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers*, publié par le Conseil d'Administration de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, Anwerp, (18-19).  
 1864 <sup>2</sup> : MRS. JAMESON and LADY EASTLAKE. *The History of Our Lord*, Vol. II, London, 1864.  
 1893 <sup>3</sup> : JACOB BURCKHARDT. *Der Cicerone*, 6th. edition by Wilhelm Bode, Part II, Leipzig, 1893.  
 1896 <sup>4</sup> : GUSTAVE FRIZZONI. *La Galerie Layard*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd. Period, Vol. XVI, Paris, December 1896, 455-476.  
 1899 <sup>5</sup> : *Werk über die Renaissance-Ausstellung* (Berlin, May-July, 1898). MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Malerei — Niederländer und Deutsche*, Berlin, 1899.  
 1905 <sup>6</sup> : EBERHARD FREIHERR VON BODENHAUSEN. *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905.  
 1920 <sup>7</sup> : *National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures at Trafalgar Square*, London, 1920.  
 1922 <sup>8</sup> : EMILE MÂLE. *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, 2nd. edition, Paris, 1922.  
 1928 <sup>9</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Vol. VI, *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1945 <sup>10</sup> : MARTIN DAVIES. *Early Netherlandish School (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1945.  
 1948 <sup>11</sup> : A. J. J. DELEN. Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue Descriptif, Maîtres Anciens*, Antwerp, 1948.  
 1948 <sup>12</sup> : OTTO PÄCHT. *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948.  
 1949 <sup>13</sup> : Gerard David Exhibition, Musée Communal de Bruges, 18 June-21 August, 1949, *Catalogue*, Brussels, 1949.

## I. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*Document 1*

"At Vicenza I was for three days bargaining after the Italian fashion for a very fine old German picture, a crucifixion, dreadful to look at, but for expression and power one of the most extraordinary bits of painting I ever saw. I believe it to be by Martin Schön. I have not yet succeeded in getting it, but I hope to do so, as the owner does not know its value, and only makes a difficulty about selling it because I picked it out of a number of worthless pictures he offered me" (Letter of 11 October, 1860, from Sir Henry Layard to Mr. Austen ; from Sir A. Henry Layard *Autobiography and Letters*, ed. W. N. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 228, London, 1903).

*Document 2*

"I called in Piccadilly yesterday with Müндler. I directed his attention especially to the

Flemish "Inchiodazione". All he could positively say was that there are two pictures in the Antwerp Gallery by the same hand, falsely ascribed to some well known painter" (Letter from Sir Charles Eastlake to Sir Henry Layard, 7 July, 1863 ; British Museum, Add. MS. 38989, Layard Papers, Vol. LIX).

#### Document 3

"Though the photograph of the Crucifixion in your Gallery is unhappily a little too dark, a friend of mine (who perhaps is the best connoisseur of the early Flemish school) to whom I showed the photograph agrees with me in attributing it (as I did in my new v<sup>o</sup> edition of Burckhardt's "Cicerone") to *Geertgen van S<sup>t</sup> Jans...*" (Letter from Wilhelm Bode to Sir Henry Layard, 20 April, 1884 ; British Museum, Add. MS. 39037, Layard Papers, Vol. CVII).

#### Document 4

"Flemish School? Christ nailed to the Cross. A picture of considerable power — by some attributed to two painters... bought from Count Tieni of Vicenza for", and (clearly added later) "D<sup>r</sup> Bode believes this picture to be by Gherard von Haarlem — & pronounced it the finest specimen of the Master with which he was acquainted — see Bode's letter — D<sup>r</sup> Thode is of the same opinion as D<sup>r</sup> Bode attributing the picture to Geertchen van Sint Jans van Harlem" (This is the complete entry for the picture in Sir Henry Layard's MS. *Catalogue of his pictures*, No. 3 ; original MS. in the National Gallery).

### J. LIST OF PLATES

#### No. 46 : GROUP DAVID (11)

CCLXII. Christ Nailed to the Cross	B 124 648	1950
CCLXIII. Figures on the Left	B 124 649	1950
CCLXIV. Figures on the Right	B 124 650	1950
CCLXV. Christ on the Cross, and other Figures	B 124 651	1950
CCLXVI. Small Figures and Tree in the left Background (1 : 1)	B 124 652	1950
CCLXVII. Detail of the Man Standing on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 653	1950
CCLXVIII. The Soldier Nailing Christ's Right Hand (1 : 1)	B 124 654	1950
CCLXIX. Head of Christ ; Two Children in the Background (1 : 1)	B 124 655	1950
CCLXX. The Man Digging a Hole for the Cross (1 : 1)	B 124 656	1950
CCLXXI. The Soldier Nailing Christ's Feet (1 : 1)	B 124 657	1950
CCLXXII. Two Soldiers in the Right Foreground (1 : 1)	B 124 659	1950
CCLXXIII. Two Spectators Standing on the Right (1 : 1)	B 124 658	1950
CCLXXIV. A Dog Sniffing a Skull (1 : 1)	B 124 661	1950
CCLXXV. Legs of Man standing on the Left (1 : 1)	B 124 662	1950
CCLXXVI. Legs and Arms of the two Soldiers in the Right Foreground (1 : 1)	B 124 660	1950
CCLXXVII. Head of Christ (M 2 ×)	B 124 664	1950
CCLXXVIII. Face of Man Standing on the Left and Small Figures in the Background (M 2 ×)	B 124 663	1950
CCLXXIX. The Reverse	B 124 665	1950
CCLXXX. Triptych : Christ Nailed to the Cross, with two Pictures at Antwerp as the Wings		

PLATES





No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*  
text pp. 1 - 7



No. 21. *Comparative Material : Variant in the Escorial. The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*  
text p. 5



No. 21 : Anonymous (2), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
The Central Compartment  
text pp. 1-7

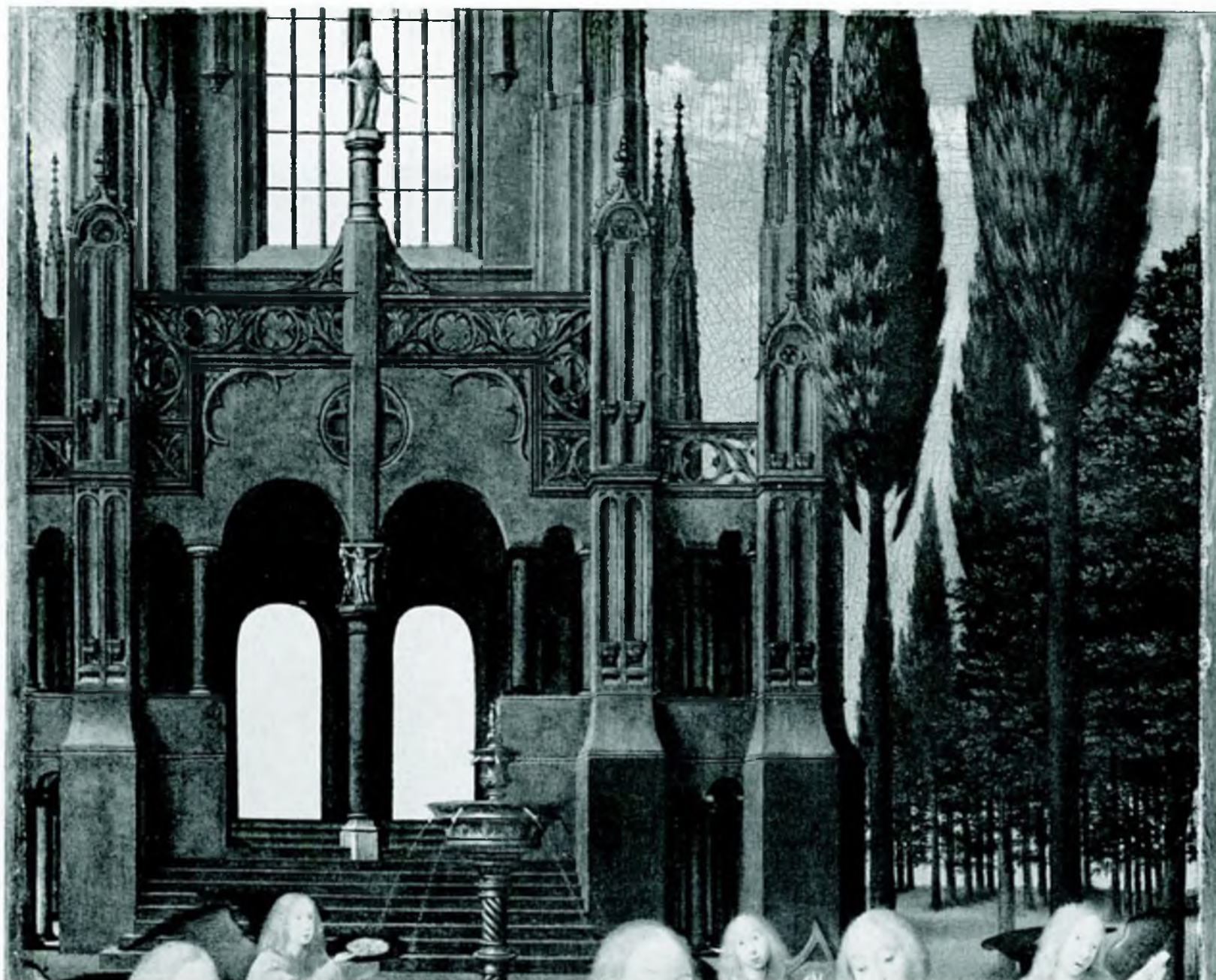


No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*  
The Central Compartment  
text pp. 1-7





No. 21 : Anonymous (2).  
*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden. The two Wings*  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*. Central Compartment : Upper Half  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*. Central Compartment : Lower Half  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 1-7

No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 1-7







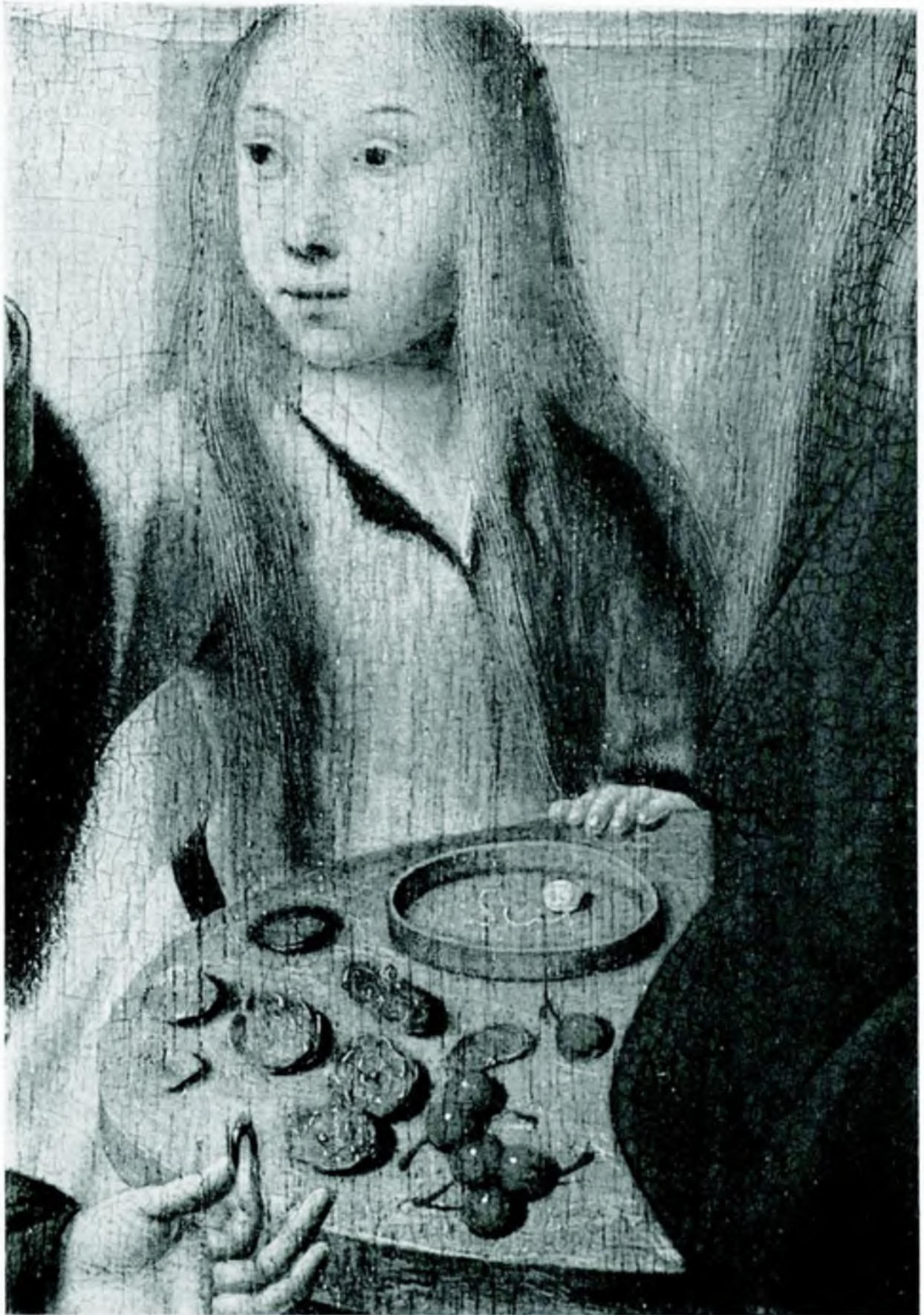
No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
S. Catherine, a Saint and two Angels (1 : 1)  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Two Saints and an Angel playing a Lute (1 : 1)*  
*text pp. 1-7*



No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Head of S. Catherine (N 2 X)*  
*text pp. 1-7*



No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Head of a Saint at a Table (M 2 X)*  
text pp. 1-7

No. 21 : Anonymous (2).  
The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.  
Left Wing, Lower Half  
text pp. 1-2



No. 21: Anonymous (2).  
The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.  
Left Wing, Upper Half  
text pp. 1-2



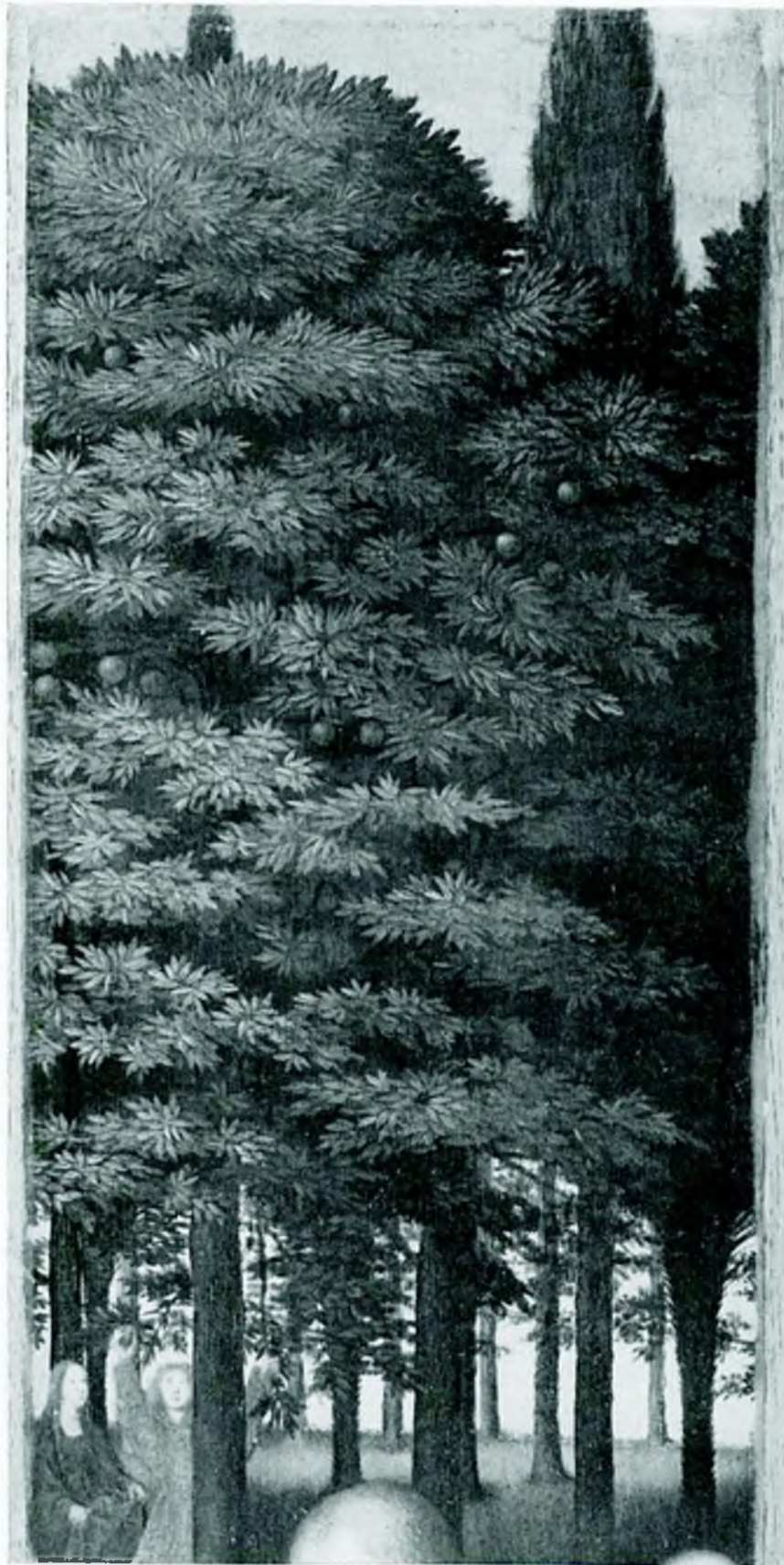


No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
S. John the Baptist (1 : 1)  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Head of S. John the Baptist (M2 X)*  
*text pp. 1-7*





No. 21 : Anonymous (2).  
*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
Right Wing, Upper Half  
text pp. 1-7



No. 21 : Anonymous (2),  
*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
Right Wing, Lower Half  
text pp. 1-7

No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Right Wing, Detail of the Trees (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 1 - 7

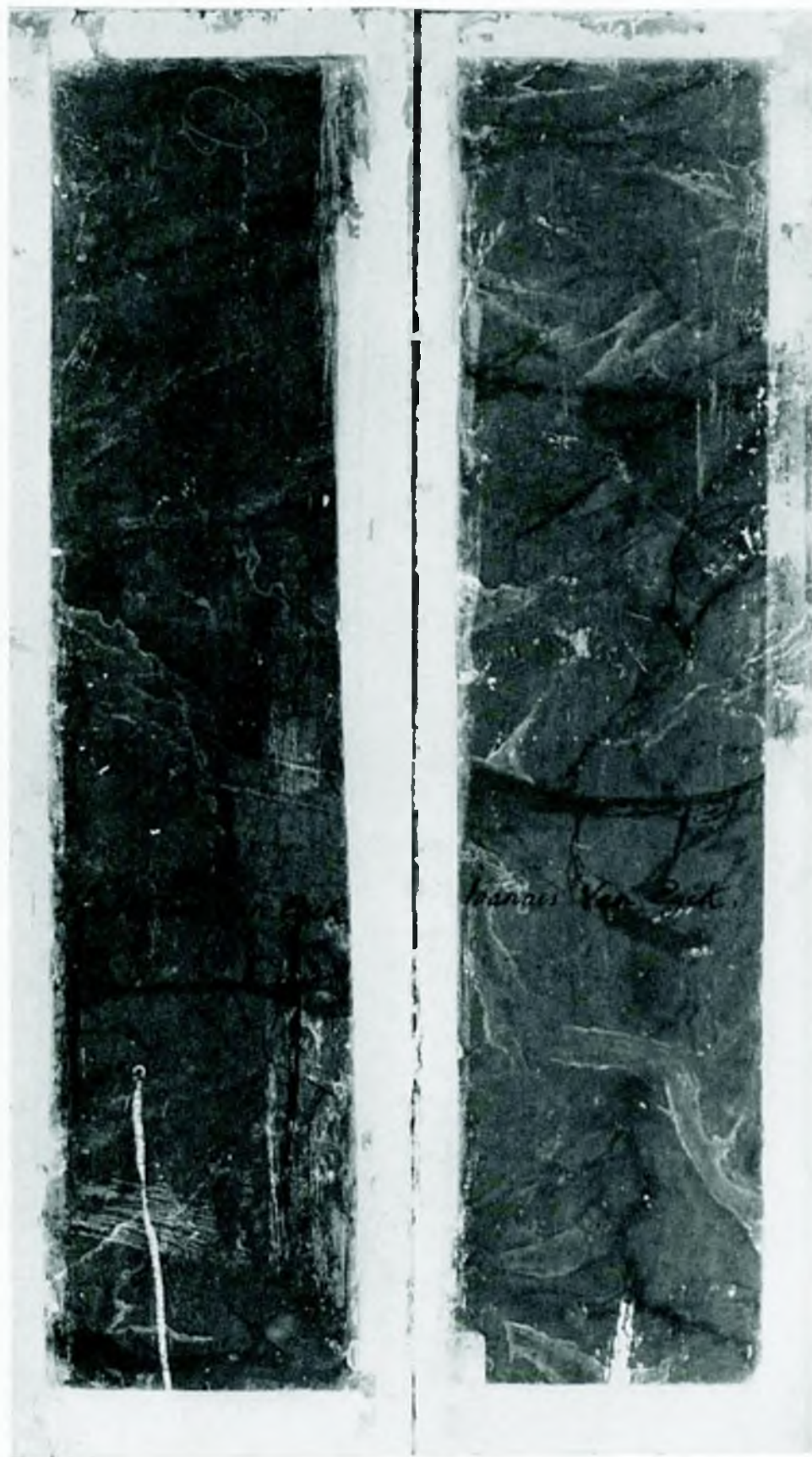


No. 21 : Anonymous (2), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden*.  
*S. John the Evangelist* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 1-2



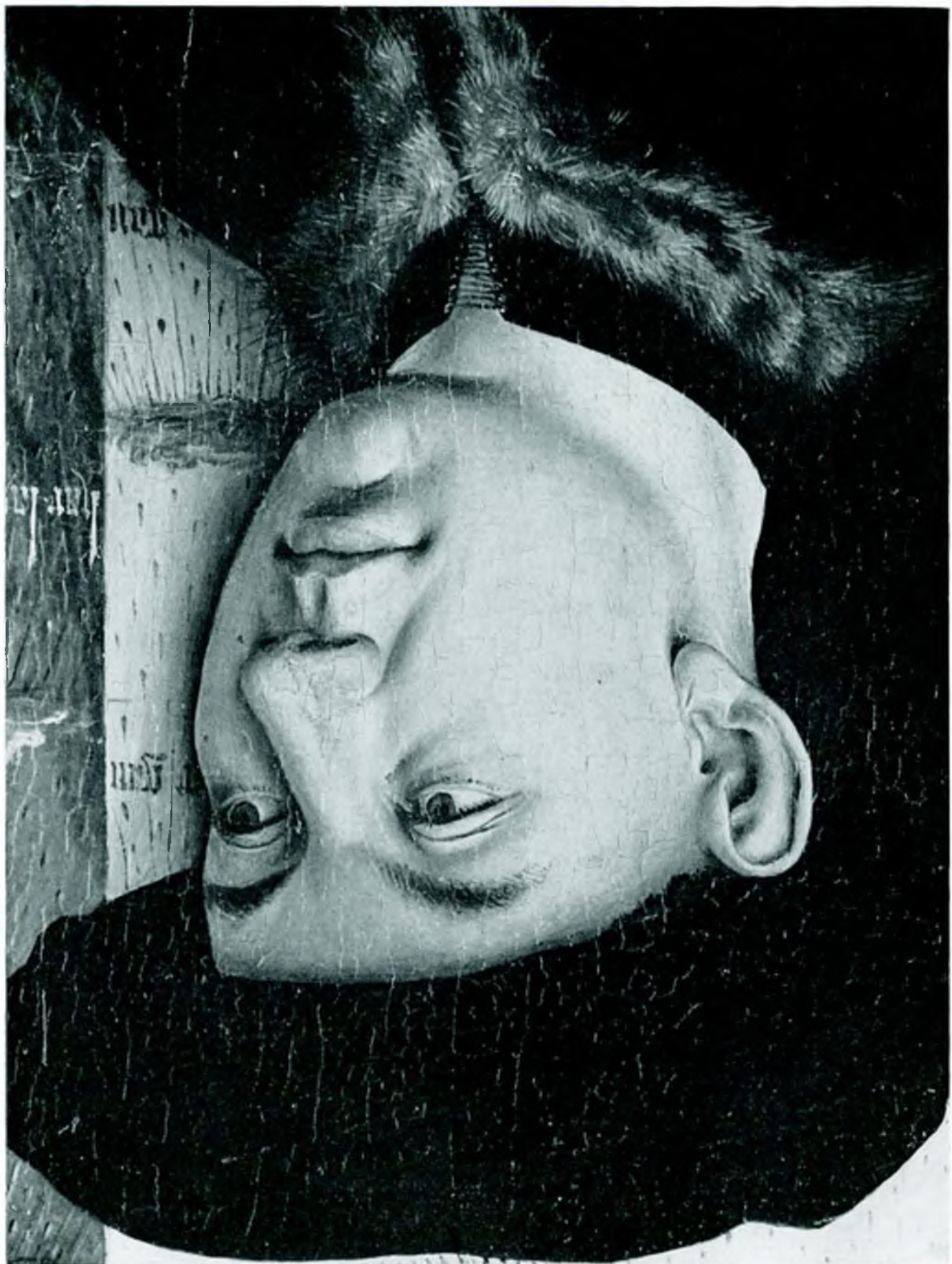


No. 21 : Anonymous (2). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
*Reverse of the Central Compartment*  
*text pp. 1-7*



No. 21: Anonymous (2).  
*The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels in a Garden.*  
Reverses of the two Wings  
text pp. 1-7

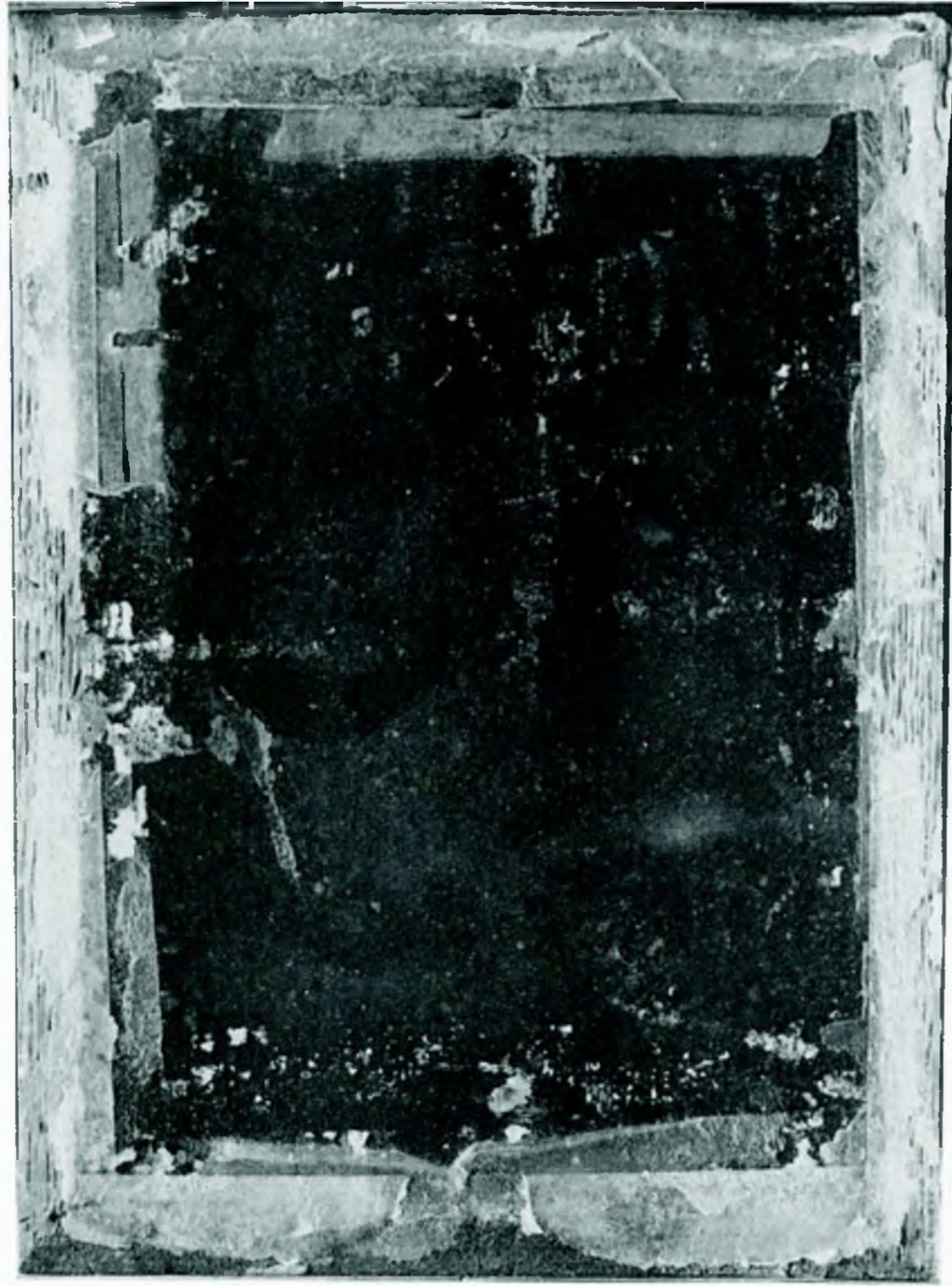
No. 22: Anonymous (7). Portrait of a Young Man holding a Ring (M12X)  
text pp. 7-9



No. 22: Anonymous (5). Portrait of a Young Man holding a Ring (1: 1)  
text pp. 7-9



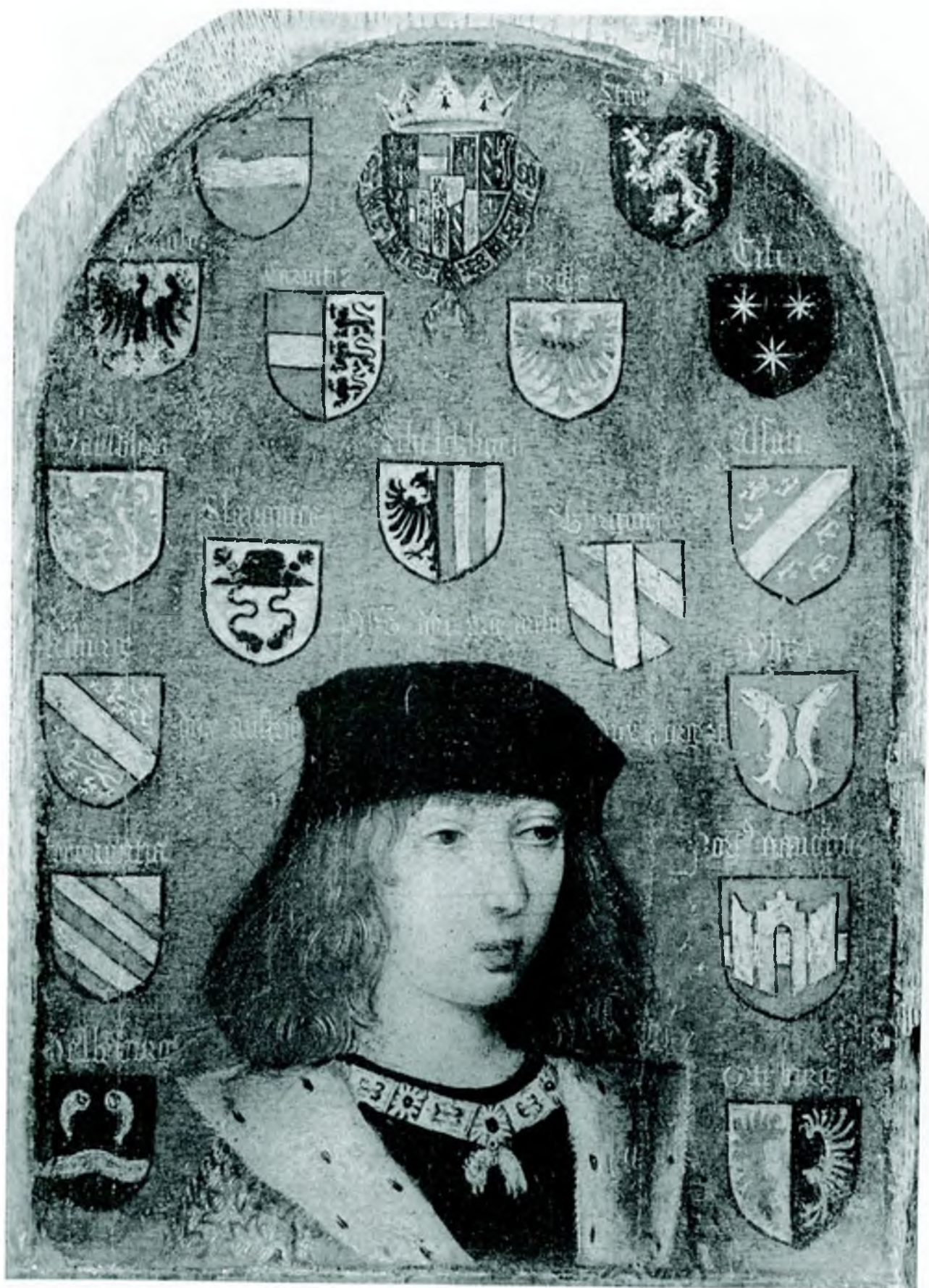




No. 22 : Anonymous (5). *Portrait of a Young Man holding a Ring. The Reverse* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 7-9



No. 25 : Anonymous (4). *Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria*  
text pp. 10-15



No. 25: Anonymous (4). *Philip the Fair and Coats of Arms (1:1)*  
 text pp. 10-15

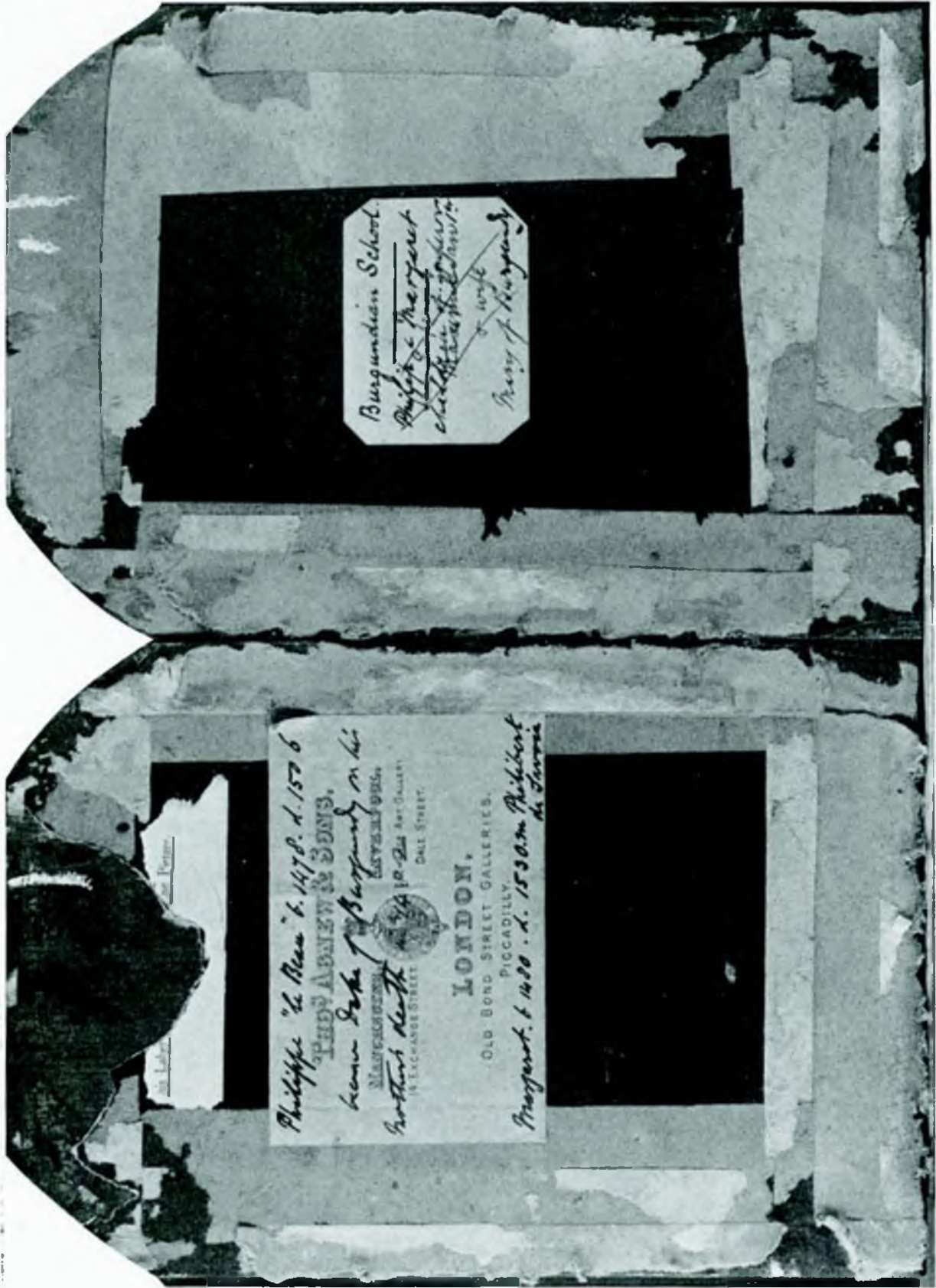


No. 23: Anonymous (f), Figure of Margaret of Austria (M2X)  
text pp. 10-15

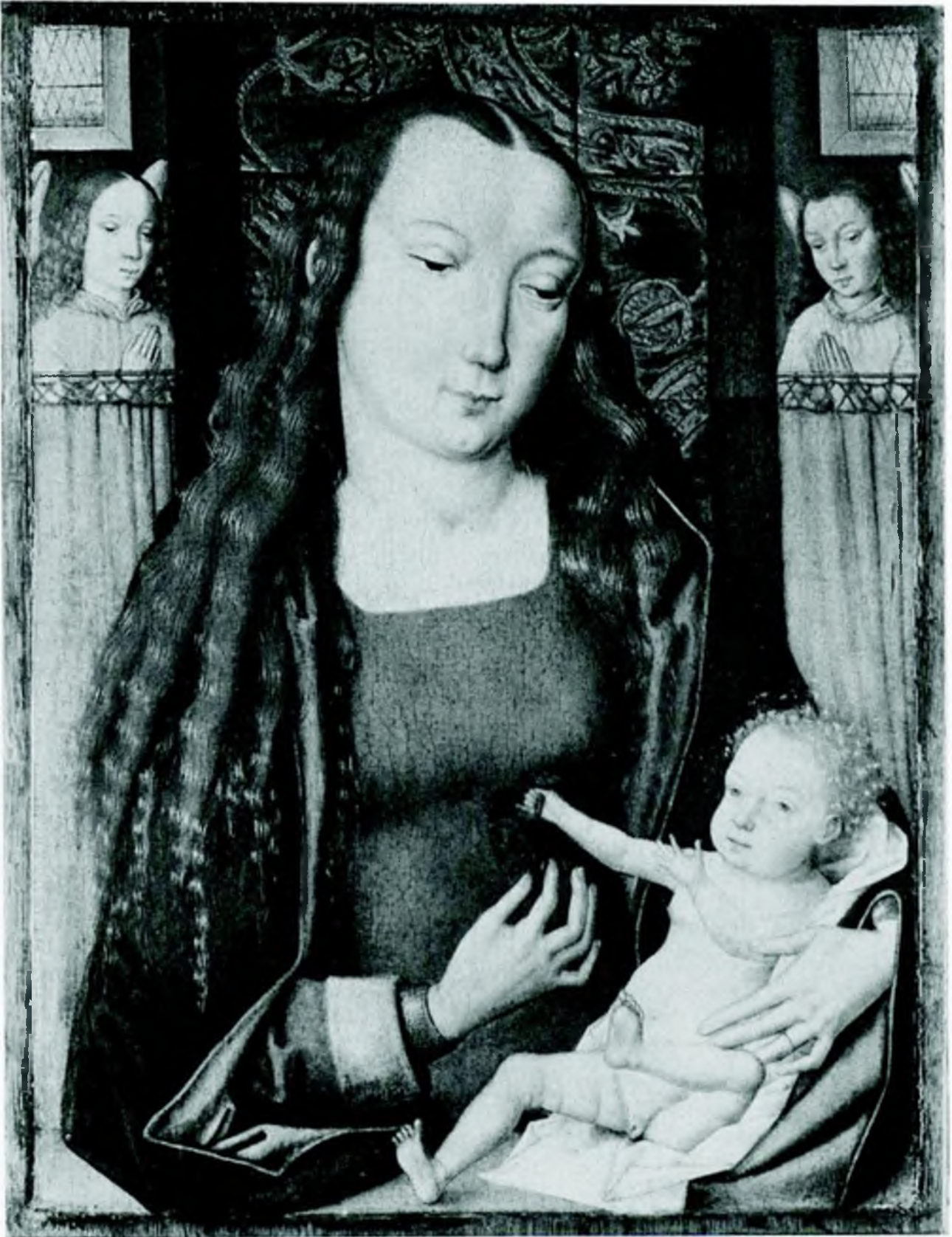


No. 25 : Anonymous (fl. Figure of Philip the Fair (M 2 X)  
text pp. 10 - 15





No. 25 : Anonymous (4). Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria. The Reverses text pp. 10-15



