

PRIMITIFS  
FLAMANDS



# NEW ENGLAND MUSEUMS

HARTFORD AND NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT;  
BOSTON, CAMBRIDGE, WILLIAMSTOWN AND WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

COLIN T. EISLER



NEW ENGLAND MUSEUMS

Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut; Boston, Cambridge,  
Williamstown and Worcester, Massachusetts

# LES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

## I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS MÉRIDIONAUX AU QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE

4

PUBLICATIONS OF THE "CENTRE NATIONAL DE RECHERCHES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS"

I. CORPUS DE LA PEINTURE DES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS MÉRIDIONAUX AU QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE

II. RÉPERTOIRE DES PEINTURES FLAMANDES DES QUINZIÈME ET SEIZIÈME SIÈCLES

III. CONTRIBUTIONS A L'ÉTUDE DES PRIMITIFS FLAMANDS

Members of the Centre: Prof. P. Bonenfant (Brussels University); Prof. P. Coremans (Director of the "Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique", Brussels), Director of the Centre; Prof. J. Lavalleye (Louvain University), President of the Centre; Prof. L. Lebeer (Ghent and Liège Universities). Scientific Secretary: Miss N. Verhaegen. Treasurer: Mr. M. Vanden Stock.

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by

COLIN TOBIAS EISLER

The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

BRUSSELS

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## FOREWORD

The present volume took shape six years ago in discussions with Mr. Paul Coremans, director of the *Centre national de recherches "Primitifs flamands"*, and the undersigned, at that time curator of paintings in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University. Mr. Coremans and his associates welcomed immediately the proposal that instead of devoting a fascicule of the *Corpus* to one or two museums in Boston and Cambridge, in accordance with the general design of the publication, all the New England museums possessing works within its scope be joined in one larger volume. This arrangement seemed justified not only by practical considerations and the proximity of the institutions but also by a certain sense of identity in these museums and a community of outlook, occasionally resulting in collaborative endeavors of one sort or another.

The directors or curators of the museums concerned agreed to concerted action to facilitate the production of this volume. W.G. Constable represented the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Miss Louisa Dresser the Worcester Art Museum, and the undersigned the Fogg Museum. They were later joined by Charles C. Cunningham of the Hartford Atheneum, Peter Guille of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute and Andrew C. Ritchie of the Yale University Art Gallery. We considered ourselves very fortunate to secure quickly the commitment of Mr. Colin Eisler to the editorship. We have done what we could to promote his work; the text now printed is his.

We are pleased that the directors and trustees of the several museums agreed that it was a privilege to participate in this enterprise, and we are thankful to them for contributing the services of their respective staffs, especially their photographers, to meet the special requirements of the *Corpus*.

*Millard Meiss*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume, devoted to early Flemish paintings belonging to New England museums, is the first which the Centre has published of collections outside Europe. It is hoped that other American volumes will follow shortly as the United States possesses about a tenth of all known early Flemish works and its collections are being continually enriched.

The preparation of this *Corpus* has been implemented by many contacts between members of the Centre and their colleagues from American museums and universities. We are especially indebted to Professor Erwin Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study, W.G. Constable, former curator of paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the late Francis Henry Taylor, former director of the Metropolitan and Worcester Museums, and Edgar P. Richardson, director of the Detroit Institute of Arts, who recently entrusted the Centre with the preparation of the Catalogue for the exhibition *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*. The Belgian Art Seminar, under the auspices of the Belgian American Educational Foundation and the Belgian Ministry of Education was devoted to the study of fifteenth century Flemish art in four sessions held between 1951-54 at the Centre and at the Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique which contributed to laying the groundwork for this volume.

The author and the Committee of the *Corpus* would like to extend their thanks to those listed above and their institutions. We are deeply indebted to our editor, Professor Millard Meiss of the Institute for Advanced Study, for the important part he played in planning the preparation of this volume. Our gratitude goes also to the directors of the museums of New England, Mr. Daniel Catton Rich of the Worcester Art Museum, Mr. John Coolidge of the Fogg Art Museum, Mr. Charles C. Cunningham of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Mr. Peter Guille of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., Mr. Perry T. Rathbone of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mr. Andrew C. Ritchie of the Yale University Art Gallery, who have so generously permitted the study and publication of their paintings. Their staffs have been unsparing in their efforts to facilitate the completion of the entries for the *Corpus*. We are most grateful to Miss Louisa Dresser of the Worcester Art Museum, Miss Caroline Rollins and Mr. Charles Seymour, Jr., of the Yale University Art Gallery, Mr. Thomas N. Maytham of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Miss Elizabeth Strassmann and Mr. H. Wade White of the Fogg Art Museum.

For their knowledge of the conservational problems associated with the paintings in their care, and for their patience in dealing with the many questions put to them in the course of this study, our warmest thanks go to Miss Elizabeth Jones of the Fogg Art Museum, Mr. William J. Young and his assistants at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mr. Edmont de Beaumont of the Worcester Art Museum, Mr. William Suhr for the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, and Mr. Andrew F. Petryn of the Yale University Art Gallery.



We much appreciate the whole-hearted cooperation of Mr. Edward J. Moore and his staff at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mrs. C.M. Côté and Mr. James Ufford of the Fogg Art Museum, and Mr. Edmont de Beaumont of the Worcester Art Museum, in meeting the exacting photographic requirements of this publication.

Miss Frederika Oldach of the Marquand Library, Princeton University, and Miss Mildred Steinbach of the Frick Art Reference Library were of great assistance in making available much sought after photographic and literary references.

The Belgian American Educational Foundation made possible the stay of the author at Brussels in 1958, through the kind offices of Mr. Perrin C. Galpin and Mr. E. Clark Stillman. We are deeply grateful to Professor Erwin Panofsky, whose interest in the publication enabled the author to work on the *Corpus* uninterruptedly at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1957-58.

The Author and the Centre would like to thank the following for their kindness in helping with special research problems: Mrs. Lotte Brand Philip, Mrs. Florence de Roover and Mrs. Rayanne Walter Lowenthal, Miss Rosalie Green, Miss Jessie McNab, Miss Barbara Sweeny, Mlle M. Verdoodt. We should also like to thank Mr. P. Apraxine, Mr. David G. Carter, Mr. Allen W. Clowes, Mr. Martin Davies, Father Leo Eizenhofer O.S.B., Mr. L. Fourez, Dr. Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, Dr. Julius S. Held, Dr. Robert Koch, Mr. A. Lawalrée, Dr. J.G. van Gelder, Dr. F. Van Molle, Mr. van Schijndel, Mr. O. le Maire, Baron Geza von Kovess, Dr. Gert von der Osten and Professor Lynn White, Jr.

Without the initiative of Frieda Langer and the cooperation of the late Colonel Victor Olsen, this project could not have been undertaken by the author under the United States Government program of alternate service.

*The Author and the Committee of the Corpus*

April, 1961



Rogier van der Weyden, *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin* (Detail)  
Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts





## 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 BOSCH, GROUP WEYDEN)

MASTER OF... (e.g. MASTER OF THE S. URSULA LEGEND).

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

The pictures thus classified are given two *Corpus numbers*. Example: No. 66 : GROUP BOSCH (5), *ECCE HOMO*.

This means : No. 66 of the Corpus (from its beginning); group of works associated with Hieronymus Bosch; 5th. 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. Late copies are not included in the Corpus unless they are the best preserved version of a lost original.

### 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 centimeters and in inches; the order is height  $\times$  width  $\times$  thickness. Each dimension has generally been measured in two different places, in centimeters; the measurement given is the average of the two, 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 centimeters.

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, the distinction of vocabulary is not rigorously followed except in section C, *Physical Characteristics*.

### INDICATIONS OF SCALE

1:1 photograph the actual size of the original.

M 2  $\times$  macrophotograph twice the size of the original.





## 64

## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 64: ANONYMOUS (6), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD; DONOR PRESENTED BY BISHOP*  
(*Diptych*)

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Van der Weyden(?)

A Madonna and Child (Listed below as Panel A)

David(?)

Bishop and Donor (Listed below as Panel B)

No. 60 in the catalogue *Fogg Art Museum Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Painting*, Cambridge Mass., 1919.

Accession No. 1906.6a.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(12. IX. 1957)

*Form* : Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions: Panel A, support</i>	56,5 × 36,9 × 2 cm. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> × 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> × <sup>25</sup> / <sub>32</sub> ins.
painted surface	54,7 × 34,3 cm. 21 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ins.
<i>Panel B, support</i>	56,3 × 35,7 × 0,72 cm. 22 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × <sup>9</sup> / <sub>32</sub> ins.
painted surface	54,4 × 34 cm. 21 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.
<i>Reverse of Panel B,</i>	
painted surface	54,4 × 33,9 cm. 21 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 13 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.

*Protective Layer*: Panels A and B, polyvinyl acetate and a film of hard wax.

*Paint Layer: Panel A.* The entire panel is covered by a very deeply marked, large crackle pattern. The panel is not well preserved. The largest single loss is in the area of the left elbow of Mary. The legs of the Child have lost much of the original paint surface, especially below the knees and in the feet. Smaller losses include parts of Mary's face, the left shoulder, her drapery at the lower right corner, the sky at the upper left of the landscape, the Child's Head, the borders of the hanging, the white cloth to the right of the Child's Feet, and the arm of the chair at the lower left. The landscape section and the brocade hanging are in good condition.

The coat of arms painted over the window at right was added at an early date after the completion of the panel, by another hand (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 18).

*Panel B.* A very fine, rectangular webbing of crackle extends over the surface which is unevenly preserved. This uneven preservation may be partially attributed to several different techniques of paint application. The donor's head has been rubbed and extensively re-painted, as has his costume. The dark area immediately above the right shoulder seems to have been damaged and re-painted at an unde-



terminated date. As it has not been possible to clearly distinguish the different hands contributing to the successive states of the painting by technical examination alone, X-radiographs and infra-red photographs are commented upon under *Changes in Composition*, below.

The figure of the bishop is very well preserved throughout. The modeling of his face and throat may have been lightly accentuated at a later date. Some of the blue on the knuckles of his glove has been replaced. The sky area may have been darkened at a later date, the dark-colored background may also have been a later addition. Keeping in mind that the bishop's figure could have been a 19th century addition (as it is not mentioned in the "Epitaphier van der Meersch", see section D.1, *Subject*, p. 17), the age crackle of the two faces has been compared also by radiography, and there is no qualitative difference between the two (Cf. Plates XV and XIX).