No. 24: Anonymous (5), *The Virgin and Child with two Angels*  
text pp. 16-18



No. 24: Anonymous (5). *The Virgin and Child with two Angels* (1:1)  
text pp. 16-18

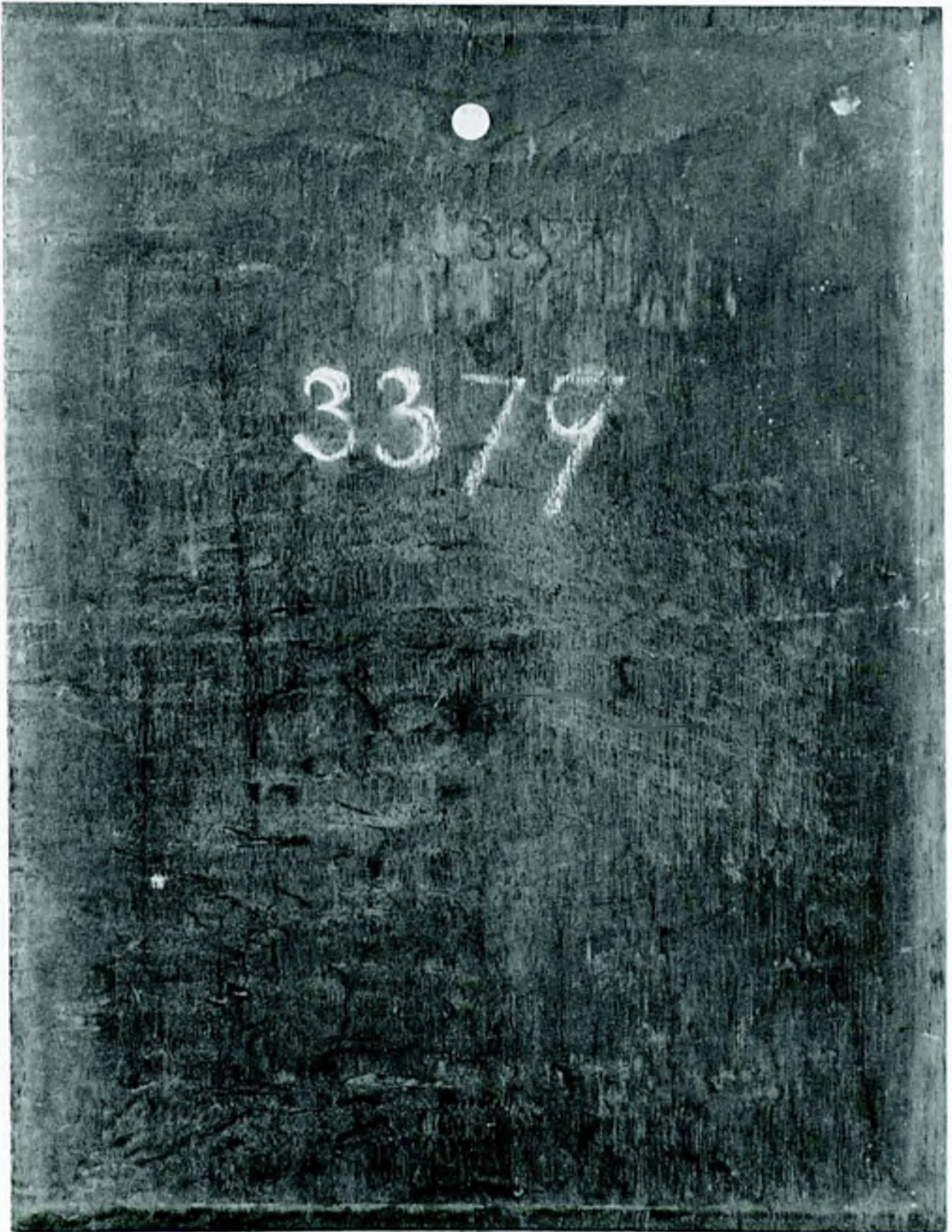




No. 24: Anonymous (5). *The Virgin and Child with two Angels* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 16-18



No. 24: Anonymous (5). *The Virgin and Child with two Angels*. *The Virgin's Features* (M 2 ×)  
text pp. 16–18



No. 24: Anonymous (5). *The Virgin and Child with two Angels. The Reverse*  
text pp. 16-18



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4), *The Crowning with Thorns*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns*. Detail (infra-red)  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (1). The Crowning with Thorns. Upper part, Right  
text pp. 18-21









No. 25 : Group Bosch (4), *The Crowning with Thorns, Upper part, Left*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Lower part, Left*  
text pp. 18-21



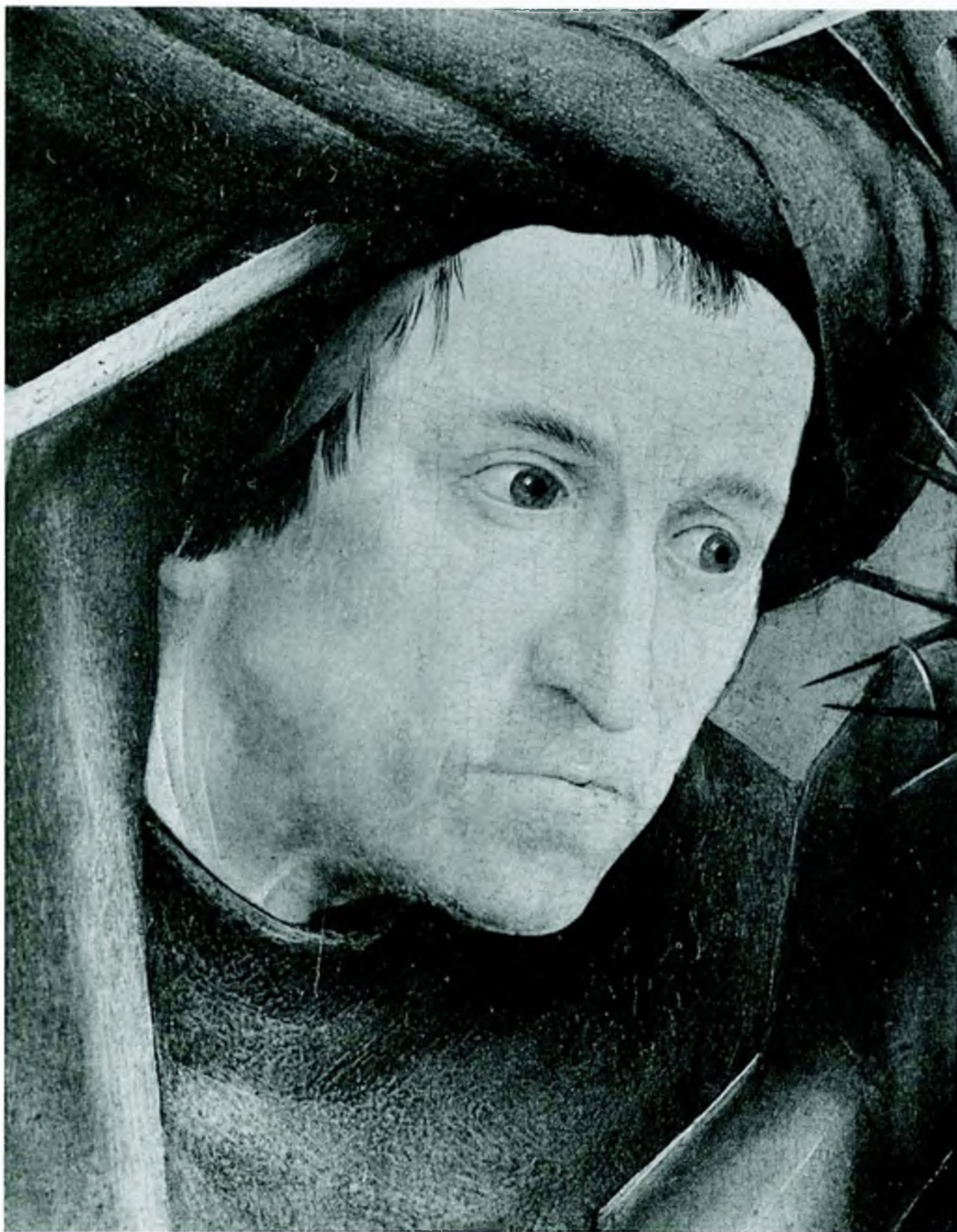
No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Lower part, Right*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Hands of Christ and of the Jew in the lower left Corner (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Head of Christ (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Head of the Soldier on the Left (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 18 - 21

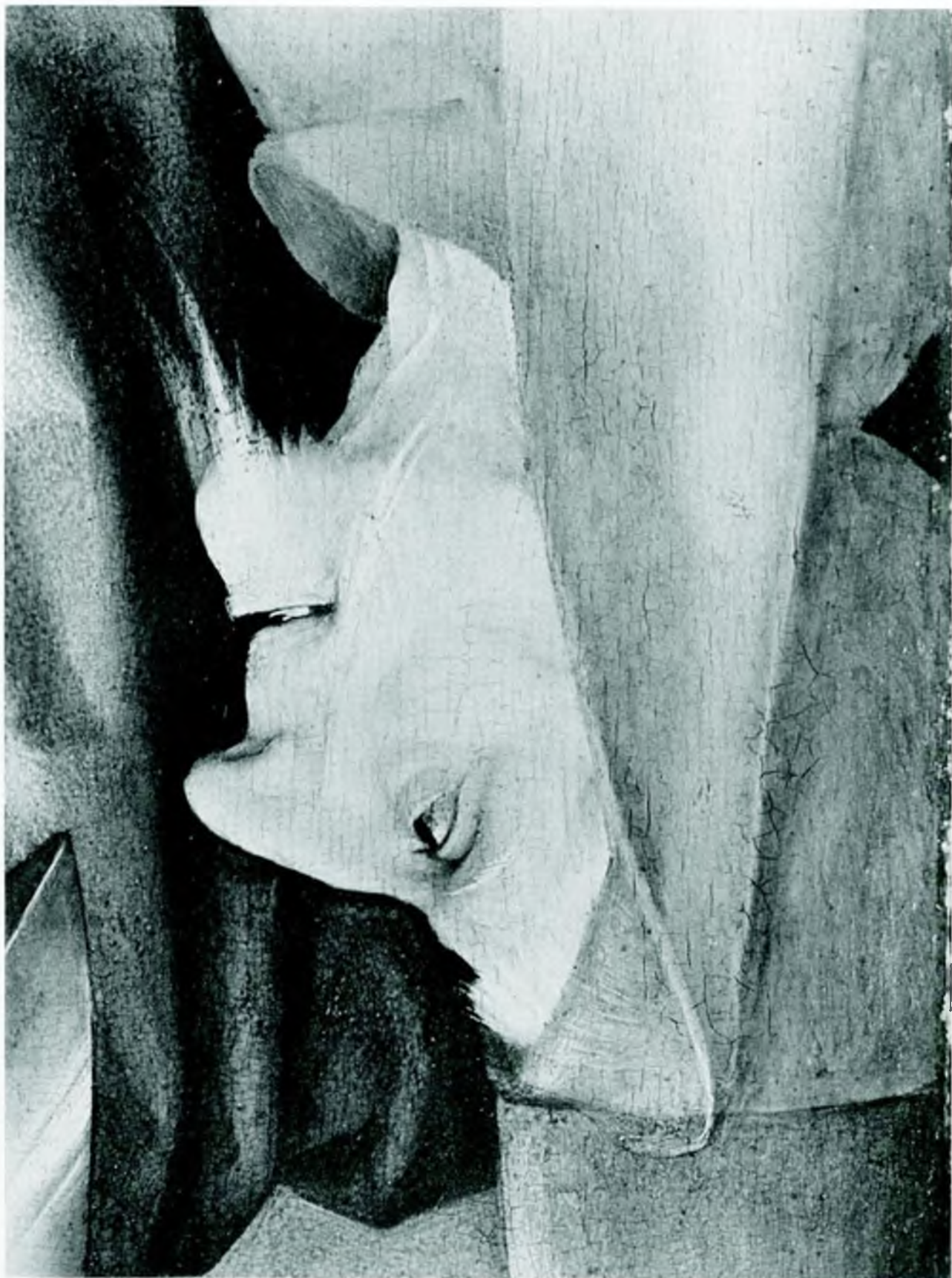


No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Head of the Soldier on the Right (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 18-21

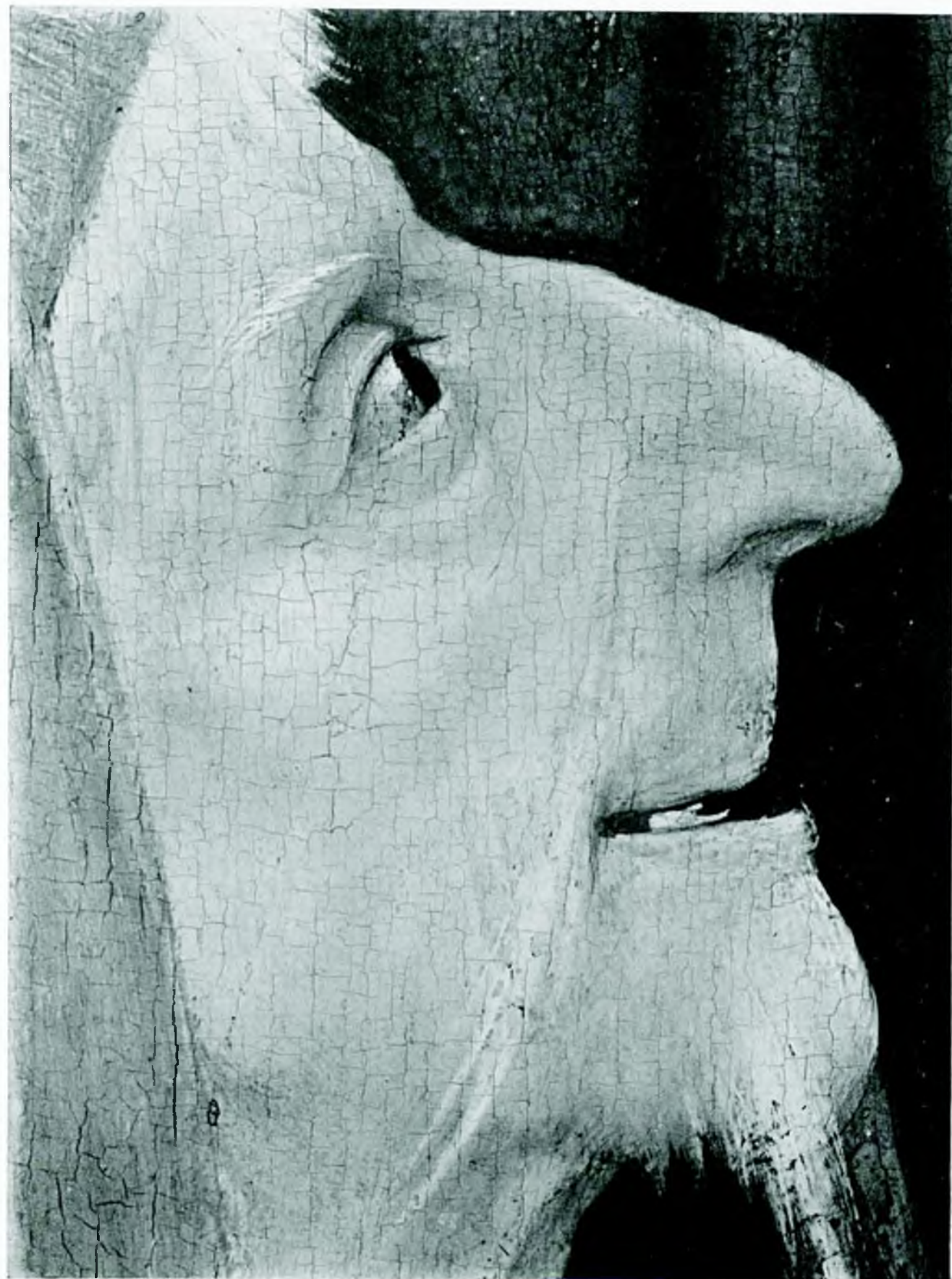
No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). The Crowning with Thorns. Head of the Jew on the Right (1 : 1)  
text pp. 18 - 21



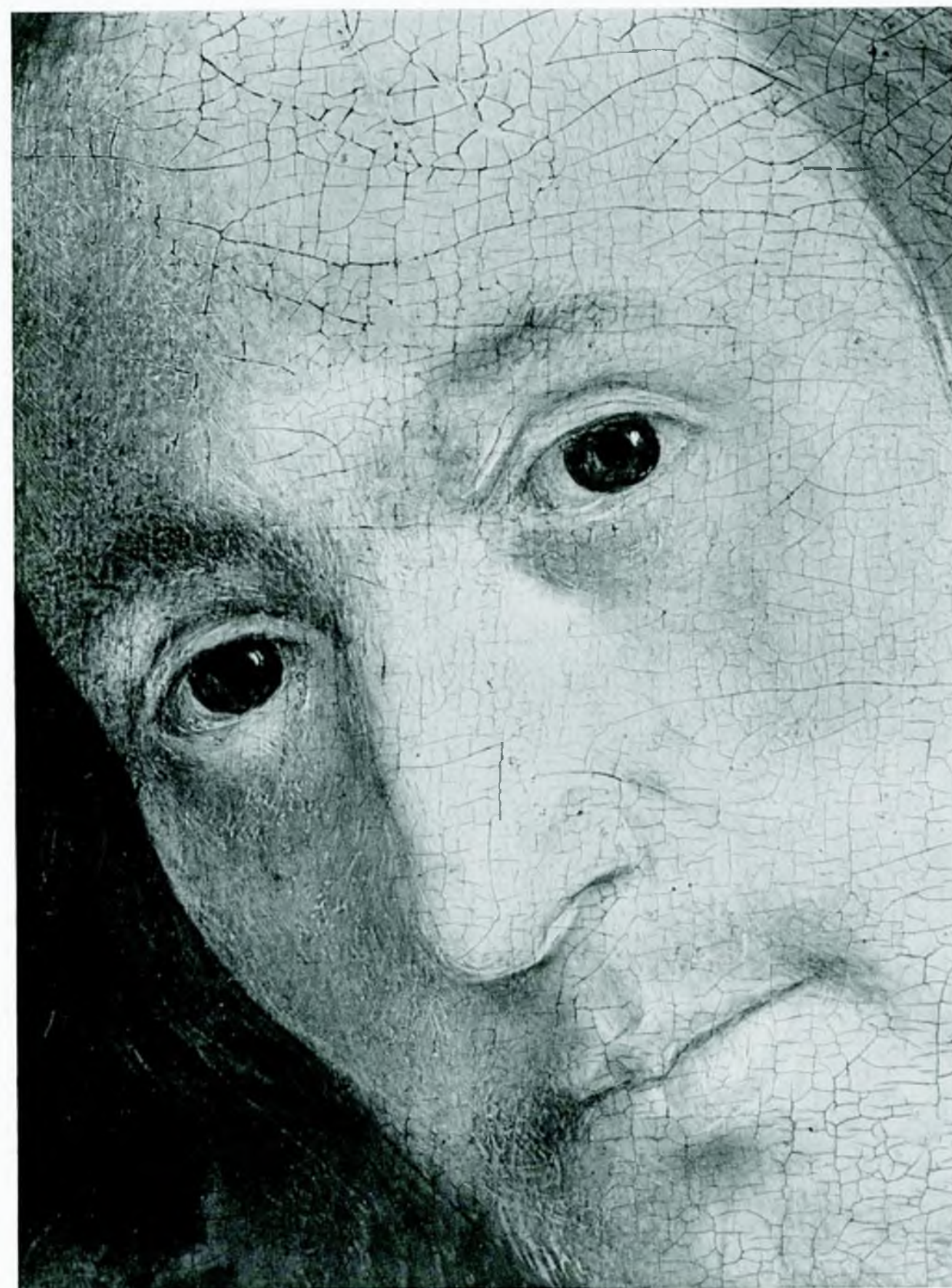
No. 25 : Group Bosch (fl. The Crowning with Thorns. Head of the Jew on the Left (1 : 1)  
text pp. 18-21



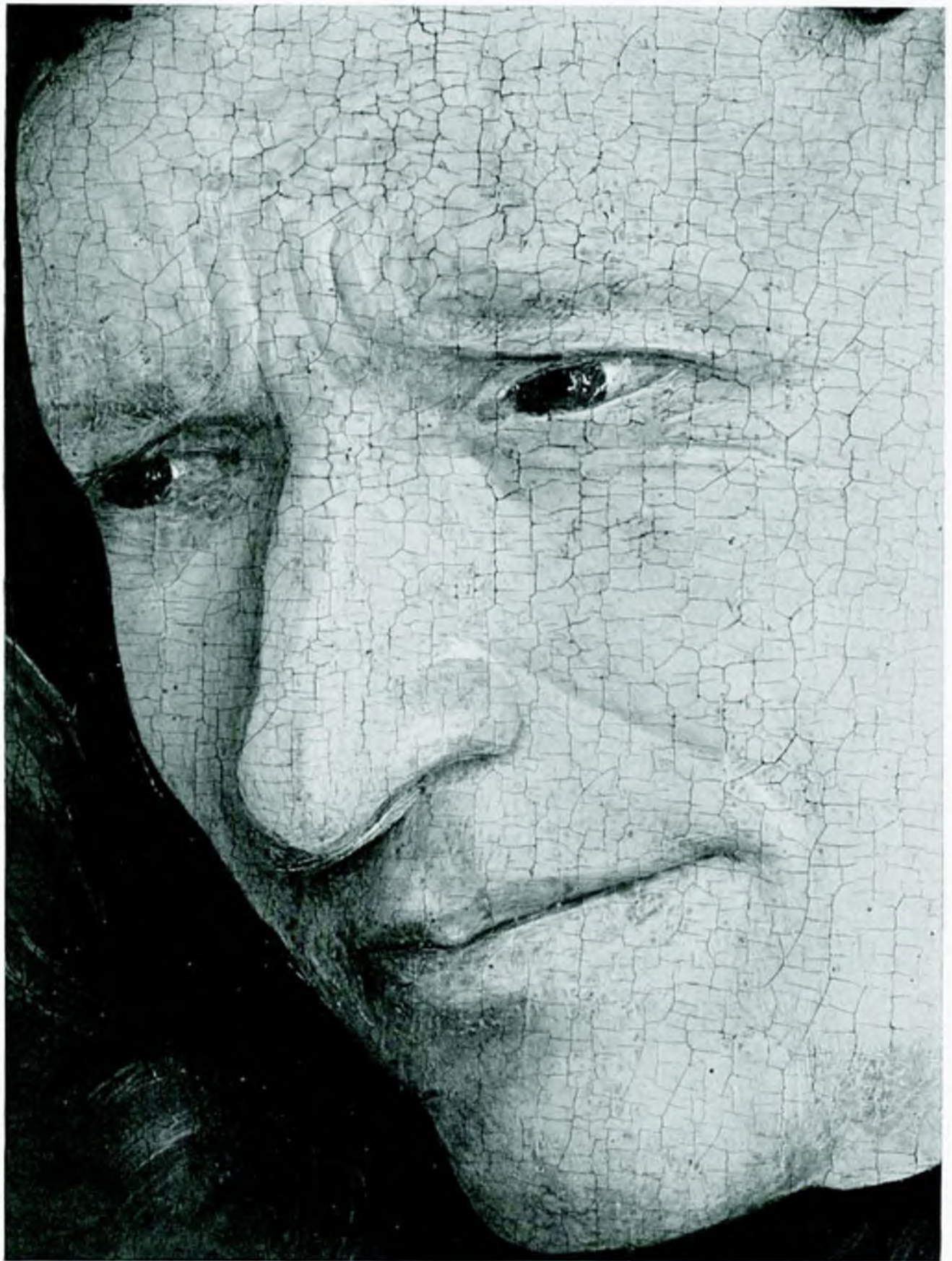




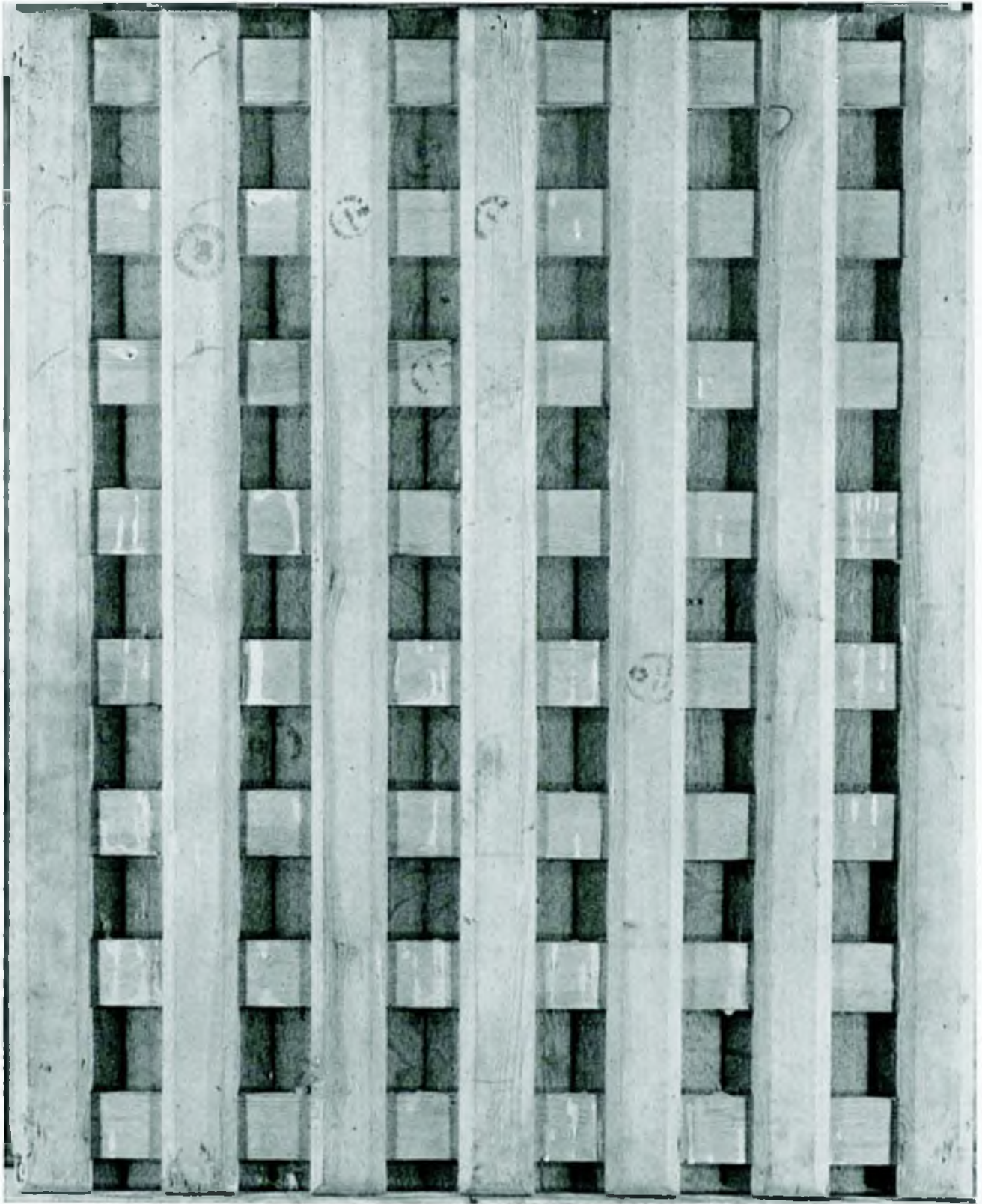
No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Features of the Jew on the Left* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Features of Christ* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. Features of the Soldier on the Right (M 2 X)*  
text pp. 18-21



No. 25 : Group Bosch (4). *The Crowning with Thorns. The Reverse*  
text pp. 18 - 21



No. 26 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (I). *Christ Crowned with Thorns*  
text pp. 21 - 24



No. 26 : Group Bouts. Aelbrecht (I). *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 21 - 24

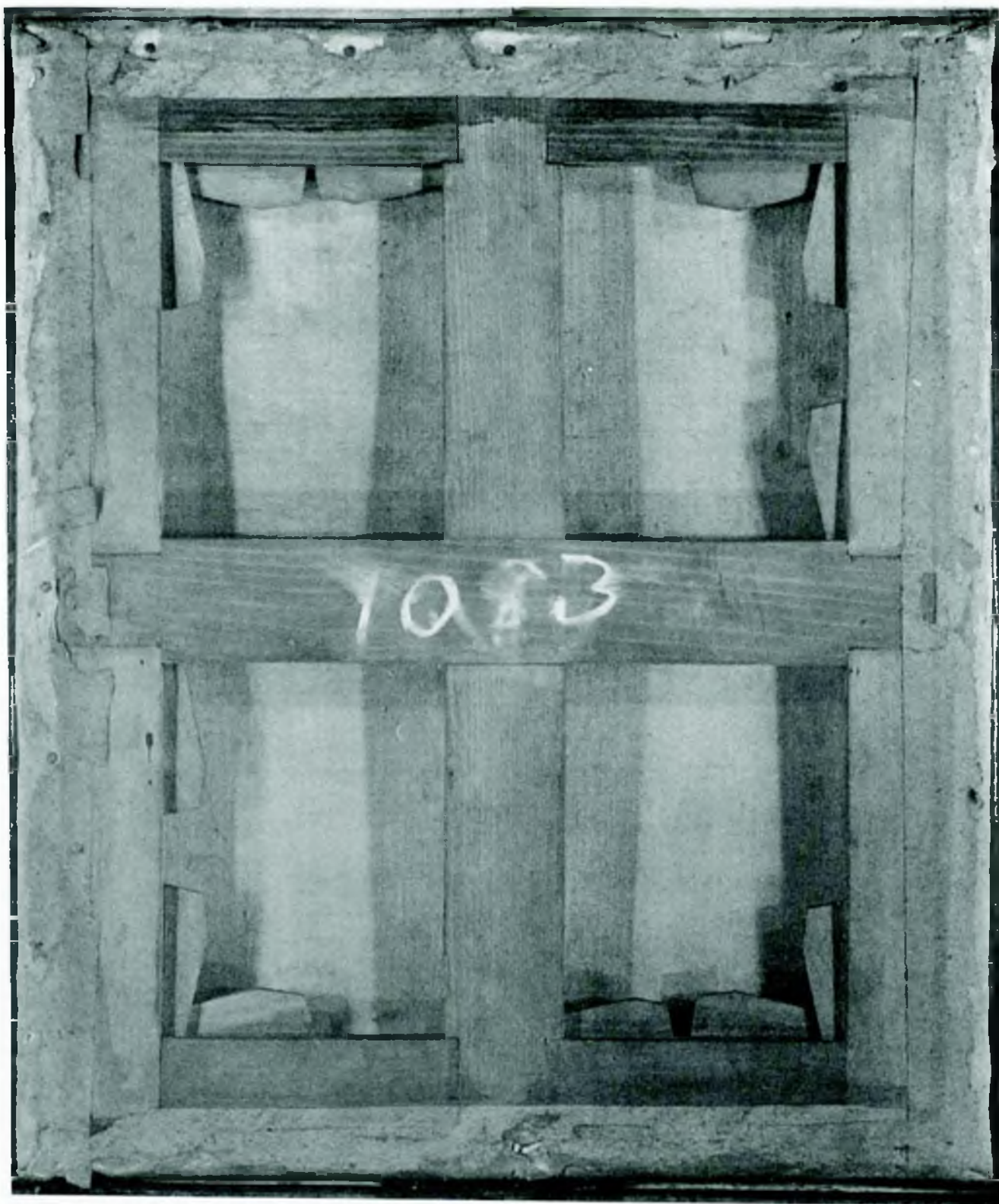


No. 26 : Group Bouts. Aelbrecht (1), Christ Crowned with Thorns (1 : 1)  
text pp. 21 - 24



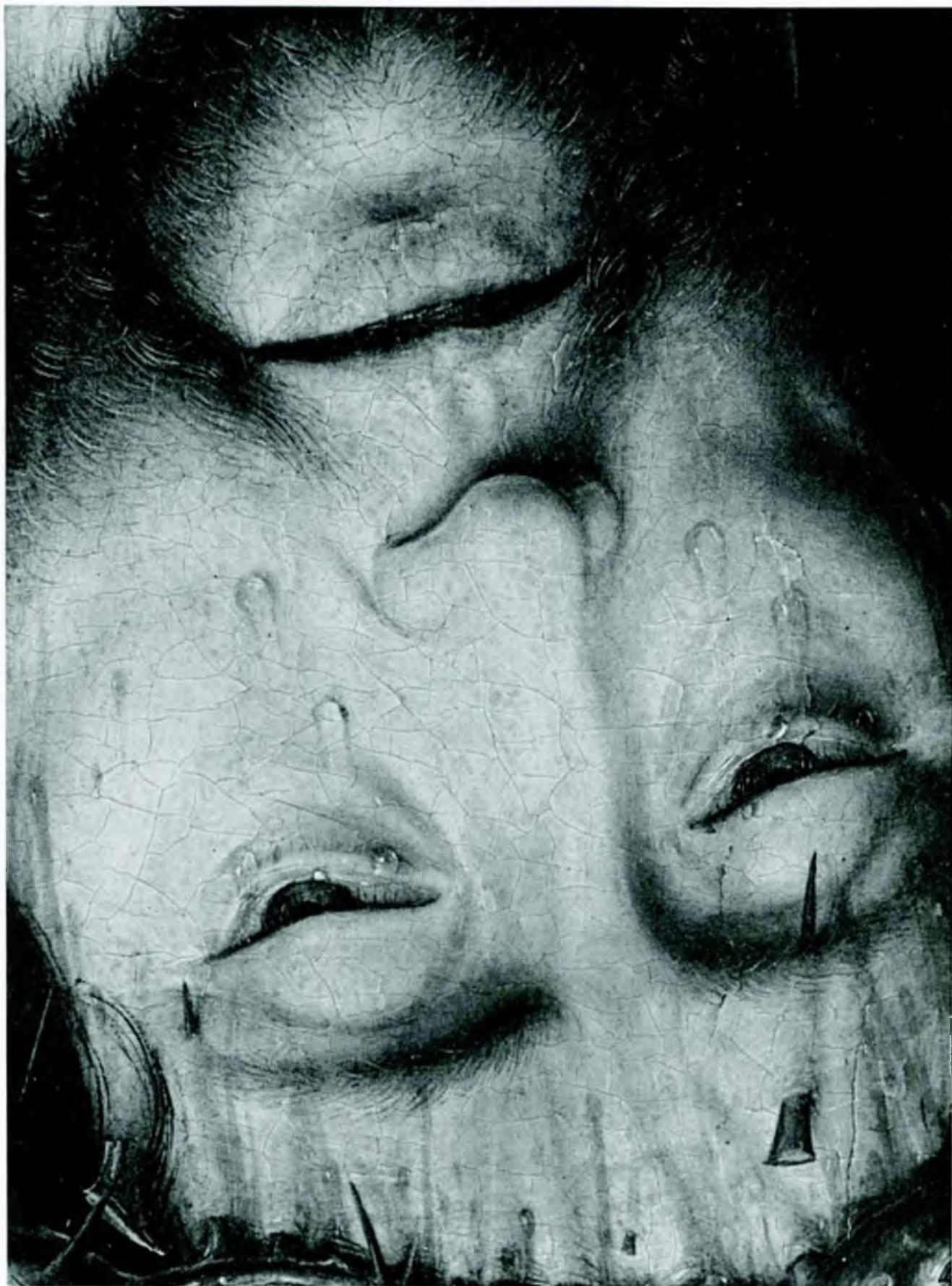
No. 26 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (I), *Christ Crowned with Thorns. The Right Hand of Christ* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 21 - 24

No. 26 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (I), Christ Crowned with Thorns, The Reverse  
text pp. 21 - 24



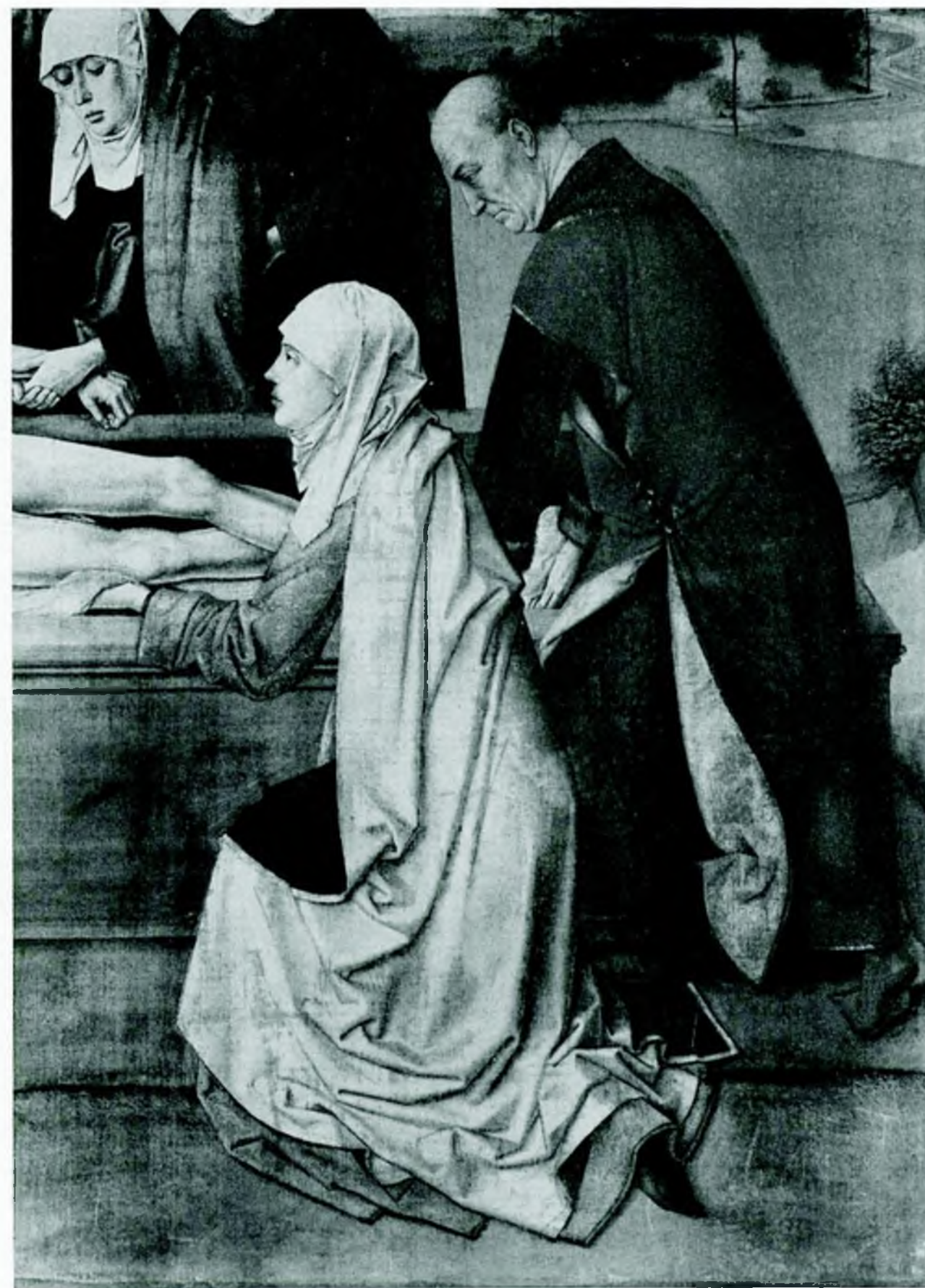


No. 26 : Group Bouts, Albrecht (II), Christ Crowned with Thorns (M2X)  
text pp. 21-24





No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment*  
text pp. 24 - 27



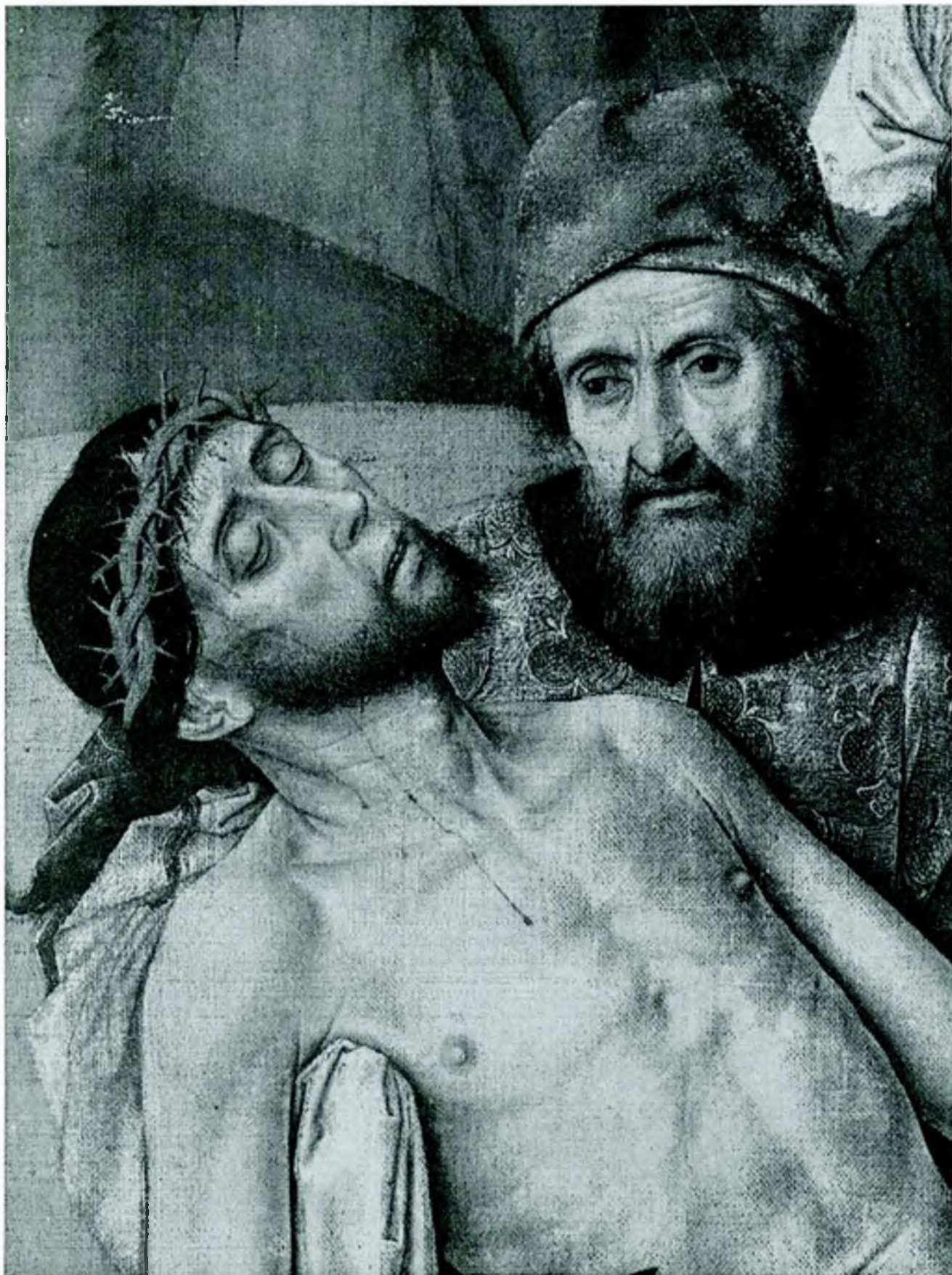
No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. S. Mary Magdalene, The Virgin and S. Nicodemus* (?)  
text pp. 24 - 27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. The Body of Christ, the Virgin and the other Figures*  
text pp. 24 - 27