The coat of arms painted over the window at left was added at an early date after the completion of the panel by another hand (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 18).

*Reverse of Panel B.* State of preservation less good than that of the obverse. X-radiographs (at the Fogg Museum Laboratory) show that the original state of the back has been completely overpainted, with another coat of arms, an extensive inscription and the letters J K on both sides of the heraldic achievement (see also *Marks on the Back*, below, and section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 18-20). *Changes in Composition: Panel A.* None observed. *Panel B.* The identity, costume and pose of the donor have been changed at least once (see also *Paint Layer*, above).

The infra-red photograph of the head (see Plate IX) shows traces of a drawing (eyes and nose) apparently conceived with the same perspective as the bishop's head.

X-rays show that under the present head, another one is clearly visible, with the same perspective and general outline, but haircut, eyes and mouth are noticeably different. The collar has a quite different shape.

Examination by day-light and by X-radiographs (at the Fogg Museum Laboratory, see Plate XIX), reveals several distinctly different profiles. What appear to be traces of a larger head are probably pentimenti of a first project for the first draught of the head, rather than vestiges of an additional, intermediate donor. Pentimenti of this first project have worked their way through the landscape that was painted over that part of the profile extending beyond the smaller, later head. The earlier figure had light brown hair, differing markedly from the mouse-colored strands of the present donor. The hands originally had the fingers pointing down toward the lower left. The jerkin was previously higher, red in color, and had a round neckline. Traces of it can be seen through the flesh of the later donor, and under the fur that was added to the costume at the left. The same red color was used on the sleeve under the present dark-colored one. The shoulder of the earlier figure emerges through the scrubbed-over black above the right shoulder of the donor. Traces of yellow, black, grey, and white pigment have been detected below the fur to the right. Laboratory tests have determined between three and four layers of paint in the donor's coat (For interpretation, see sections D, *Description and Iconography*, p. 15 ff., and E.1 a, *Origin. Factual Evidence*, p. 20).

*Ground: Panels A and B*, whitish.

*Support: Panel A.* Transferred to a composite panel of redwood strips set in a mortar of wax-resin adhesive mixed with chalk and hardwood sawdust (*Buck*<sup>20</sup> 203). See section E.2 b, *Records of Condition and Treatment*, p. 22-23, for description of former support and transfer.

*Panel B.* Oak, single panel, with grain vertical. From the back, the panel appears to have been slightly cut down all around. As corresponding *barbes* (relief lines) on the front of the panel appear

complete, this cutting-down probably took place at the time of the removal of the original frame, which if having been engaged, might have had the inscription at the back very slightly extended over it. *Maher* stated the panel had been cut down at least two inches all round (<sup>11</sup> 265) but in view of the almost intact relief line in the front, this is unlikely.

*Marks on the Back: Panel A.* See section E.2 b, *Records of Condition and Treatment*, p. 22, for appearance of back of panel before final transfer.

*Panel B.* The reverse bears a coat of arms, originally on a red background, with mantling. When the arms were changed, the background and mantling were painted black, and an inscription, in golden letters, added. Traces of the original background can still be seen. For arms and inscription, see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p.18-20. Reproduction of the back on Plate XVII.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. *Subject*

*Panel A.* Mary is shown in three-quarter length, nursing the Infant Jesus. She is seated upon a wooden chair, with a brocaded hanging behind her. Inclining her head to the right, she holds the Infant, also looking toward the right, with the left arm. A landscape is seen through the lower part of the half-window at the upper right; two small figures embrace before the entrance to a walled town. Moses, holding the Tablets of the Law, is painted on the pane of the window above. A closed garden or orchard is immediately beyond the window.

The enclosed garden in the panel showing the Virgin and Child may be an allusion to the closed garden symbolic of the purity of Mary. The small figures at the town-gate appear to refer to the Meeting at the Golden Door.

*Panel B.* A half-length figure of a kneeling man, his hands held in prayer, is shown at the lower left, looking toward the left, his head in three-quarter view. He wears a furred robe and red, white-bordered blouse. Standing behind him is a richly attired, mitred prelate with gloved right hand resting on the kneeling figure's shoulder, the left one holding an ornate crozier. He wears a cope with embroidered orphreys over a dalmatic, and a morse in the form of a doubletablet.

Through the half-window at the upper left, horsemen are shown riding up to Mount Calvary, where the Crucifixion takes place. A small bearded figure is painted on the window above.

The donor is shown at prayer, looking toward Mary and the Infant Jesus; a modified speech scroll rising from his praying hands is inscribed ME CULPIS SOLUTUM MITEM FAC ET CA[STUM]. Taken from the prayer to the purity of the Virgin "Ave, Maris stella," it conforms with the symbolism of the bishop's vestment (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 18) and of the disguised symbolism of the purity of the Virgin in the landscape with the Closed Garden and the Meeting at the Golden Door in the background.

According to the coat of arms and the inscription which can actually be seen on the reverse of panel B, the donor's portrait in its present state may be identified as depicting Josse van der Burch (see sections C, *Changes in Composition*, p. 14; D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 18 ff., and E.1a, *Factual Evidence*, p. 20-21). The first mention of Josse van der Burch, son of Achille and Adrienne de Wulfsberghe dates from 1453 (*Gilliodts - Van Severen*<sup>3</sup> 70), in connection with a rent by inheritance (rente héritière) where he is recorded as the son of Achille. The *Histoire, origine et généalogie de la maison van der Burch ou du Bourg* [by Count Guillaume van der Burch], Brussels, 1894,



p. 47, indicates the presence of Josse van der Burch at Reims and Paris during the celebrations held for the coronation of Louis XI, attended by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good. This information is taken from the list of noblemen escorting the Duke of Burgundy according to the Ms. No. 10319 from the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, published by N. De Barante, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois. 1364-1477* (nouvelle édition... par L.-P. Gachard), Brussels, 1838, II, p. 190.

From 1465 to 1469, as certified by the accounts of the bailiffs of the châteltenie of Furnes, Josse van der Burch was receiver of this châteltenie (Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes*, No. 14015, No. 5, f° 5 v°, account of 1465-66: Josse de le Bourg, receveur de la châteltenie de Furnes; and ibidem, No. 14015, No. 14, f° 6 v°, account of 1468-69; see also [*Count Guillaume van der Burch*], *op. cit.*, p. 47). This is contrary to the statement of *Marius Voet*, claiming that Josse van der Burch was receiver of the châteltenie of Furnes in 1464 and 1492 (*Annuaire de la noblesse de Belgique*, Brussels, 1866, p. 348). Due to the scarcity of documents one may suppose that he occupied this charge of receiver during 29 years as indicated by the inscription on the reverse (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 19). In 1488, Josse van der Burch negotiated a transfer of troops through the city of Nieuport ([*Count Guillaume van der Burch*], *op. cit.*, p. 47). The "reliefs" of the fiefs show that van der Burch paid 600 florins to German soldiers garrisoned in Nieuport (Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes*, No. 17641, f° 2 v°, and No. 17643 f° 3). Some letters are preserved from Maximilian and his son Philip mentioning this fact and releasing Josse and afterwards his son Pierre from some "droits de relief" ([*Count Guillaume van der Burch*], *op. cit.*, p. 47). These different documents attest to the activity of Josse van der Burch in the châteltenie of Furnes. The inscription on the back of panel B mentioning that he was receiver of the Veurnambacht for 29 years, also gives - as do all the genealogies - Josse van der Burch the title of counsellor. No mention of this has been found in the above documents.

Josse van der Burch died in 1496. This date given by the inscription is confirmed by the accounts of the bailiffs during the years 1497-1498 (Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes*, No. 14016, 16th book, f° 3) where he is mentioned as the late Josse van der Burch.

Concerning the two wives of Josse van der Burch, there is little information. A fief summary mentions that Catherine van der Mersch, his first wife, died during the year 1476 (Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes*, No. 17625, f° 3 v°). The second wife of Josse van der Burch was Isabelle de la Tour ([*Count Guillaume van der Burch*], *op. cit.*, p. 48) or de la Torre or van den Torre (*J. Gailliard, Les comtes van der Burch*, Bruges, 1864, p. 22). It has not been possible to trace either her origin or family.

The original portrait which can be seen by X-ray and infra-red photographs under the present one, may be identified according to the first state of the coat of arms on the reverse as depicting a son of Josse van der Burch and very likely his third son Simon. Josse van der Burch had five children from his first wife Catherine van der Mersch, two daughters, Marguerite and Leonore, and three sons:

- Pierre, born in 1470, was high bailiff of the châteltenie and city of Furnes in 1498. From 1493 he lived at Bruges. In 1497 he was "échevin du Franc de Bruges". He married Catherine Lem, daughter of Martin Lem and Adrienne de Nieuwenhove and died in Bruges in 1509.
- Charles was canon of S. Donatian at Bruges.
- Simon was bailiff of the city of Furnes and died a bachelor in 1518. He is said to have been buried with his father in the church of S. Walburge at Furnes ([*Count Guillaume van der Burch*], *op. cit.*, p. 48-49).

This assertion is confirmed by an inscription formerly on a lost frame of the panel B, which directly connected Simon with the diptych. The text of this inscription appears in a description of the diptych dating from the beginning of the XIXth century in the "Epitaphier van der Meersch", manuscript written by *François Ignace van der Meersch*, known by a copy preserved in Brussels (*Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Ms. Fonds Merghelynck No. 38). The author notes that on the lower frame of the donor's panel there was an addition to the epitaph of Josse van der Burch and his wife "written a long time afterwards", inscribed in gothic characters as follows:

ende Limo<sup>a</sup> van der Burch, heurlieder, joncste zone gheboren den 14 in october in 't jaer 1474, die starf den XXIII van december in 't jaer XVI8<sup>b</sup>

(Simon van der Burch, their youngest son, born the 14th in October in the year 1474, who died the 23rd of December in the year 1518).

It is probable that the original portrait depicted this third son, Simon, as he was unmarried, lived in Furnes and was directly connected with the diptych. Moreover one can recognise the initial letter of his Christian name followed by a B, for van der Burch, placed below the shield in the first state of the reverse (visible in X-radiograph, see Plate XVIII).

The prelate had been mistakenly identified by *Mather* as representing S. Jodoc, on the basis of the identification of the donor with Josse van der Burch (<sup>11</sup> 262); this was repeated by *Conway* (<sup>15</sup> 132). The prelate has none of the attributes of S. Jodoc as listed by *Künstle* (*Ikönographie der Heiligen*, Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1926, p. 330-331). But, admitting the identification of the original donor with Simon van der Burch, according to *O. le Maire*, one may perhaps suggest Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, who did not possess any particular attribute, as his patron saint. It has to be noted that the bishop's figure is not mentioned at all in an otherwise accurate description of the diptych in the "Epitaphier van der Meersch" (see above). But physical examination (see section C, *Paint Layer*, p. 14) has proved that the bishop has a normal early structure.

The embroidered orphreys show Paul and several unidentified saints. Other unidentified figures appear on the crozier and the morse. The tablets of Moses format of the morse would seem to allude to the priesthood of the Old Testament, being perhaps a remembrance of the rational. The headdress is a *mitra pretiosa* (*Robert A. S. Macalister, Ecclesiastical Vestments*, London, 1896, p. 119). The wearing of gloves precludes the possibility of the prelate's being an abbot, as they were worn only by bishops. The blue color of the gloves may point to a sixteenth century date for the panel, for, according to *Braun*, "the color of the gloves must correspond with the liturgical color of the feast or day in the services of which they are worn... apparently it was not until the sixteenth century that the ordinances as to liturgical colors were applied to episcopal gloves" (*Die Liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient*, Freiburg, 1907 p. 589). Although blue does not appear in Carlo Borromeo's list of the liturgical colors of the Roman rite (*Joseph Braun, op. cit.*, p. 728) it was occasionally prescribed for the mass of the Immaculate Conception (*Patrick Morrisroe, Colors, Liturgical*, in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, IV, New York, 1904, p. 134). Two triptychs, probably early sixteenth century works, show a bishop wearing blue gloves in association with the Virgin and Child or with the Annunciation. These are by Jean Bellegambe, in the Hermitage, Leningrad (photos at Centre) and by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen, Berlin-Dahlem, Ehem. Staatliche Museen. The latter is shown on Plate 57 of the Rijksmuseum Catalogue *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noorderlijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1958.

<sup>a</sup> Erroneously, for Simo.

<sup>b</sup> Sic.



## 2. Colors

*Panel A.* The Virgin wears a blue mantle over a blue and gold brocade gown, covered in part by a pale red, tunic-like garment lined with grey fur. She wears a white cloth over her reddish hair; another white cloth is under the Child. Mary is seen against a hanging of gold and soft red brocade with pomegranate and green borders. The strip of wall to the left of the hanging is brown, to the right, black. The cylindrical arm of the chair is a light brown. Light, bright green predominates in the landscape, below a pale blue sky.

*Panel B.* The donor wears a dark red coat, with a grey and spotted black fur on the reverses, and a red shirt with a white border. His scroll is white with black lettering. The bishop wears a soft olive green dalmatic, aquamarine gloves, a dark (blue?) cope, with gold-colored embroidered orphreys. The lappets of his mitre are lined with bright pink, the same color as his skull cap. The mitre is pink, studded with jewels. The wall in the background is black, the sky at the left a cobalt-tinged blue. The landscape is pervaded by a similar blue tonality.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

*Panel A.* On the central upper panel of the bull's-eye leaded window, a coat of arms is painted over the figure of Moses holding the tablets of the Law, bearing the blazon: ermined, three ctrilles gules. These arms are those of the van der Burch family according to *Rietstap* (<sup>1</sup> 335).

*Panel B.* In a position parallel to the preceding arms, painted over the lower half of a bearded figure holding a book in one hand, is another coat of arms bearing the blazon: quarterly 1st and 4th, ermined three ctrilles gules, quarterly 2nd and 3rd or escutcheon and canton gules. The "Epitaphier van der Meersch" describing the diptych in the beginning of the XIXth century, describes these arms as "d'or au franc canton d'argent, écu de gueules en abîme" (see section I, *Transcriptions of Documents and Literary Sources*, p. 25-26). These arms are those of the van der Burch quartering with arms which are a "brisure" of those of the Waterleet: or escutcheon gules in fess point (according to *Rietstap* <sup>2</sup> 1053). The slight discrepancy between the description of the colors in the early XIX century and its present state, may be explained by an alteration of the colors.

A speech scroll rising from the donor's praying hands is inscribed ME CULPIS SOLUTUM MITEM FAC ET CA[STUM]. The inscription is taken from a verse of the prayer beginning "Ave, Maris stella" from the vespers of the Commune Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis. The complete verse reads

Virgo singularis,  
Inter omnes mitis,  
Nos, culpis solutos  
Mites fac et castos

(*Breviarum Monasticum*, Malines, 1926, p. 268).

The prayer was set to music by Dufay (Modena 98, *F.X. Haberl, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, I. *Wilhelm Dufay*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 132) and by Josquin des Prés (*Idem, ibidem*, II, *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchivs im Vatikan zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 129).

The back of the present state of Panel B bears on a black background a coat of arms and, in golden letters, the following inscription as transcribed by Prof. P. BONENFANT, member of the Centre, reads:

Hier voren ligghen begraven Joos van der  
 Burch, wilen raed konijnckx vanden rommschen  
 Rijcke ende zijns zoons Philippus, erdshertogh  
 van Oostrijeke, hertoghen van Bourgognen<sup>o</sup>, graven  
 van Vlanderen, etc., ende ghecommiteerd ont-  
 fanghere van Veurnambocht XXIX jaren,  
 die starf den vierden dach van Sporkele  
 int jare MCCCC zesendetneghentich

JK (Shield) JK

ende joncvrouwe Katheline vander  
 Mersch, zijn eerst wijf, die starf den  
 XX dach van maye int jaer MCCCC  
 zesendetseventich. Bid over de zielen

Before this lie buried Josse van der Burch, formerly counsellor of the Roman King and his son Philip, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, etc., and commissioned as receiver of the Veurnambicht (Furnes district) for twenty nine years, who died the fourth February 1496, and Miss Catherine van der Mersch, his first wife, who died the twentieth of May in the year 1476. Pray for their souls (The information provided by the inscription about the life of Josse van der Burch is discussed in section D.1, *Subject*, p. 15-17).

The arms are as follows: Per pale dexter side ermined three etrilles gules broken with an escallop on the ermine of the middle (only a trace of the escallop can be seen), sinister side quartered, 1st and 4th or escutcheon and canton gules, 2nd and 3rd: gules give fusils or. In the beginning of the XIXth century this blazon is described by the "Épitaphier van der Meersch" as follows: "Ecusson sans timbre, d'hermine à trois étrilles de gueules, brisé d'une coquille d'argent sur l'hermine du milieu, parti 1er et 4e d'or au franc canton d'argent sur l'écu un écusson de gueules en abîme, 2e et 3e de gueules à la fasce fuselée d'argent".

According to the *Histoire, origine et généalogie de la maison van der Burch etc...* [by Count Guillaume van der Burch], *op. cit.*, p. 47) the blazon three etrilles gules broken with an escallop on the ermine of the middle is characteristic of a "cadet de famille".

The quarterly 1st and 4th or escutcheon and canton gules are as seen above a "brisure" of the arms of the Waterleet family. The quarterly 2nd and 3rd are the arms of the family van der Mersch ([Count Guillaume van der Burch], *op. cit.*, p. 48, note 1).

The arms are those of Josse van der Burch and his wife Catherine van der Mersch, whose mother was a Waterleet. Nevertheless one has to note the anomaly consisting in placing on the side of the wife the arms of van der Mersch in 2nd and 3rd. Their normal place would be in 1st and 4th. The letters J and K on both sides of the blazon appear to be the initials of Josse and Catherine.

X-ray examination shows the first state of the reverse beneath the present shield, identical in size, with helmet and elaborate mantling (see Plate XVIII). Two pairs of letters are visible below the blazon. The red background can still be seen below losses in the present black surface. The first blazon is as

<sup>o</sup> Bourg<sup>n</sup>en



follows: Quarterly, 1st and 4th ermined three etrilles gules (van der Burch); 2nd gules five fusils or (van der Mersch); 3rd or escutcheon gules in fess point (Waterleet).

These arms can only be those of a child of Josse van der Burch, quartering with his mother (van der Mersch) in 2nd and with his maternal grandmother (Waterleet) in 3rd.

The gothic letters below the blazon on both sides seem to be S (?) and B. If S is correct, they may relate to Simon van der Burch, third son of Josse (see section D.1, *Subject*, p. 16-17). Though it may seem surprising that S and B (for the name and surname of the same person) should be linked by the "lacs d'amour", similar examples can be found in early XVIth century painting, i.a., on the back of the Gossart's Jean Carondelet diptych (Louvre, Nos. 1996-1998).

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

### 1. *Origin*

#### *a. Factual Evidence*

Pronounced differences in style and technique indicate separate origins for the panels (see sections E.1 b, *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*, p. 21-22 and G, *Author's Comments*, p. 23-24).

Panel B seems to have been ordered with a view to coupling it with the more ancient panel A. According to Mr. *O. le Maire*, the possessor of this diptych, portrayed originally on panel B, appears to be, following the arms of the first state of the reverse, a child of Josse van der Burch. The arms of van der Burch quartered in 2nd with those of van der Mersch, family of Catherine, first wife of Josse, and in 3rd with those of Waterleet, family of the mother of Catherine, refer to a son of Josse van der Burch (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 19-20) probably his youngest, Simon. He lived in Furnes, never married and is connected with the diptych by the letters S.B. visible by X-ray on both sides of the first coat of arms (see Plate XVIII), and by an inscription on the reverse of the original frame, now lost, stating that he was buried with his father (see section D.1, *Subject*, p. 17).

At first the diptych appears to have been intended for private devotional purposes. The second state of the reverse with the epitaph and the arms of Josse van der Burch and his first wife, Catherine, in conjunction with the alterations in the face and garments of the donor, point to the possibility, that, after the death of Simon (1518), a member of the van der Burch family replaced Simon's portrait with a posthumous image of his father Josse, in contemporary garments (see section C, *Changes in Composition*, p. 14). By also adding an epitaph and arms, the diptych was transformed into a funerary memorial to Josse van der Burch. The blazons added to the windows of both panels appear to date from this time. The change in the original purpose of the diptych explains some inconsistencies in iconography and heraldry, which might not otherwise be understood, especially the reason why the coat of arms and the epitaph on the reverse of panel B refer to Josse van der Burch and his first wife, while the portrait of a man alone is shown on the obverse. It explains also why the bishop presenting the donor, who ought to be S. Jodoc, lacks the attributes of this saint, and may, according to *O. le Maire*, be S. Simon. The inadequate space for the van der Mersch blazon in the coat of arms of the couple van der Burch (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, p. 19) may be due to a confusion caused by the long interval between the death of the couple and its execution. The reason for the difference between the blazon of Waterleet in the first state of the reverse and the same blazon in the second state, probably contemporary with the shields on the windows of both panels, remains obscure.