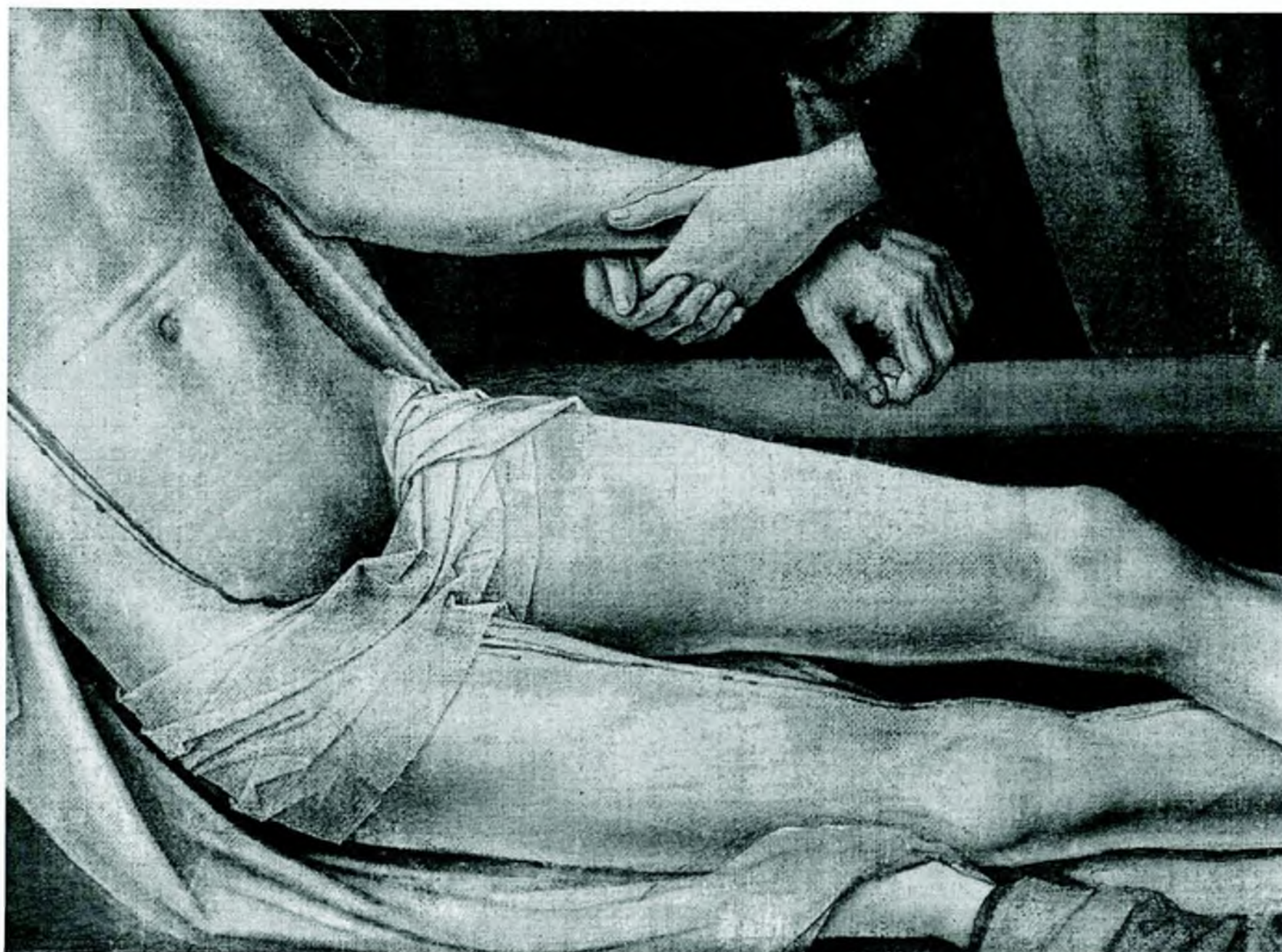
No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Head of the Virgin, two Holy Women and S. John (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 24 - 27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Christ and S. Joseph of Arimathea (?) (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 24-27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Head and Arm of S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 24-27



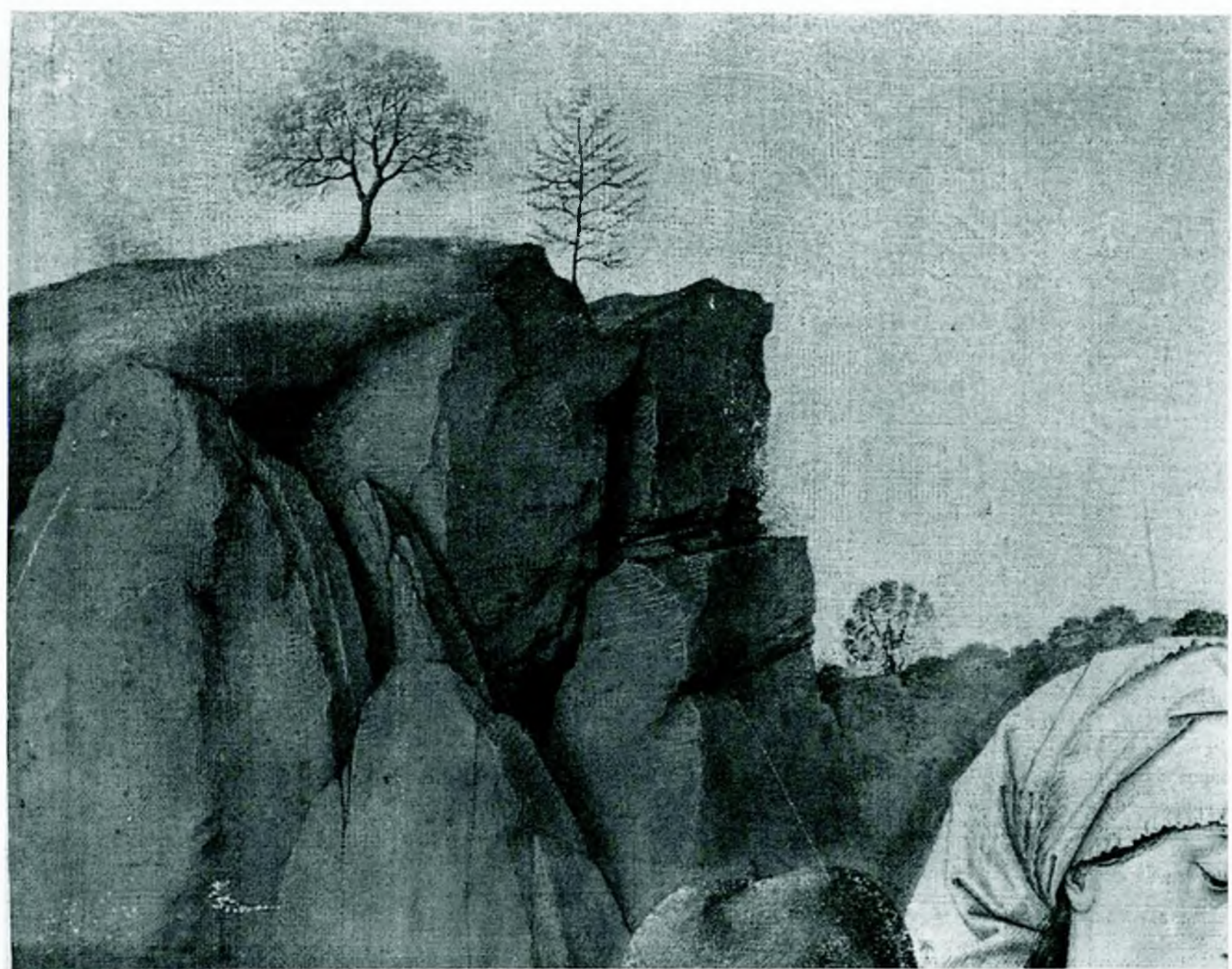
No. 27 : Group Bouts (I), *The Entombment*. Detail of the Body of Christ (1:1)  
text pp. 24-27



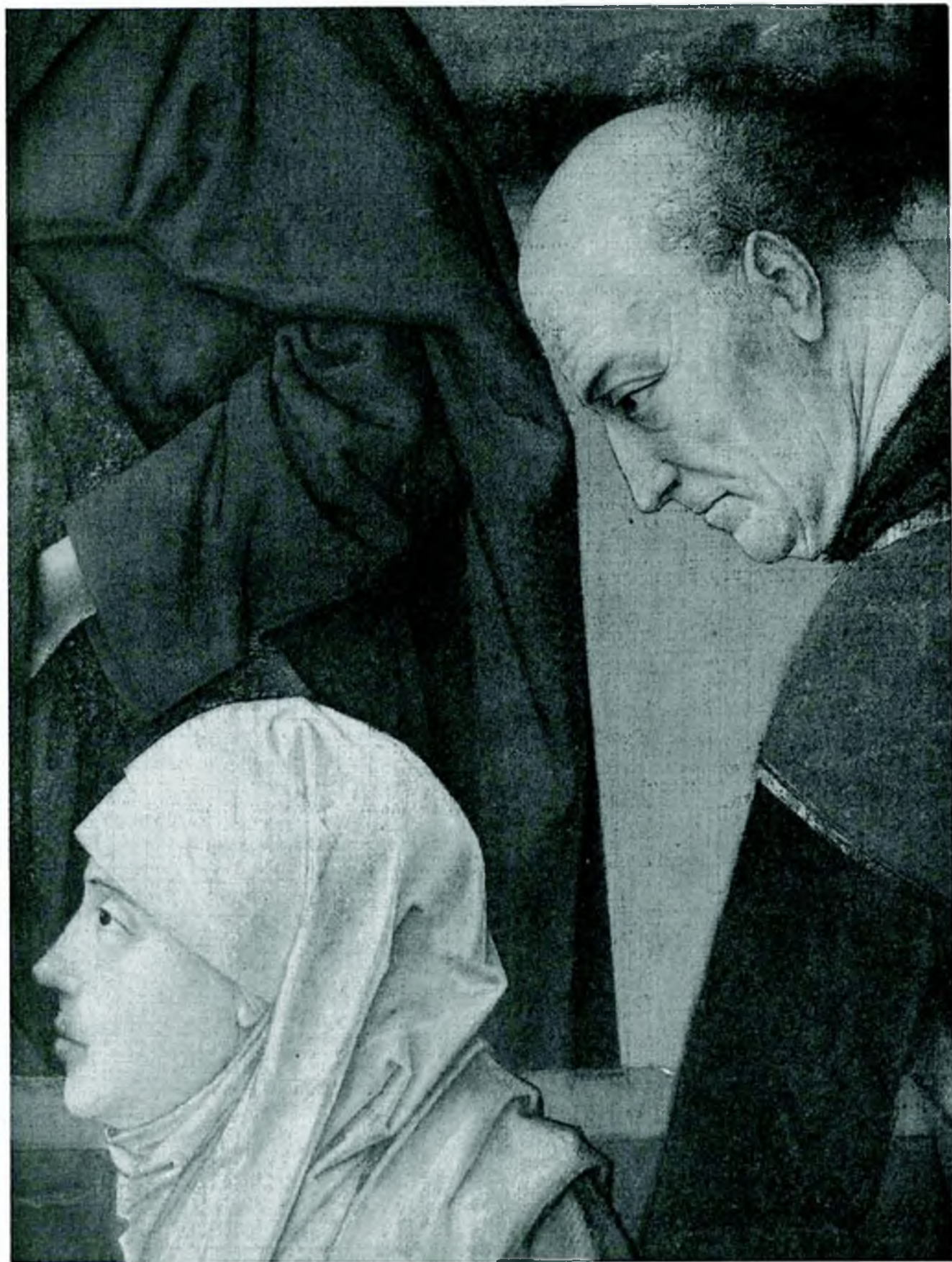
No. 27 : Group Bouts (I), *The Entombment*, Lower Part of the Dress of S. Mary Magdalene (1:1)  
text pp. 24-27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Landscape, on the Right (1 : 1)*  
 text pp. 24 - 27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Rocks on the Left (1 : 1)*  
 text pp. 24 - 27

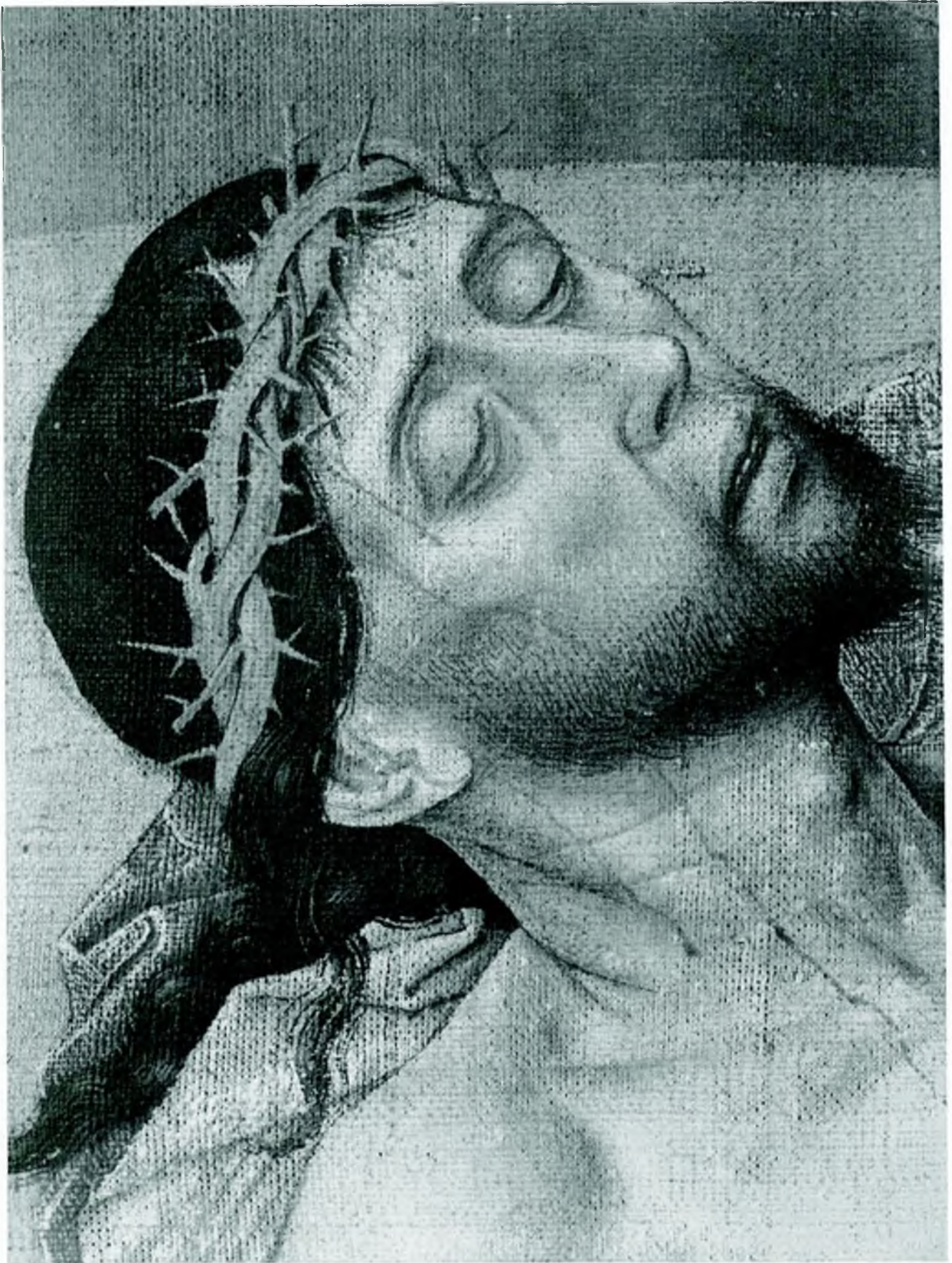


No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment*. Heads of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Nicodemus (?) (1:1)  
text pp. 24-27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment*. Head of S. John (M 2X)  
text pp. 24-27





No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Head of Christ (M 2 X)*  
text pp. 24-27



No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). *The Entombment. Head of the Virgin* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 24 - 27

No. 28 : Group Bouts (2), The Virgin and Child (1 : 1)  
text pp. 28-51

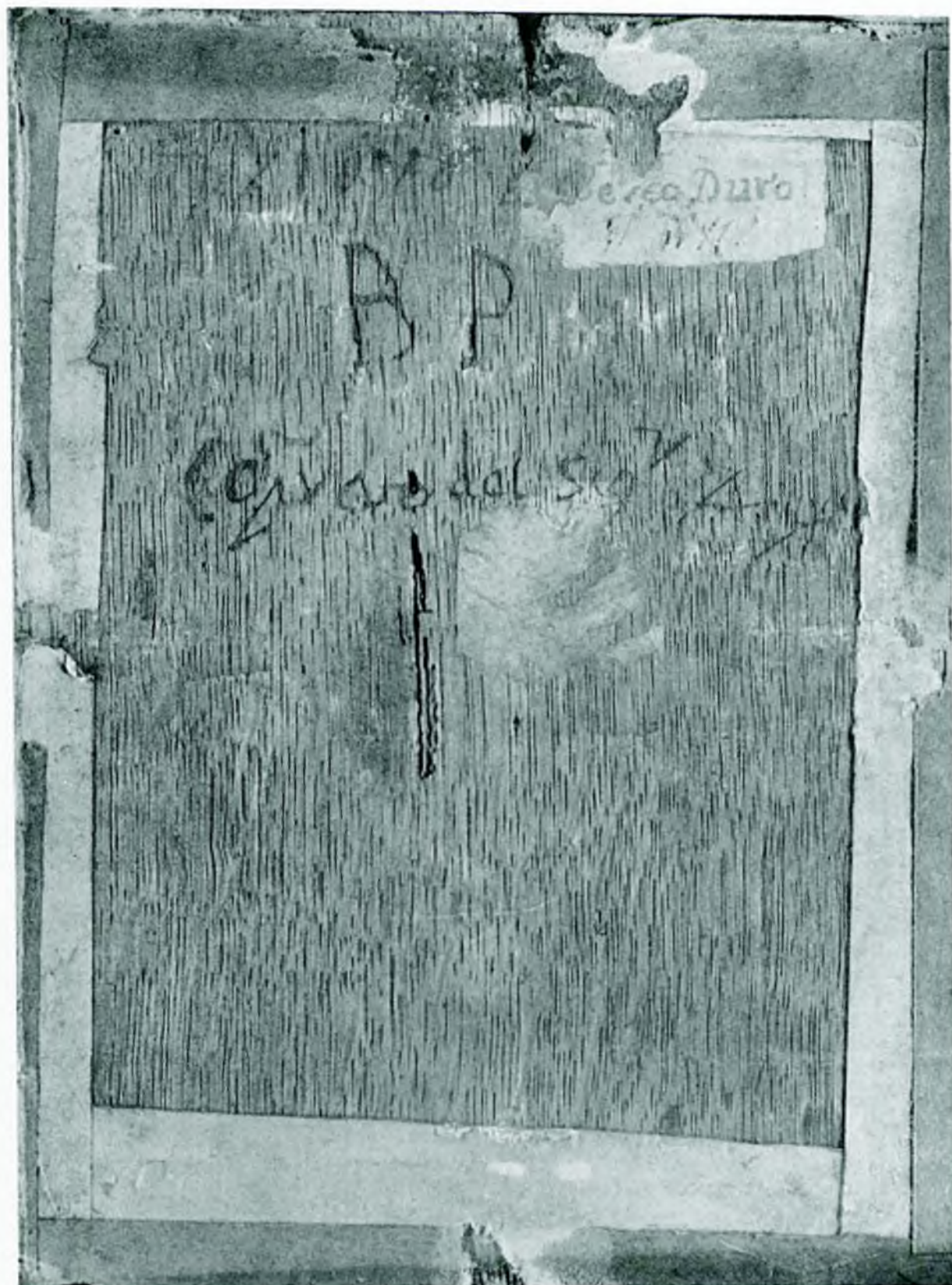


No. 27 : Group Bouts (1). The Entombment. The Reverse  
text pp. 21-27





No. 28 : Group Bouts (2). *The Virgin and Child* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 28 - 51



No. 28 : Group Bouts (2). *The Virgin and Child. The Reverse* (infra-red, 1 : 1)  
text pp. 28 - 51



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). "Mater Dolorosa"  
text pp. 51 - 58



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5), *Christ Crowned with Thorns*  
text pp. 51 - 58



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). Christ Crowned with Thorns (1 : 1)  
text pp. 51 - 58



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). "Mater Dolorosa" (1 : 1)  
text pp. 31 - 38

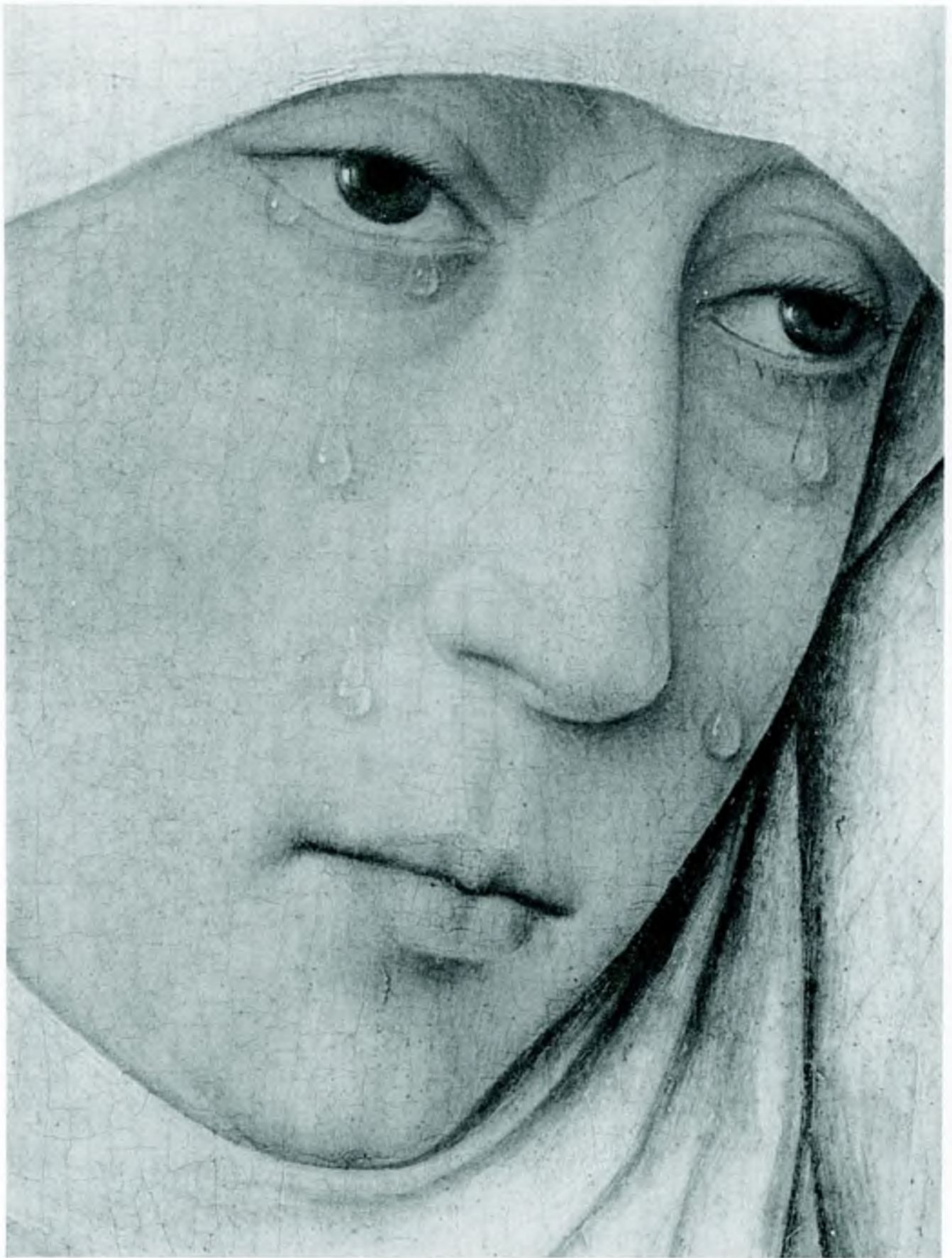




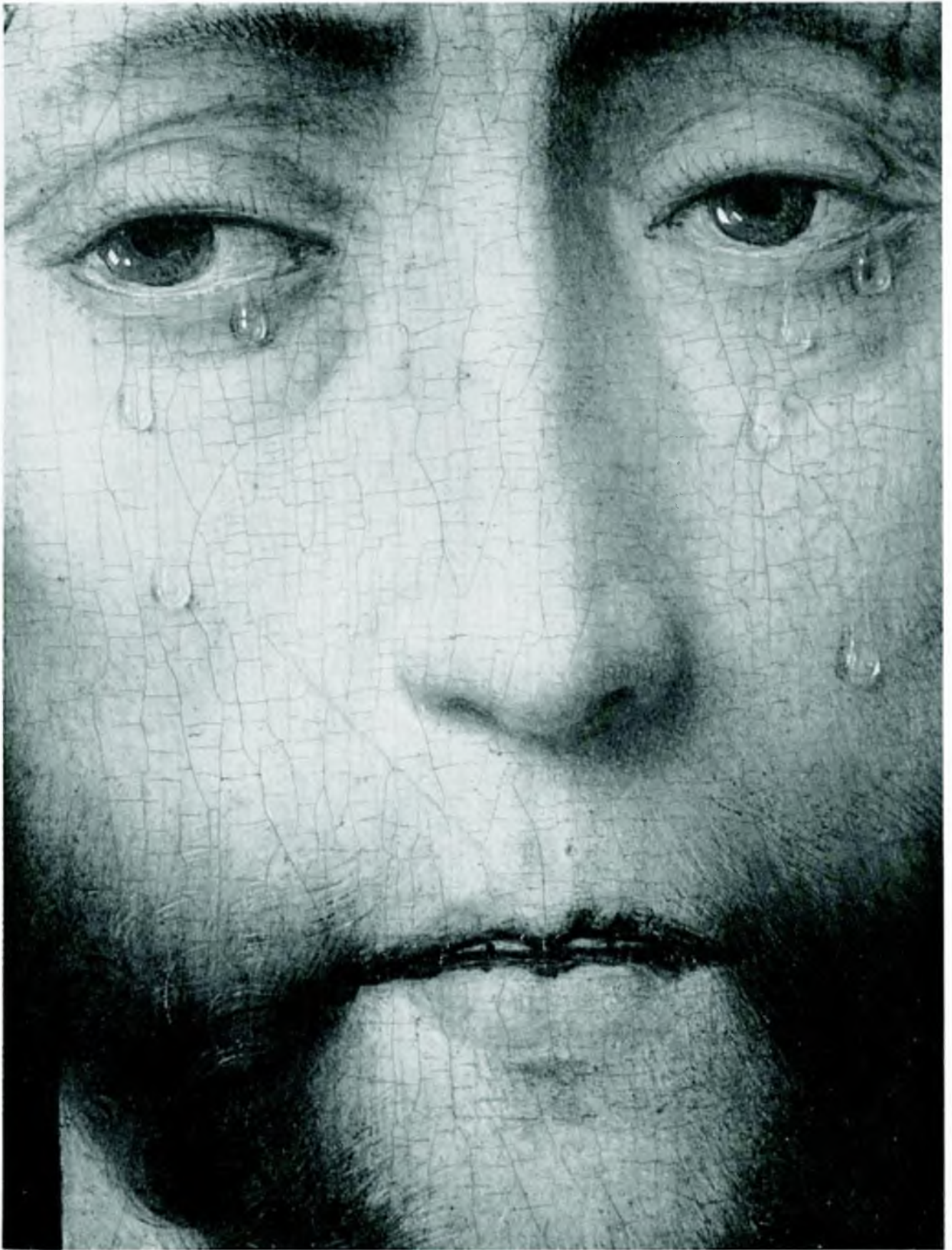
No. 29 : Group Bouts (5), "Mater Dolorosa" (1 : 1)  
text pp. 31 - 38



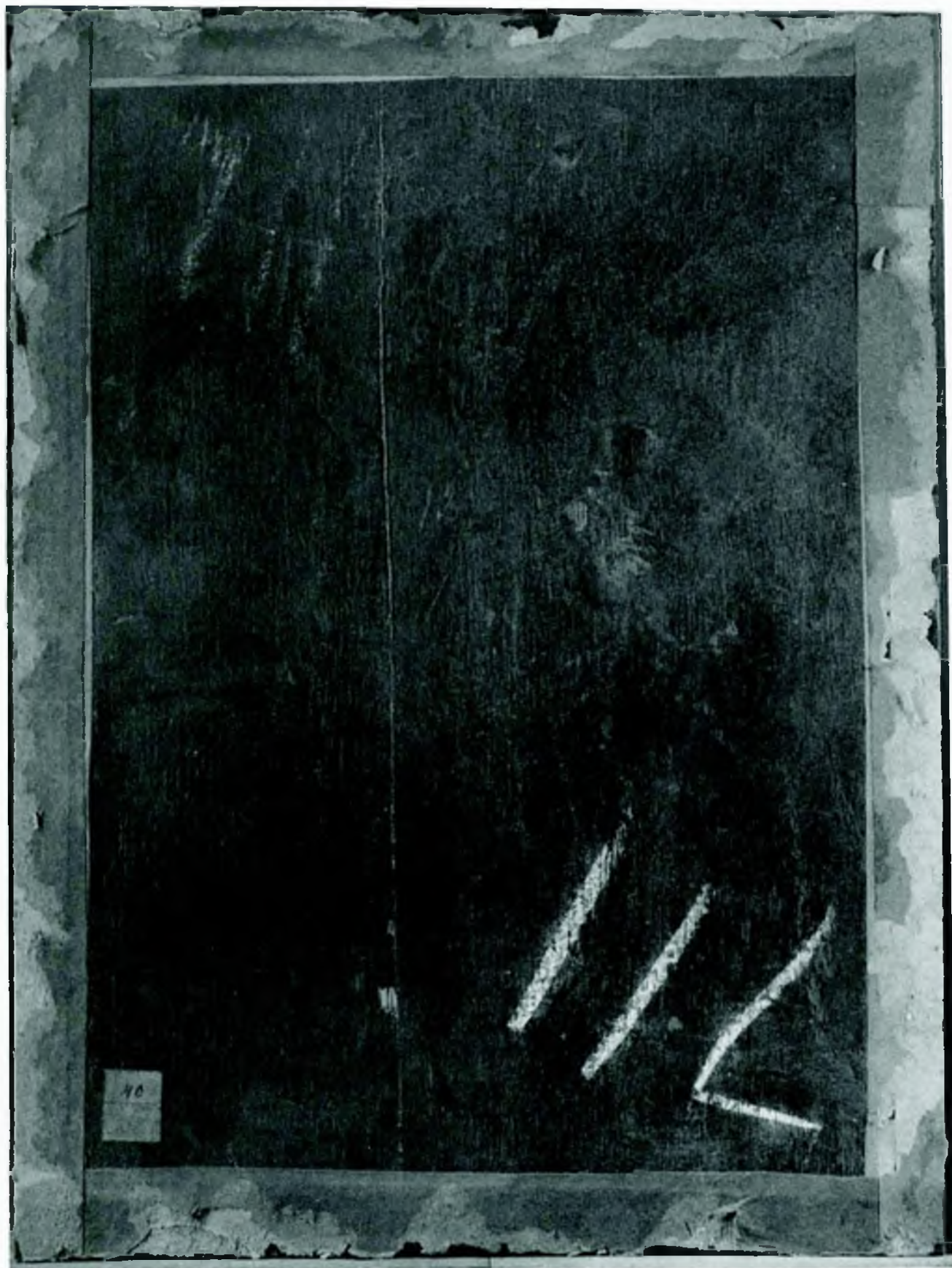
No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). Christ Crowned with Thorns (1 : 1)  
text pp. 51 - 58



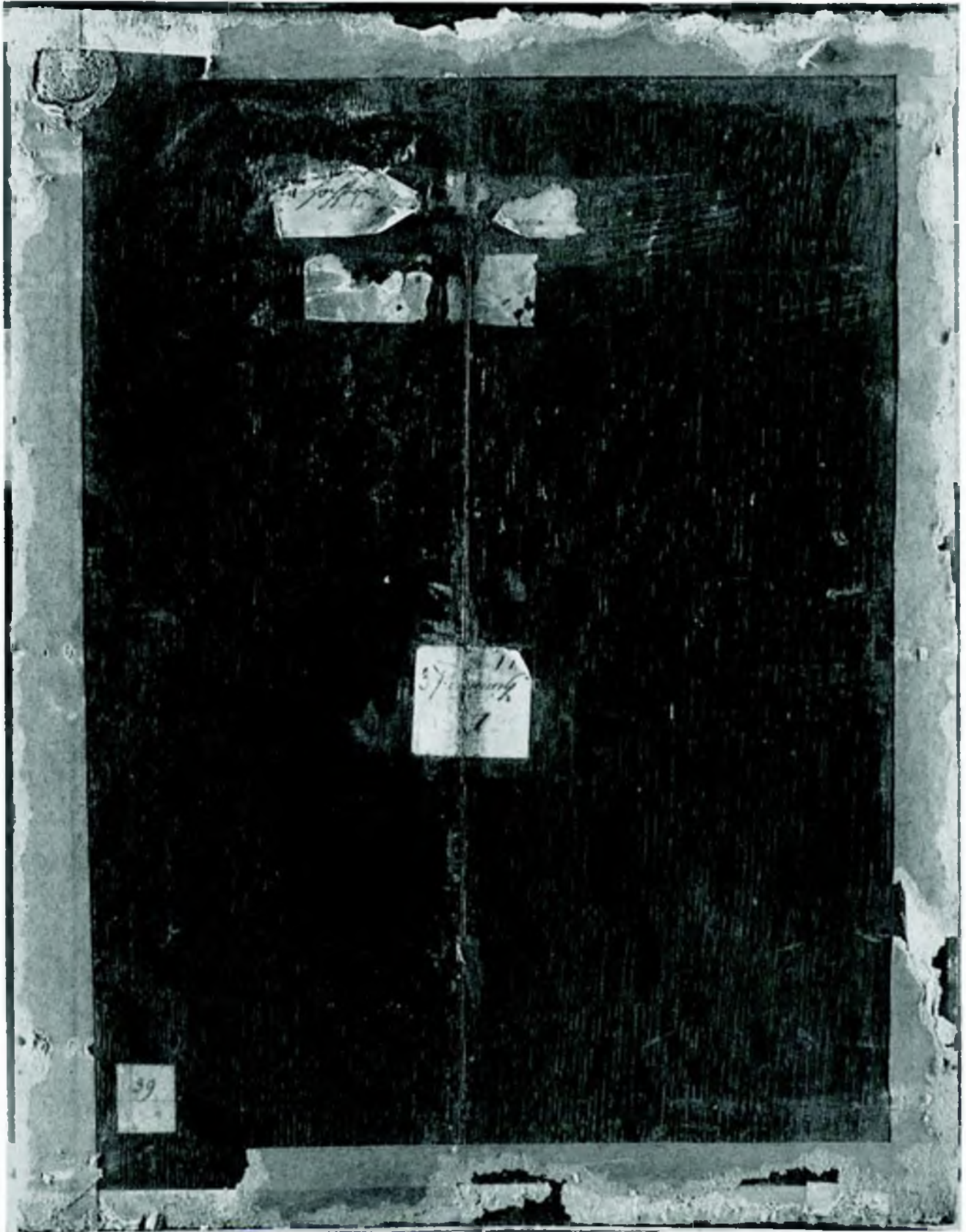
No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). "Mater Dolorosa" (M 2 X)  
text pp. 51 - 58



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5), *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 51 - 58



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5), "Mater Dolorosa". The Reverse  
text pp. 51-78



No. 29 : Group Bouts (5). *Christ Crowned with Thorns. The Reverse*  
text pp. 51 - 58

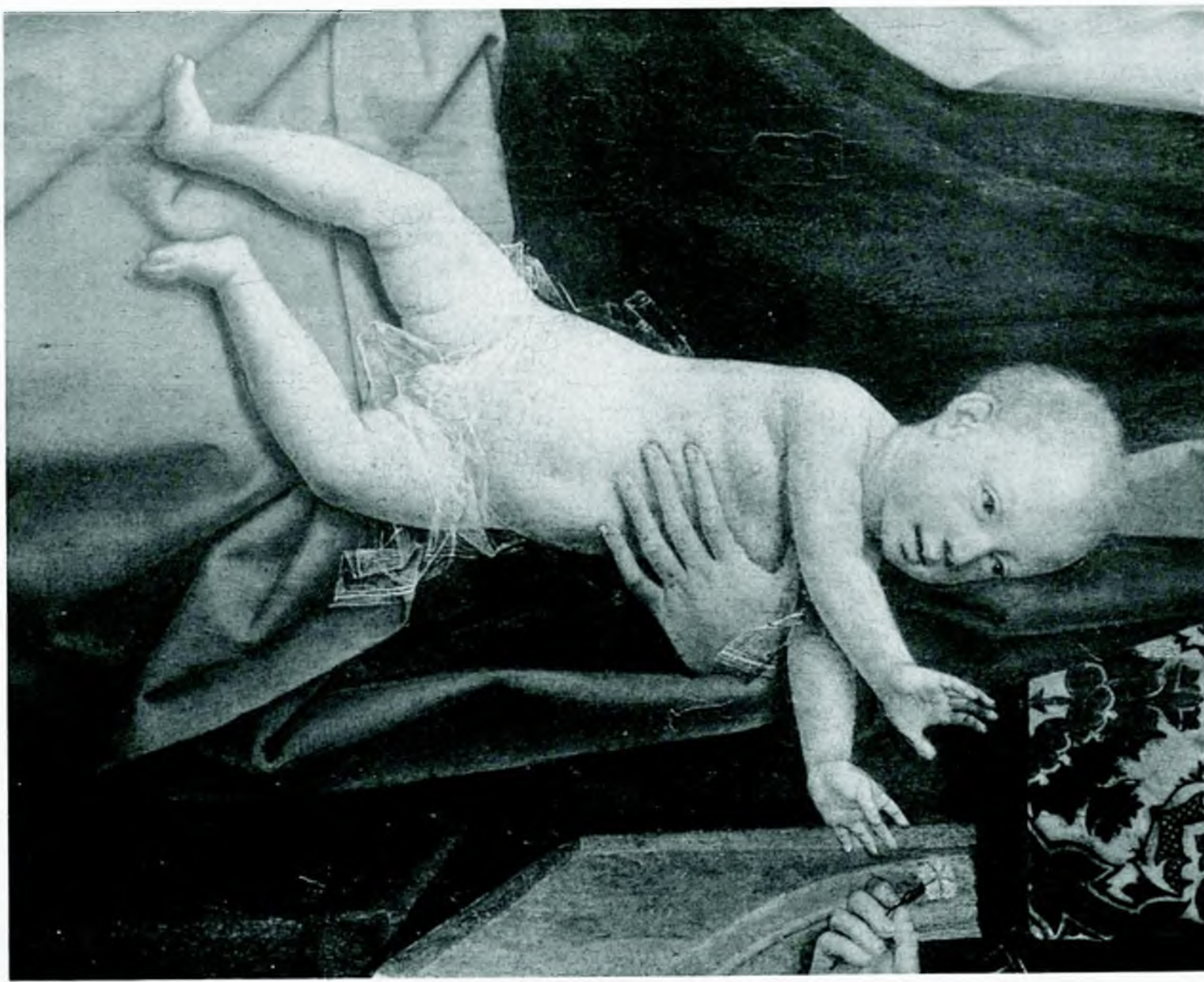


No. 30 : Group Bouts (4). The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul (1 : 1)  
text pp. 38 - 42



No. 50 : Group Bouts (1). The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul  
text pp. 58-42