The epitaph beginning with the words: "Before this lie buried...", indicates that the diptych was



located by the grave of Josse van der Burch. The exact location of this grave is not known. According to the "Épitaphier van der Meersch" the diptych appears to have been preserved till 1799 in the church of S. Walburge in Furnes. However no trace of a van der Burch grave remains there ([*Ch. Carton and F. van de Putte*], *La Collégiale de Ste Walburge à Furnes*, in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XII, Bruges, 1862-63, p. 61-152). According to a manuscript written before 1600 and described as the most complete record of the funerary monuments of Furnes, there is no reference to the van der Burch family at the church of S. Walburge (*Jean Bethune de Villers, Epitaphes et monuments des églises de la Flandre au XVIe siècle*, Bruges, 1800, p. 251).

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

At the time of its bequest to the Fogg Art Museum (1906) it was catalogued as being by a "Follower of Roger van der Weyden" (Panel A) and a "Follower of Gerard David" (Panel B). The diptych was first published anonymously in 1906 as a work by Roger van der Weyden in the *Harvard Graduate Magazine* (<sup>5</sup> 286). Two years later *Bernath* associated the left wing of the Virgin and Child with the art of Roger van der Weyden but stated that the donor wing was by Gerard David (<sup>6</sup> 551). *Fridländer* was quoted as regarding the *Virgin and Child* as based either upon Roger's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* or a lost half-length figure by that artist. He found the donor wing "brüggisch" but not very close to Gerard David, dating it ca. 1510 and by a different hand from the companion panel (<sup>6</sup> 551).

In 1909 a photo of the diptych was shown in an exhibition at Philadelphia in which the left half was described as by Roger van der Weyden (*McMahan* <sup>7</sup> 183). In the same year it was published by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as "Roger van der Weyden(?)" and the right wing considered superior to the left (<sup>8</sup> 28). A note in the Fogg Art Museum folder for 1919 states "Sir Charles Holroyd says van der Weyden diptych is not Gerard David." Another record from this year related that "C.F. Murray, Oct. 1910, from photograph, said, as Justi said, by three different hands. He suspects it. He says bishop's head is out of scale, and that it looks like a Crivelli." An unsigned article in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for 1911 noted: "Now it is believed that the Madonna and Child are a good contemporary copy of the work of van der Weyden, and that the Donor and Bishop are an original by another hand, perhaps by Gherard David..." (<sup>9</sup> 54). *Winkler* observed that the anonymous artist who copied Roger van der Weyden in the left wing of the diptych had caused it to become typically Boutsian (<sup>10</sup> Note 2, 113).

"The Madonna is entirely in the style of Rogier de la Pasture" according to *Mather*, who believed the "Madonna may have been in part executed by assistants," mentioning a "poorer version" of the composition in the *Musées Royaux*, Brussels (Catalogue No. 650). "Both (panels of the diptych) were made for the van der Burch family, as the arms in the windows attest, but there is much reason for supposing that the two pictures were painted independently, perhaps at widely differing times, by different artists, and later arbitrarily assembled as a diptych" (<sup>11</sup> 265). He concluded that the left panel might be a late work by Roger van der Weyden and the right panel by David (<sup>11</sup> 266). *Reinach* recorded the diptych as "Ecole de Roger van der Weyden" (<sup>12</sup> 469, fig. 2). The catalogue of *Medieval and Renaissance Painting* at the Fogg Art Museum listed the left panel as van der Weyden (?) and the right panel as David(?). The style of the donor panel is described as being "more powerful and vigorous" than that showing the *Virgin and Child* (<sup>14</sup> 294-5, No. 60).

*Conway* considered the left panel as the best of the very numerous half-length repetitions and imitations

of the *Virgin and Child* after Roger van der Weyden's *S. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, mostly dating from about the year 1500. "The (donor) portrait appears to have been painted by Gerard David in or soon after 1496, the date on the back of one of the panels" (<sup>15</sup> 132). The same author considered the "circular buttressed building" in the landscape of the donor panel as especially characteristic of David's art (<sup>15</sup> 281, Note 1).

*Fierens-Gevaert*, discussing the panel at Brussels (Catalogue No. 650), already cited by *Mather* as an inferior version of the left panel of the diptych, considered it a replica after an original by Roger van der Weyden which could well be the work at the Fogg Museum of Art (<sup>17</sup> 15). *Friedländer* included the left half of the diptych in a list of variants depending upon Roger's *S. Luke*, in which he also included the Brussels panel. He dated the right half of the diptych ca. 1490 (<sup>16</sup> 128).

*Held* observed "The painting was probably done by two different artists. The donor quite certainly is a work by Gerard David. The bishop, however, must have been done by a man of different training and temperament, and perhaps somewhat later" (<sup>19</sup> Note 13, 49). *Bautier's* recent study of the works of the Master of the S. Ursula Legend includes the Fogg diptych among works grouped around this anonymous master but assigns the Brussels panel to the school of Roger (<sup>21</sup> 5, Catalogue No. 2).

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

Nothing is known of the history of the diptych between its presumed commission by a son of Josse van der Burch, its placement above the grave of Josse van der Burch and its description in the beginning of the XIXth century by the "Epitaphier van der Meersch" as being in the church of S. Walburge in Furnes, where it is said to have remained until 1799. It must be noted that in this very careful description of the diptych the bishop is not mentioned (see section I, *Transcription of Documents and Literary Sources*, p. 25-26, and section D, *Subject*, p. 17). It is described as still possessing the original frame, which bore on the lower part of the reverse an inscription in gothic letters added "long afterwards" to the epitaph and mentioning Simon van der Burch (see sections D.1, *Subject*, p. 17 and I, *Transcription of Documents and Literary Sources*, p. 25-26).

1799 The French government suppressed the church in 1798. Shortly thereafter all the furnishings of S. Walburge were ordered for sale before its projected destruction in 1799. A list of purchasers of paintings survives ([*Ch. Carton* and *F. van de Putte*], *op. cit.*, p. 95-96).

1870-80 Acquisition by George Harris of Boston.

1906 Bequeathed by him to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in 1906. It was probably included in a loan exhibition of Flemish paintings held at the Fogg Art Museum in November 1906.

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

before ca. 1870 The left panel was removed from its original support of oak, according to *Buck* (<sup>20</sup> 200), and transferred to two layers of white-lead impregnated linen, which were in turn glued upon a section of a sixteenth century Flemish panel painting depicting Venus and Cupid. The outer edge of the support was painted black, and seems to have had an engaged frame (<sup>20</sup> 197).

1928 The left panel was cradled and paint blisters were set by Durham.

ca. 1947 The left panel was transferred by Buck from the white-lead impregnated linen backing, onto a gesso-covered layer of silk bolting cloth, which was then placed on a new composite panel of red-wood strips laid vertically and horizontally in a mortar of wax-resin adhesive mixed with chalk and hardwood sawdust. The back of the panel was covered with sheet-cork (<sup>20</sup> 204). Most of the replacement of losses



in the left panel were made before it entered the Fogg Art Museum, and possibly before its acquisition by Mr. Harris ca. 1870. The right panel, apart from having been modified by several hands, beginning in the sixteenth century, has had a damage to the surface above the right shoulder of the donor, covered by dark color at a more recent date. Small losses in the right glove of the bishop and the lower sleeve of the donor have been replaced at the Fogg Art Museum. The donor panel may have originally had an engaged frame, whose removal might explain the present crowded and trimmed appearance of the inscription on the back.

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

##### 1. *Panel A*

- (1) Brussels, *Musées des Beaux-Arts*, *Madonna and Child*, by the same hand as the left half of the Fogg diptych (<sup>17</sup> Catalogue No. 650), agreeing in size, style and subject in all but the smallest details with the Fogg painting. An aureole and shutters have been added, a different coat of arms appears in the window, the glass is also of another kind. Both the Brussels and Fogg panels have the same unusually large crackle pattern, the former work is the better preserved. It is listed in *Friedländer* (<sup>16</sup> 128, Catalogue No. 107a) and reproduced in *Fierens-Gevaert* (<sup>17</sup> Plate X, at left). The panel measures 55 x 34 cm.
- (2) Cassel, *Gemäldegalerie*, Catalogue No. 3 (*Friedländer* <sup>16</sup> 128, Catalogue No. 107c; A.C.L. photo No. 109.512 B). A copy of the above, perhaps by a later, less sensitive hand. It measures 44 x 30 cm.
- (3) Valladolid, *Museo Provincial*. A similar, less accomplished copy. It measures 41,5 x 29 cm. (A.C.L. photo No. 164.100 B).

Many other related works might be associated with the left wing of the Fogg diptych, but these are derived, as is the Fogg panel, from Roger's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*. For a list of further comparative material, see *Friedländer* (<sup>4</sup> 143-8, and <sup>16</sup> 128, Catalogue Nos. 107d-n).

##### 2. *Panel B*

No work is known to combine two comparable, different styles in the way in which they are shown here. For works relating to the style of the donor portrait, see those paintings from the David circle attributed to Albert Cornelis by *Paul Wescher* (<sup>18</sup> 246-51, Plate 3) especially the male portrait in the Antwerp Museum (Catalogue No. 460).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

That the panels were not painted by the same hand can be ascertained by the differing techniques, which result in completely dissimilar crackle patterns, as well as from the varied and incompatible styles. The panel on the left represents an archaizing copy of a composition probably originated by van der Weyden. His painting of the Fogg panel has been denied by most recent scholarship. The work has been attributed by *Bautier* to the Master of the S. Ursula Legend, the author of several variants of the van der Weyden composition. However the opaque, dense quality of the paint surface of the Fogg panel excludes the technical refinement of the Ursula Master. The painting might best be considered as having been painted ca. 1480, by an anonymous follower of Roger van der Weyden, probably active in Bruges.