No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul* (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 38 - 42



No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul. The lower left Corner* (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 38 - 42



No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul*. S. Peter half-length (1 : 1)  
text pp. 58 - 42

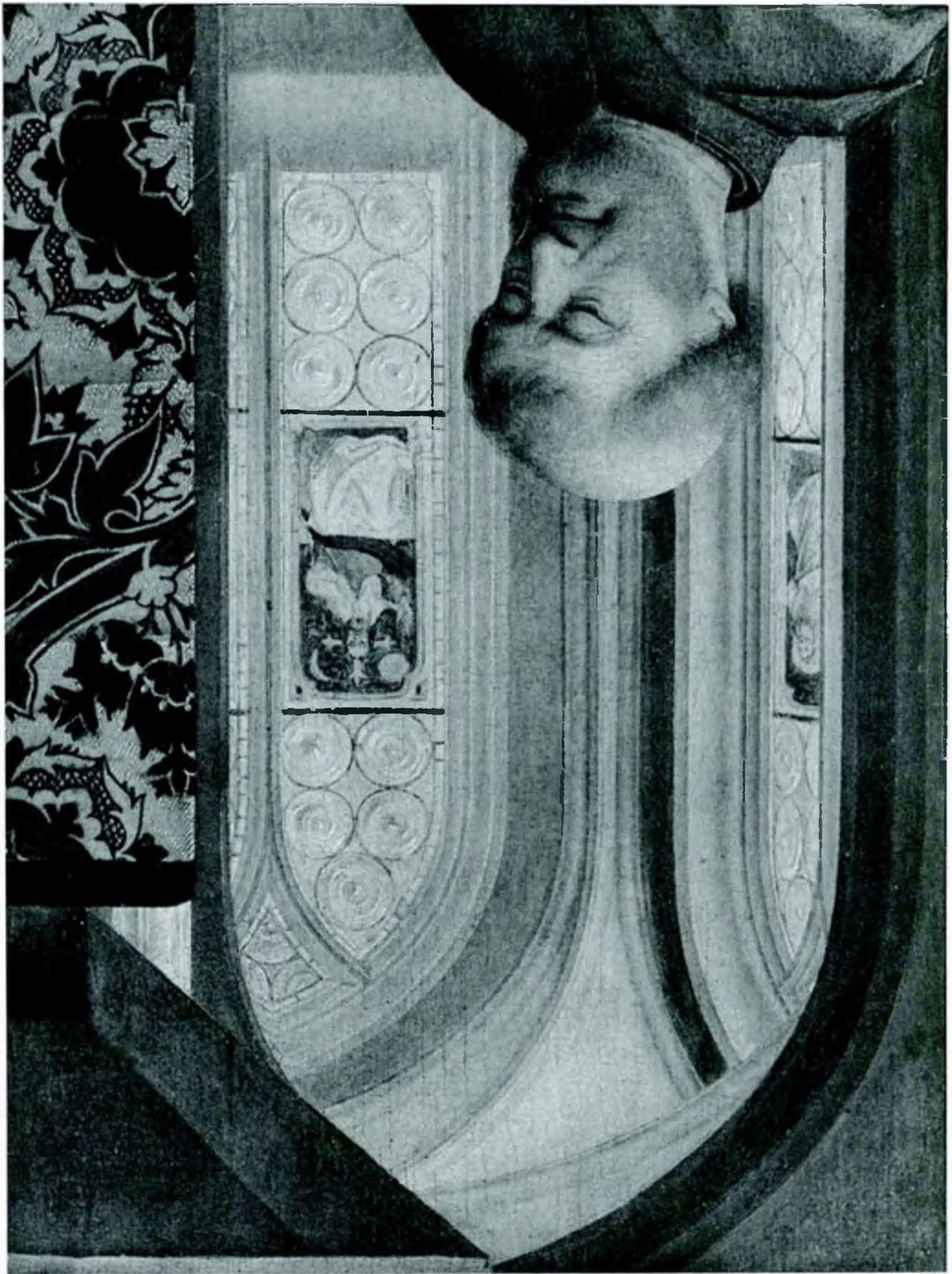


No. 50 : Group Bunts (4). *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul. S. Paul, half-length (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 58-62

No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul.  
Landscape behind the Head of S. Paul (1 : 1)  
text pp. 38-42



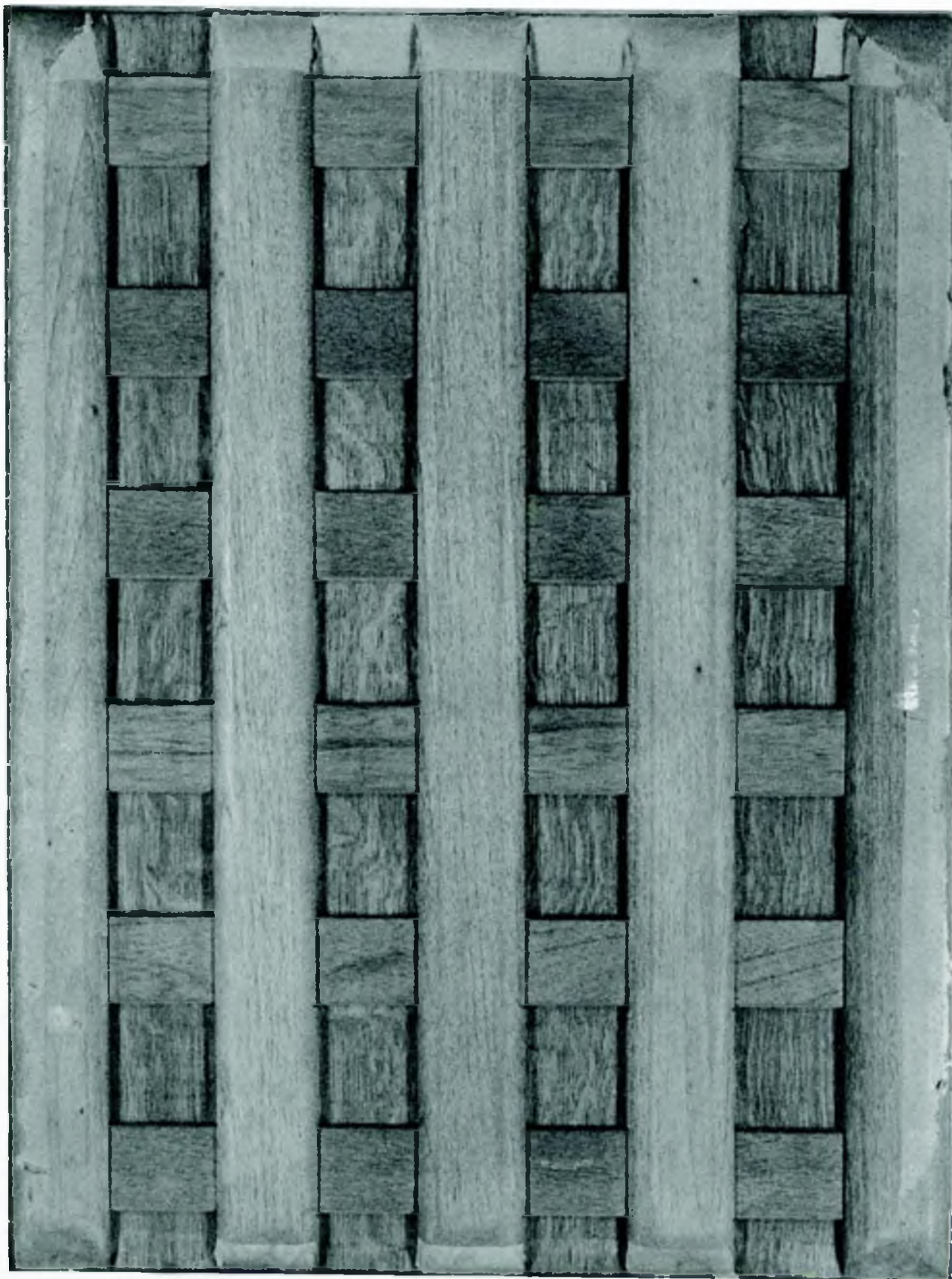
No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul.  
Stained Glass behind the Head of S. Peter (1 : 1)  
text pp. 38-42





No. 50 : Group Bouts (4), *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul.*  
*Head of S. Peter (M2 X)*  
*text pp. 58 - 42*

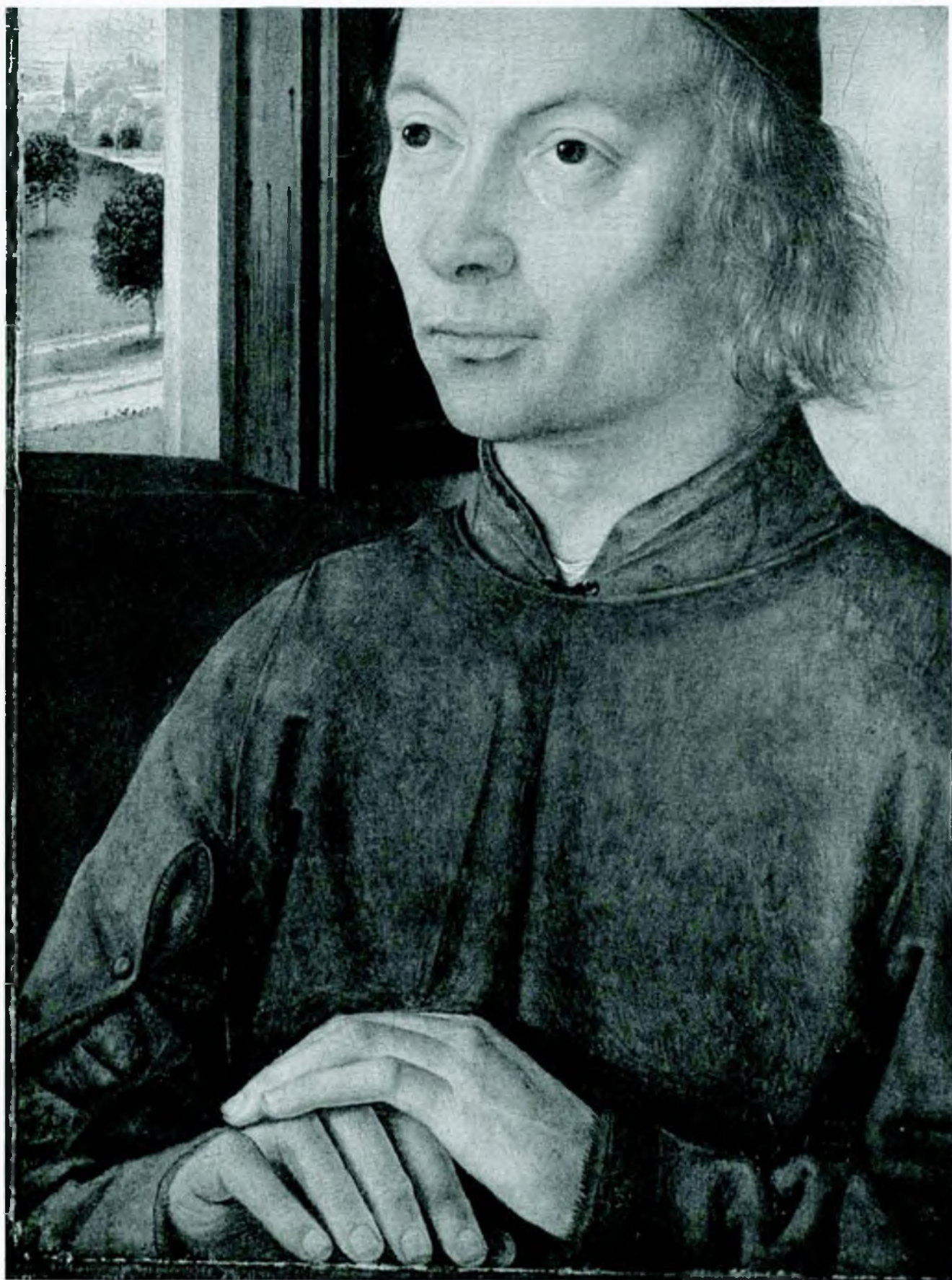




No. 50 : Group Bouts (4). *The Virgin and Child with S. Peter and S. Paul. The Reverse*  
text pp. 58 - 42



No. 51 : Group Bouts (5). Portrait of a Man  
text pp. 42 - 45



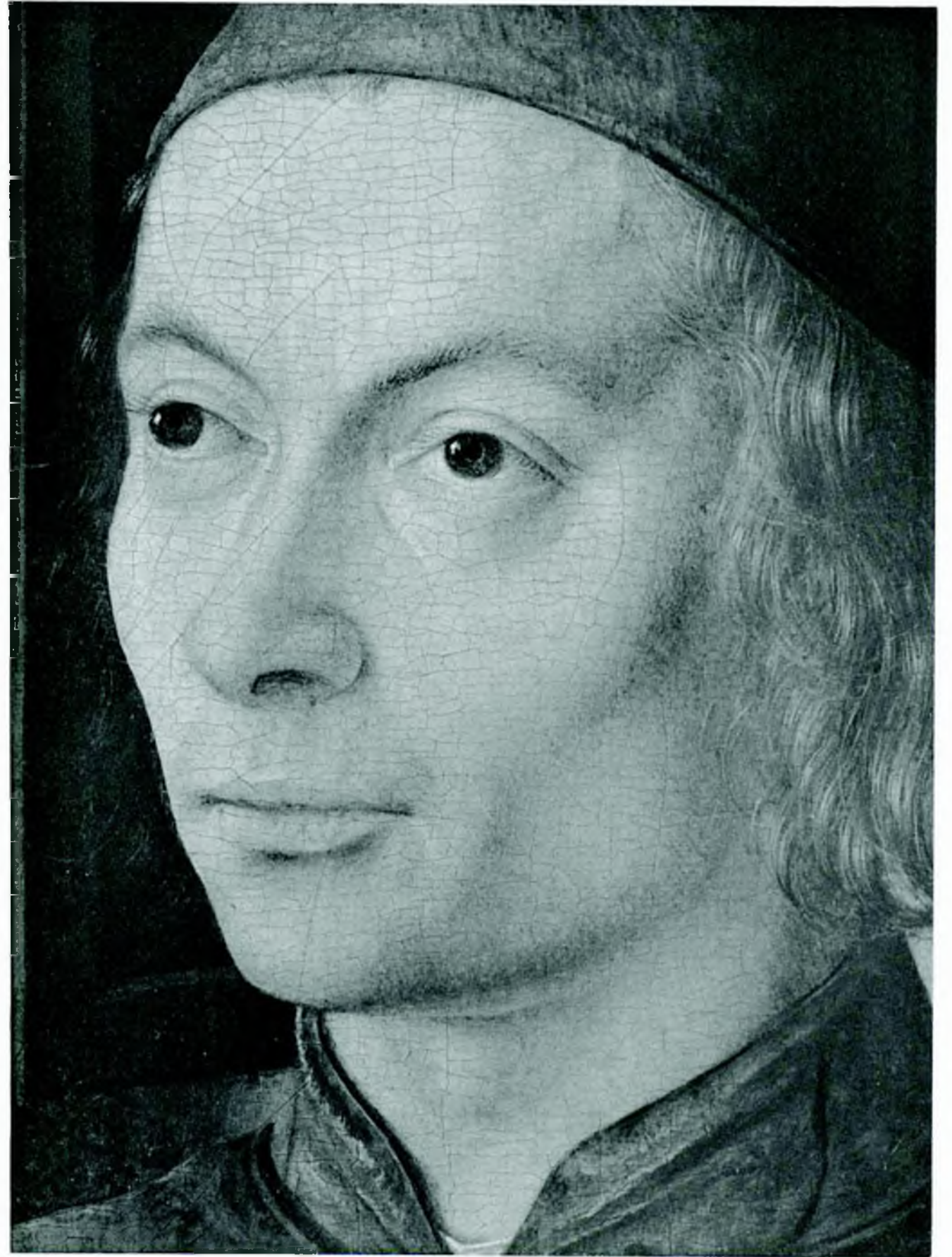
No. 51 : Group Bouts (5), *Portrait of a Man* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 42 - 45



No. 51 : Group Bouts (5), *Portrait of a Man (I : 1)*  
text pp. 42-45



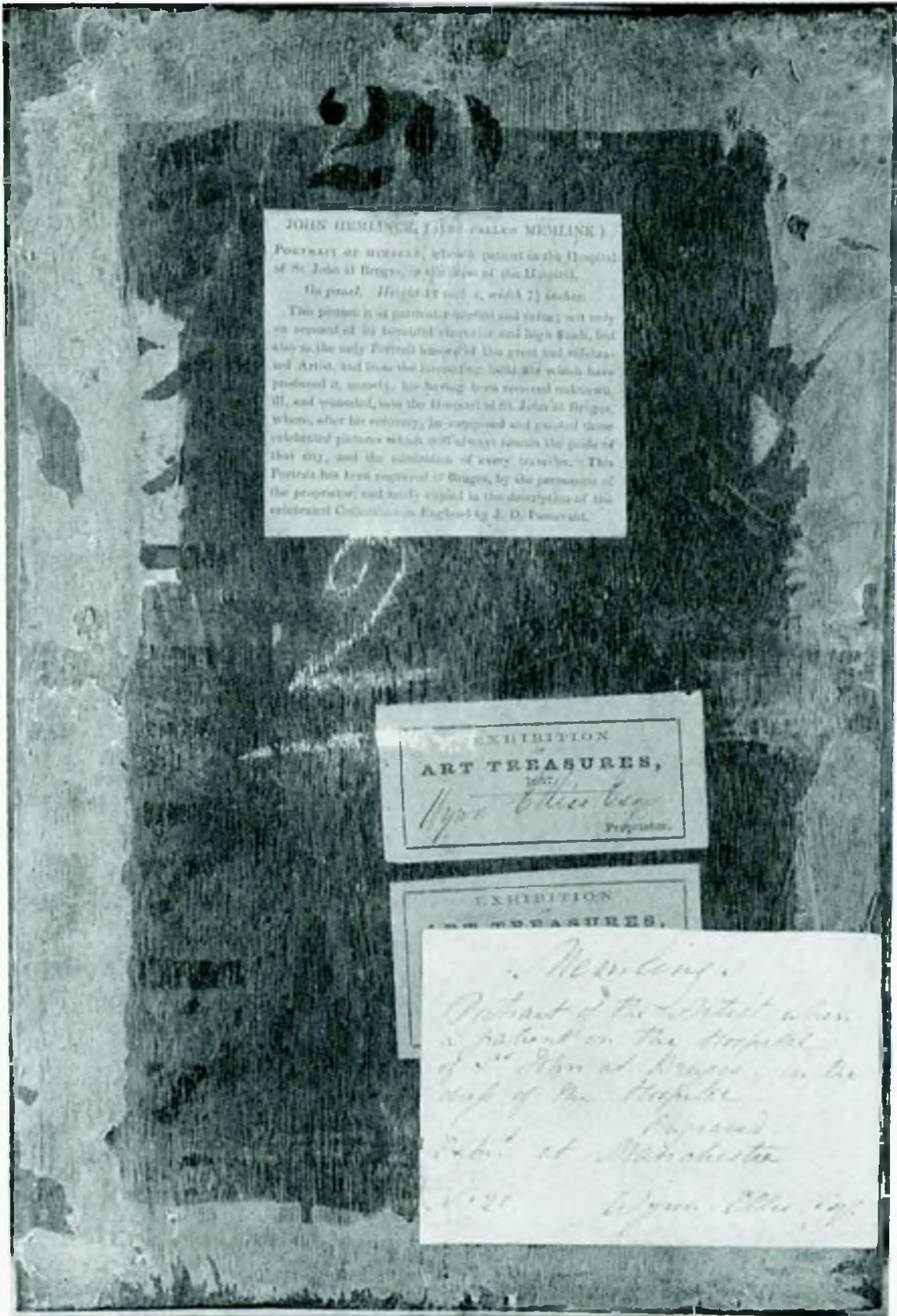
No. 51 : Group Bouts (5), *Portrait of a Man*  
text pp. 42-45



No. 51 : Group Bouts (5). Portrait of a Man (M 2 X)  
text pp. 42-45



No. 51 : Group Bouts (5), Portrait of a Man (M 2 X)  
text pp. 42-45



No. 51 : Group Bouts (5). Portrait of a Man. The Reverse  
text pp. 42-45



No. 52: Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child*  
text pp. 45-48





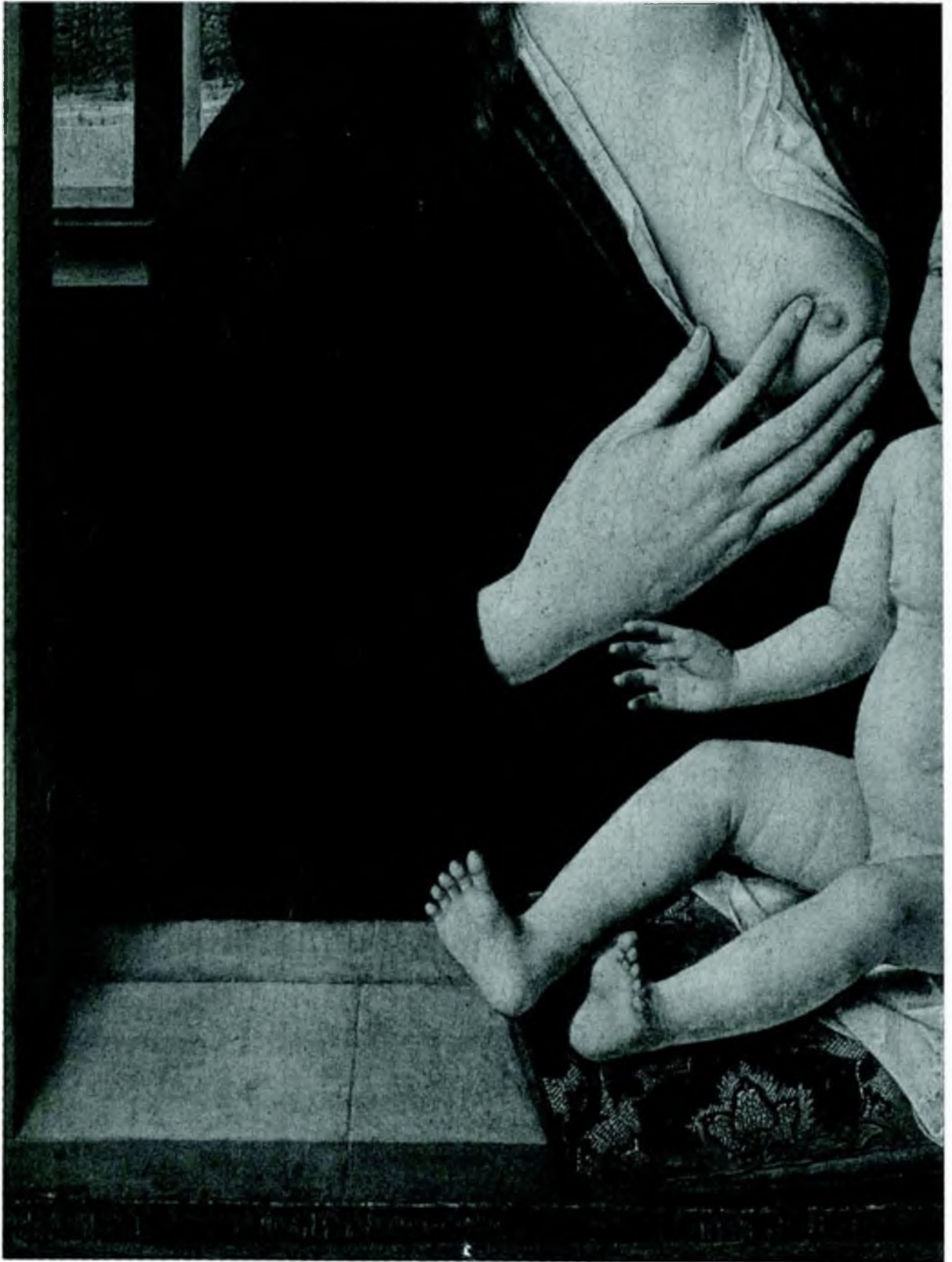
No. 52 : Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 45-48

No. 52: Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child, The upper right Corner (1:1)*  
text pp. 45-48



No. 32: Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child. The upper left Corner (1:1)*  
text pp. 45-48





No. 52 : Group Bouts (6), *The Virgin and Child*, The lower left Corner (1 : 1)  
text pp. 45 - 48



No. 52 : Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child. The lower right Corner (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 45-48



No. 32 : Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 45 - 48

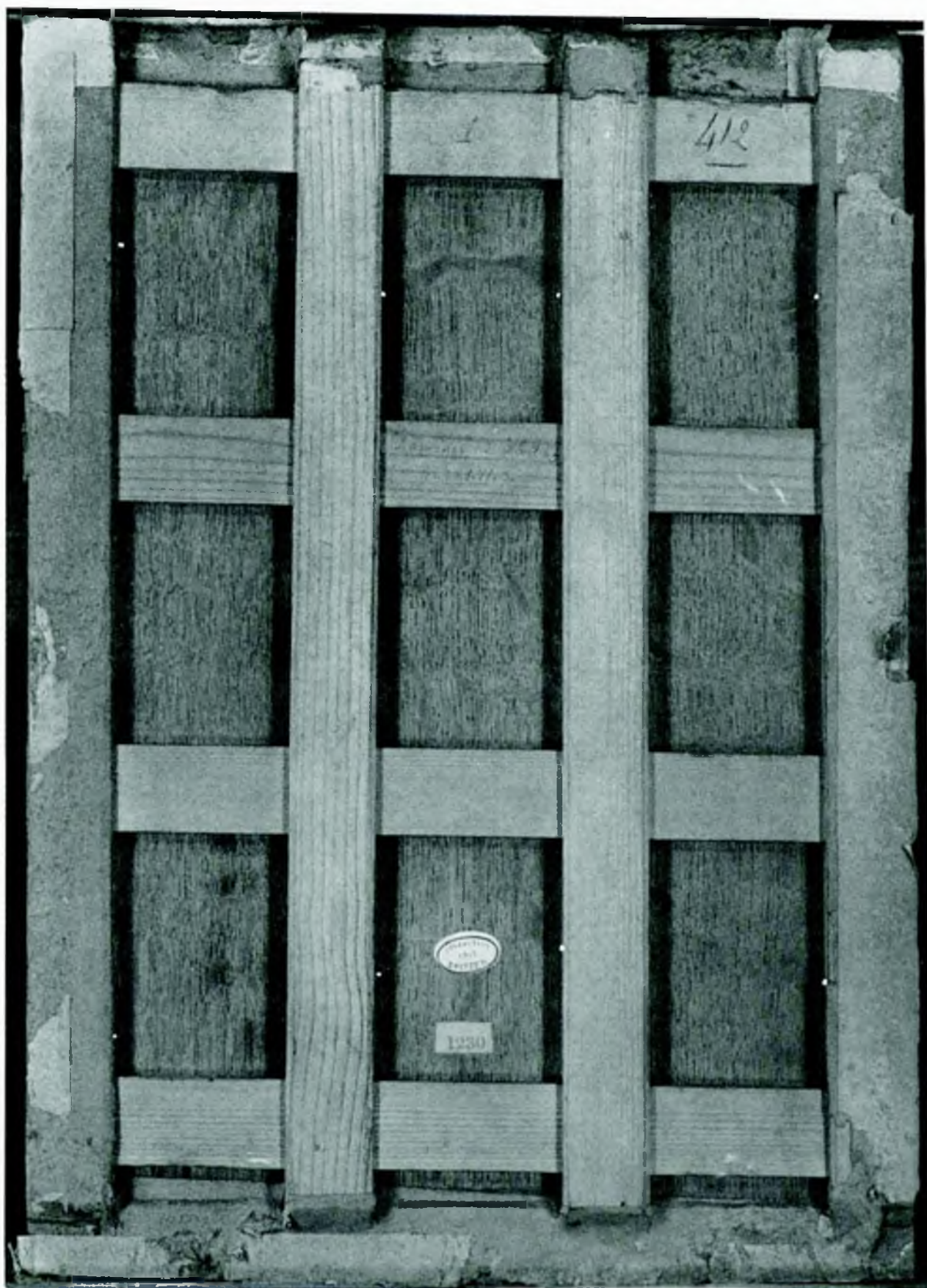


No. 52 : Group Bouts (6), *The Virgin and Child* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 45-48

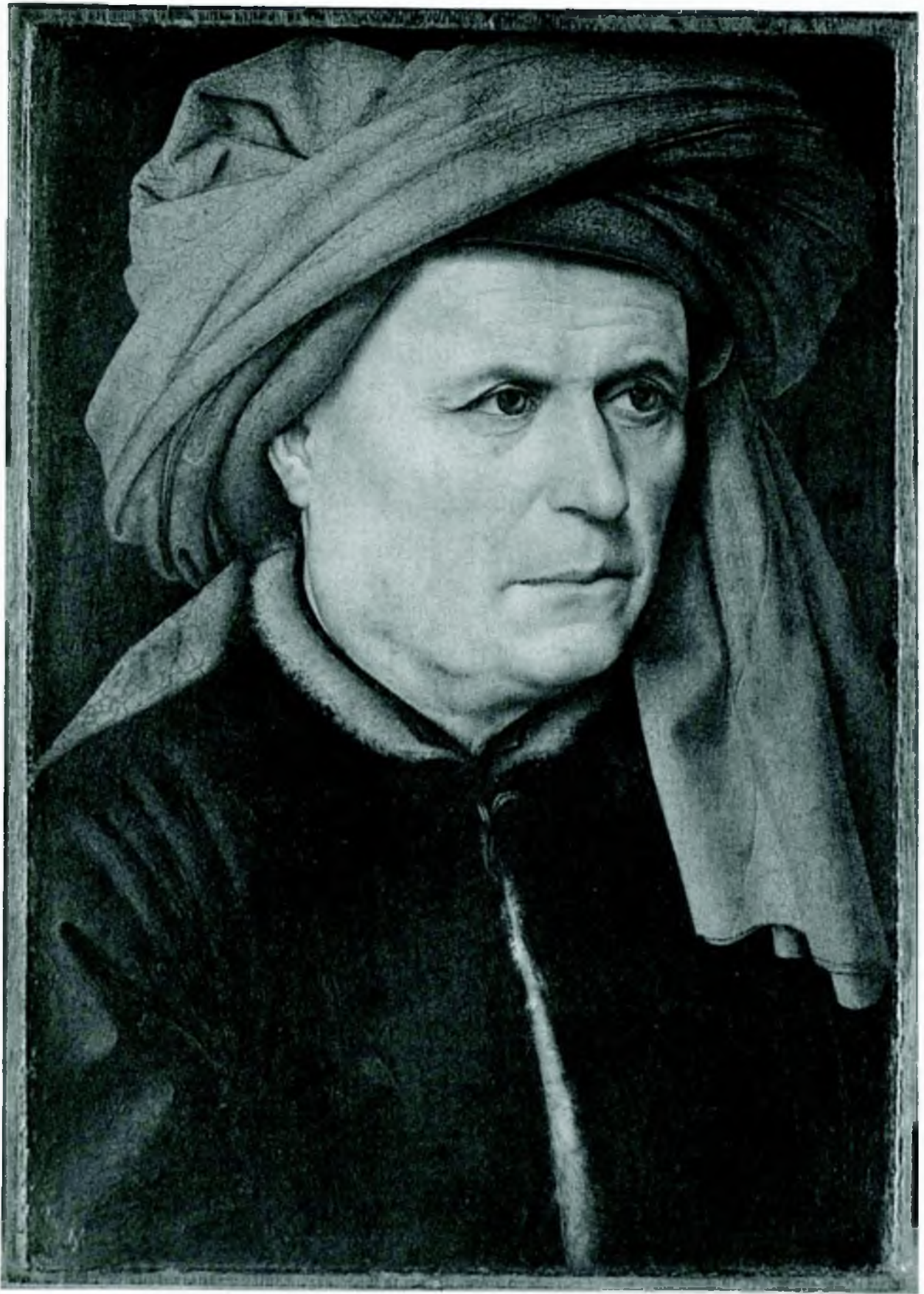


No. 52 : Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child. The Landscape* (M2 X)  
text pp. 45 - 48





No. 52 : Group Bouts (6). *The Virgin and Child, The Reverse*  
text pp. 45 - 48



No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1). *Portrait of a Man*  
text pp. 49-52

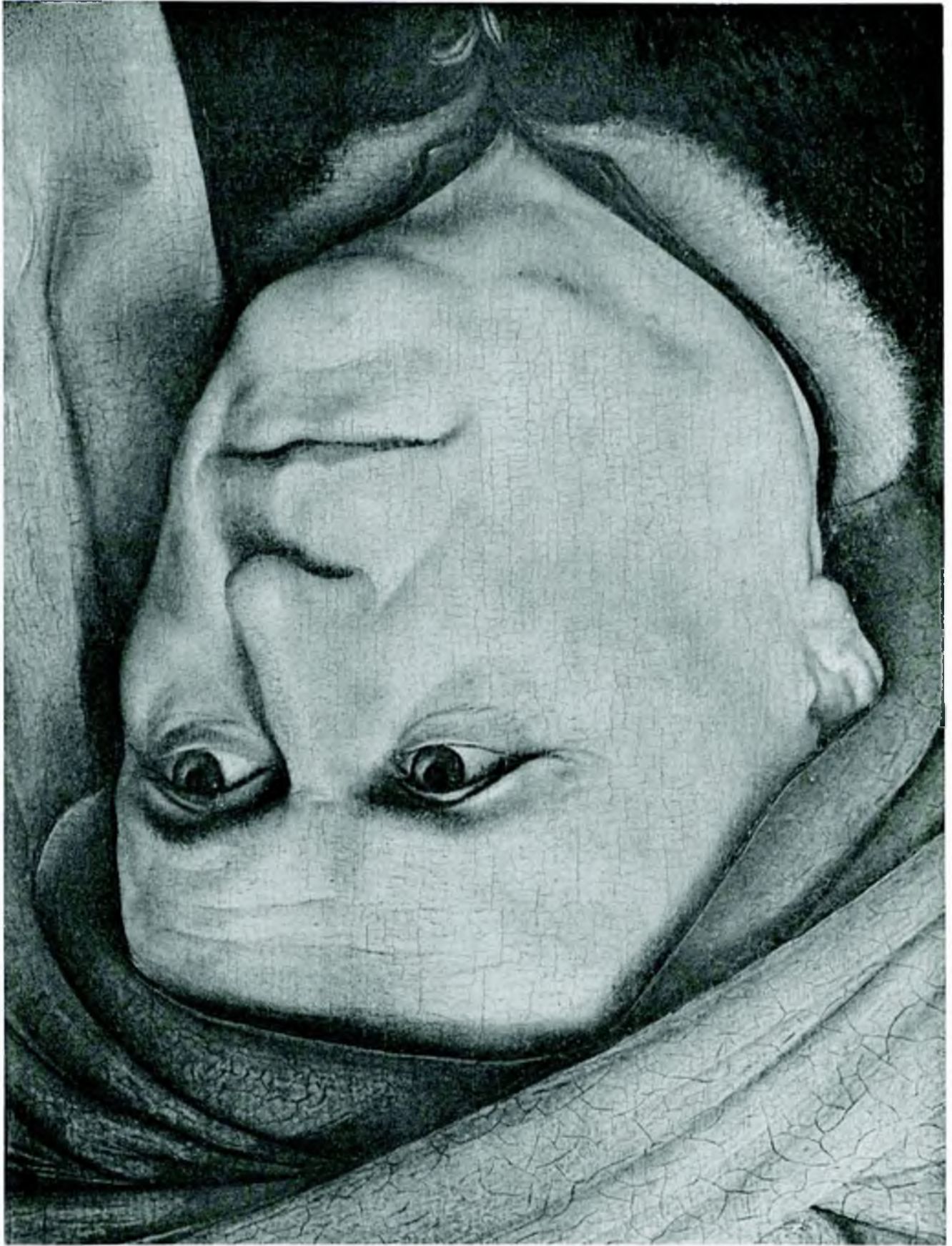


No. 55: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1). *Portrait of a Woman*  
text pp. 49-52

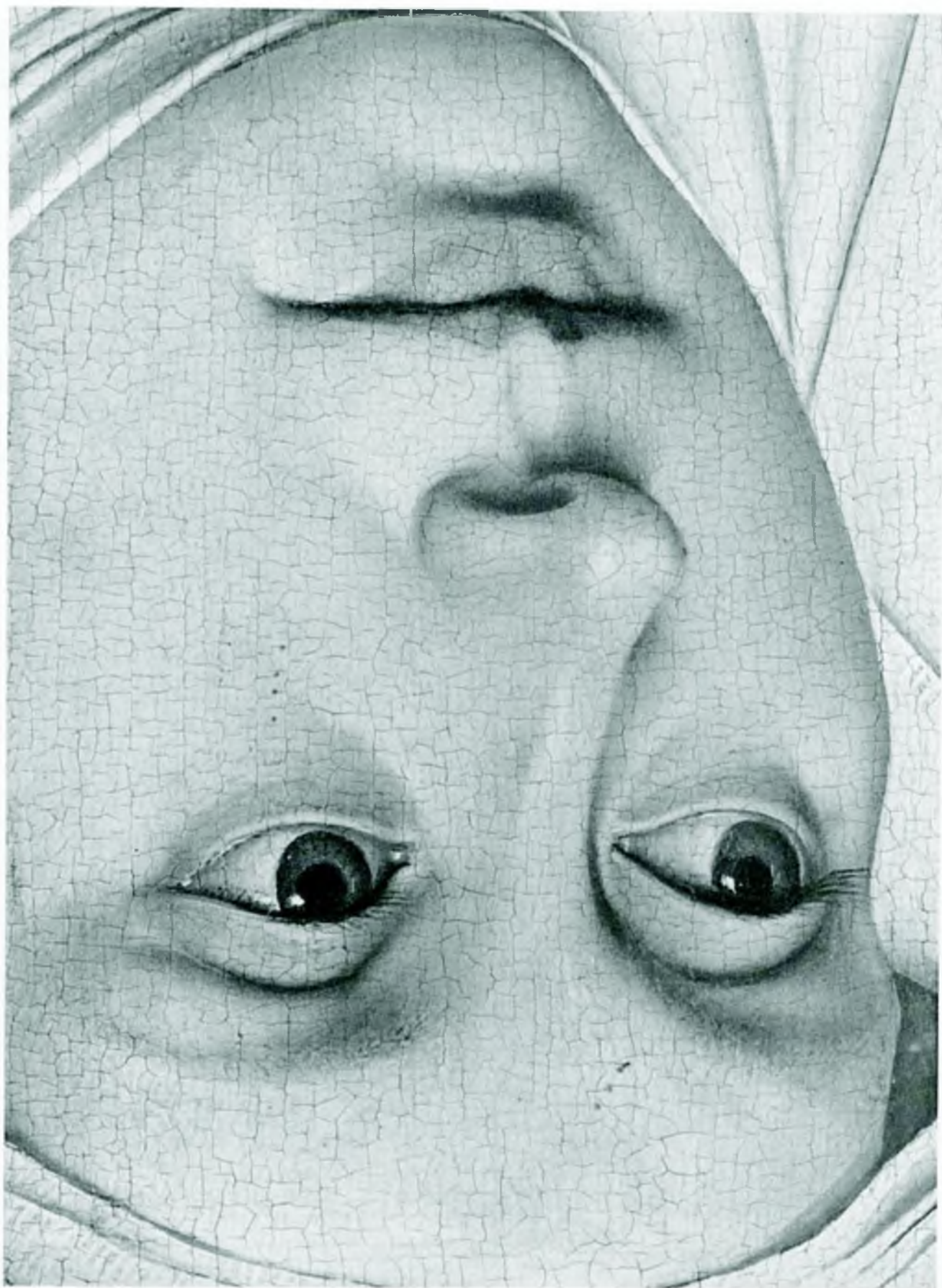
No. 53 : Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (1). *Portrait of a Woman* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 49 - 52



No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (1). Portrait of a Man (1 : 1)  
text pp. 49 - 52



No. 55: Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (I). *Portrait of a Woman* (M2X)  
text pp. 49-52



No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (I). Portrait of a Man (M 2 X)  
text pp. 49 - 52





No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1). *Portrait of a Woman* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 49 - 52



No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1). *Portrait of a Man — Portrait of a Woman.*  
*The Reverses (that of the Man being on the left)*  
text pp. 49 - 52