The presence of many works similar to the left panel suggests the possibility of these having been painted in quantity, to be paired with donor pendants. The right panel was completed many years after the painting of the left panel. The arms of the latter clearly indicate their having been added following



the completion of the work, by the same hand as the arms added to the right panel. The right panel, as suggested by *Justi* and *Murray*, represents the work of several hands. The donor was executed by a David follower, and conforms to the group of male portraits isolated by *Wescher* (<sup>18</sup> 2, Plate 3) as being by Albert Cornelis, especially the Antwerp portrait (*Musée royal des Beaux-Arts*, Catalogue No. 640). The portrait of a bishop with its mannered realism and rather flat, dry quality and acid color, appears to have less to do with the School of Bruges, suggesting perhaps a Northern Netherlandish, sixteenth century hand.

The donor panel was clearly painted to match that of the *Virgin and Child*. The patient, mechanical rendering of the bull's-eye windows in the right panel shows the careful, if pedestrian attempt to equal the far more freely, delicately drawn roundels on the left (see Plate XX). The landscape in the right wing shows a hazy, watery character in its use of washes of blue, contrasting with the crisp specificity of the view in the left panel. The trees near the donor's head are another instance of the awkward imitation of the almost *pointilliste* precision of those enclosed at the left.

Attempts to date the panel by style of vestments have not proved conclusive, due perhaps to the archaizing tendency in the figure of the bishop, whose mitre is close to that of S. Donatian in the *Van der Paele Madonna* by J. van Eyck (Bruges, *Musée communal, Corpus* No. 9). *Held* has pointed out a certain resemblance between the style of the crozier and that in the sixteenth century portrait of a prelate by *Jacobus de Punder* (<sup>19</sup> 49 Note 13). A *S. Nicholas* by the same artist has similar vestments to those of the bishop in the Fogg panel (*J.G. van Gelder, Nieuw Werk van Jacob de Punder (Jacques de Poindre)*, in *Oud-Holland*, No. 58-59, Amsterdam, 1941-2, p. 129-133, Fig. 1). *Held* has also suggested similarity between the crozier and one painted by Gerard David at the Galleria Brignole Sale, Palazzo Rosso in Genoa (*Eberhard Freiherr von Bodenhausen, Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905, Plate 29b); a similar crozier is also seen in the Memlinc *Lübeck Altar* (*Carl Georg Heise, Der Lübecker Passionsaltar von Hans Memling*, Hamburg, 1950). A similarly shaped morse is worn by S. Michael in a painting by *Colyn de Coter* in the Virnich Collection, Bonn, reproduced in *Jeanne Maquet-Tombu, Colyn de Coter*, Brussels, 1937, Plate VIII, fig. 10. An earlier example of the same shape adorns one of the figures at the lower right of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* by van Eyck.

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- 1956<sup>21</sup> : PIERRE BAUTIER. *Le Maître brugeois de la légende de Sainte Ursule*, in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, I, Brussels, 1956, 2-12.
- 1956<sup>22</sup> : ANN H. BELDING. *A Suggested Attribution for the Fogg Museum Flemish Diptych* (unpublished), Cambridge (Mass.), 1956.

#### I. TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

*A description of the diptych in the church of S. Walburge, dating from the early XIXth century*

En la dite église se trouve un petit tableau carré représentant la Ste Vierge, allaitant son enfant, derrière elle, se trouve peint une demi-fenêtre dans laquelle sur les vitres d'en haut, est un écusson d'hermines à trois étrilles de gueules 2 et 1, tenu par un Moïse, ayant à la gauche la table de la loi. Sur la porte du dit tableau, est aussi peint un vitrage où on voit un écusson écartelé au 1er et 4e du précédent 2 et 3e d'or à un franc quartier d'argent, l'écu chargé d'un écusson de gueule en abîme. Sur cette porte est un portrait à demi-corps d'un homme en costume du 15e siècle en robe noire à deux bandes de martre, la tête découverte, les cheveux taillés en rond et courts, sans barbe. Sur l'envers de la porte, on lit en lettres gothiques Hier voren ligghe begraven Joos van der Burch, wijle raeds'coonincx van de coniscx<sup>a</sup> rijke ende zijn zoons Philippus, erdshertoch van Oostrijcke, hertoghe van Borg., grave van Vlanderen, en gheamitteert<sup>b</sup> ontfanghere van Veurnambocht 29 jaere, die starf den 4 dach van Sporcle in 't jaer MCCC<sup>c</sup> zes ent'negentich.

Au milieu se trouve un écusson sans timbre, d'hermines à trois étrilles de gueules, brisé d'une coquille d'argent sur l'hermine du milieu, parti 1e et 4e d'or au franc canton d'argent sur l'écu un écusson de

<sup>a</sup> faulty reading for : roommschen.

<sup>b</sup> faulty reading for : ghecommitteerd.

<sup>c</sup> faulty reading for : MCCCC.



gueules en abîme, 2e et 3e de gueules à la fasce fuselée d'argent, à chaque côté de l'écusson J F K qui sont les lettres initiales des noms de baptême de l'homme et de la femme.

Au-dessous de l'écusson est ce qui suit

Ende Joncvrouw Katheline van der Mersch, zijn eerste wijf, die starf den XX dach van maeye in't Jaer MCCCC 't negentich, bid over de zielen.

Au-dessous est encore, aussi en lettres gothiques ende Limo<sup>d</sup> van der Burch, heurlieder, joncste zone gheboren den 14 in october in 't jaer 1474, die starf den XXIII van december in 't jaer XV18, ceci paraît avoir été mis longtemps après et est écrit sur la corniche d'en bas.

*The title of this manuscript is: Copie exécutée par les ordres de Mr. van Damme - Bernier d'Hongerswal, d'un recueil des inscriptions publiques et particulières. Epitaphes qui existaient avant 1799 dans les Eglises, couvents, chapelles etc... et autres lieux de la ville de Furnes et des paroisses formant autrefois la châtelainie de Furnes dites "Furnambacht" appendances et dépendances, formé par François-Ignace Van der Meersch de Roosendaele, écuyer Furnois; complété et muni d'une table des noms de famille par Messire Arthur Merghelynck, écuyer Yprois. Manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, Ms. Fonds Merghelynck No. 38. This text has been transcribed by Mlle M. VERDOODT, Member of the Belgian Historical Institute, Rome.*

The original version of the text, known as "Epitaphier van der Meersch" (now lost) was written by *François Ignace van der Meersch, esquire, lord of Roosendaele, Espière, born at Furnes, baptised the 24th of June 1751, deceased there the 27 September 1825* (Information about the author provided by Mr van Renynghe de Voxvrie, Keeper of the Muscum Merghelynck, Ypres). The same description was published after a manuscript known as the "Epitaphier de Furnes" by *L. Gilliodts-van Severen* (<sup>a</sup> 70 note 1).

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 64 : ANONYMOUS (6)

I.	The Virgin and Child; Donor presented by Bishop (Diptych)	C 3707	1958
II.	Panel A, The Virgin and Child	C 3708	1958
III.	Panel A, Head of the Virgin (1:1)	C 3711	1958
IV.	Panel A, The Child and the Hands of the Virgin (1:1)	C 3712	1958
V.	Panel A, Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	C 3715	1958
VI.	Panel A, Detail of Landscape (M 2 ×)	C 3714	1958
VII.	Juxtaposition of the Landscapes from both Panels (1:1)	C 3732	1958
VIII.	Panel B, Donor presented by Bishop	C 3716	1958
IX.	Panel B, Donor presented by Bishop (infra-red)	C 3718	1958
X.	Panel B, The Donor	C 3721	1958
XI.	Panel B, The Bishop	C 3722	1958
XII.	Panel B, Head of the Donor (1:1)	C 3723	1958
XIII.	Panel B, Head of the Bishop (1:1)	C 3724	1958
XIV.	Panel B, Head of the Donor (M 2 ×)	C 3728	1958
XV.	Panel B, Head of the Bishop (M 2 ×)	C 3727	1958

<sup>d</sup> faulty reading for : Simo.



XVI.	Panel B, Detail of Landscape (M 2 ×)	C 3729	1958
XVII.	Reverse of Panel B (infra-red)	C 3720	1958
XVIII.	Panel B, X-Radiograph, Detail Showing the First State of the Back		Fogg Museum
XIX.	Panel B, X-Radiograph, Detail Showing the First State of the Front		Fogg Museum
XX.	Juxtaposition of the Windows from both Panels (1:1), and Reverse of Panel A	{ C 3730 { C 3710	1958 1958



with his hands folded in prayer, a coat of arms immediately above his head. He wears a cap and a richly furred robe.

The hands folded in prayer seem to indicate that the painting was originally the right wing of a diptych or a triptych, most probably a diptych, with a *Virgin and Child* on the left panel.

For conjectural identification of the sitter, see section E.1 a, below.

### 2. Colors

He wears a red hat on his black hair. Over purple garb the sitter has a dark robe lined with brown fur. He is seen against a background of gold, stippled with brown.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The coat of arms above the sitter's head is that of: azure a fesse gold, with a rose gules in the middle base, corresponding with the arms of Jérôme de Busleyden (<sup>6</sup> 2). As the arms are painted with much less precision than the rest of the panel, and cover a damaged area of the surface, they appear to have been added at a date considerably after the completion of the portrait.

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

If the portrait is indeed that of Jérôme de Busleyden (see section D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, above), then there is considerable documentary evidence concerning such a work. The humanist is known to have left a portrait of himself to his friend Jannen Wijts (<sup>6</sup> 108). In his will Busleyden also stipulated that another portrait was to be executed by a painter of Malines - Henry in't Gulden Hoot, which, together with another panel showing the Busleyden arms was to be added to a devotional painting from his collection as a funerary memorial (<sup>6</sup> 67). With other works commemorative of Busleyden painted by Henry de Bruyne, these panels were destroyed in 1578 (<sup>6</sup> 102).

Should the portrait not be of Busleyden, nothing is known before its presumed ownership by Graf Kanitz of Schloss Kappenberg, Westphalen (see section E. 2 a, p. 30).