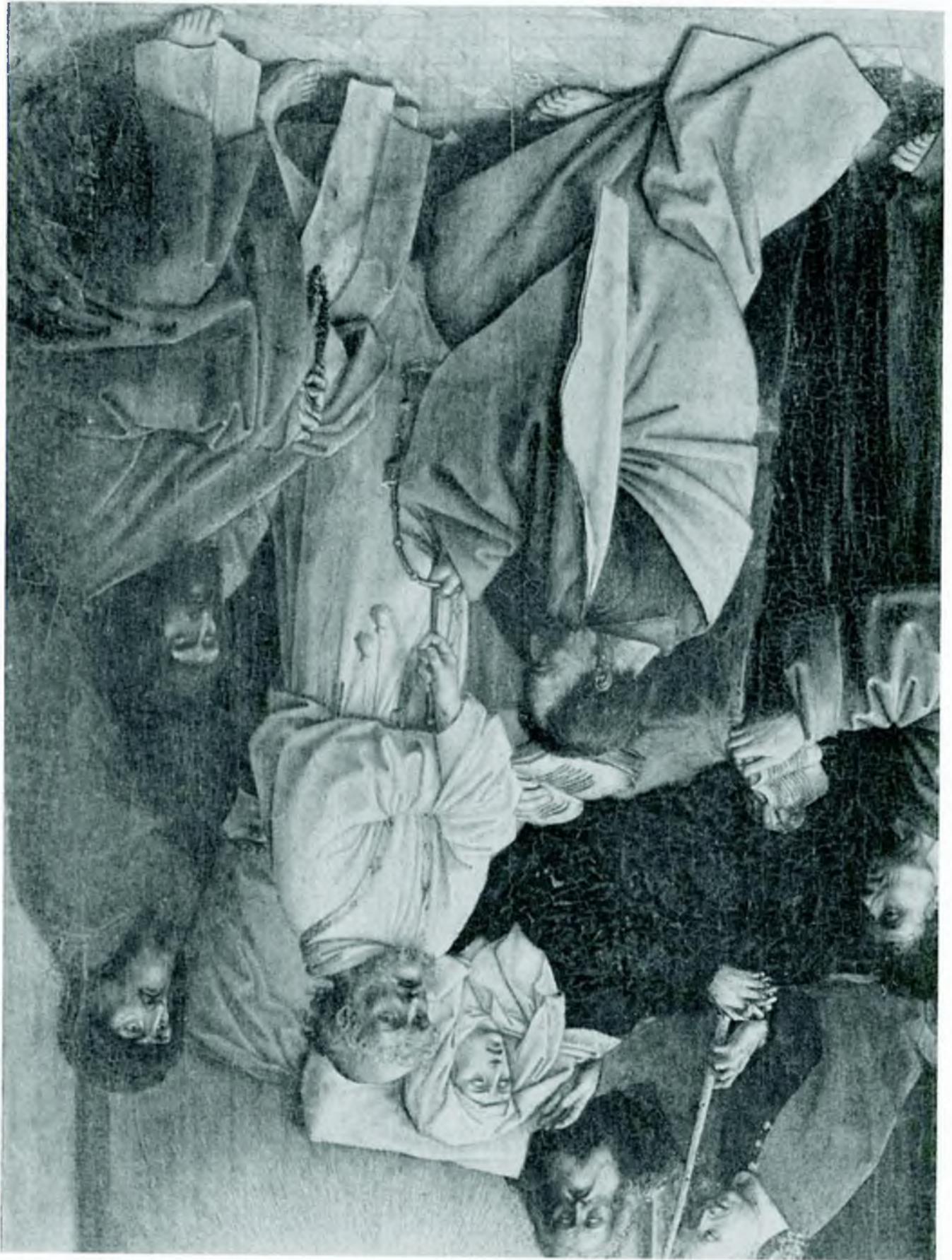


No. 34: Comparative Material: Variant at Berlin. The Death of the Virgin  
text pp. 53 and 55-58





No. 51 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin*  
text pp. 52-60



No. 34: Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (2), *The Death of the Virgin*, Upper right Corner (1:1)  
Text pp. 52-60





No. 54: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin*. Apostles in the Centre (1 : 1)  
text pp. 52 - 60



No. 51: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin. Lower left Corner (1:1)*  
text pp. 52-60



No. 54: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin*. Upper left Corner (1:1)  
text pp. 52-60



No. 34: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.*  
*Two Apostles Preparing a Censer (M 2 X)*  
 text pp. 52-60





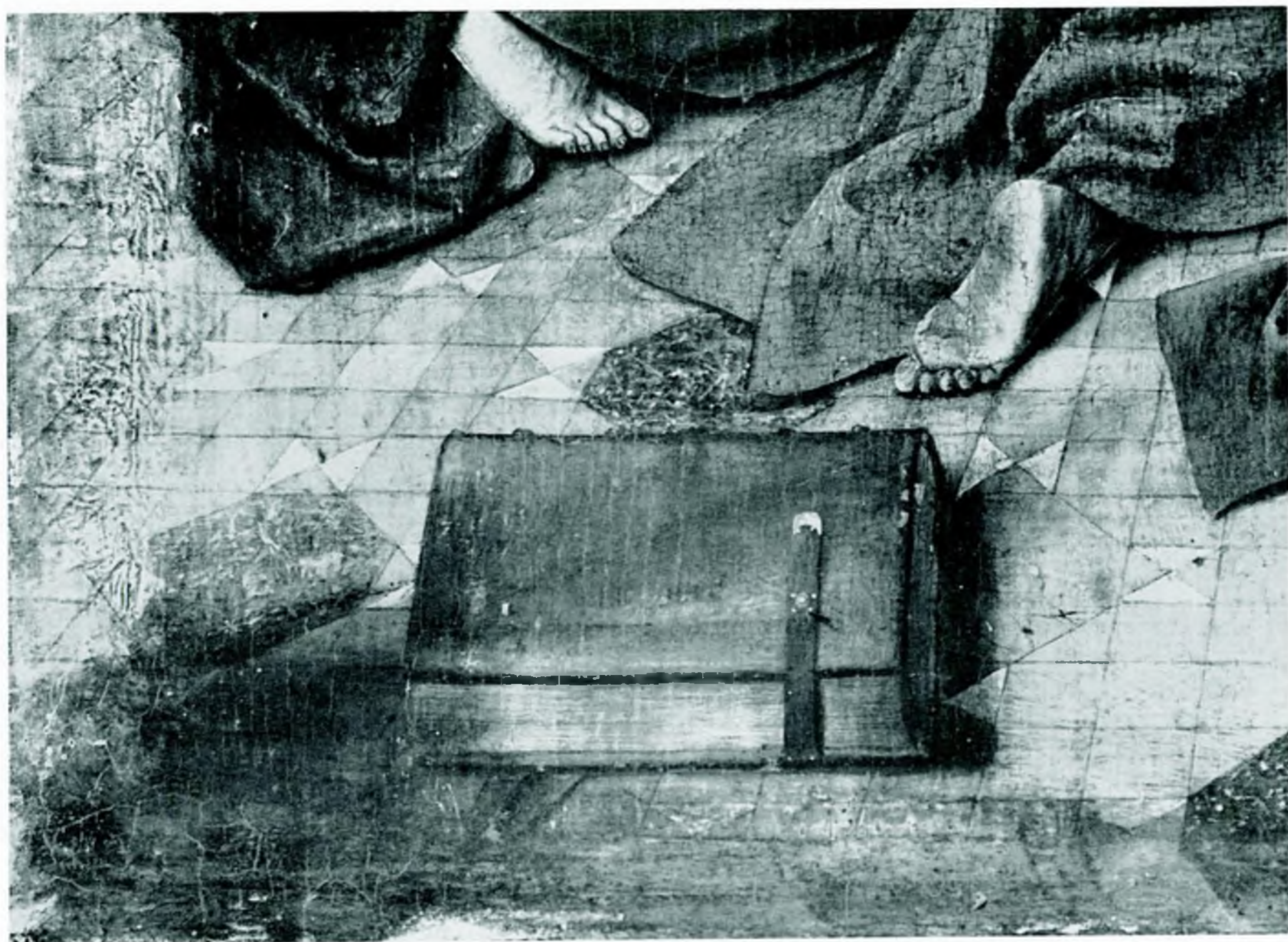
No. 51: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.*  
*The Virgin, S. Peter (?) and two other Apostles (M 2 X)*  
text pp. 52-60



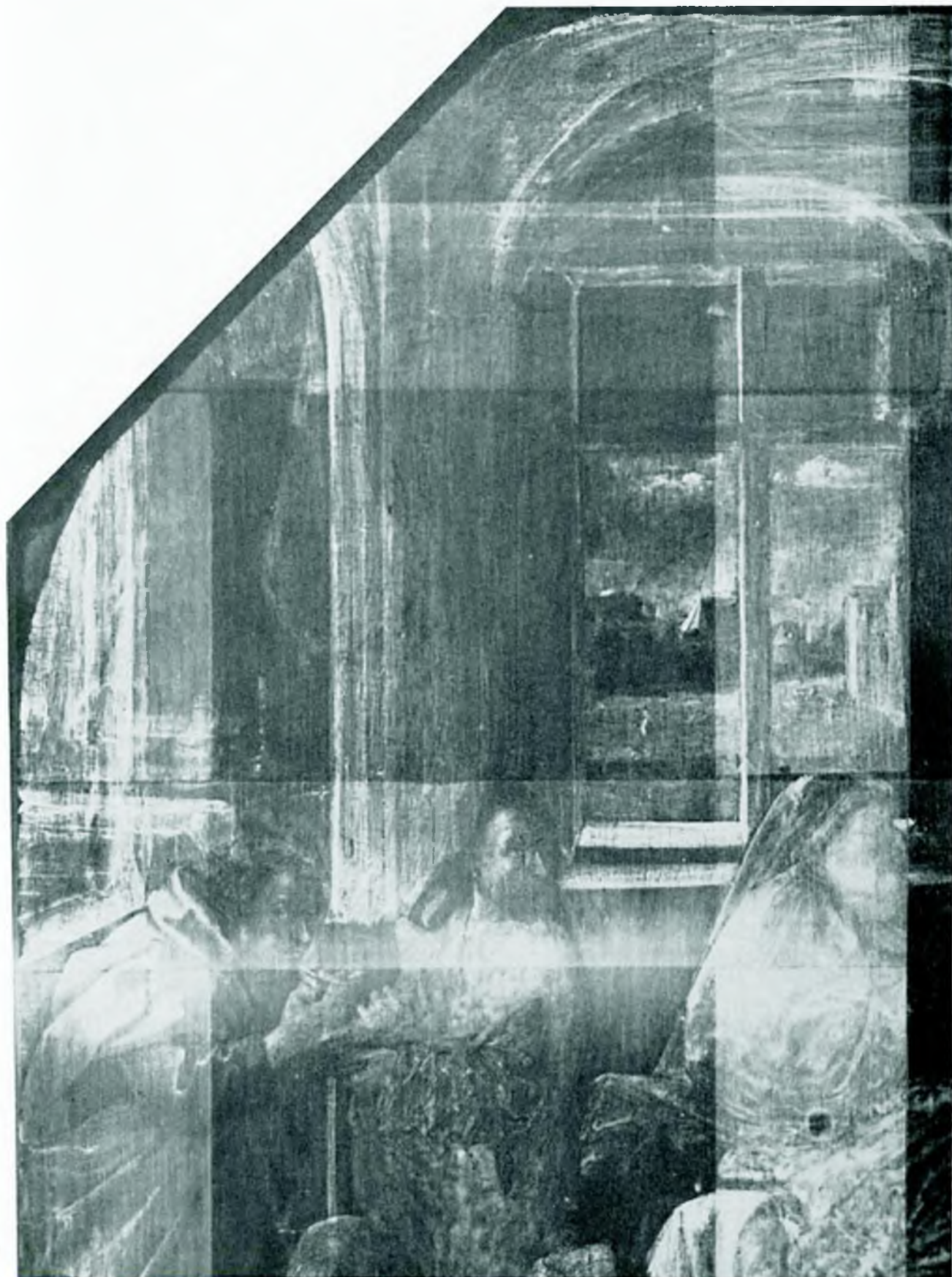
No. 51: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.*  
*God or Christ with Angels (M 2 X)*  
text pp. 52-60



No. 54 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.*  
*View of a Town (M 2 X)*  
 text pp. 52-60



No. 54 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.* *Book in the Foreground (M 2 X)*  
 text pp. 52-60



No. 54: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin*.  
Upper left Corner (1 : 1, X-radiograph 20 kV, 15mA)  
text pp. 52-60

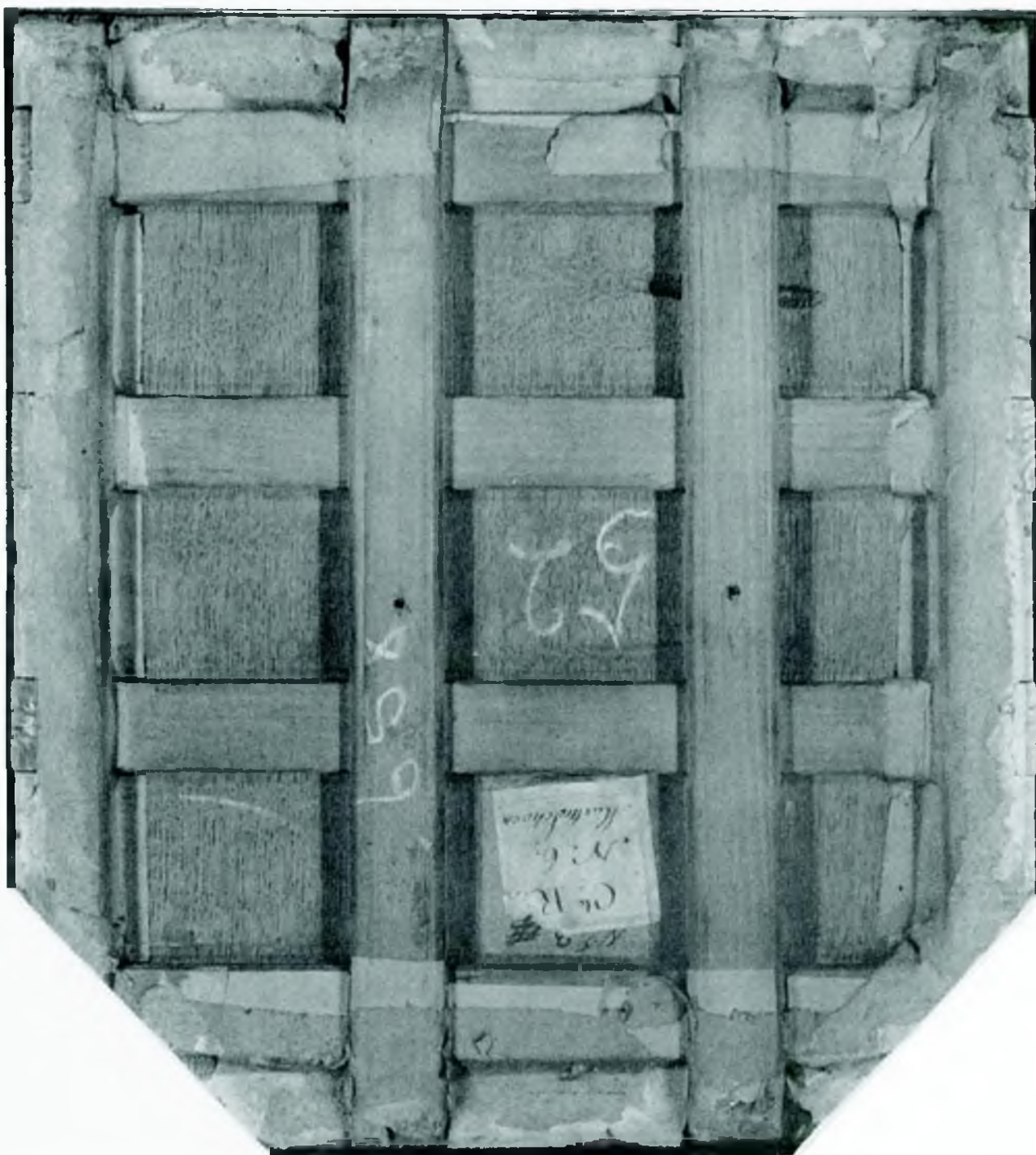


No. 54: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). *The Death of the Virgin.*  
*Upper Righthand Part of the Picture (infra-red)*  
*text pp. 52 - 60*

No. 55 : Group Captain (Master of Flemalle) (5).  
*The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels*  
text pp. 60 - 63



No. 34: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (2). The Death of the Virgin. The Reverse  
text pp. 52-60





No. 35 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (5).  
*The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 60 - 65





No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (5).  
*The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 60-65

No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flemalle) (?)  
The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels (M 2 X)  
text pp. 60 - 65



No. 57: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (3).  
The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels (1:1)  
text pp. 60-65



No. 36 : Group Carving (Master of Flemalle) (1). The Virgin and Child before a Fire Screen  
text pp. 65-69

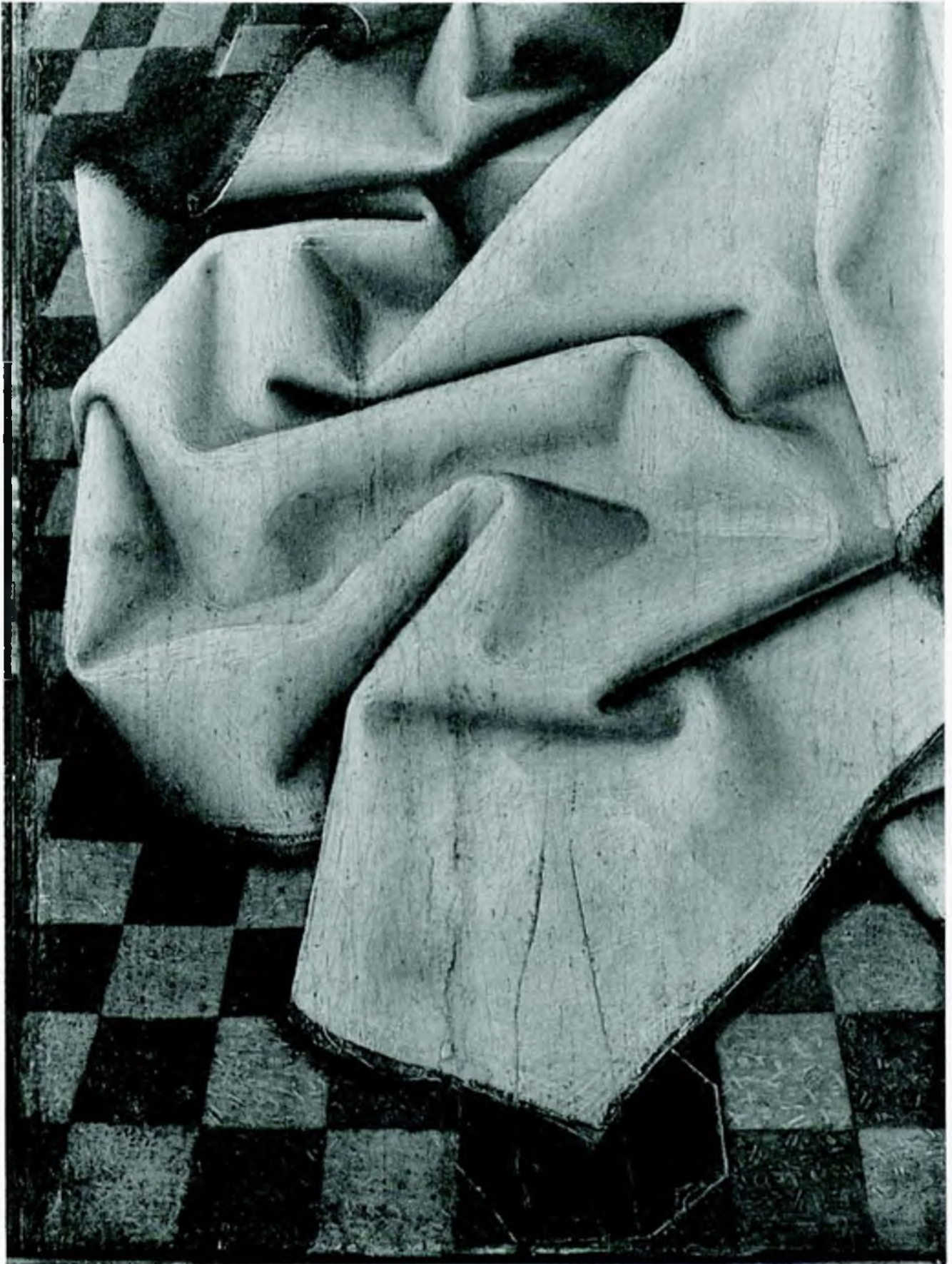


No. 55 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (3).  
The Virgin and Child in an Apse, with two Angels, The Reverse  
text pp. 60 - 65

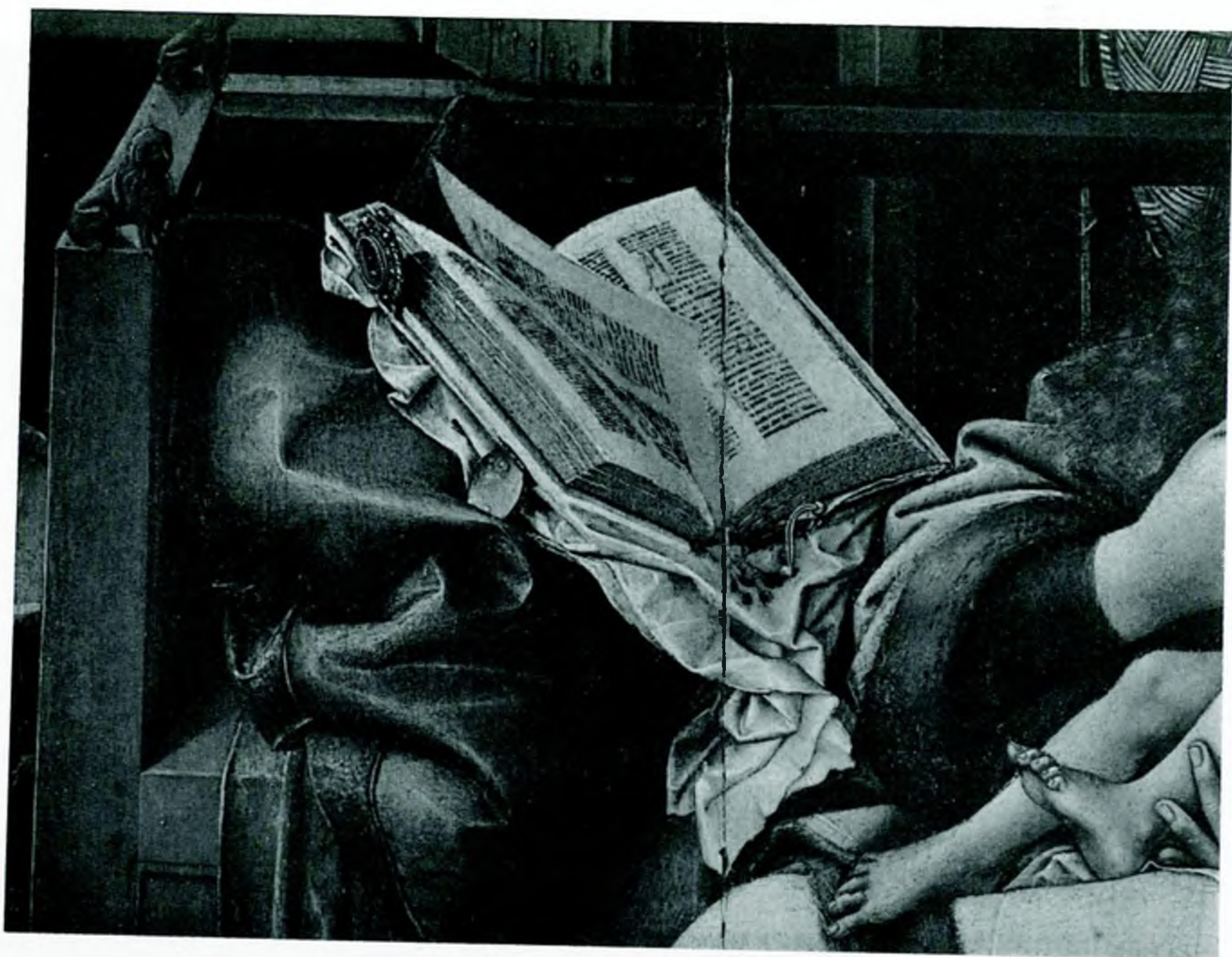




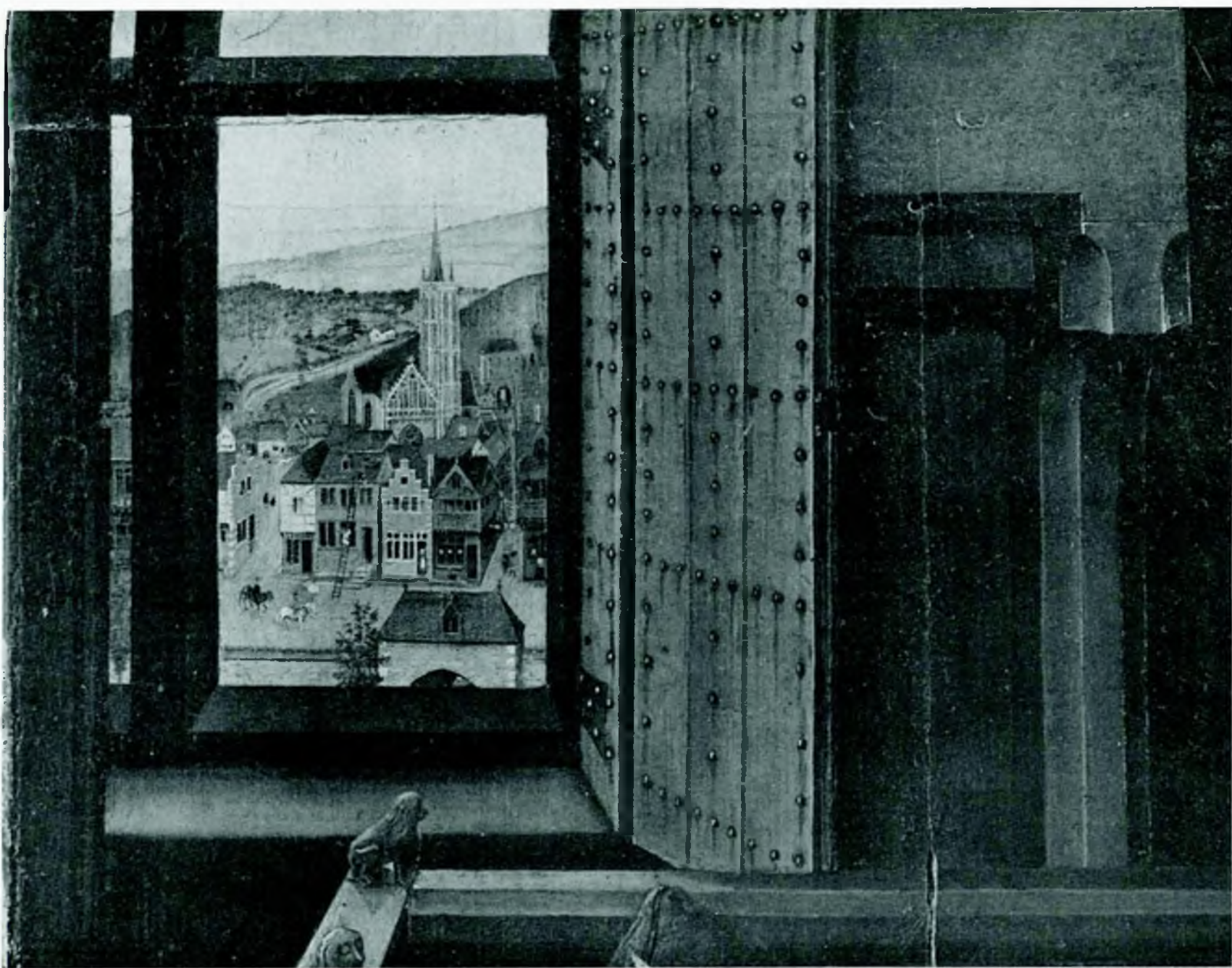
No. 36: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (1),  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 65-69



No. 56: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. Detail, lower left Corner (1:1)*  
text pp. 65-69

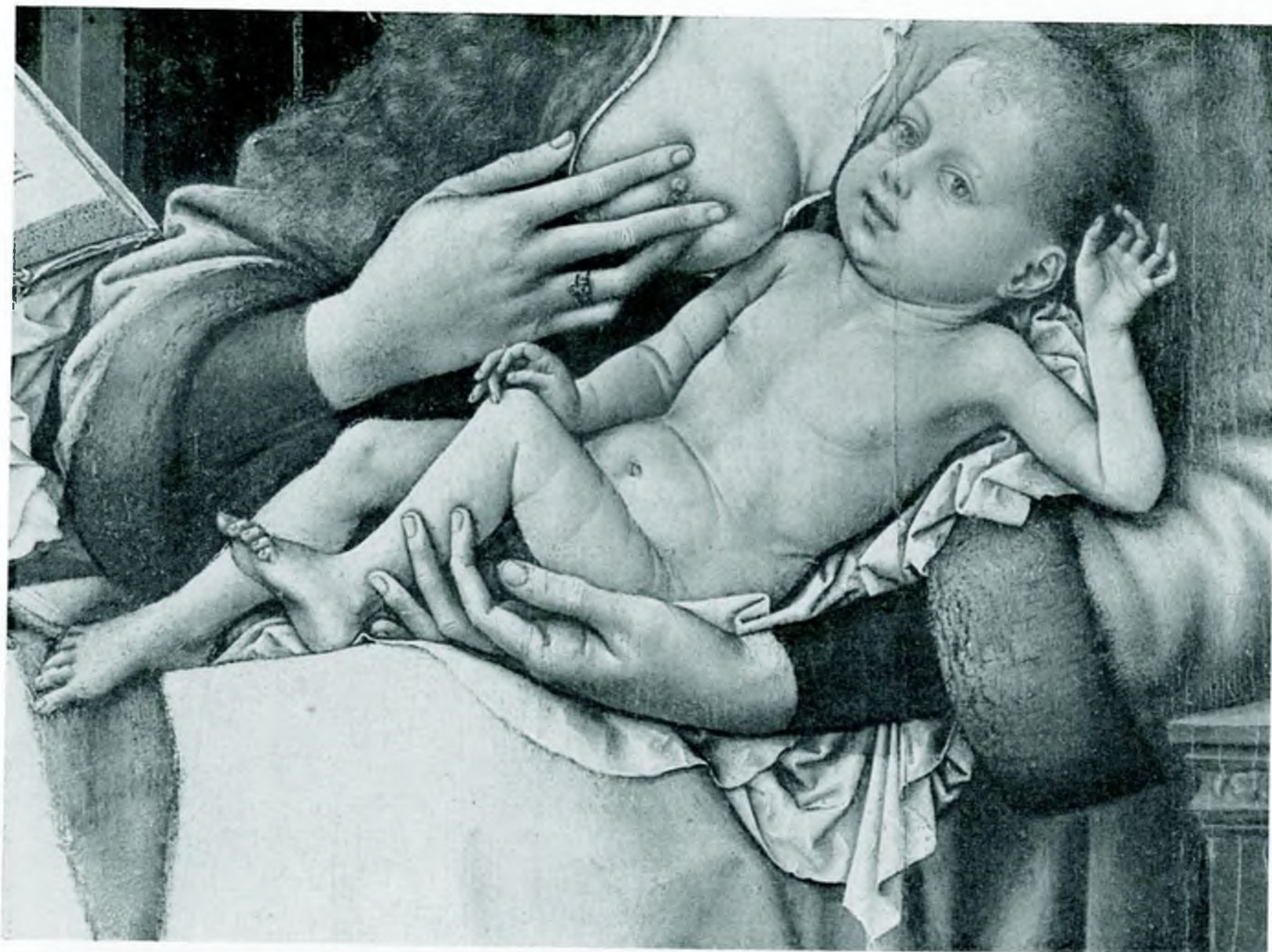


No. 36: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. The Book and Cushion on the Bench (1:1)*  
 text pp. 65 - 69



No. 36: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. Upper left Corner: Window with a View of a Town (1:1)*  
 text pp. 65 - 69

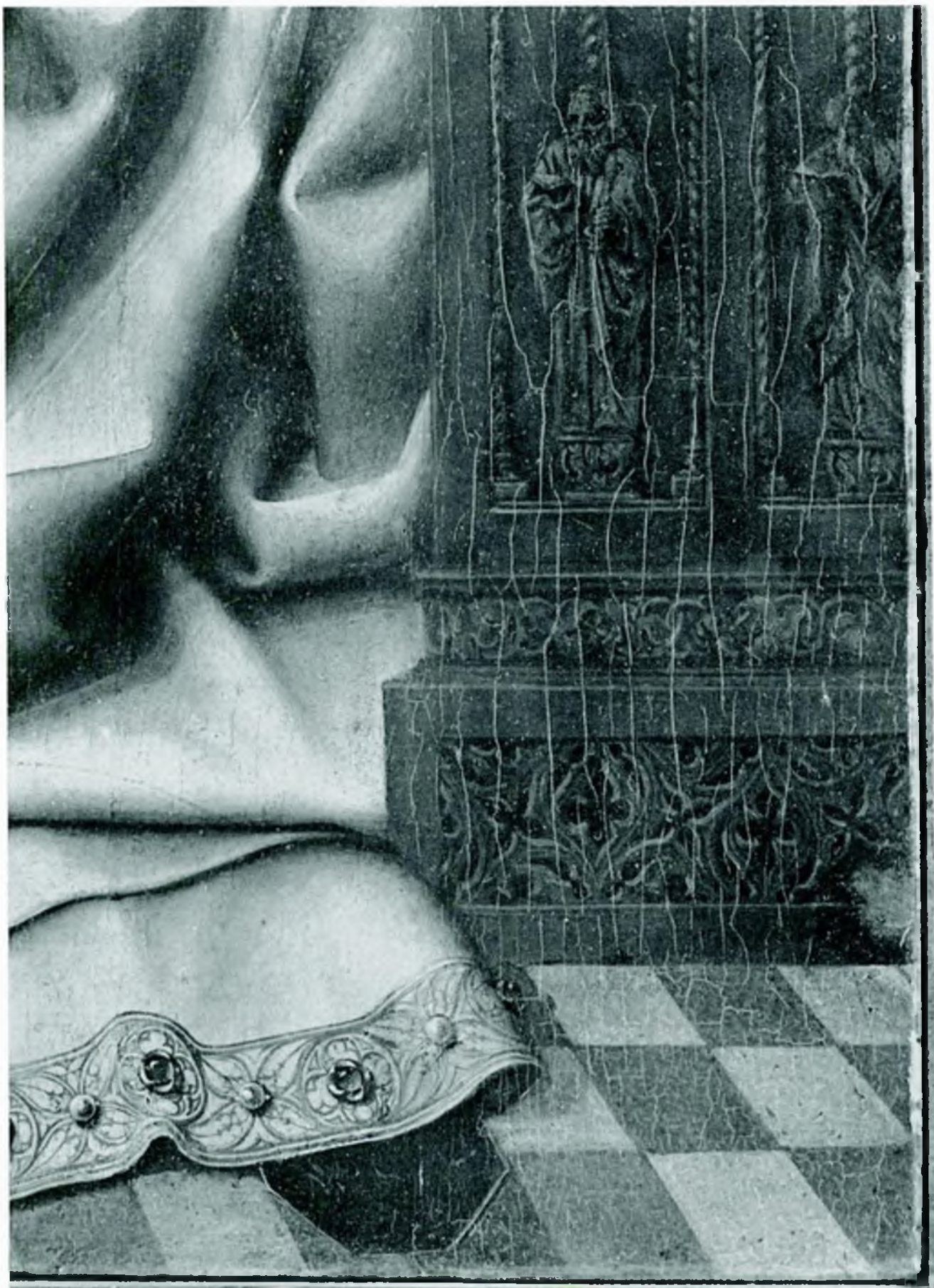




No. 36 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4). *The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 65 - 69



No. 36 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4). *The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen* (1 : 1, X-radiograph 20 kV, 15 mA)  
text pp. 65 - 69



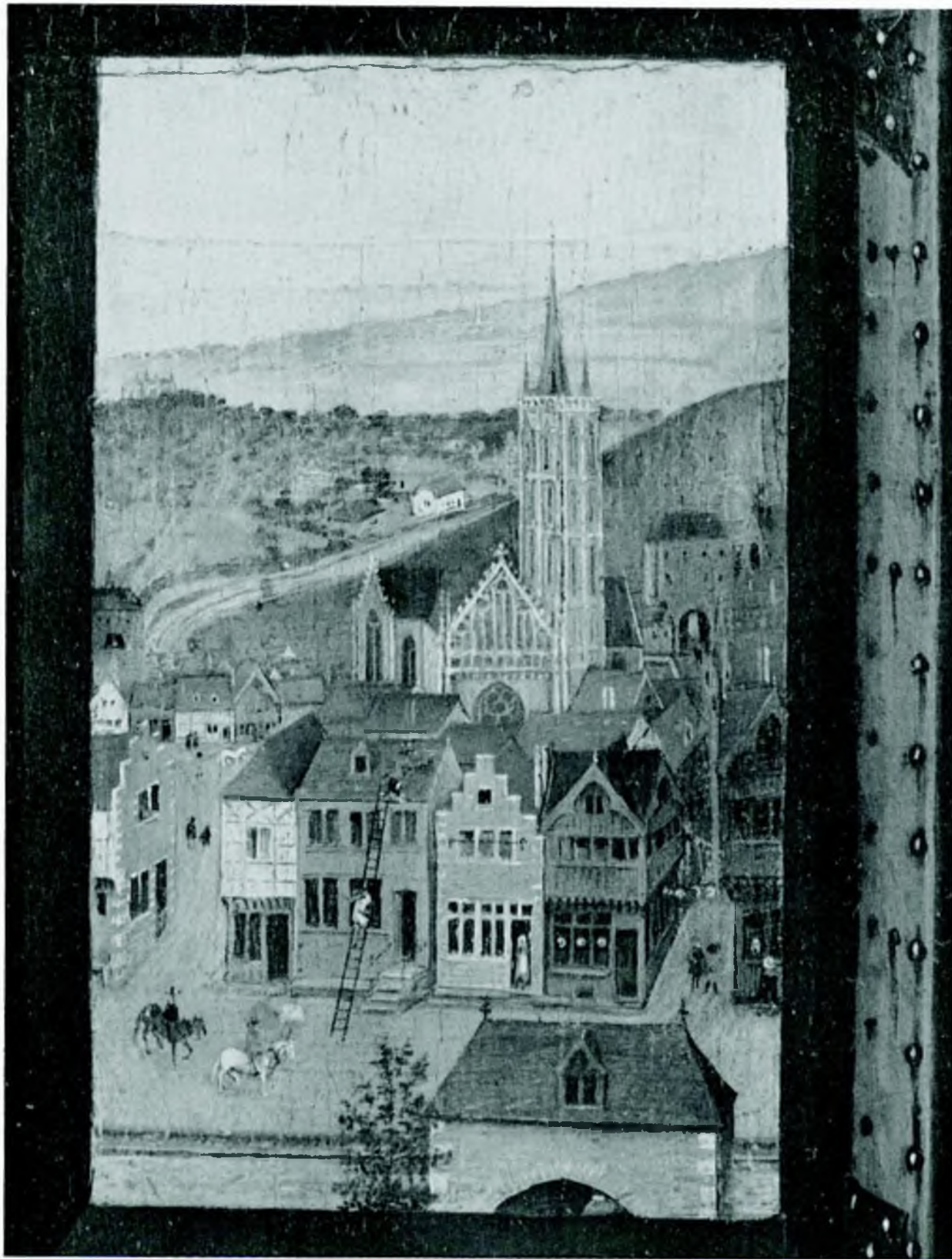
No. 56: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. Lower right Corner (1:1)*  
text pp. 65 - 69



No. 36: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 65-69



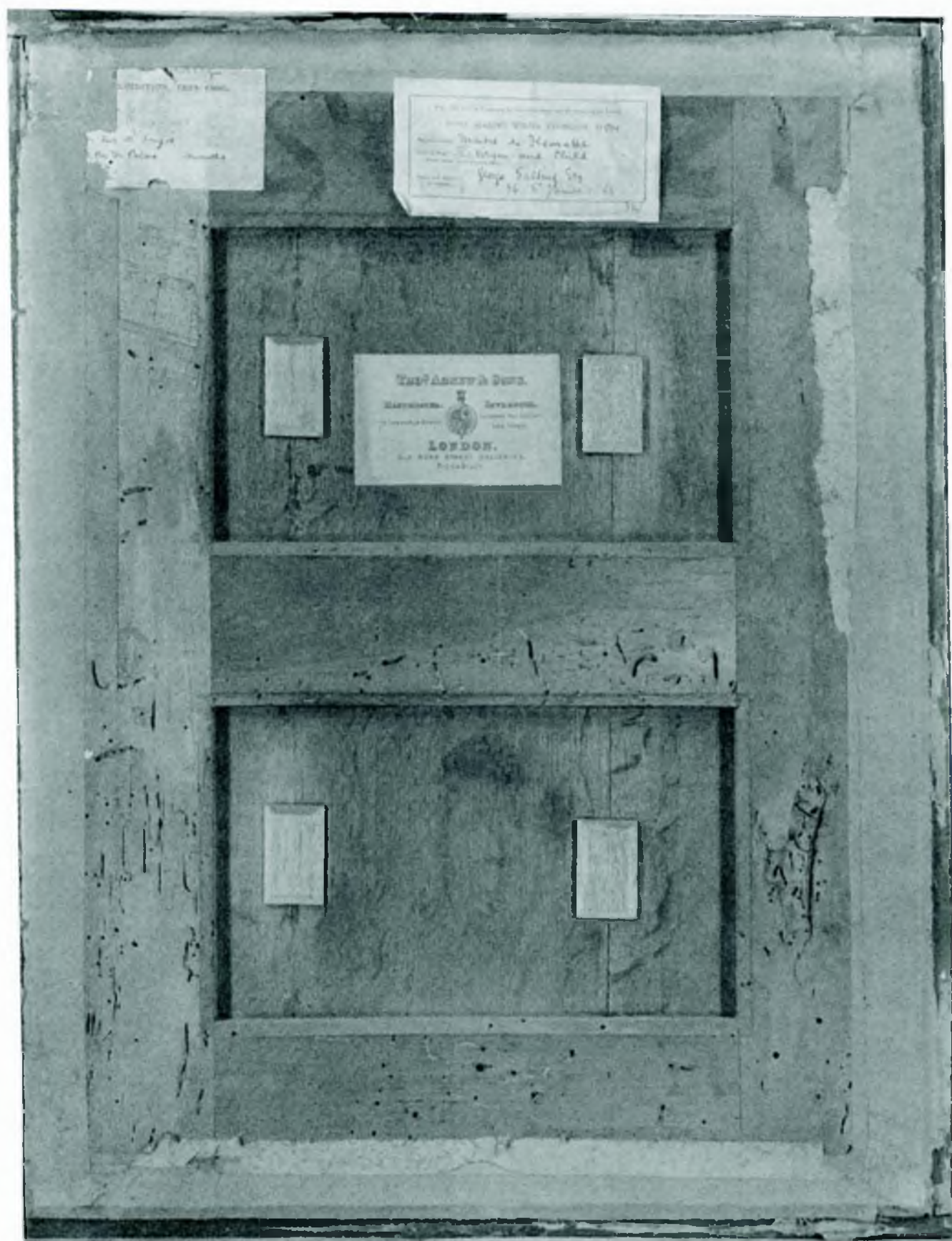
No. 56: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 65-69