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The portrait is first known to have been exhibited in Brussels in 1935, where it was regarded as a portrait of Busleyden by an anonymous artist of the "School of Malines" (<sup>1</sup> 84, No. 84), painted ca. 1480. As Busleyden was ten years old at this time, either the dating or the subject requires revision. If *Hulin de Loo* discovered the sitter to be Busleyden, it was probably at the Brussels Exhibition (1935) that this identification was first made. In 1938, *Elza Foncke*, studying the art patronage of Busleyden, included the portrait together with two others (see section F, *Comparative Material*, Nos. 1-2, p. 30) as works linked to Busleyden, none of which she accepted as entirely trustworthy. Of the three, she has the least reservations concerning the panel now at Hartford (<sup>2</sup> 185), finding the costume there consistent with that of Busleyden's post as member of the *Grand Conseil* of Malines. As the attire of the councillors included a golden chain (<sup>6</sup> 56), this view of *Foncke's* is open to question.

In 1939, *Réau* retained the identification of the portrait but assigned it to the hand of Simon Marmion (<sup>3</sup> Plate 55). However, Marmion's death in 1489 makes it unlikely that he should have depicted Busleyden, who would have been a student of about nineteen at this time. Rejecting both the old identifi-



cation and the new attribution, *Grete Ring* considered the portrait to be by an anonymous Northern French artist, executed ca. 1480, depicting "an elegant young nobleman rather than Busleyden who was celebrated as the canon and founder of the Collegium Busleydianum" (<sup>5</sup> 222, No. 194). She proposed that the portrait originally formed the right wing of a diptych. If this were correct, the present frame would be a replacement, as it affords no evidence of ever having been connected with another panel. Acquired by the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1941, it was accessioned as "Flemish School (Circa 1480), *Portrait of Sieur Jerome de Busleyden*" (<sup>4</sup> No. 7).

A study of Busleyden's life and writings by *Henry De Vocht* uses the Hartford portrait as its frontispiece (<sup>6</sup>). The biographer considers this work to be the most important surviving portrait of Busleyden, whose image he believes may be seen also in the "Daniel" in the fresco commissioned by Busleyden for his residence at Malines (*Ibidem*, Iconographic Note, n.p.). A published corpus of portraits of members of the *Grand Conseil* at Malines includes the Hartford panel, as well as the painting in the Johnson Collection (see section F, *Comparative Material*, No. 1, below) although the sitters for both portraits bear no resemblance to one another (<sup>7</sup> Plates 14,15). The *Handbook* of the Wadsworth Atheneum retains the Busleyden identification, concluding that "the work clearly stems from the Franco-Flemish area; the style would suggest a French master working about 1505" (<sup>8</sup> 42).

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

- before 1935 According to *Böhler* (letter of March 31, 1952, at the Wadsworth Atheneum), the portrait was owned by Graf Kanitz, Schloss Kappenberg, Westphalen, who sold it to Lindpainter and Hinrichsen of Berlin, from whom *Böhler* purchased the panel.
- 1935 Exhibited in 1935 at the International Exhibition (*Cinq siècles d'Art*), Brussels, No. 84, as being in a private collection at Brussels, the panel was owned by Eric Lyndhurst, who had acquired it from *Böhler*, Munich (letter from *Lyndhurst*, of January 8, 1952, at the Wadsworth Atheneum).
- 1941 After acquisition by Durlacher Brothers, New York, it was sold to the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1941 (acquired through the Sumner Fund).

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

None.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Three paintings, in addition to the panel at Hartford, have been regarded as portraits of Jérôme de Busleyden.

(1) *Saint Jerome and a Donor*, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, Catalogue No. 1329. Ascribed to Simon Marmion, it is reproduced on Plate 98, *John G. Johnson Collection, Book of Illustrations*, Philadelphia, 1953. The portrait, listed as still being in the Morell Collection, London, is included in *Foncke's* survey of supposed depictions of Busleyden (<sup>2</sup> 184) and in the compilation of *Godenne* and *Maes* (<sup>7</sup> Plate 15). The presence of Saint Jerome and the donor's attire may have suggested the identification with Busleyden. The arms in the window at the upper left, while resembling those of Busleyden, are not his.

(2) *Portrait of a Canon*, Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Liechtenstein; ex Collections Beckford, Fonthill Abbey; John W. Wilson; Secrétan. First attributed to Holbein, the portrait was long

believed to represent Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Grand-Chancellor of England. Now recognized as a work of Quentin Metsys, it is included in *Foncke's* list of portraits associated with Busleyden's name (<sup>2</sup> 185).

(3) *Daniel* as represented in a fresco depicting Belshazzar's Feast painted for the hypocaustum of Busleyden's residence at Malines. Thought by *De Vocht* to be a portrait of Busleyden as Daniel (<sup>6</sup> 56), the fresco is best reproduced by *Foncke* (<sup>2</sup> 213). Probably wrongly attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari, the fresco was painted shortly after 1507, and is located on the north wall of the room (<sup>6</sup> 53).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The portrait reflects considerable French, as well as Netherlandish stylistic origins as has been suggested by *Réau* (<sup>3</sup> No 55), *Ring* (<sup>5</sup> 222) and the *Atheneum Handbook* (<sup>8</sup> 42). It probably dates from the last years of the fifteenth century. The panel, judging by the sitter's attitude of prayer, formed the right wing of a diptych, facing a votive subject. As the sitter, if he is indeed Busleyden, is known to have admired the art of Northern France, the presence of stylistic elements from this region does not argue against the identification of the subject with the Malines humanist. Although not attributable to Marmion - who is suggested by *Réau* (<sup>3</sup> 55) - Busleyden, the presumed subject of this panel, cherished decorated objects from the Abbey of St. Bertin, which originally housed Marmion's sole securely identified panel paintings (<sup>6</sup> 52 368, *Epistola* 45). The sitter's youthful appearance and unofficial garb, together with the French style of the panel tend to support the Busleyden identification, because he studied at Orleans as a young man, before receiving the honors of his later years (<sup>6</sup> 32). The coat of arms, definitely that of Jérôme de Busleyden, although possibly a later addition, also points to the humanist as subject of the portrait.

There is a certain resemblance, first detected by *De Vocht*, between the Hartford portrait and the head of "Daniel" in a fresco depicting Belshazzar's Feast ordered by Busleyden for the decoration of his residence at Malines. The vogue for portraiture in biblical or classical guise was so great in the early sixteenth century that *De Vocht's* observation that "it cannot be called an accident that the Daniel of the Bible appears in the ample ermin (sic) bordered scarlet mantle and with the heavy gold chain of the Mechlin Councillors" (<sup>6</sup> 56), is well taken. It should also be noted that *Daniel*, V, 16-17, reads :

"And I have heard of thee, that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts; now if thou canst read the writing and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom."

Thus it appears that Busleyden selected Daniel (whose interpretive skills must have attracted the founder of the Collegium Trilingue) as the Biblical figure closest to his interests and rank as provost and councillor. *De Vocht's* suggestion that the "Queen" in the fresco is simultaneously a portrait of Margaret of Austria seems plausible too, in view of the Queen's commendation of Daniel's interpretive skills (*Daniel*, V, 11-12).

The presence of the Busleyden arms above the sitter's head, together with the resemblance between the portrait with the "Daniel" of the Malines fresco, are the two chief arguments for the identification of the subject of the Hartford panel with Jérôme de Busleyden. However, as the arms may have been added after the completion of the portrait and as the resemblance between the "Daniel" and the sitter for the *Atheneum* work is not entirely conclusive, it seems best to share *Foncke's* reservations concerning the sitter's identity (<sup>2</sup> 185).



## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1935 <sup>1</sup>: *Cinq siècles d'Art. Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles 1935*, Brussels, 1935, No. 84.
- 1938 <sup>2</sup>: ELZA FONCKE. *Aantekeningen betreffende Hieronymus van Busleyden*, in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, V, Antwerp/The Hague, 1938, 179-220.
- 1939 <sup>3</sup>: LOUIS RÉAU. *French Painting in the XIVth, XVth and XVIth Centuries*, New York, 1939.
- 1941 <sup>4</sup>: *The Wadsworth Atheneum News Bulletin*, VI, Hartford, Conn., (April) 1941, No. 7.
- 1949 <sup>5</sup>: GRETE RING. *A Century of French Painting*, London, 1949.
- 1950 <sup>6</sup>: HENRY DE VOCHT. *Jérôme de Busleyden, His life and writings (Humanistica Lovaniensia IX)*, Turnhout, 1950.
- 1951 <sup>7</sup>: W. GODENNE and L.-TH. MAES. *Iconographie des Membres du Grand Conseil de Malines*, Brussels, 1950.
- 1958 <sup>8</sup>: *Handbook, Wadsworth Atheneum*, Hartford, Conn., 1958.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 65: ANONYMOUS (7)

XXI.	The Portrait of a Man (Jérôme de Busleyden ?), with Original Frame	C	3733	1958
XXII.	The Portrait and Coat of Arms (1:1)	C	3734	1958
XXIII.	The Head of the Sitter (M 2 ×)	C	3735	1958
XXIV.	The Reverse	C	3736	1958





Income, Richardson,  
Edwards & Warden Funds”

“Colonel R.W. Harris  
Combe (Canute ?) House  
Croydon (?)  
Surrey”

“J. Chenue Packer  
A. Kauffmann  
Rosenberg Stibel  
22 Monmouth Street  
Shaftesbury Avenue, London W.C.”

Written in pencil on frame “Produce of Holland”.

*Frame:* Probably of the period of the panel, it is engaged, made of oak, and stained dark brown-black. It has hinge marks, presumably made for the donor panels, which are identically framed though slightly smaller in size (see *Appendix*, p. 39). According to *Friedländer*, the frame is original. See section I, *Document I*.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. *Subject*

The panel represents Christ presented to the people by Pilate. Standing on a raised stone pavement, He is seen frontally, wearing a crown of thorns and a rich blue robe and white loincloth. He is surrounded by five men, four to the left, one of whom - wearing an elaborate hat and holding a rod - is Pontius Pilate. In the background at the upper right, Christ is shown in a city bearing the Cross among a throng on the road to Calvary. Two groups of mocking soldiers and others are placed in the foreground at the left and right. Sixteen men at the right, many of them looking up at Christ and holding weapons, gesticulate violently in His direction. At the lower left eleven other mockers appear, looking up at Christ or out toward the beholder.