No. 56: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (f).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. View of a Town* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 65-69



No. 56 : Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen.*  
*The Original Part of the Picture, with the Modern Additions excluded*  
*text pp. 65-69*



No. 56: Group Campin (Master of Flémalle) (4).  
*The Virgin and Child before a Fire-Screen. The Reverse*  
text pp. 65-69

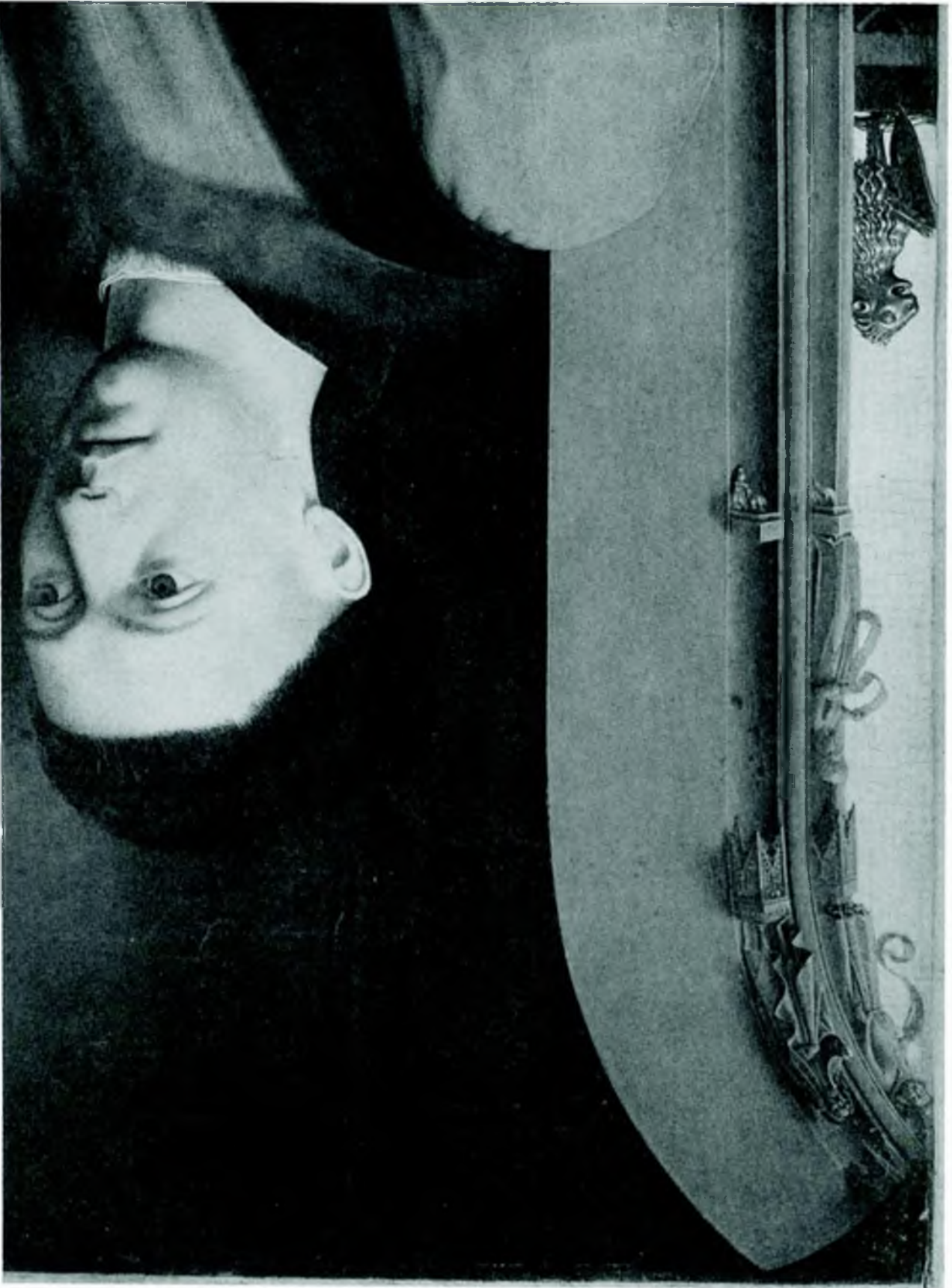
No. 57 : Group Christus (2). *Portrait of a Young Man* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 70-75





No. 37: Group Christus (2). *Portrait of a Young Man*  
text pp. 70-75





No. 57 : Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man. The upper left Corner (1 : 1)  
text pp. 70 - 75

No. 57 : Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man. The lower left Corner (1 : 1)  
text pp. 70 - 75





No. 57 : Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man. The upper right Corner (1 : 1)  
text pp. 70 - 75



No. 37 : Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man (M 2 X)  
text pp. 70-75



No. 57: Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man (M 2 X)  
text pp. 70-75



No. 57: Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man.  
The Illuminated Text on the Wall (M 2 X)  
text pp. 70-75



No. 37 : Group Christus (2). Portrait of a Young Man. The Reverse  
text pp. 20-23







No. 38 : Group David (3), Two Shuttlers : S. Peter and a Donor, S. Paul and a Donatrix, The Donor (1 : 1)  
text pp. 75-76



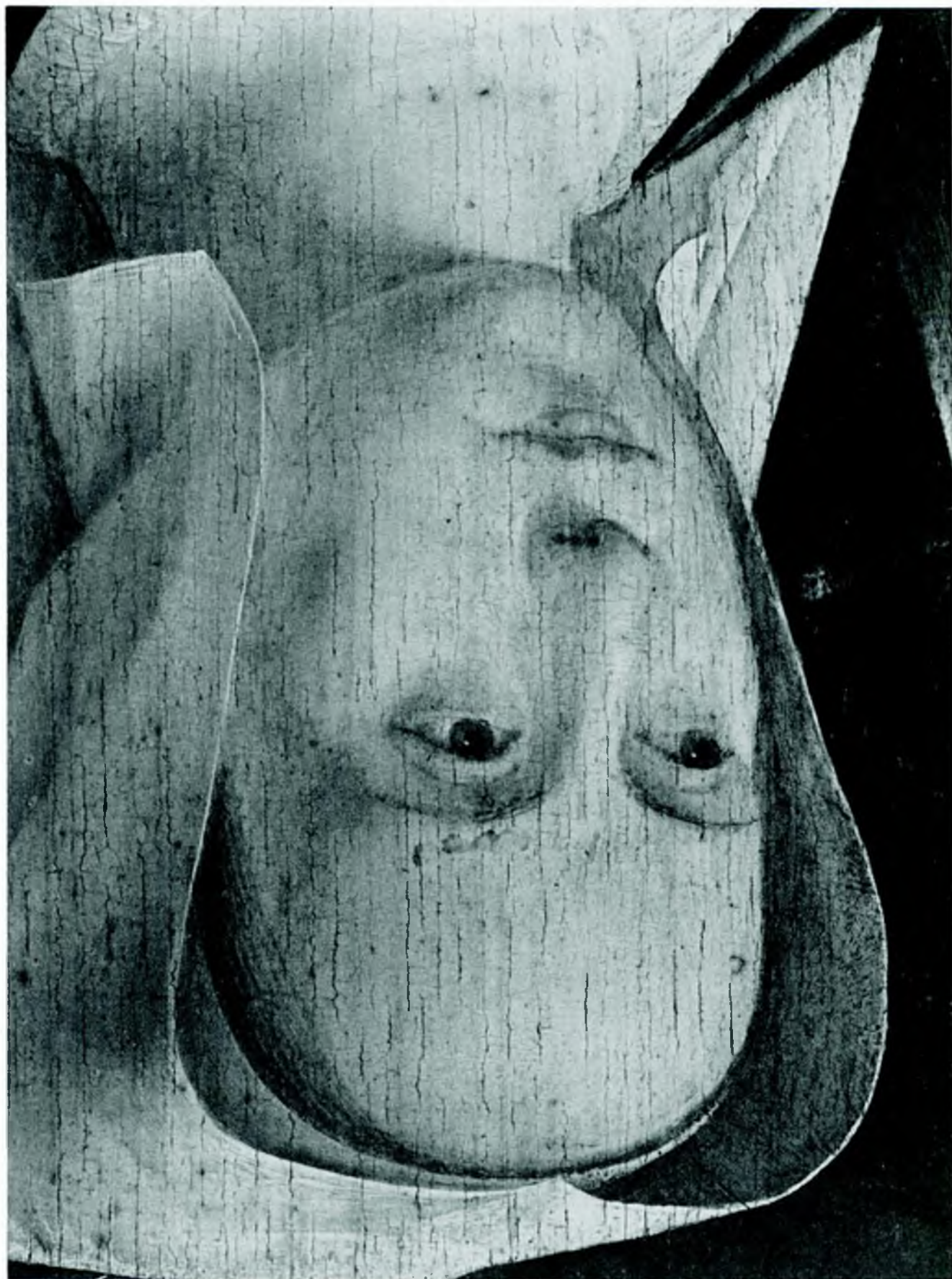
No. 38 : Group David (5), *Two Shutters* : *S. Peter and a Donor*, *S. Paul and a Donatrix*. *The Donatrix* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 73 - 76



No. 38 : Group David (5). Two Shuttles : S. Peter and a Donor. S. Paul and a Donatrix.  
Head of S. Peter (1 : 1)  
text pp. 75-76

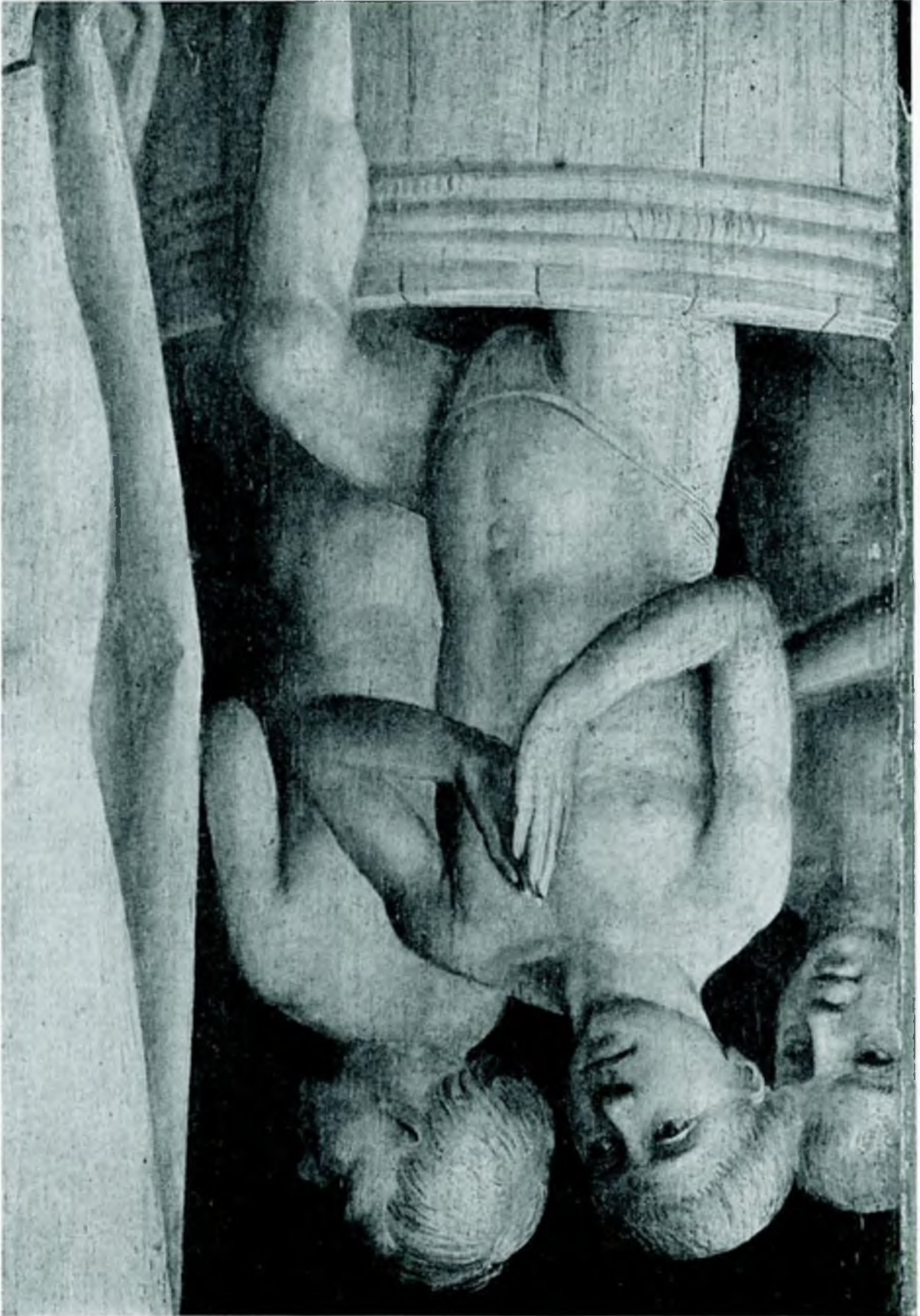


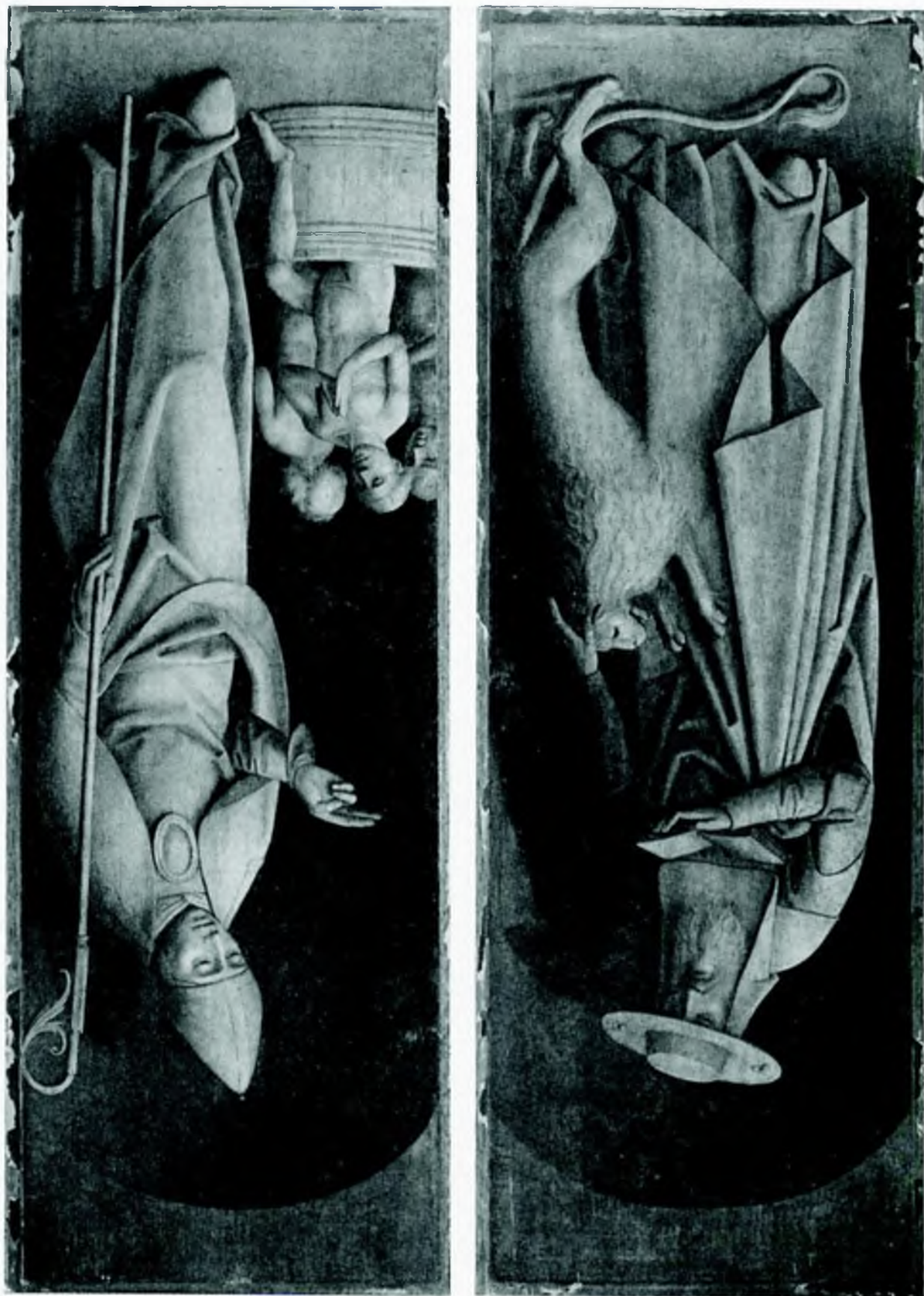
No. 58 : Group David (5). Two Shalters : S. Peter and a Danor. S. Paul and a Donatrix.  
Head of S. Paul (1 : 1)  
text pp. 75 - 76





No. 38 : Group David (3), Two Shalters : S. Peter and a Donor, S. Paul and a Donatrix.  
Reverse, Detail of the Compartment with S. Nicholas (1 : 1)  
text pp. 75-76





No. 58 : Group David (5), Two Shalters : S. Peter and a Donor, S. Paul and a Donatrix.  
The Reverse : S. Jerome and S. Nicholas, in grisaille  
text pp. 75-76





No. 38 : Group David (5). Two Shutters : S. Peter and a Donor. S. Paul and a Donatrix.  
Reverse, Bust of S. Jerome (1 : 1)  
text pp. 75 - 76



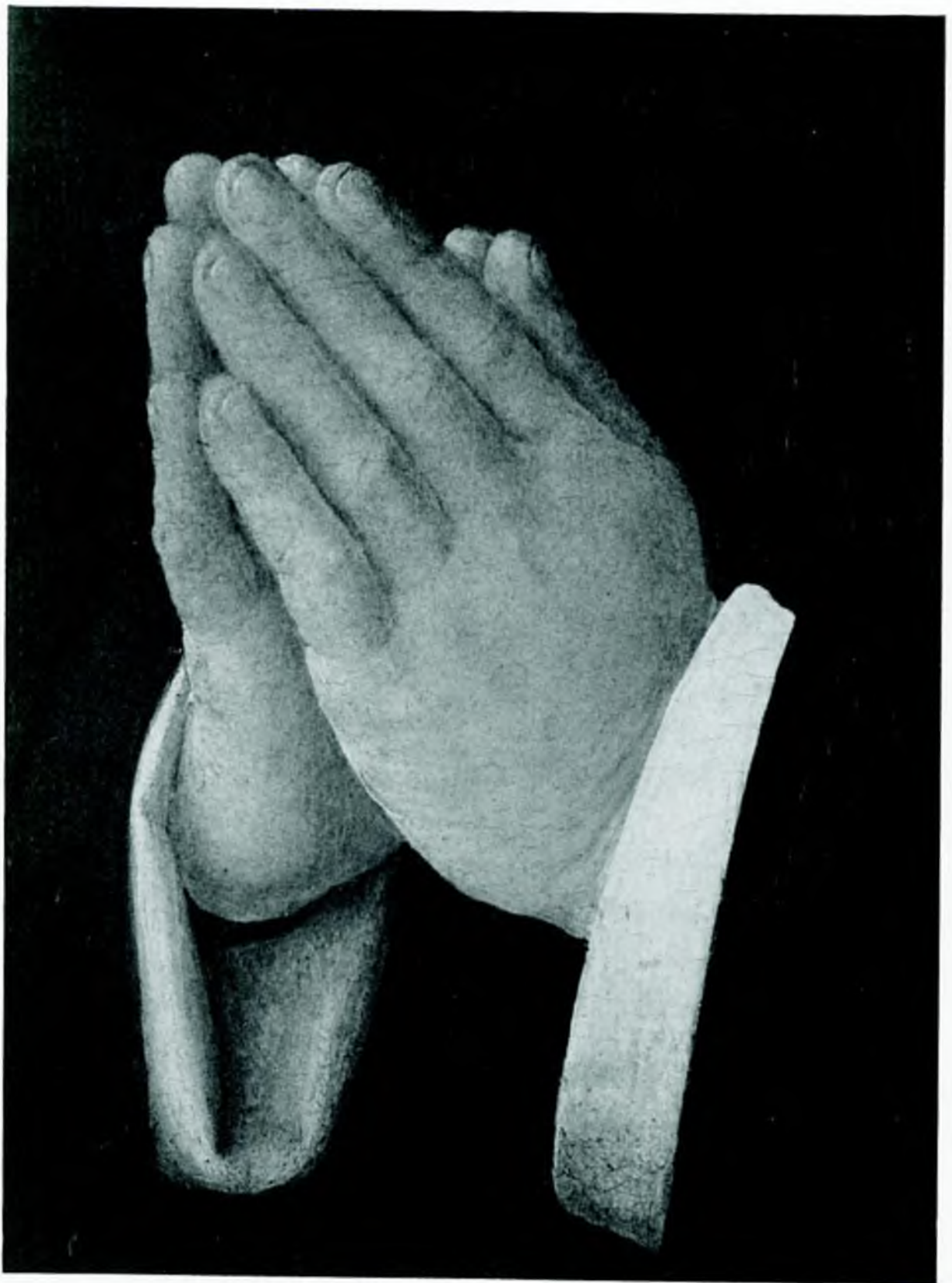
No. 38 : Group David (5). *Two Shutters : S. Peter and a Donor, S. Paul and a Donatrix.*  
*Reverse, Bust of S. Nicholas (1 : 1)*  
*text pp. 73 - 76*



No. 39 : Group David (4), *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying*  
text pp. 76 - 80



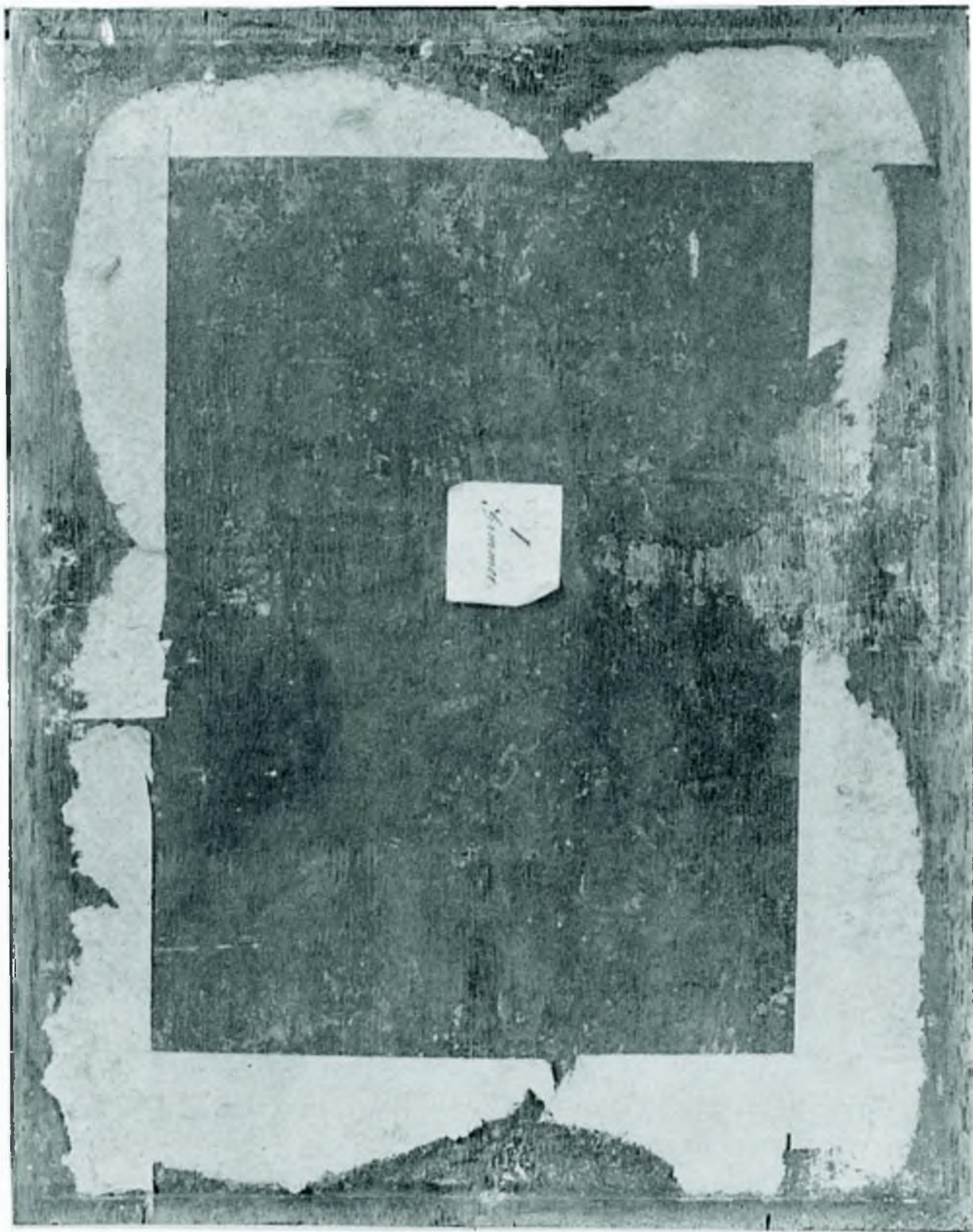
No. 39 : Group David (4), *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 76 - 80



No. 39 : Group David (4). *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying* (N 2 X)  
text pp. 76-80



No. 39: Group David (4), *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 76 - 80



No. 59 : Group David (4). *Portrait of of an Ecclesiatic Praying. The Reverse*  
text pp. 76 - 80



No. 40 : Group David (5), Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints  
text pp. 80-87



No. 40 : Group David (5). *Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints, S. Martin and S. Bernardino*  
text pp. 80-87





No. 40 : Group David (5). *Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints.*  
*Canon Bernardinus de Salviatis*  
*text pp. 80-87*



No. 40 : Group David (5), Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salsicatis and three Saints.  
 Detail of the three Figures and the Landscape to the Right  
 text pp. 80-87



No. 40 : Group David (5), Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salsicatis and three Saints.  
 Head of S. Donatian, and Landscape with Buildings (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 80-87

No. 40 : Group David (9).  
Left hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernartinus de Sahratis and three Saints.  
Head of Bernartinus de Sahratis (1:1)  
text pp. 80-82



No. 10 : Group David (7). Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernartinus de Salicatis and three Saints.  
Head of S. Donatian, his Horse and Part of his Cross (1 : 1)  
text pp. 80-87

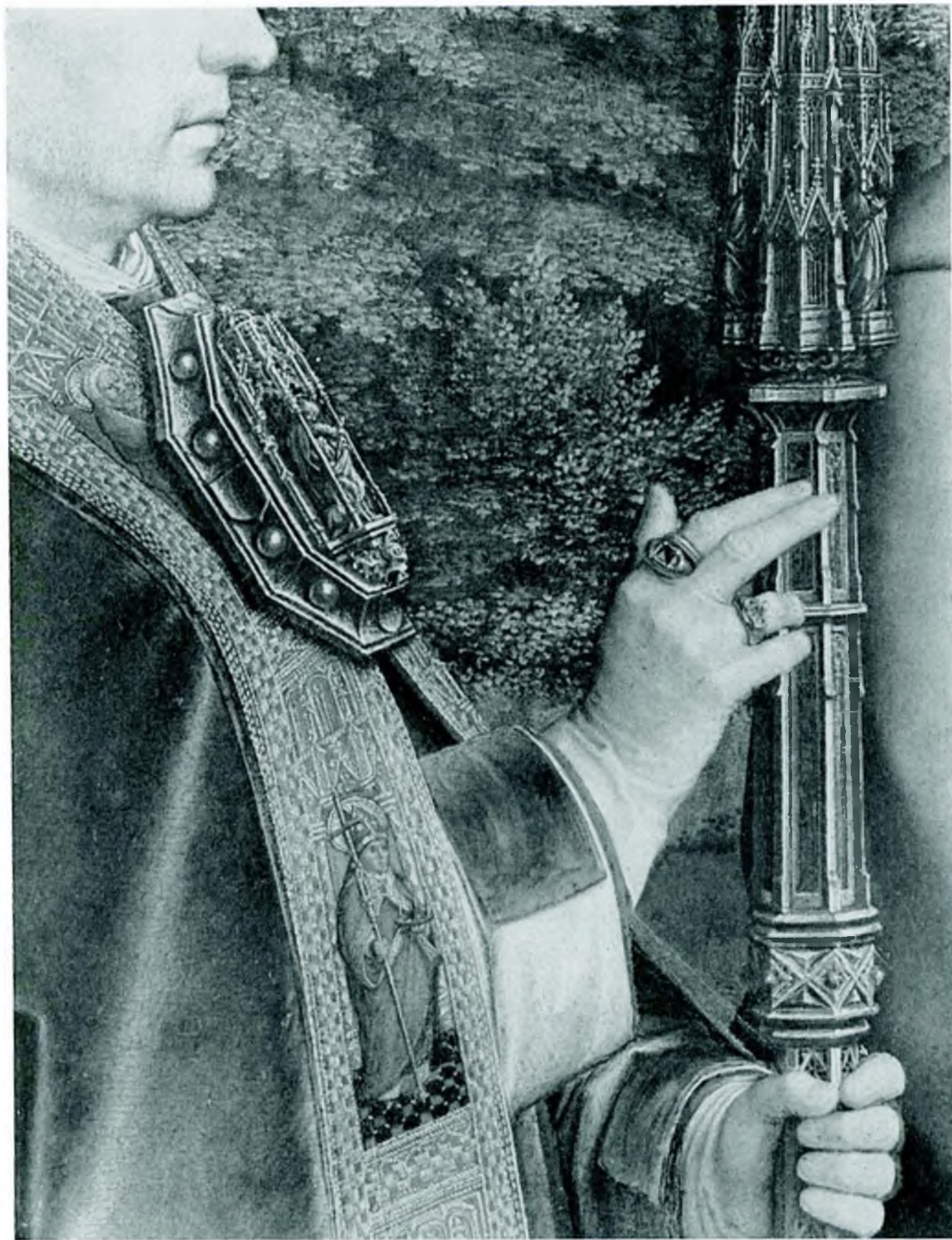




No. 40 : Group David (5). Lefthand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints.  
Head of S. Bernardino : Top of S. Martin's Crozier (1 : 1)  
text pp. 80-87



No. 40 : Group David (5). Lofthand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints.  
 Head of S. Martin ; his Mitre, and the Hood of his Cope with Spilla (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 80-87



No. 40 : Group David (5). Lefthand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardino de Salviatis and three Saints.  
S. Martin's Hands ; his Morse ; Part of the Orphrey (showing S. Donation) of his Cope (1 : 1)  
text pp. 80 - 87

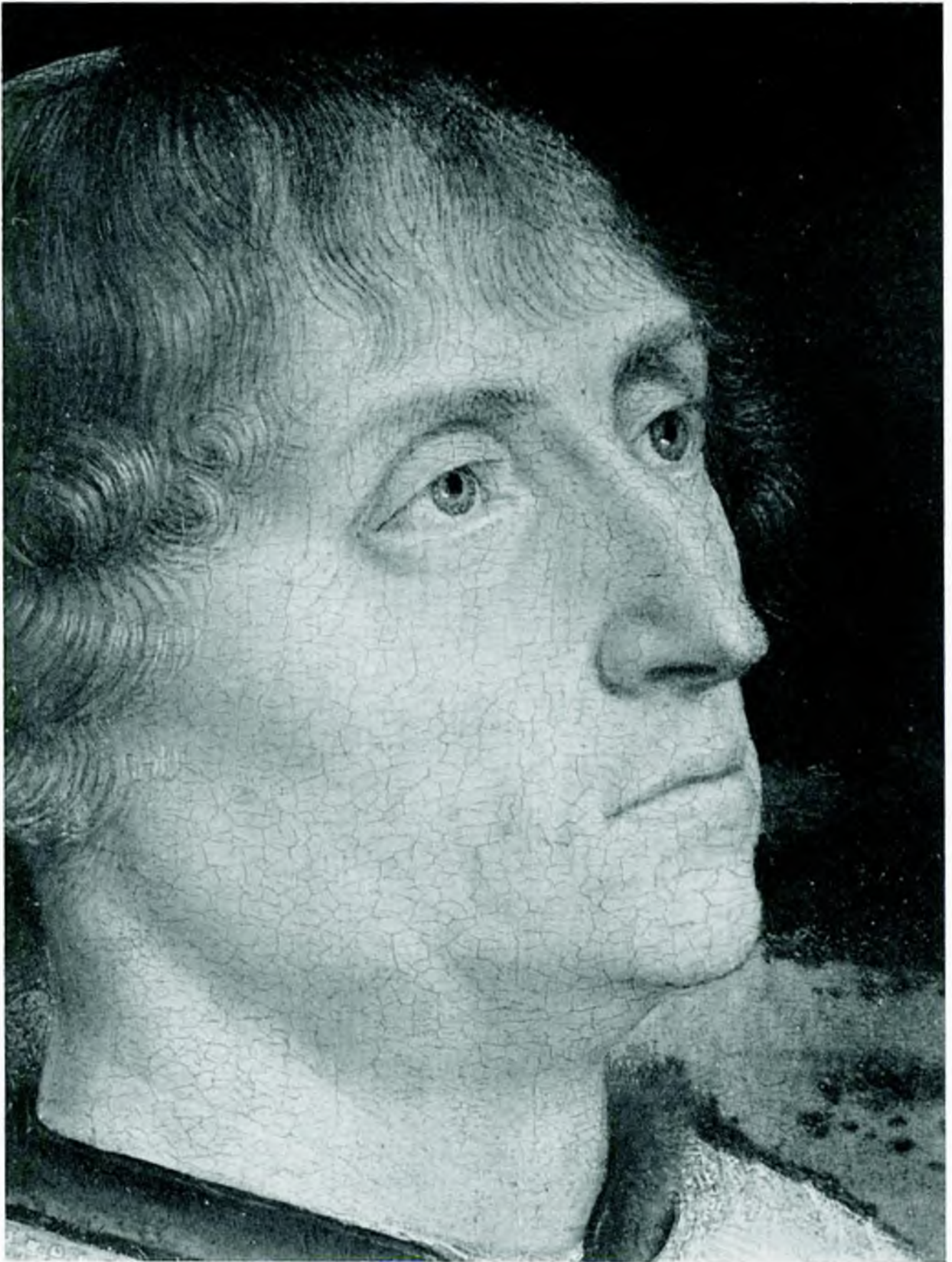


No. 40 : Group David (5). Lethand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salsvatis and three Saints.  
 Orphrey of S. Martin's Cope  
 (showing S. Bernardino, S. Martin, S. John the Baptist and S. Mary Magdalene) (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 80 - 87





No. 40 : Group David (5), *Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardino de Salviatis and three Saints.*  
*The Beggar behind S. Martin (1 : 1)*  
*text pp. 80 - 87*



No. 40: Group David (5).  
*Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece: Bernardino de Salviatis and three Saints (1/2 ×)*  
text pp. 80-87



No. 40: Group David (5). Lefthand Shutter of an Altarpiece: Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints.  
Head of S. Martin's Crozier (M 2 X)  
text pp. 80-87



No. 40 : Group David (5). Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernardinus de Salviatis and three Saints.  
 The Reverse. Remains of an Unidentified Subject (Christ at a Window ?)  
 text pp. 80 - 87

No. 40 : Group David (5). Left-hand Shutter of an Altarpiece : Bernadinus de Salsatis and three Saints.  
*Detail of the Reverse, Remains of an Open Window (2) (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 80 - 87



No. 40 : Group David (5). Left-hand Shoulder of an Altarpiece : Bernartinus de Sahratis and three Saints.  
Detail of the Reverse, Remains of the left Hand and Mantle of Christ (?) (1 : 1)  
text pp. 80-87



No. 41 : Group David (6), The Deposition. Detail  
text pp. 88-91



No. 41 : Group David (6), *The Deposition*  
text pp. 88-91







No. 41 : Group David (6), *The Deposition*. S. Mary Magdalene and Figures on the Right  
text pp. 88-91



No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition*. S. Mary Magdalene (1 : 1)  
text pp. 88-91



No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition.*  
*Head and Hands of the Holy Woman on the Right, S. Joseph of Arimathea and S. Nicodemus (1 : 1)*  
 text pp. 88 - 91



No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition.* *The Body of Christ (1 : 1)*  
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No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. Heads of Christ, the Virgin, S. John and S. Anne (?) (1 : 1)*  
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No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. The Holy Woman on the Left (1 : 1)*  
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No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. Landscape behind the Ladder and the Cross (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 88-91



No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. Rocks, upper right Corner (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 88-91

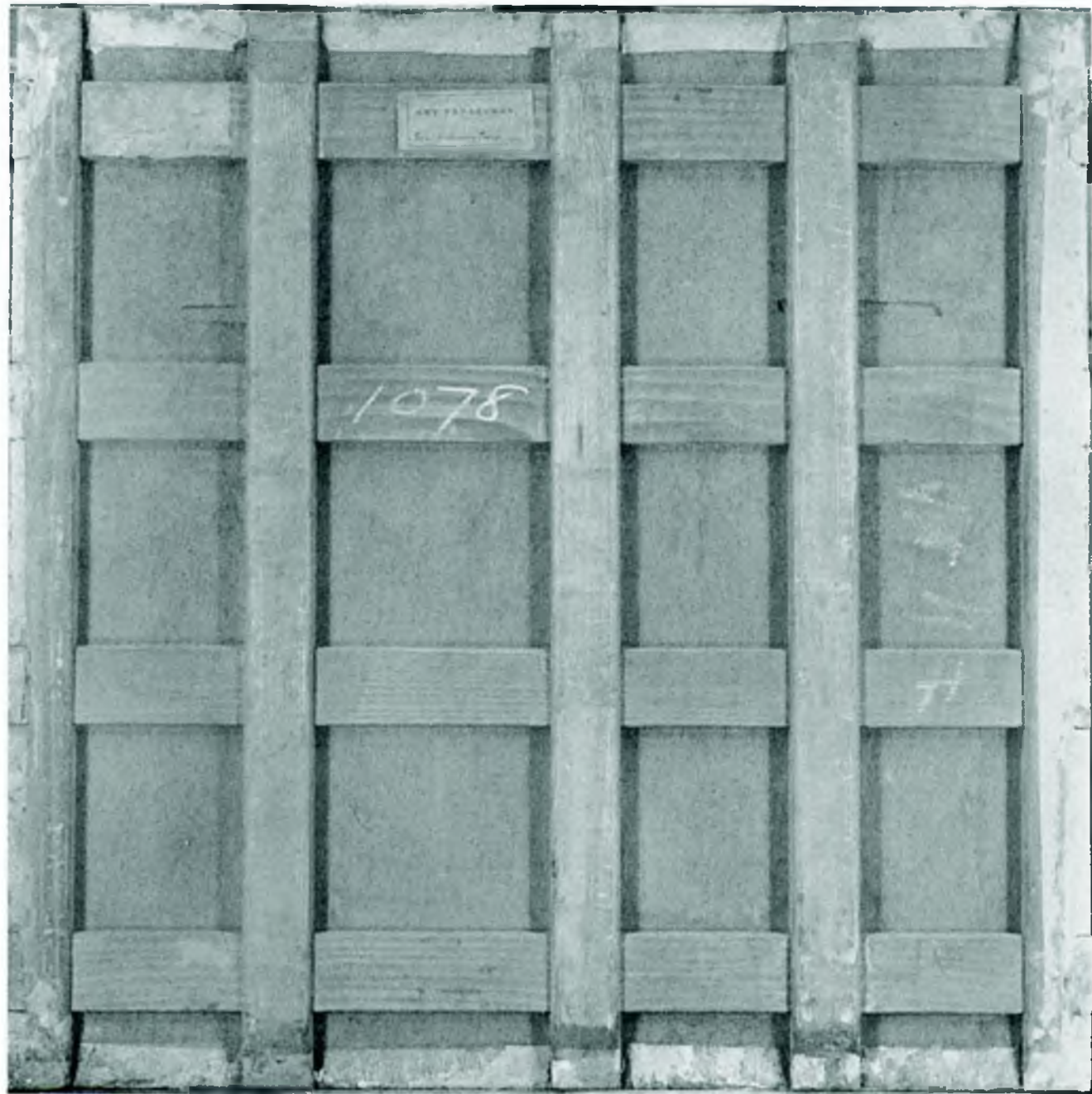


No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition*. Head of the Holy Woman on the Right (M 2 ×)  
text pp. 88-91



No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. Head of S. Mary Magdalene* (M 2 X)  
text pp. 88 - 91





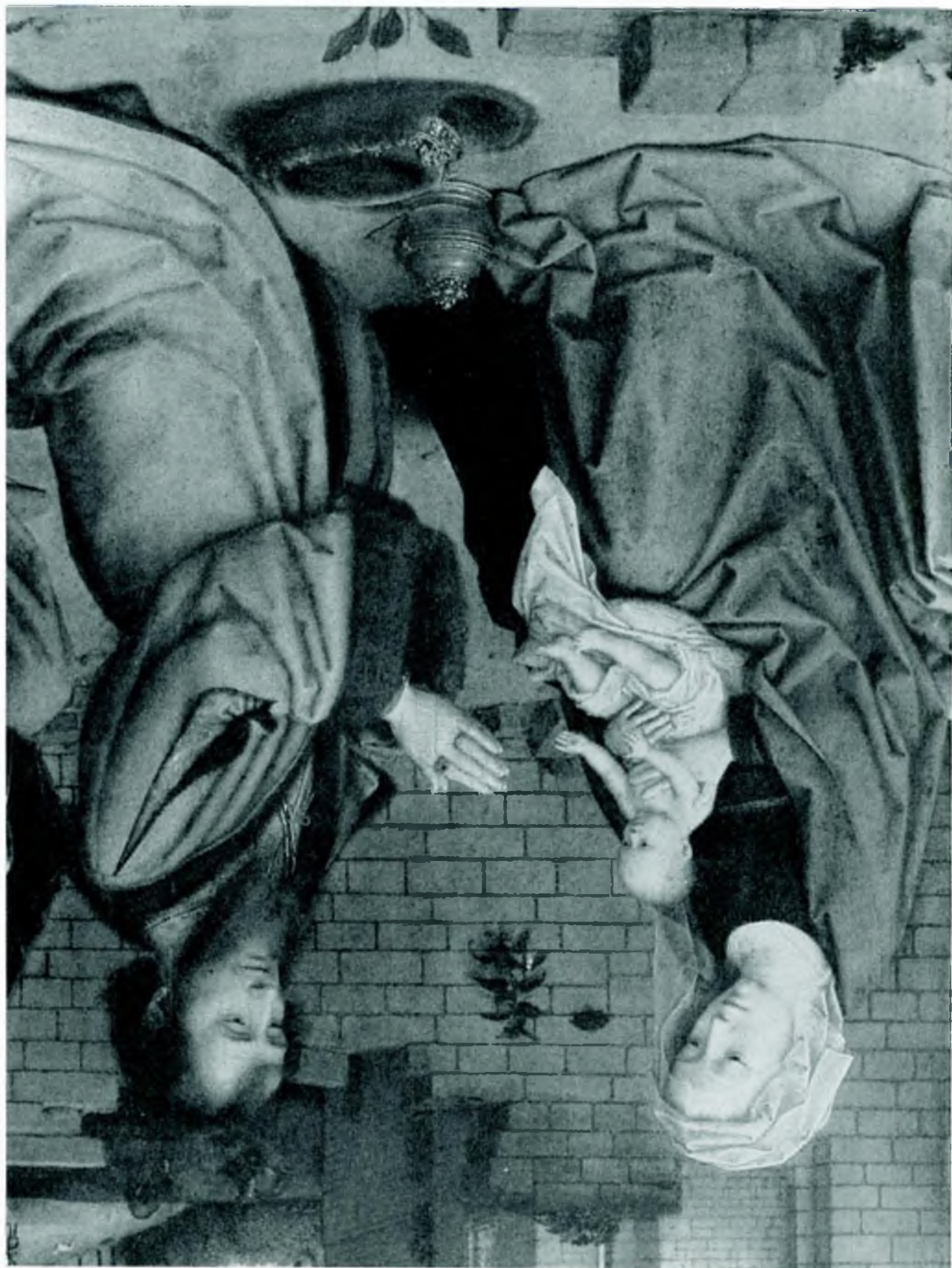
No. 41 : Group David (6). *The Deposition. The Reverse*  
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No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings*  
text pp. 92-96

No. 42: Group David (?), *The Adoration of the Kings*  
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No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings. The Second and Third Kings, and their Followers*  
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No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings. The Virgin and Child* (1 : 1)  
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No. 42: Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings. The First King (1:1)*  
text pp. 92-96

No. 42 : Group David (7), The Adoration of the Kings, The Negro King and his Followers (1 : 1)  
text pp. 92 - 96





No. 12: Group David (7), The Adoration of the Kings, The Second King (1: 11)  
text pp. 92-96

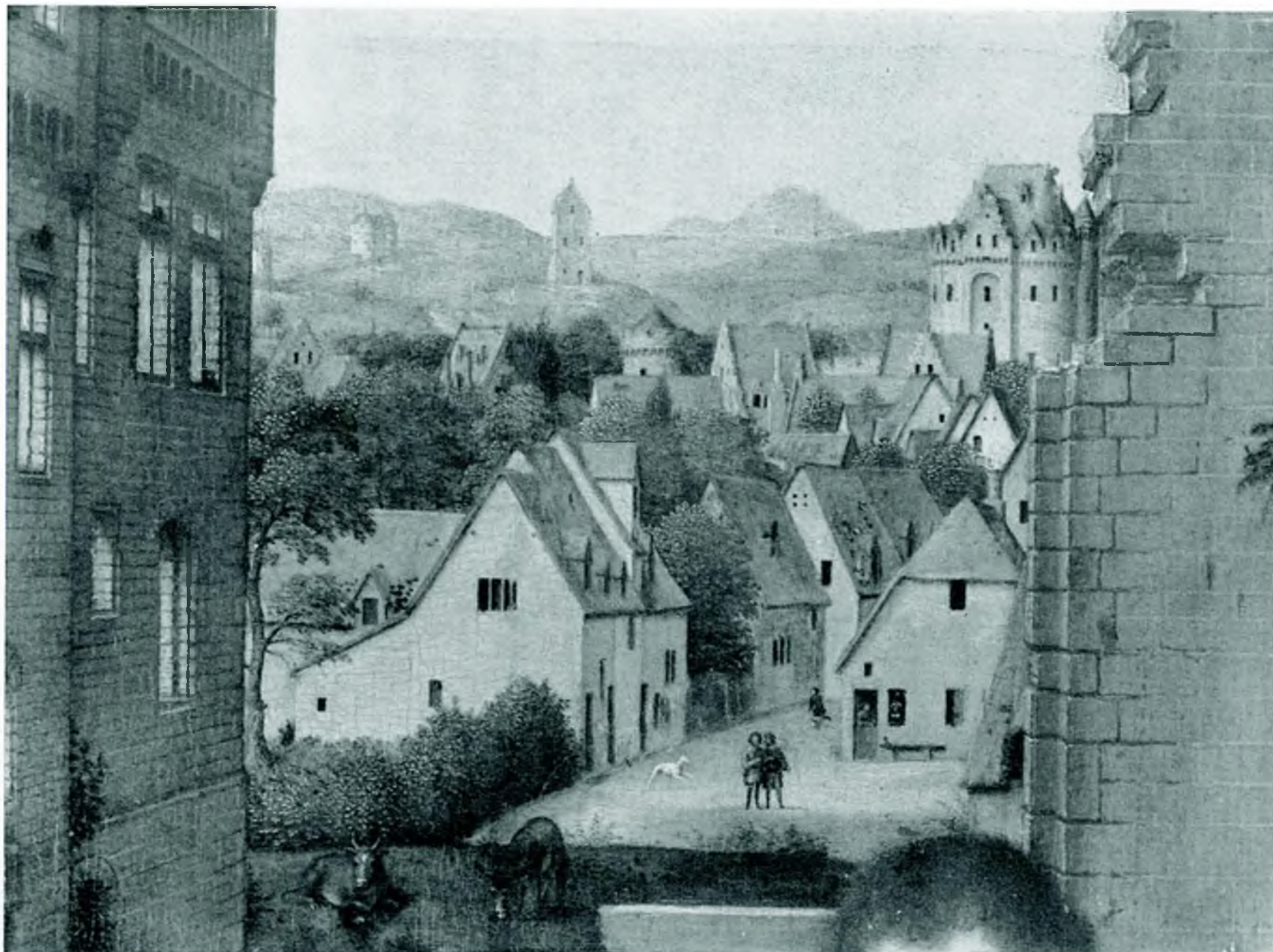




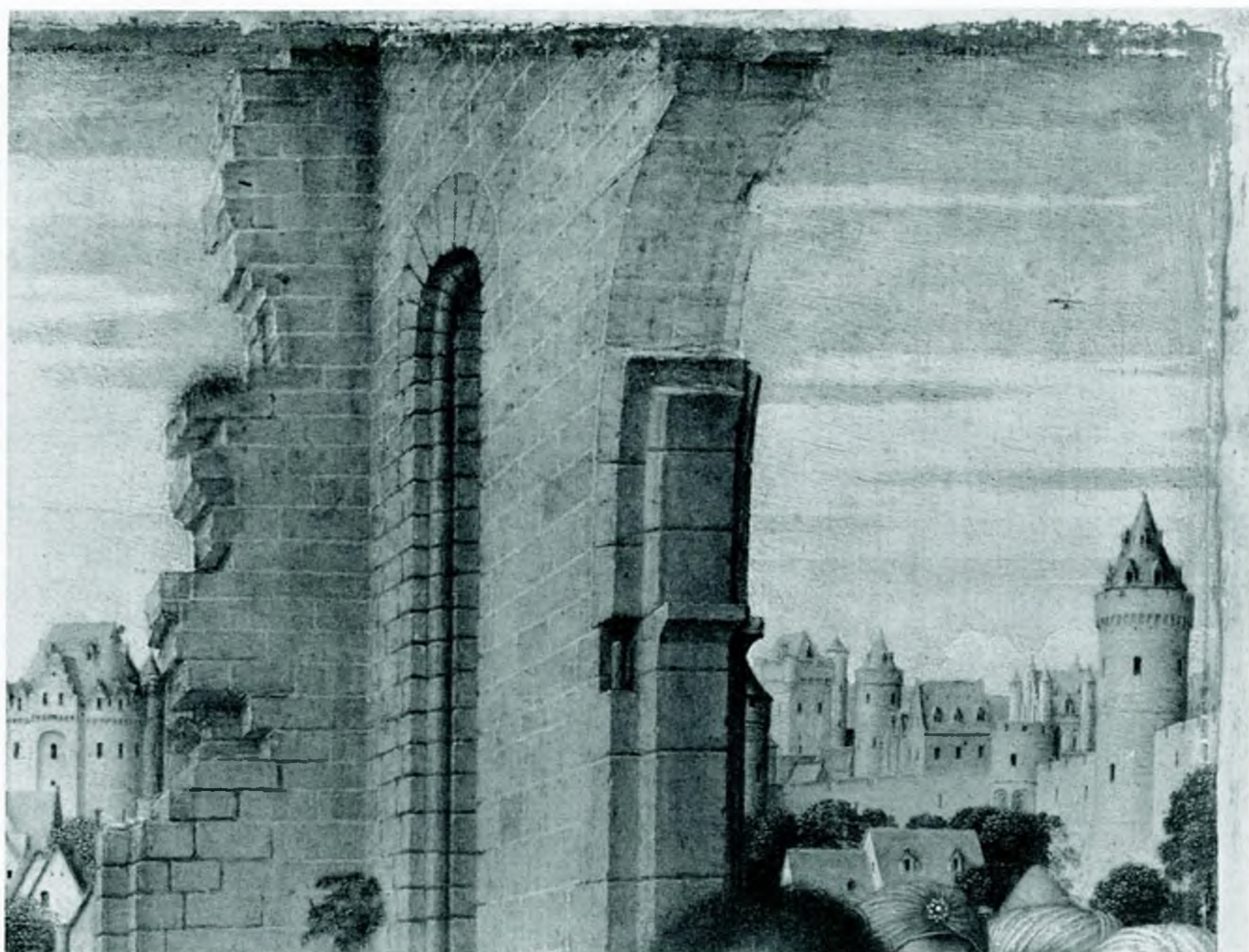
No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings. Legs of the Negro King (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 92-96



No. 42 : Group David (7), *The Adoration of the Kings*. Architecture on the left, with S. Joseph (1 : 1)  
text pp. 92 - 96



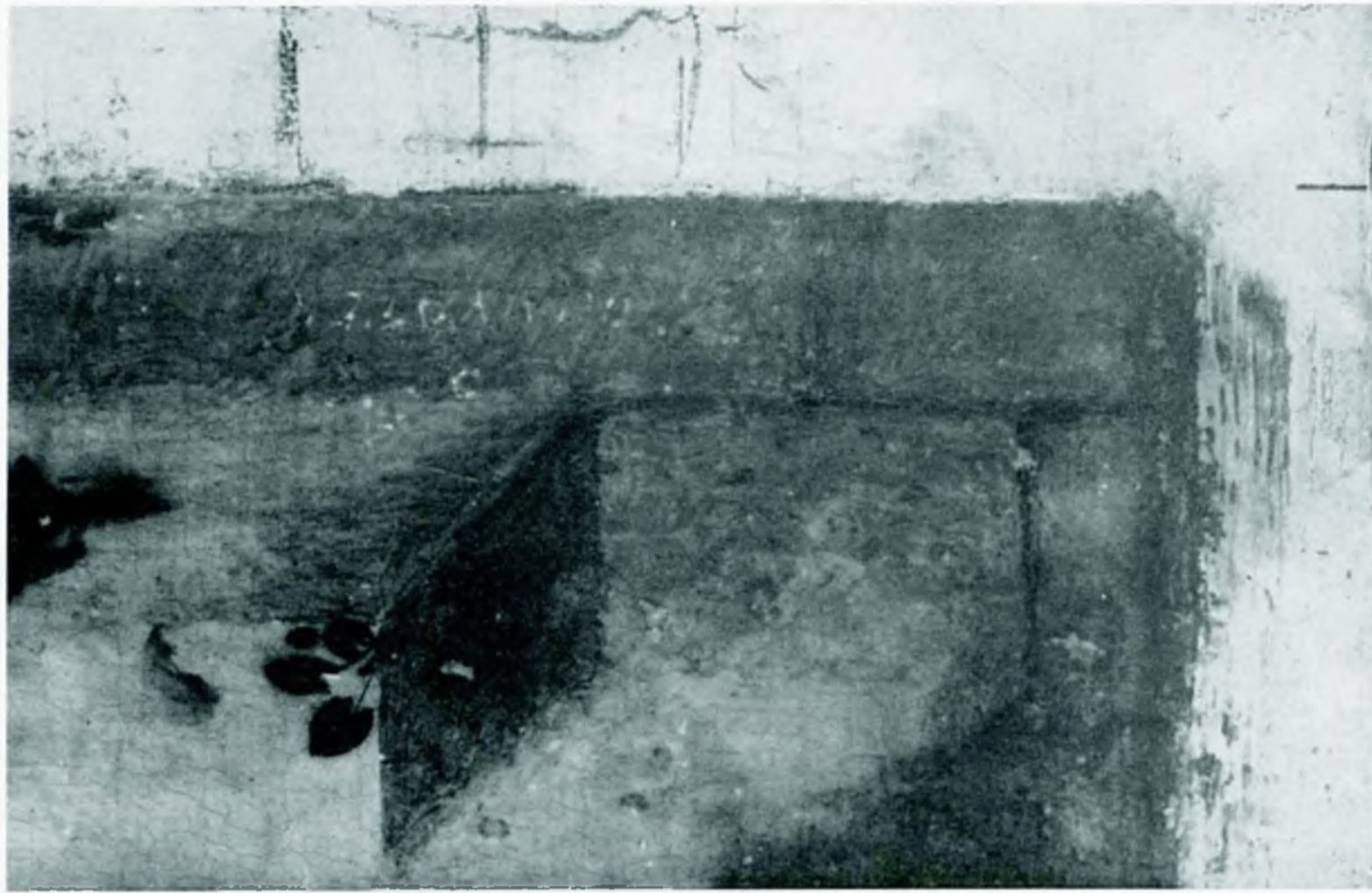
No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings, Landscape, Centre : View of a Town (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 92 - 96



No. 42 : Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings, Landscape in the upper right Corner (1 : 1)*  
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No. 42 : Group David (2), The Adoration of the Kings. Lower left Corner (1 : 1)  
 text pp. 92-96



No. 42 : Group David (2), The Adoration of the Kings. Inscription OUVVATER in the lower left Corner  
 (M 2 X. infra-red)  
 text pp. 92-96

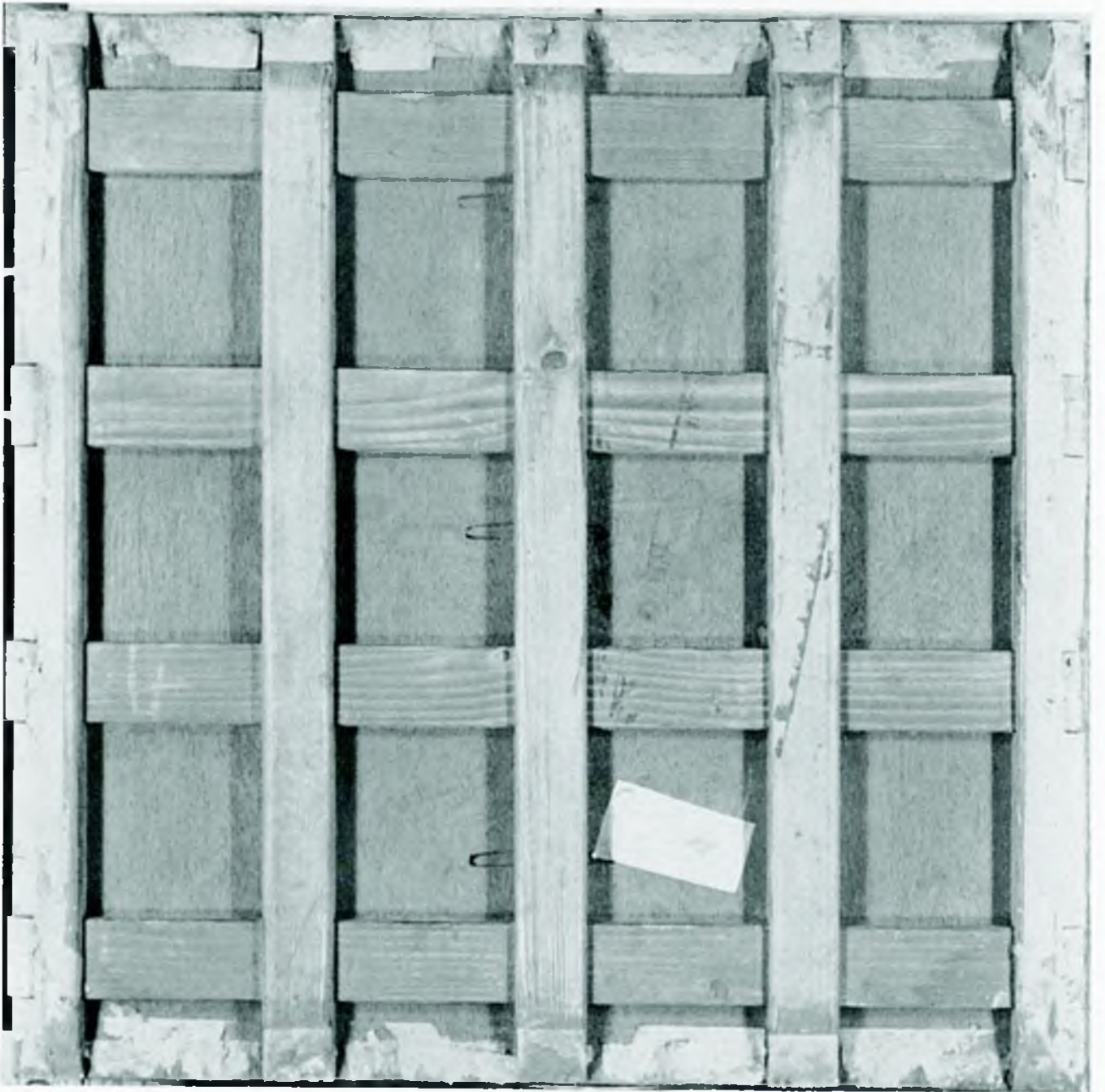


No. 42: Group David (7). *The Adoration of the Kings. Head of the Virgin (M 2 X)*  
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No. 42 : Group (David (?), *The Adoration of the Kings*. Head of the Second King (M 2 X)  
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No. 42 : Group David (?), The Adoration of the Kings, The Reverse  
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No. 12: Group David (?), *The Adoration of the Kings, Heads of the Followers of the Kings* (M2X)  
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No. 45: Group David (sl), The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Detail  
text pp. 96-105





No. 45: Group David (s), The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor  
text pp. 96-105



No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
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No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
*S. Barbara and S. Mary Magdalene*  
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No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Trees and Buildings in the Background on the Left*  
text pp. 96 - 105



No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Buildings in the Background on the Right*  
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No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Head of S. Catherine (1 : 1)*  
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No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor* (1 : 1)  
text pp. 96 - 103

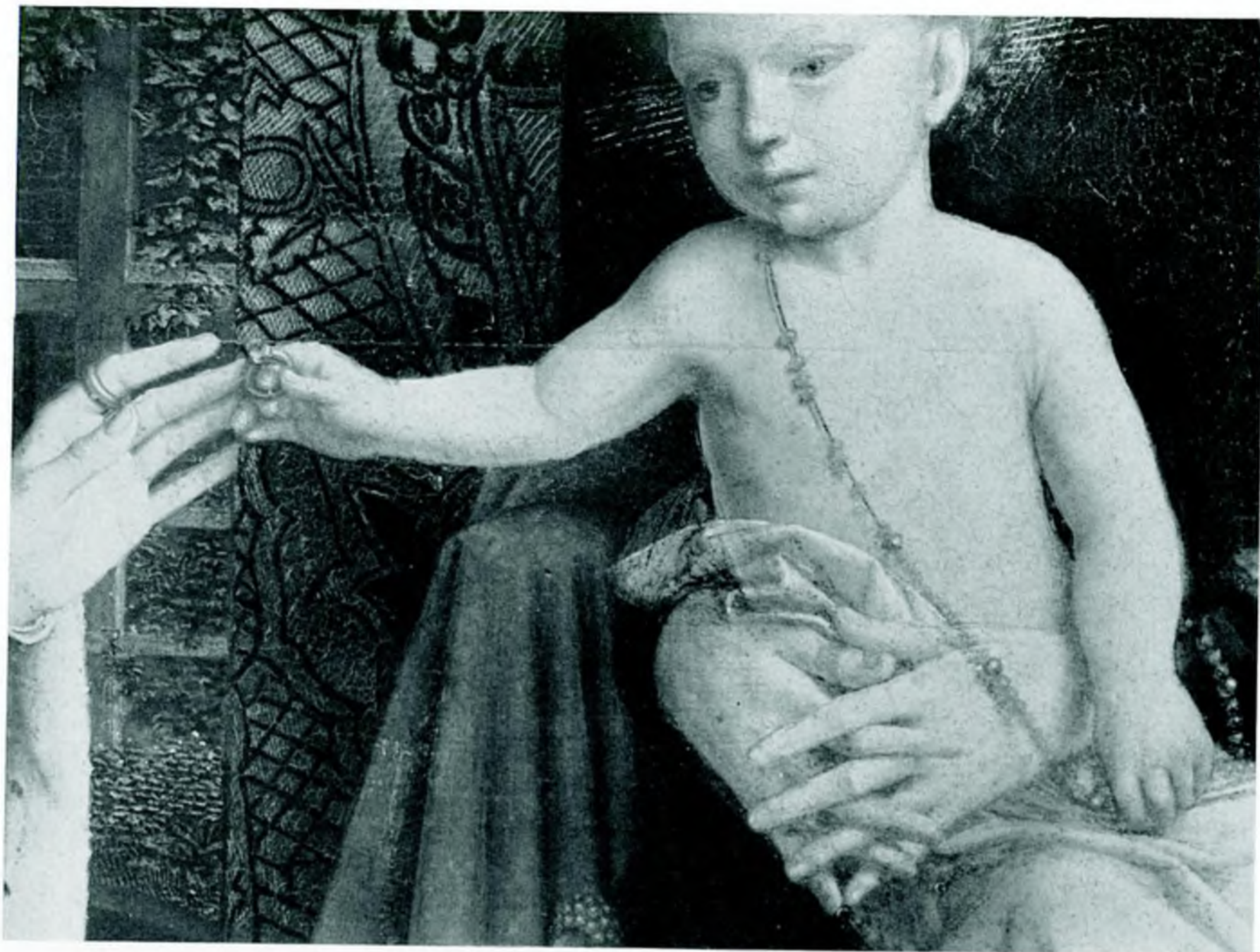




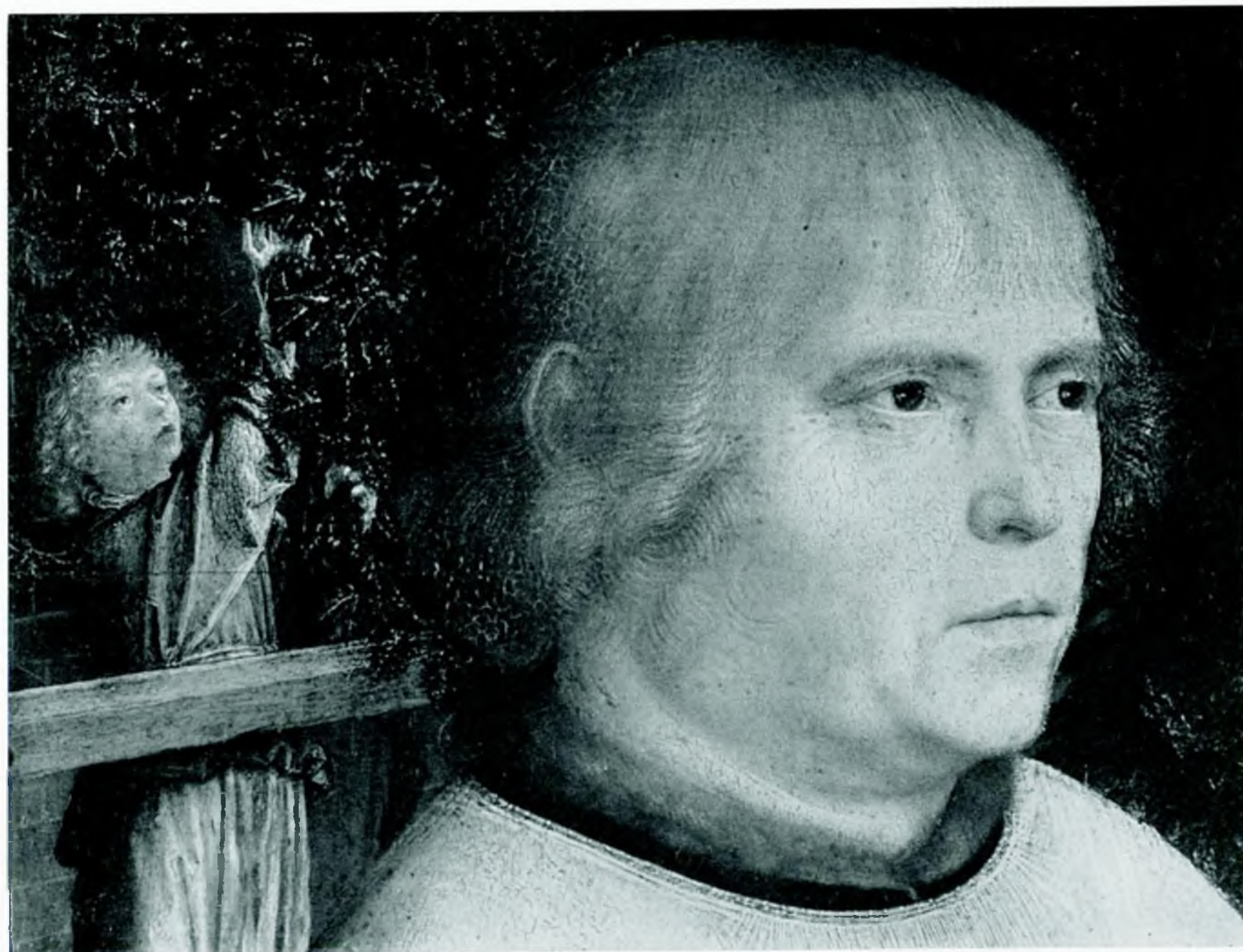
No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
*Head of S. Barbara, with S. Anthony Abbot in the Background (1:1)*  
text pp. 96-105



No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
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text pp. 96 - 105



No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Body of the Child, and Left Hand of S. Catherine (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 96 - 105



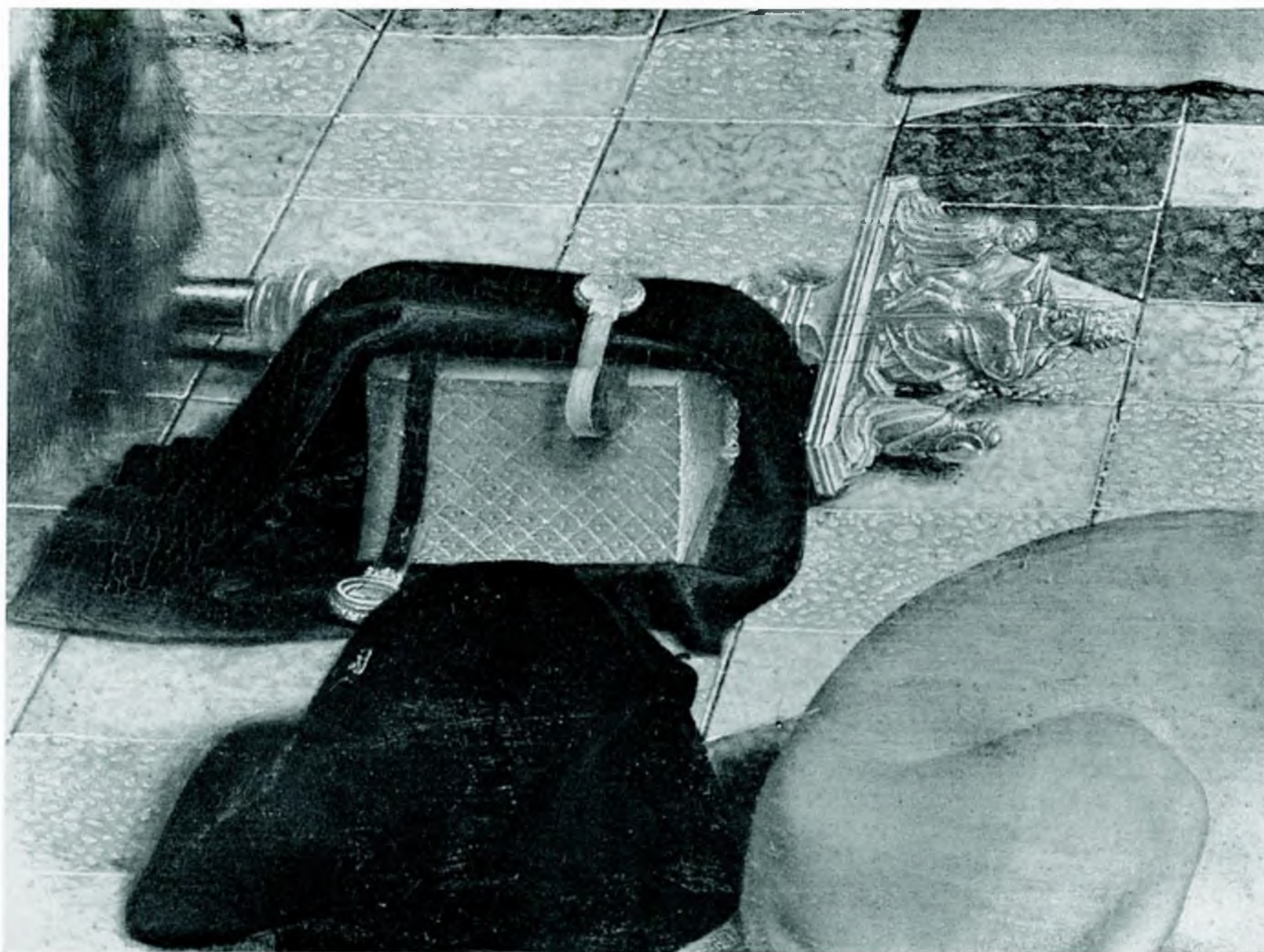
No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Head of the Donor, Richardus de Capella, and the Angel (?) behind (1 : 1)*  
text pp. 96 - 105



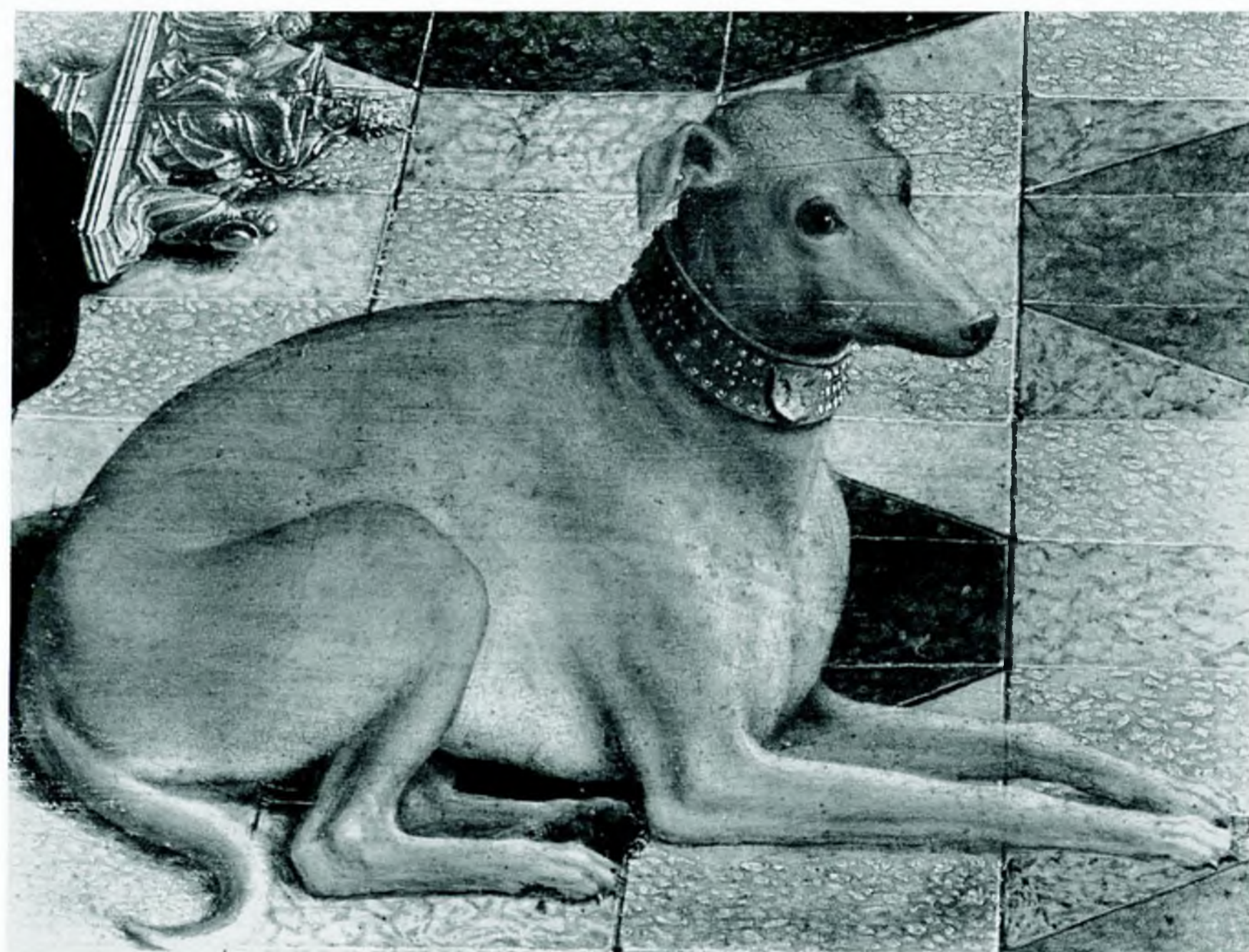
No. 45: Group David (8). The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Hands of the Donor, Right Hand and Part of the Dress of S. Catherine (1:1)  
text pp. 96-105