The panel is based upon *John XIX*, 4-6: *Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them [the Jews], Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate says unto them, Behold the man! When the chief priests therefore, and officers saw him, they cried out, saying “Crucify him”.*

*Swarzenski* has pointed out that the paved platform on which Christ stands is taken from *John XIX*, 13, where the judgment seat is referred to as “a place that is called the Pavement” (<sup>3</sup> 6). According to *Réau* (*Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, II. *Iconographie de la Bible*, II. *Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1957, 459-461), the subject of the *Ecce Homo* evolved at a relatively late date, only becoming widespread in the fifteenth century. Two recent studies, by *E. Panofsky* (<sup>5</sup>) and by *K.A. Wirth* and *G. von der Osten* (*Ecce Homo*, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1958, cols. 784-800) have done much to clarify the development of this subject. One of the earliest representations of the subject in Northern European art of the fifteenth century may be observed in the bas-de-page of *Les très belles Heures de Notre Dame de Jean Duc de Berry* (reproduced on Plate XXII of *Durrieu’s* publication of the same title, Paris, 1922) where Christ is shown frontally. The trend toward a frontal view although first evidenced in the *Très Belles Heures* was generally not followed. During the fifteenth

and early sixteenth century the distinctly three-quarter view of Christ predominates as may be observed in paintings by Mostaert, Metsys, Memlinc, the Master of the Magdalen Legend, and Engelbrechtsz. Only at the end of the fifteenth century does there appear to be a revival of the frontal *Ecce Homo*, possibly associated with the growing popularity of the *Mass of Saint Gregory* and the *Man of Sorrows* as subjects for devotional, increasingly pietistic contemplation.

Near the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century the frontal composition utilising figures seen from the back, suddenly becomes current in North Europe. Jan Joest executed a frontal *Ecce Homo* for the Church of St. Nikolaas at Kalkar, dated by *Friedländer* ca. 1505-1508 (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX, Berlin, 1931, p. 125) and reproduced by *G.J. Hoogewerff* (*De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, 's-Gravenhage, 1937, fig. 220, p. 446). Another example may be observed in the *Ecce Homo* by Juan de Flandes for the *Retablo* at Palencia, reproduced in *Jesús San Martín Payo, El Retablo Mayor de la Catedral de Palencia, Nuevos Datos* (Publicaciones de la Institución «Tello Téllez de Meneses», No. 10), Palencia, 1953, Pl. XXV. The terminal monument of this initial wave of frontal *Ecce Homo* compositions may be the great Lucas van Leyden engraving of the subject dated 1510. The Boston panel appears to belong to this final group of North Netherlandish inspiration.

According to *Panofsky* (<sup>5</sup> 108) the subject of the painting should be regarded as the *Ostentatio Christi*. He dates it ca. 1500 or perhaps even a little later, pointing out that it is the first depiction of a frontal rendering of the scene since Duccio's panel for the Siena cathedral *Maestà* of 1308-1311 (<sup>6</sup> fig. 9). The same author states that the Boston panel is the first rendition of the subject in which Christ appears in a central position since the *Ostentatio Christi* mosaic at San Marco of the twelfth century (<sup>5</sup> fig. 8).

## 2. Colors

The panel has a predominantly pastel, pale blue and light red tonal quality. Christ wears a light blue mantle lined with a slightly darker blue. The man at the right has a blue hat, light red and dark green clothes, a blue belt and pale yellow boots. At the left of Christ the man in profile wears a white hat with pearls on a green ground and a white robe with a green and black brocade yoke and red collar. Pilate's hat is blue, trimmed with fur. He has a light red robe, a blue belt and a sword with gold-color mounts. To the left of Pilate the man wears a green hat and blue clothes; the man in profile in the upper left corner has blue tights, a white shirt and red scarf. At the lower left, from left to right, the main figures are wearing: light red from head to foot with a white border and a silver-grey purse; ochre and green brocaded robe with a blue yoke; a white damask gown with ochre sleeve lining, white slippers, and a greenish hat; a pale blue hat and a light red robe. In the group at the lower right the bald man at the left wears a purplish cloak with a dark collar, an ochre and green brocaded robe with a pattern of fleur-de-lys, fur cuffs and pink shoes. To the upper left the man wears a pale purple-red hat and aqua robes. The man with an arrow in his belt has a dark grey hat, green coat, a white yoke, orange-red robe and black belt. The man who places his hand on the preceding man's shoulder has a white, draped hat and a pale purple-red robe, its blue sleeves slashed with white. The soldier holding a shield wears a white robe over green tights, cream-colored boots, a green helmet with black, white, and gold trim. He holds a gold-color shield with a silver-grey monster painted on it, and wears a black band decorated with white chevrons across his chest. The other men in the group are shown in costumes of red, green, blue, white, and grey. At the upper right, Christ on the way to Calvary wears a blue robe. The houses in the background are in pastel shades of pale pink and pale blue. The blue sky darkens as it nears the top of the panel. The masonry is all in pale grey (Reproduced in color <sup>4</sup> 80-81).



### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The soldier at the right has a monstrous animal on his shield, similar to the toad on a shield depicted in the *Christ Bearing the Cross* in Vienna (<sup>1</sup> Plate 22). According to *Tolnay*, the toad is a sign of the devil (<sup>1</sup> 59, note 23).

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

We have no information about the original place of this picture. It is first known to be recorded in 1888 (see below, section E.2 a, *Subsequent History*; see also *Appendix*, p. 38).

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

1948: Sold at Christie's with the collection of Charles Holden White, on November 26, as by Bosch (<sup>2</sup> 6, No. 36).

1949: *Friedländer* wrote on the back of a photo of the Boston panel that it represented a characteristic and important work by Hieronymus Bosch (see section I, p. 38, *Document 2*).

1955: Considered by *Swarzenski* to be a later and more mature work by Bosch than his *Ecce Homo* panel in Frankfurt (<sup>3</sup> 10).

1956: *Panofsky* stated that Bosch painted the Boston panel - described as a depiction of the *Ostentatio Christi* - ca. 1500 or slightly later (<sup>5</sup> 108).

### 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

1888 Owned by Colonel F.W. Harris, Surrey, England.

1888 Acquired by Charles Holden White, London (at Christie's?).

1948 Sold together with the collection of Charles Holden White by order of his executors at Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd. on November 26, 1948, Lot 36 "Bosch' A Triptych, with Ecce Homo in the centre, A kneeling Nun with Saint Catherine and A kneeling Donor with Saint Peter on the wings - on panel - 29 in. by 23 in." (<sup>2</sup> 6, No. 36).

1953 Purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts from Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, with income from the Richardson, Edwards and Warden Funds.

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

ca. 1950 The panel was cleaned by Isepp in London before coming to Boston. Several layers of repaint were removed (*Swarzenski* <sup>3</sup> 3). For condition of painting before inpainting of some of the losses see *Swarzenski* (<sup>3</sup> Fig. 2, 3). All the old repaint was not removed from some areas, such as the group at the upper left, the parts of the sky at the upper right, the figure at the left foreground, and areas of the Christ (<sup>3</sup> 3). Losses along the cracks following the joins were discreetly restored.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

No actual copy of this composition is known.

(1) Another version of this subject, similar to the present composition is to be seen at the *Städelsches Kunstinstitut*, Frankfurt (*Catalogue* No. 1577, 75 x 61 cm; *Friedländer*, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, V, No. 77, Plate LI). It is generally accepted as an autograph work by Bosch.

The lower right group of mocking figures reproduces, except for some details, the same group in the Boston painting. It should be noted that the perspective of this group is better adapted to the Frankfurt composition than to the Boston one, where the discrepancy between it and the frontality of the wall is somewhat strange. The cityscape in the background is quite similar. The composition corresponds in a general way to that of the Boston panel, i.a. spatial construction and some architectural details.

There are several copies of the Frankfurt painting:

- a) Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (reserve), 77 x 55,5 cm. formerly at S. Hartveld's Old Master Gallery, Antwerp, reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1927, p. XIV.
- b) Belgium, private collection, Photo A.C.L. No. 169718 B.
- c) London, Christie's, sold with the Brockman sale, 31 July 1931, 68,6 x 52 cm, Catalogue p. 17, No. 105 (*Tolnay*<sup>1</sup> 89, No. 5).
- d) New York, Hartveld Gallery, 1949, 68 x 51 cm (identical to c, above?).
- e) Lima, private collection. Possibly a copy by a Spanish artist, of the Frankfurt composition. Photo at the Frick Art Reference Library.

(2) A composition, similar in general outline, though closer to the Frankfurt panel than to the Boston one, is preserved at Havana, *Fundación Lobo-Olavarría*, 107 x ( $\pm$ ) 84 cm. Photo at the Centre.

(3) The *Bearing of the Cross* in the background is fairly close to the same subject on the upper left of the reverse of the *S. John at Patmos*, *Ehemalige Staatliche Museen*, Museum Dahlem, Berlin (No. 1647 A, reproduced in *M.J. Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei*, V, No. 101, Plate LXVII).

Moreover another example of a Boschian *Ecce Homo* composition is known by two versions, one in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, Pa., and the other in the Collection G.H.A. Clowes, Clowes Fund, Indianapolis, Indiana. This seems to be a fragment of a lost composition, the whole of which may be reproduced in a later drawing in the Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, California. This drawing shows the *Bearing of the Cross* with the *Ecce Homo* in the background (*H. Swarzenski*<sup>3</sup> 4-5, Fig. 5).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Because questions of connoisseurship have not been made the focal point of Bosch studies, newly discovered works are unusually problematical. The authorship of many of 'his' best-known paintings may still be open to controversy. Even such a seemingly established panel as the *Seven Deadly Sins*, close in style to the Boston panel, when recommended for royal purchase by Guevara was described to Phillip II as not being executed by Bosch himself (*Herman Dollmayr, Hieronymus Bosch und die Darstellung der vier letzten Dinge in der niederländischen Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIX, Vienna, 1898, 248-343, see p. 396; for a recent edition of the still controversial text see *Felipe de Guevara, Comentarios de la Pintura*, Barcelona, 1948 (a reprint of the 1788 edition), pp. 128-129). The unevenly preserved state of the *Ecce Homo* (the Museum having wisely decided not to remove all old restorations) further contributes to the difficulties. However, infra-red photographs have revealed some areas of distinguished preparatory draughtsmanship, most noticeably in the heads of the mockers at the extreme left and right of the panel's middle zone. Worthy of Bosch himself, this underdrawing is much like that observable in infra-red for the Louvre *Ship of Fools* (A.C.L. photograph No. L 2538 B). Other areas, less expert in design and execution, seem to rely directly on various known Bosch designs - the group at the right from the Städel *Ecce Homo*, the *Bearing of the Cross* from the reverse of the Berlin *Saint John on*



*Patmos*. These areas imply preponderantly studio assistance in the production of the panel. In view of the extraordinary popularity of the artist in his own lifetime, such working procedure could have been the rule rather than the exception, especially in the later part of Bosch's career.