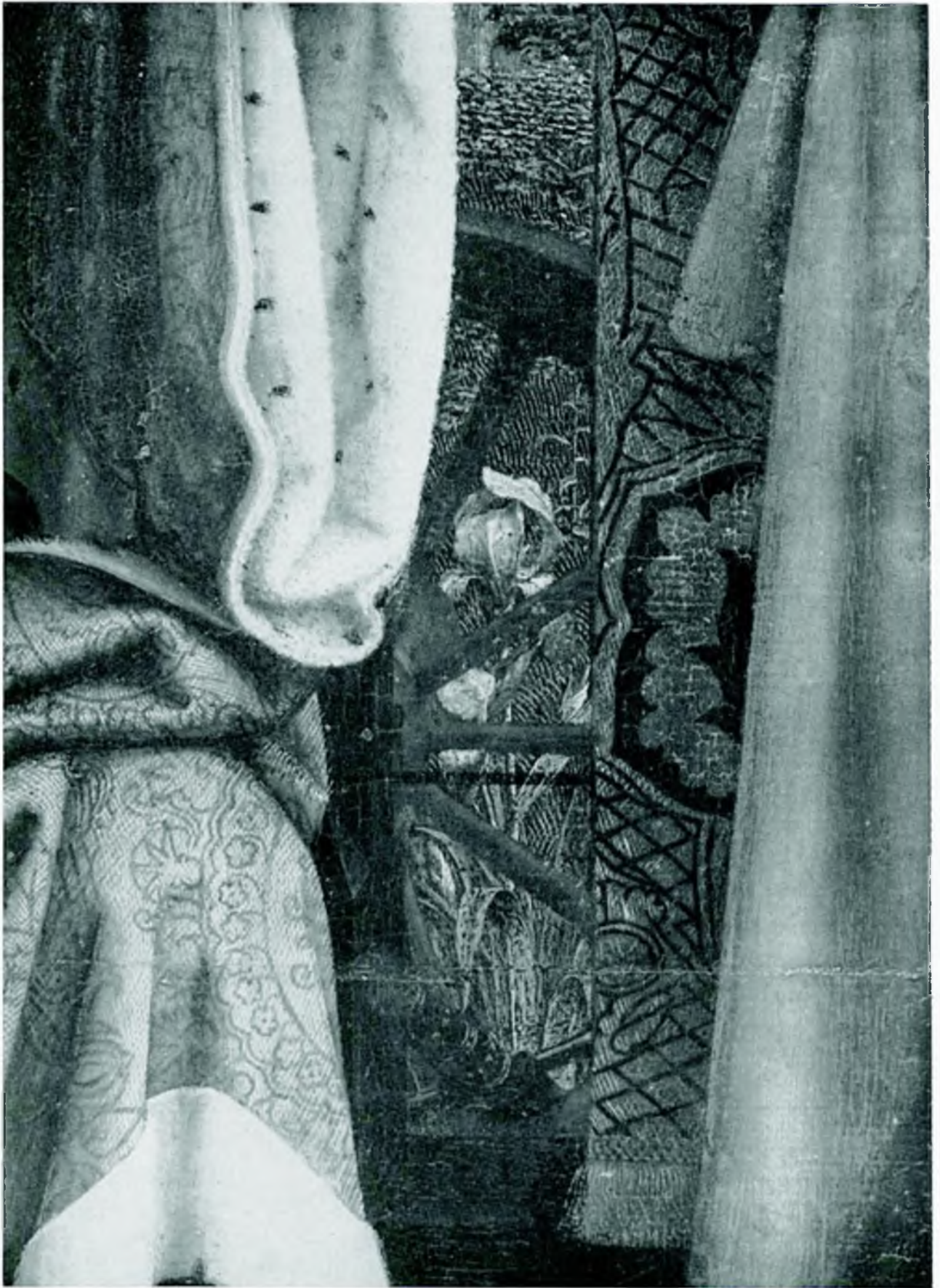
No. 45: Group David (8). The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Hands of S. Barbara and S. Mary Magdalene (1:1)  
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No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. The Donor's Staff and Book* (1:1)  
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No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.* (1:1)  
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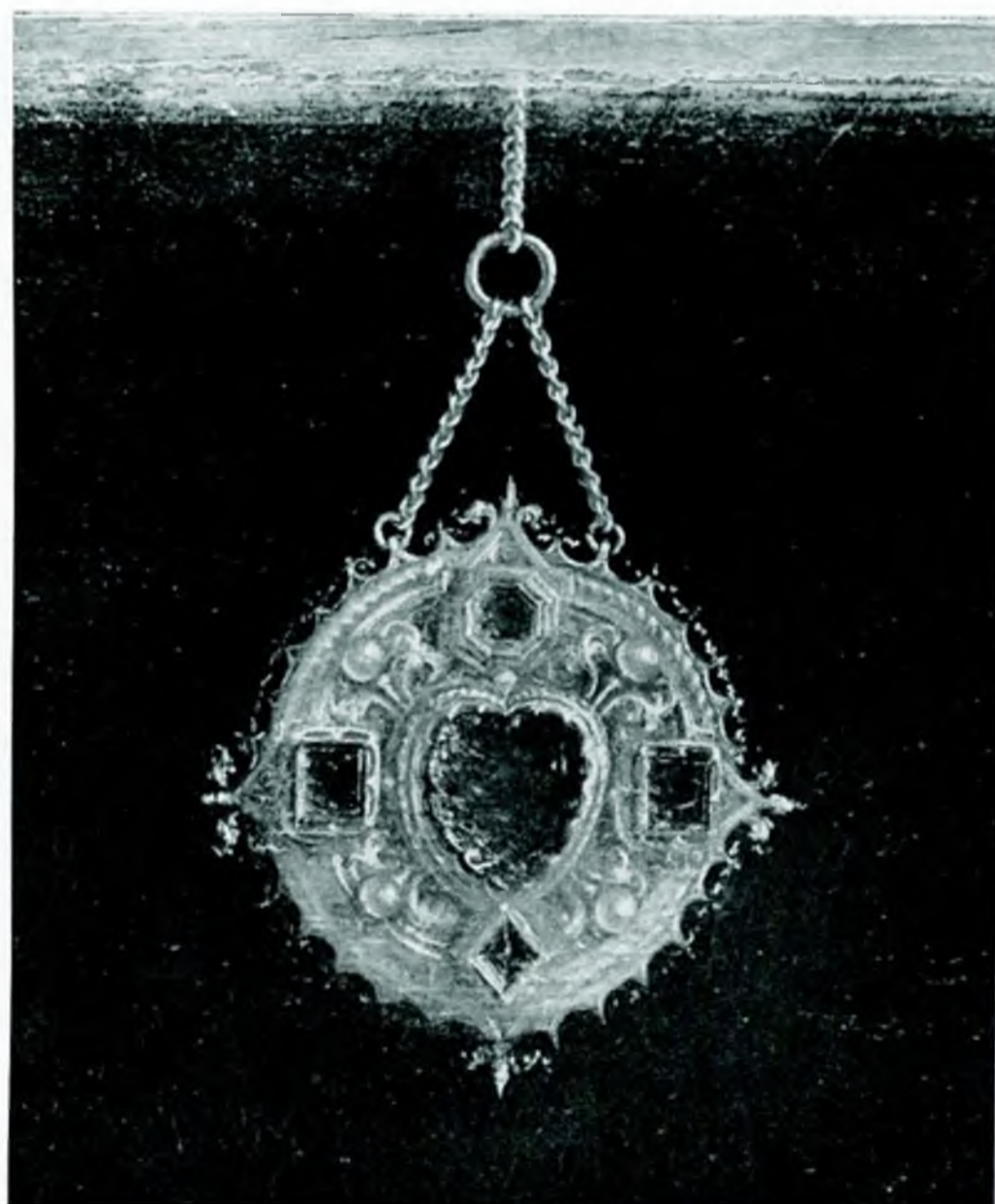
No. 45: Group Davil (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
*The Wheel and Sword of S. Catherine, and an Iris (1:1)*  
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No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor.*  
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No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Building behind S. Catherine (1:1)*  
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No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Jewel above the Virgin's Head (1:1)*  
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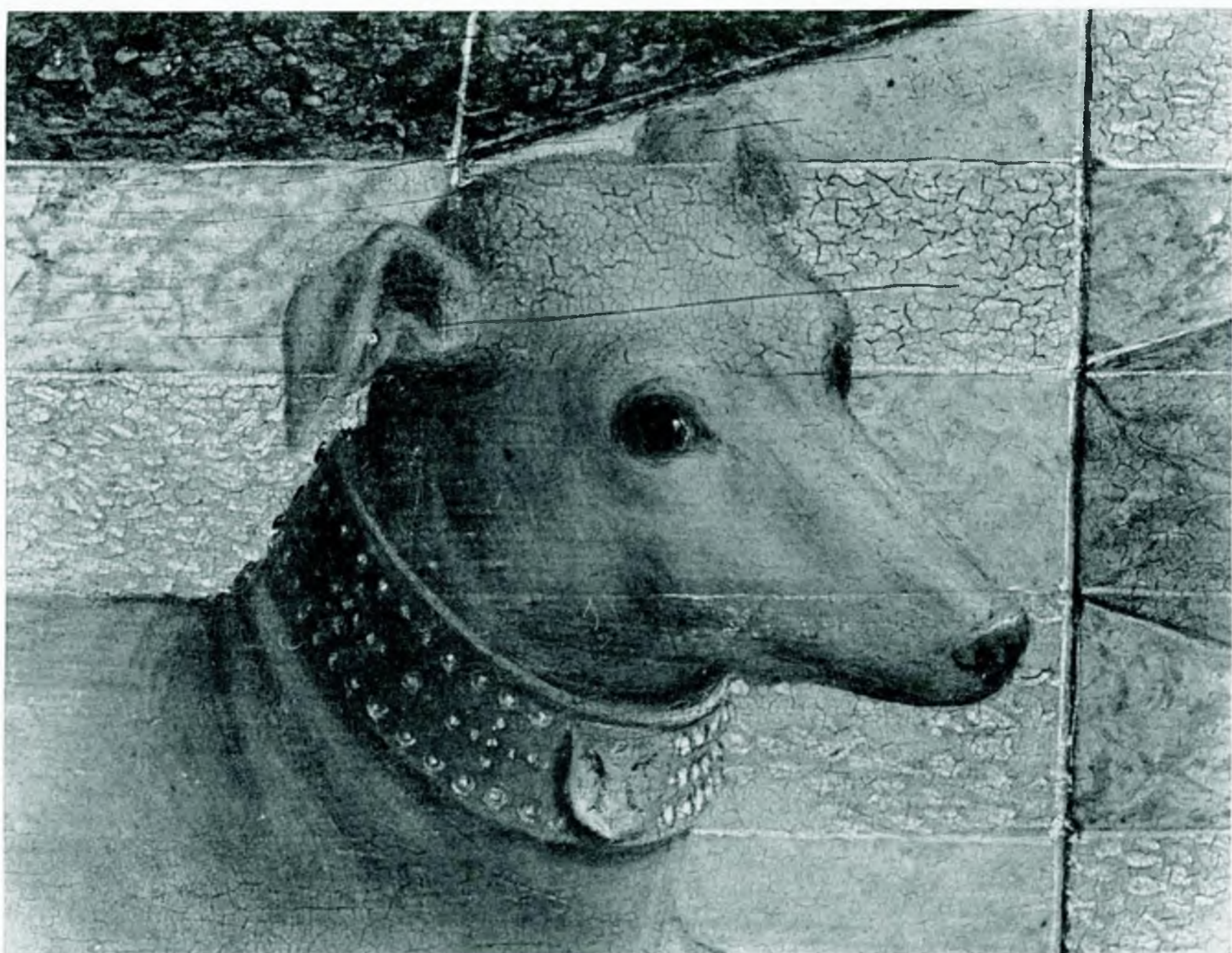
No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Head of S. Catherine* (M 2 X)  
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No. 45 : Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Head of the Virgin (N 2 X)*  
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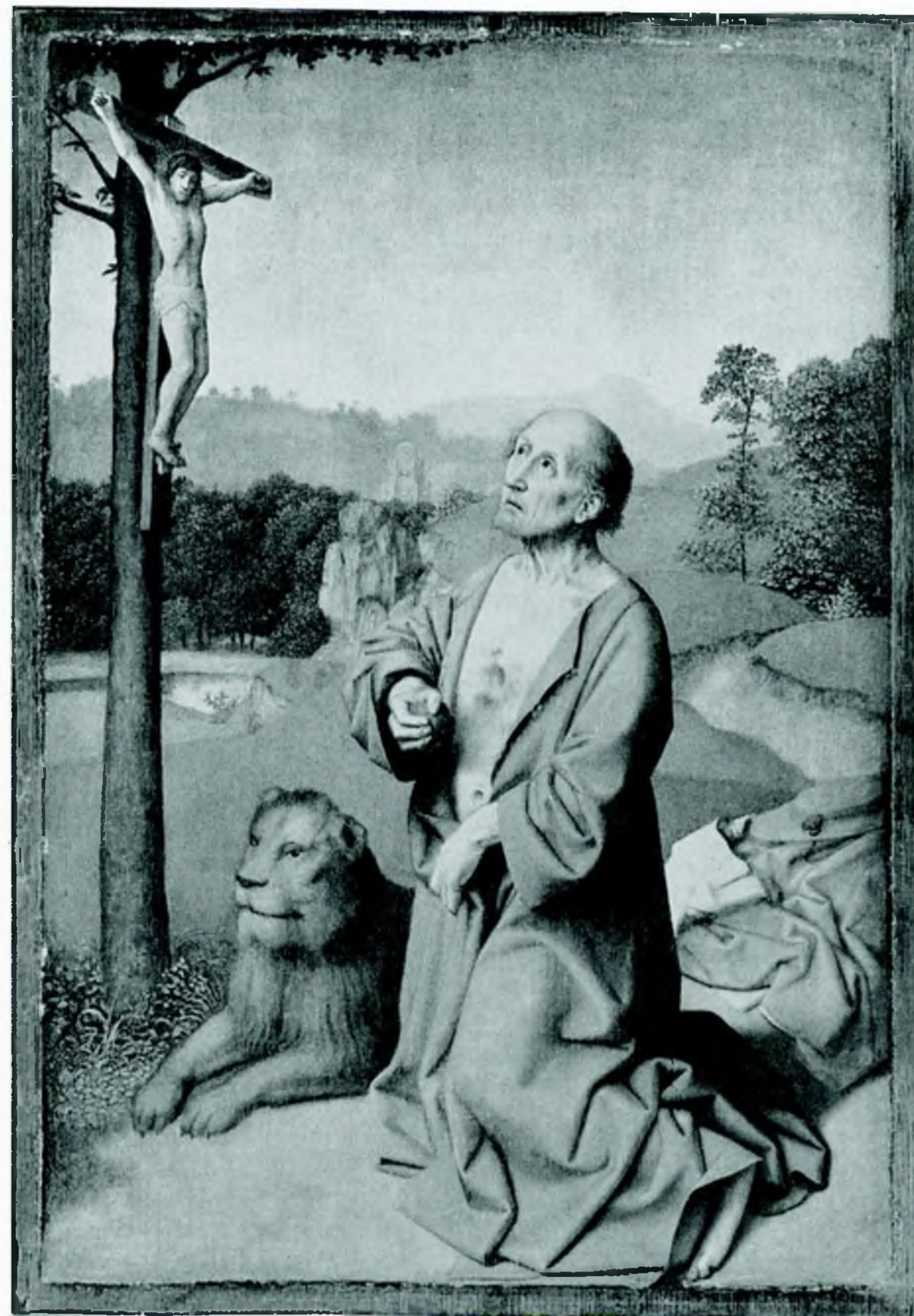
No. 43 : Group David (8), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Features of the Donor (M 2 X)*  
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No. 45 : Group David (8), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. Head of the Greyhound, with the Donor's Arms on the Collar (M 2 X)*  
 text pp. 96 - 105



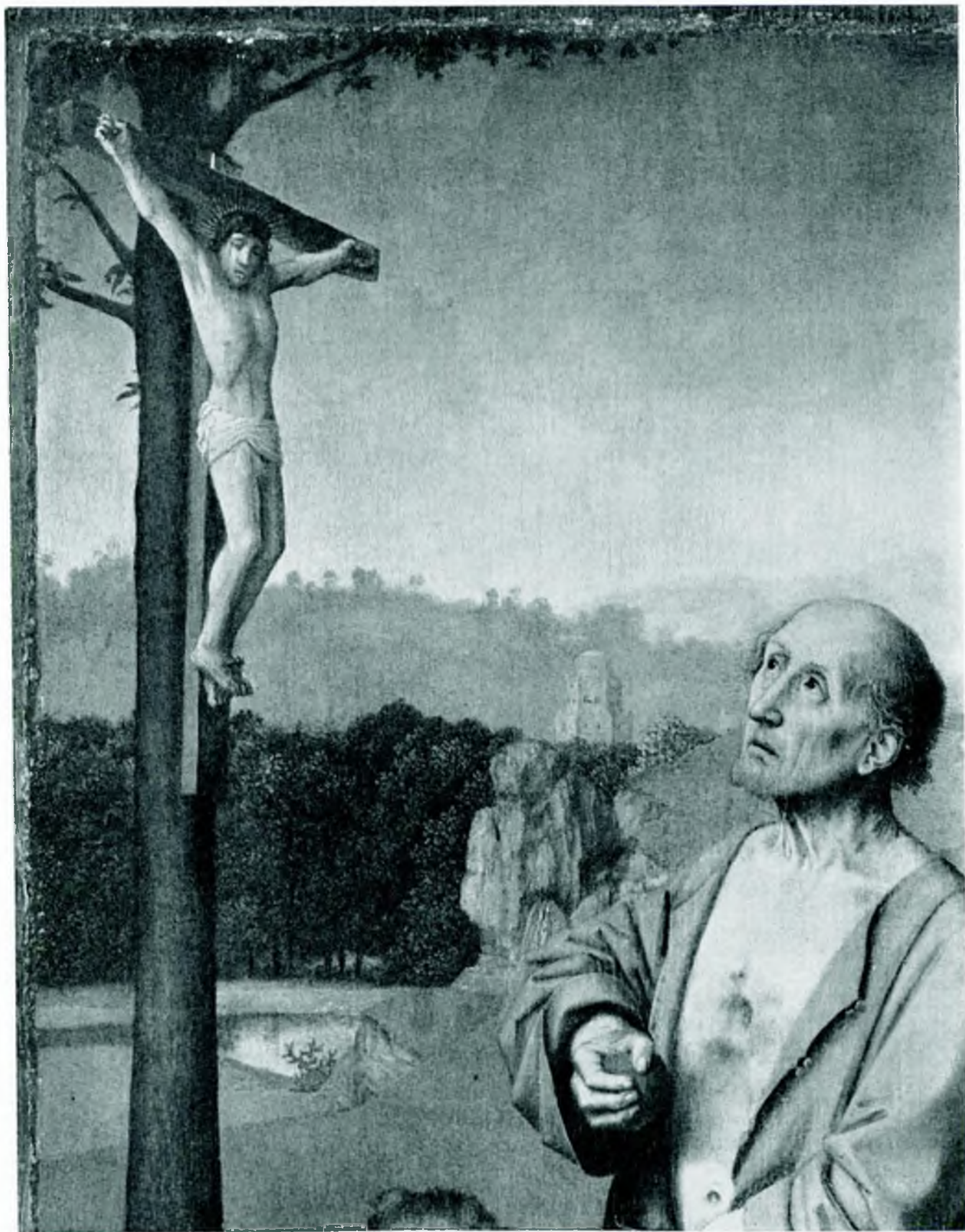
No. 45: Group David (8). *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor. The Reverse*  
text pp. 96 - 107



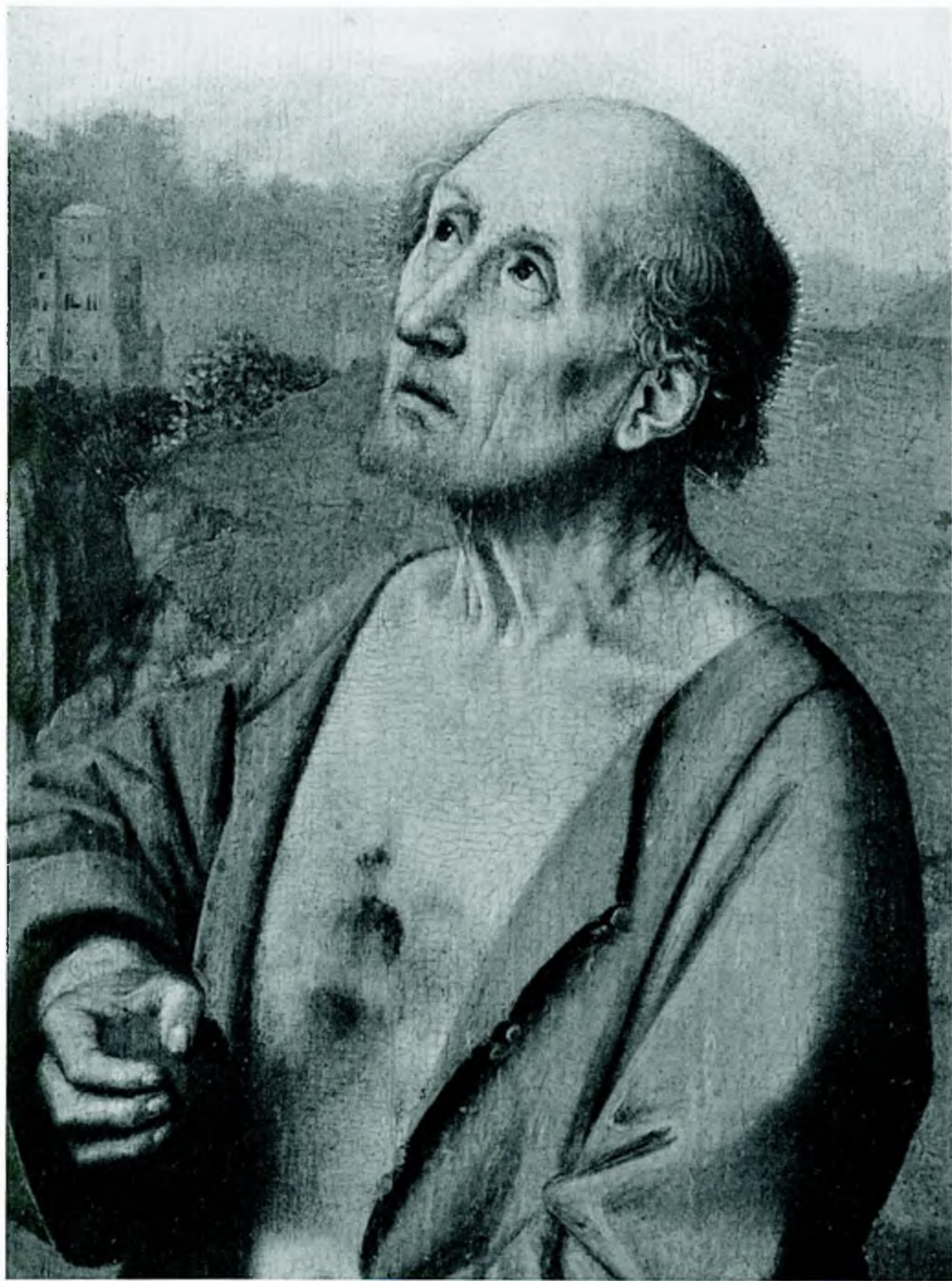
No. 44: Group David (9). *S. Jerome in a Landscape*  
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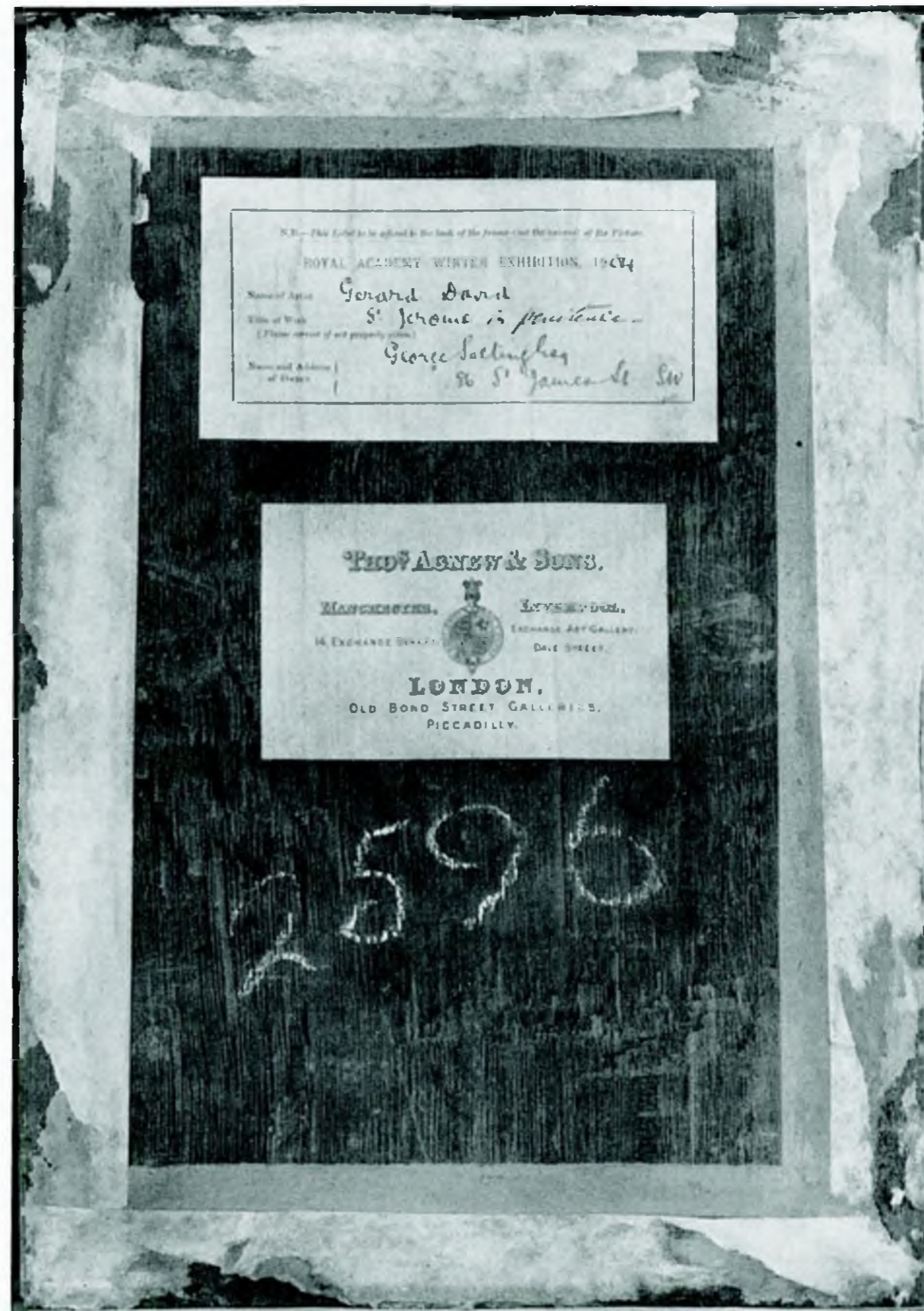
No. 41: Group David (9), S. Jerome in a Landscape (1 : 1)  
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No. 44 : Group David (9), S. Jerome in a Landscape (1 : 1)  
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No. 44 : Group David (9), S. Jerome in a Landscape (M 2 X)  
text pp. 105 - 108



No. 44 : Group David (9), S. Jerome in a Landscape. The Reverse  
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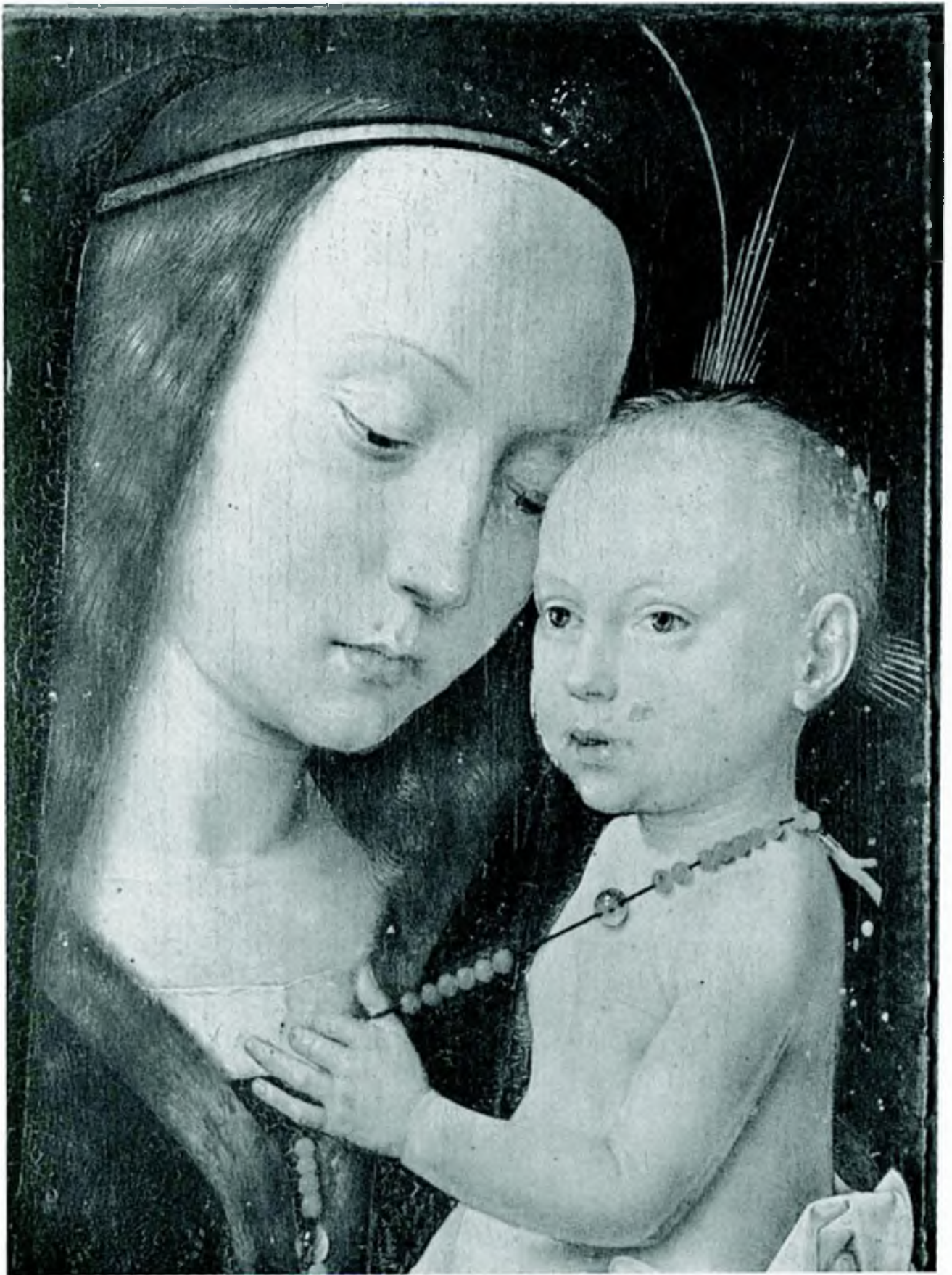


No. 45 : Group David (10). Triptych : the *Virg in and Child*, with *Inscriptions on the Wings*  
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No. 45 : Group David (10). Triptych : the *Virg in and Child*, with *Inscriptions on the Wings*.  
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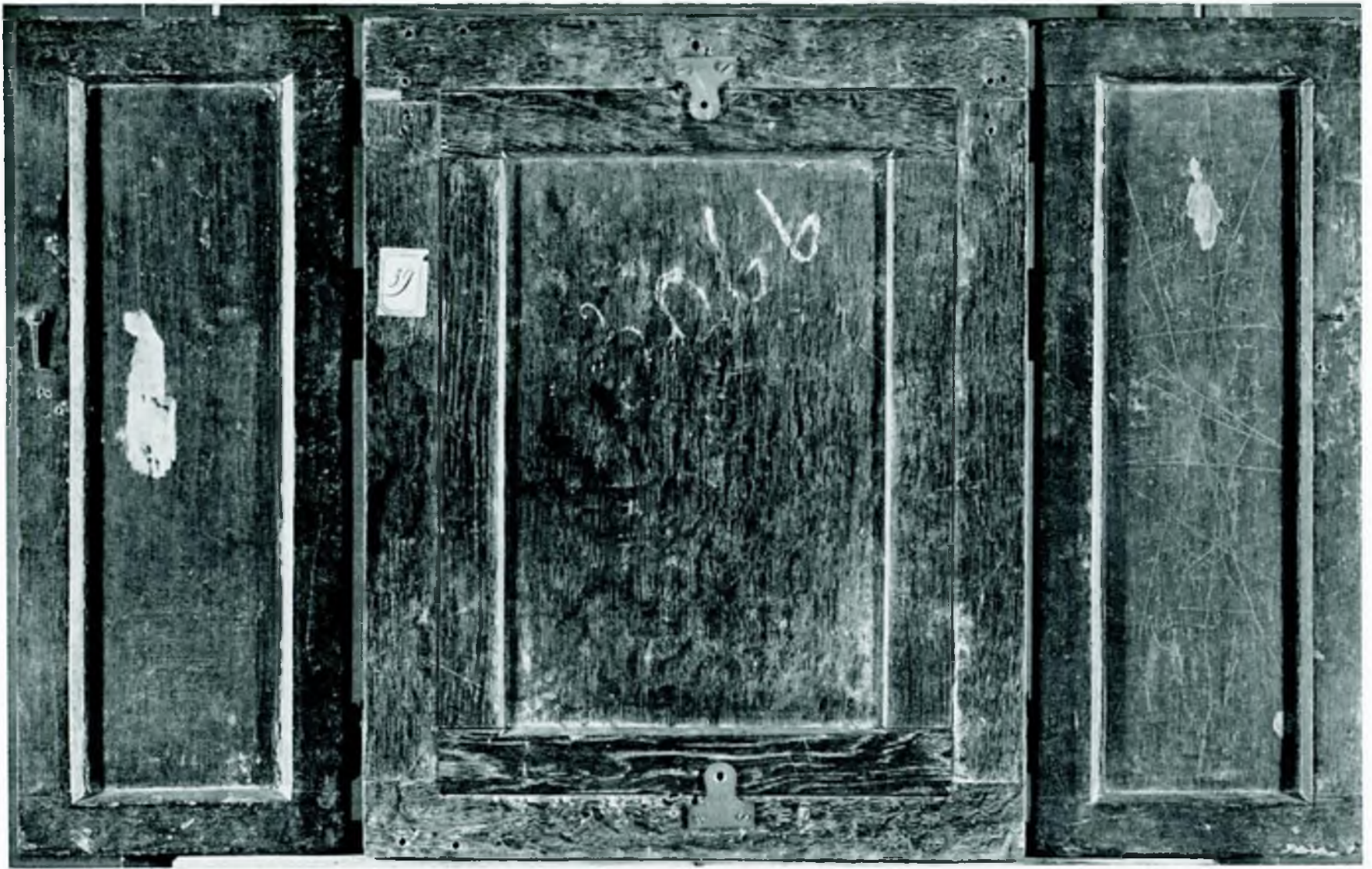




No. 45 : Group David (10). Triptych : the Virgin and Child, with Inscriptions on the Wings. Detail (1 : 1)  
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No. 45 : Group David (10). Triptych : the Virgin and Child, with Inscriptions on the Wings. (M 2 X)  
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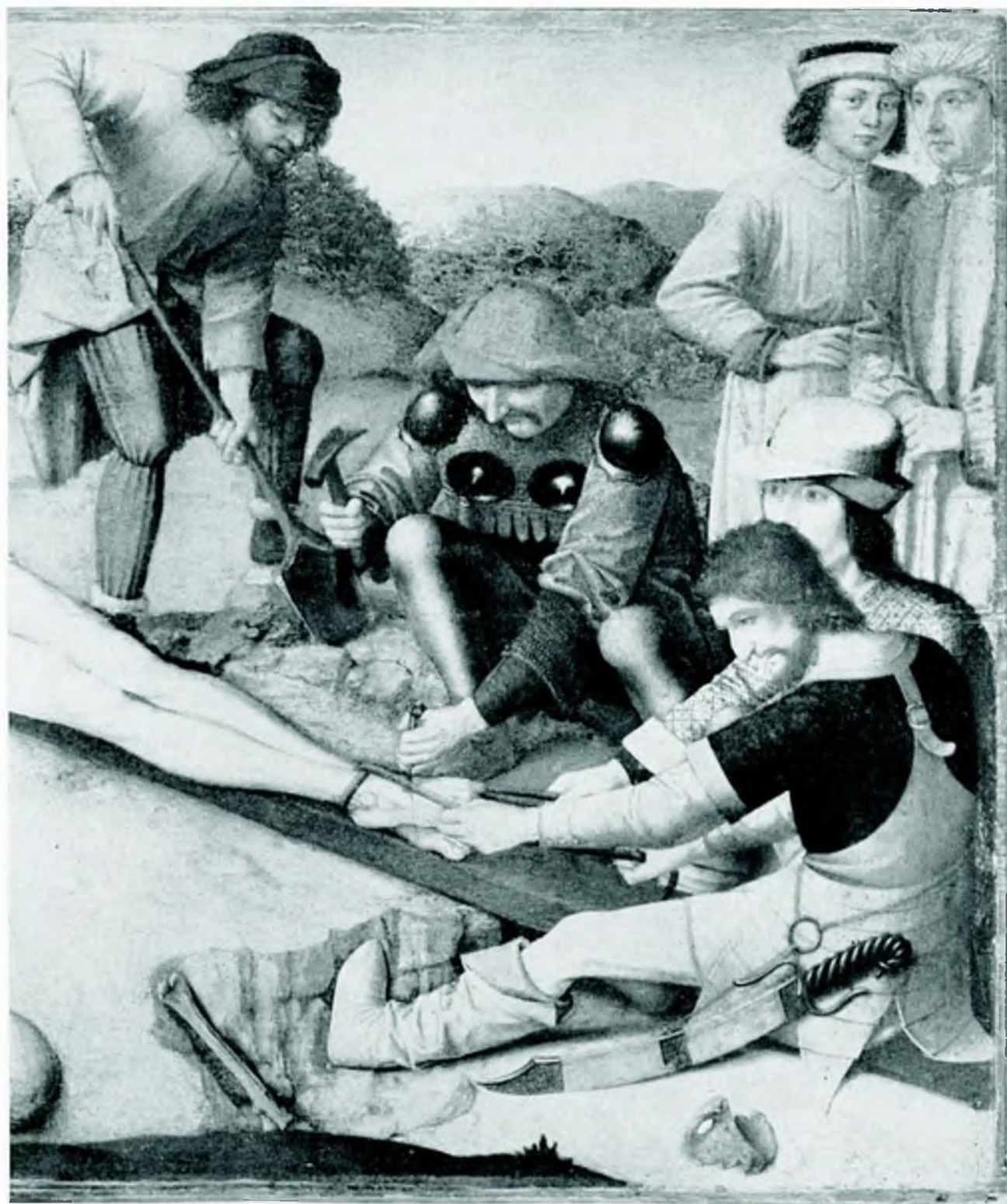
No. 45 : Group David (10). Triptych : the Virgin and Child, with Inscriptions on the Wings. The Reverse, Central Panel and Wings  
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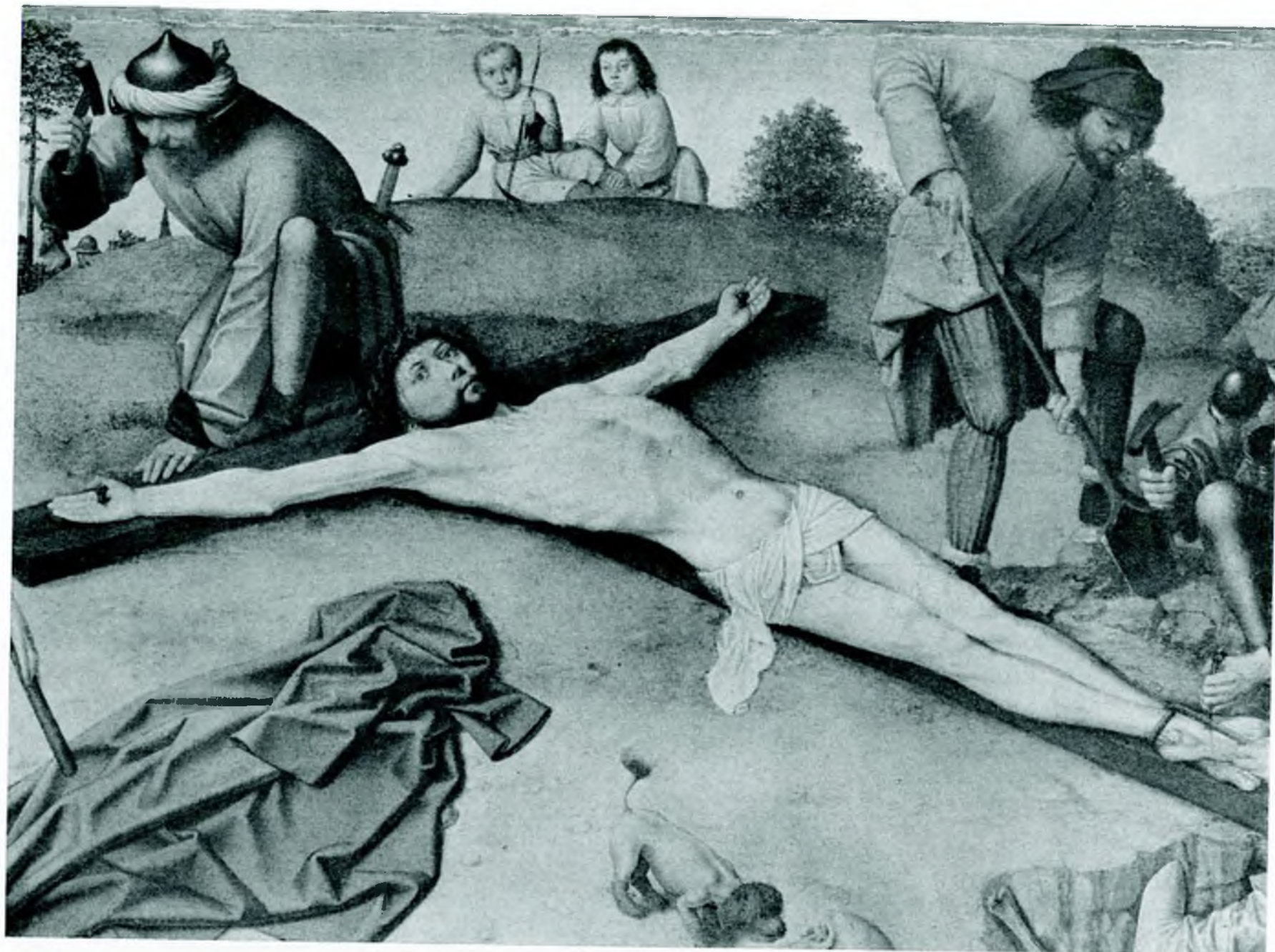
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No. 46: Group David (11), Christ Nailed to the Cross. Figures on the Left  
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No. 46 : Group David (11). Christ Nailed to the Cross. Figures on the Right  
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No. 46: Group David (11), *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. Small Figures and Tree in the Left Background (1:1) text pp. 112-116

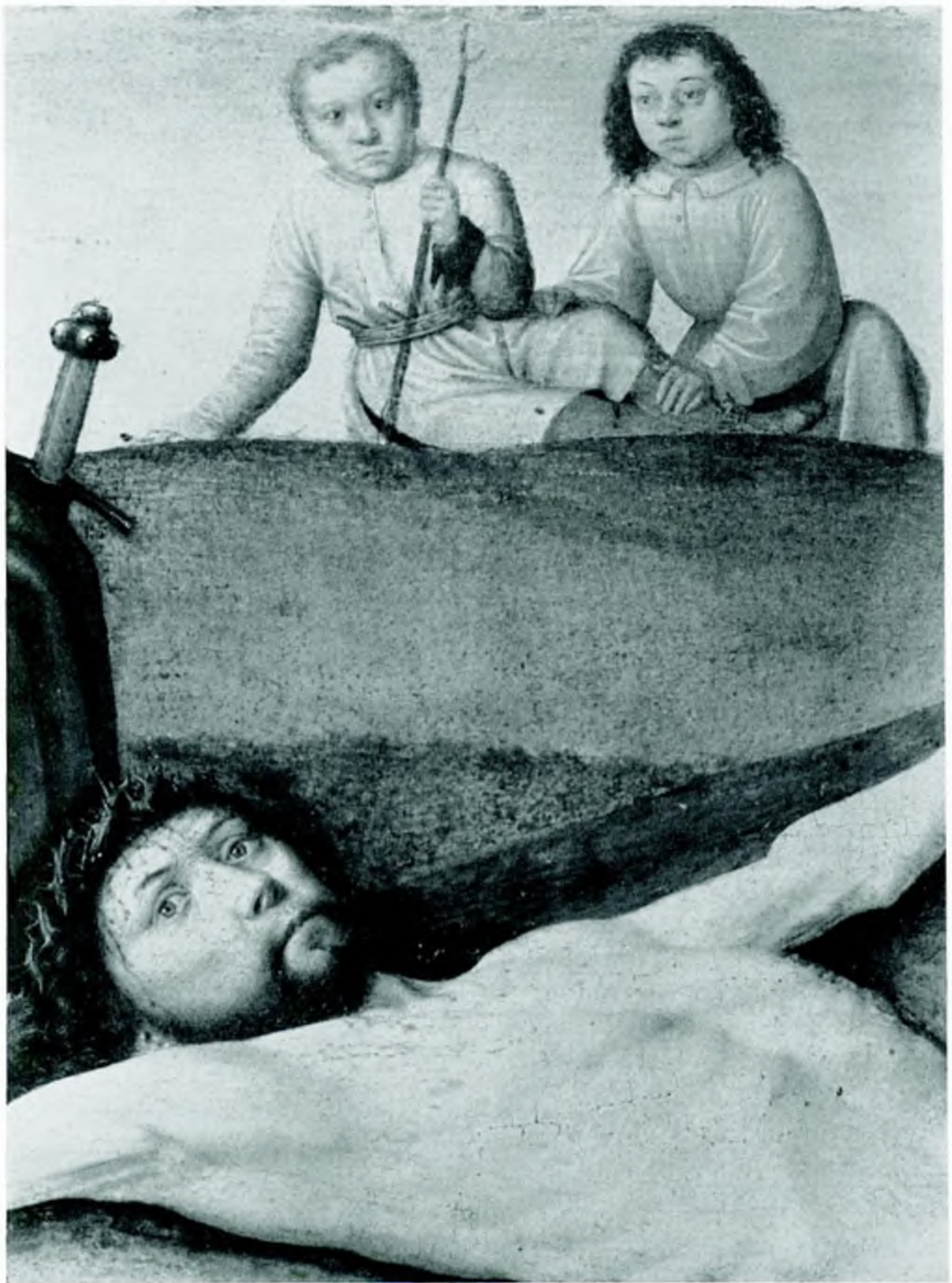


No. 46 : Group David (11). *Christ Nailed to the Cross. Detail of the Man Standing on the Left (1 : 1)*  
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The Soldier Nailing Christ's Right Hand (1 : 1)  
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No. 46 : Group David (11), Christ Nailed to the Cross.  
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