The spatial articulation of the panel, as well as the thematic inter-relationship between the chief figural groups, are less integrally resolved than those of the *Ecce Homo* by the Virgo Master. As the latter work, according to *Swarzenski* (<sup>3</sup> 7), may depend upon a Boschian source, it would appear likely that both the Boston and the Virgo Master compositions reflect a lost depiction of a frontal *Ecce Homo* by Bosch. That his studio should revert to earlier works in the production of the Boston panel may also be suggested by the donor wings connected with the *Ecce Homo* (see *Appendix*, below, Nos. 1-2). Executed by assistants, probably after Bosch's death, these additional paintings depend upon the style of works generally believed to stem from the early part of the artist's oeuvre - the Prado *Epiphany* and the *Crucifixion* at the Brussels Museum (ex Coll. Franchomme).

In conclusion, the *Ecce Homo* appears to be the product of the studio of Hieronymus Bosch; some direct participation by the artist himself in its planning seems possible.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1937 <sup>1</sup>: CHARLES DE TOLNAY. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Bâle, 1937.  
 1948 <sup>2</sup>: *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Pictures and Drawings ... which will be sold at Auction by Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., ... on Friday, November 26, 1948*, London, 1948, p. 6.  
 1955 <sup>3</sup>: HANNS SWARZENSKI. *An Unknown Bosch*, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, LIII (No. 291), Boston, 1955, 1-10.  
 1955 <sup>4</sup>: *New Acquisition in Boston*, in *Time*, New York, May 2, 1955, 80-81 (Reproduced in color).  
 1956 <sup>5</sup>: ERWIN PANOFSKY. *Jean Hey's "Ecce Homo"*, in *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, V, Brussels, 1956, 95-138.

#### I. TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

##### 1

On the back of a photograph of the Boston panel, *Max J. Friedländer* wrote: "Gutachten III, '49, 27 x 21 inch, orig. Rahm, London Sale 1948, Frl. Ring u. Genossen. F11. dabei - wie angeblich v. and. Hand." The photo showing the *Ecce Homo* as a triptych, with the wings, was made by H.C. Cooper, London, No. 157235, taken in 1948, and is now in the files of the Boston Museum.

##### 2

On the same date, on the back of another photograph of the Boston panel, *Friedländer* wrote: "The picture reproduced by this photo I have studied with care. It is a characteristic and important work by Hieronymus Bosch".

Signed M.J. Friedländer, Amsterdam, 3.III.49.

#### APPENDIX

When the *Ecce Homo* appeared at auction (Christie's, November 26, 1948), it was accompanied by wings and a predella panel. These three additional works, painted on oak, were acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts after purchase and publication of the central panel. As the wings are certainly not by Bosch himself, but additions entirely by studio assistants to the central panel, they do not fall

within the specifications for inclusion in the *Corpus*. However, as these additions may shed light on the *Ecce Homo*, it seems advisable to consider them without the exhaustive technical data and photo-documentation accompanying official *Corpus* entries.

#### *Panels 1 and 2*

##### *Panel 1* (The left shutter)

Measurement including frame	79,4 × 35,9 cm. 31 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> × 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.
Painted surface inside frame	68,6 × 26 cm. 27 × 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ins.
Width of frame	2,3 cm. <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.

In engaged frame of dark stained oak similar to that of the *Ecce Homo*.

##### *Panel 2* (The right shutter)

Measurement including frame	79,6 × 35,9 cm. 31 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.
Painted surface inside frame	68,6 × 25,8 cm. 27 × 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.

In same type and size frame as panel I.

Although both panels are smaller in size than the *Ecce Homo* they appear to have been attached to it for as long as the main panel has had its present engaged frame, because all three frames are identical in style and the one on the central panel bears old hinge marks corresponding to those of the lateral panels.

##### *Exterior of Panels 1 and 2*

The shutters in their closed state depict male and female figures, facing each other from the left and right within an interior setting. Placed before the standing patron saints of the two principal male and female donors, the figures are shown kneeling on a floor paved or tiled in yellow and white, against a green figured hanging, under a wooden ceiling, framed by a grey masonry ogee arch.

The chief male donor, depicted with his sons and patron saint on Panel I, looks down at an open prayer book. He is placed in front of Saint John the Evangelist, who holds his attribute - the chalice with a serpent - in the left hand, while raising the right hand in a gesture of benediction. The saint wears a pale red robe; his chalice and halo are gold. Behind the donor, who wears a black coat lined with brown fur and a green headdress, are his five sons. With the exception of the tonsured figure, clad in the white robes of the Cistercian or Carthusian order, the others wear black fur-lined coats. The two sons in the foreground also have dark hats.

The seven female donors on Panel 2 are under the protection of Saint Mary Magdalene, who raises the lid of a white ointment jar decorated with blue. She wears a pale red dress and cloak with a black yoke and lavender and pink sleeves. Her turban-like headdress is white, blue-green, black and gold, decorated with pearls. The chief donor, her hands folded in prayer over a rosary of coral and gold beads, wears a black habit with a white wimple. Her oldest daughter appears to belong to a Dominican order. Further to the right is another girl wearing clothes like her mother's. The heads of four other girls appear behind her.



The emblem worn by the male donor is that of the confraternity of Onze Lieve Vrouw at 's Hertogenbosch, that of the *Sicut Lilium Inter Spinias*, derived from the *Song of Solomon*, II,2 (*J. Hezenmans, De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in den Bosch*, Utrecht, 1876). It appears likely that his wife was a member of the same order. The depiction of a female donor as a member of a lay order may be observed in a triptych by Engelbrechtsz (*Friedländer, Op. cit.*, X, No. 69, Plate XL). The donors depicted on the interior side of the shutters belonged, no doubt, to this order as well.

The motif of a swan among lily-like foliage, drawn in brown on the green hanging in the background, may relate to the same confraternity whose superior members were known as the swan brothers (*Tolnay*<sup>1</sup> 59). They were also, as was Bosch himself, appointed to the role of swan master in the confraternity. One of the chief mockers in the *Ecce Homo* (the second figure from the left) wears the same brocade as is shown in the background (see Plate XXX).

The donors on the exterior of the shutters are depicted in a North Netherlandish style in which the painting of the architectural setting extends over the frames separating the panels. Bosch himself painted in this way on the exterior of the Prado *Epiphany*, the wings of which have donors on both sides. Similar spatial organization and covering of the frame may be observed in an *Annunciation* by the Master of Delft (reproduced in *Friedländer, Op. cit.*, X, No. 62, Plate XXXVI) and in the shutters by the Master of the Godelieve Legend for the triptych of the *Lamentation* at the Church of Our Lady, Bruges (reproduced in *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky* in an article by *E. Haverkamp Begemann, De Meester van de Godelieve Legende, een Brugs schilder uit het einde van de XVe Eeuw, Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1955, 190, fig. 4). The association of donors wearing the attire of religious orders with the *Ecce Homo* was already made by Bosch in the Staedel panel, where two male figures, one of them tonsured, knelt below the pavement upon which Christ stands with the inscribed prayer: *Salve nos Christe redemptor* rising from their lips (*Alfred Wolters, Anmerkungen zur einigen Röntgenaufnahmen nach Gemälden des Städelschen Kunstinstituts*, in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, Frankfurt o.M., 1932, p. 228-240, see 234 ff). They have been overpainted and can only be observed in X-ray photographs.

#### *Interior of Panels 1 and 2*

A middle-aged couple, placed in an open pastel-toned Netherlandish landscape setting, face each other from their respective panels. The man, his hands folded in prayer, wears black and grey attire and kneels in front, and to the right of Saint Peter, who holds his attributes, the two keys, with the right arm and a book under the left. The saint wears a pale red robe. The keys are grey, the book blue and his halo gold. The donor's escutcheon is shown at the lower left.

On the opposite panel, the kneeling woman wears a black and white habit. She holds an open grey prayer book with red edges and a coral and gold rosary; an infant in swaddling clothes is tucked into the drapery at her side. Her patron saint Catherine, standing to the right, has long reddish hair and wears a gold and brown brocade dress with blue sleeves and a pale red mantle. She holds a grey book and has a jeweled crown against a golden halo. Her attribute of a torturer's double wheel and sword are at the right, just above the female donor's escutcheon.

#### *The arms in Panel 1*

Parti per fess, argent a bull's head coupéd, gules, three bars sable, in sinister chief an estoile.

*The arms in Panel 2*

Parti per pale, sable a lion or, gules, three quatrefoils argent, seeded gules, in middle chief an estoile argent.

The emblem worn by the male donor is that of the confraternity of *Onze Lieve Vrouw* at 's Hertogenbosch, as seen already on the back of Panel I.

The arms are those of the van Oss, a leading family of 's Hertogenbosch. The van Oss were important members of the Confraternity of Our Lady during the XIV-XVI centuries (*Verreyt, Leden der Lieve-Vrouwbroederschap te 's Hertogenbosch van 1318-1642*, in *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantse Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 1911, p. 170). The donor on the interior of Panel I appears to be either Pieter van Os Pieterszn or Pieter van Os Janszn. The former, recorded as Zwanebroeder of the Confraternity at the time of his death in 1558, was *Schepen* (alderman) of 's Hertogenbosch. His function as *Gasthuismeester* - director of the hospital - would explain the association of his wife with an infant in swaddling clothes, as she is depicted on the interior of Panel 2. This infant appears to be emblematic of the lady's participation in the care of foundlings, one of the many charitable activities in which members of confraternities are known to have taken part. Her austere attire may also have been that habitually worn for these works of charity. For the contribution of Netherlandish confraternities to hospitals and orphanages see *Antonie J.M. Kunst, Van Sint Elisabeths-Gasthuis tot gereformeerd Burgersweeshuis (1485-1814)*, Utrecht, n.d., 101-109, 324, 326. See also *Encyclopédie Théologique*, VIII, *Dictionnaire d'Economie Charitable*, IV, *Enfants trouvés, abandonnés et orphelins pauvres*, Paris, 1864, col. 455, sqq. Although the appearance of the infant might at first suggest a Chrisom child, its swaddling clothes suggest a living rather than a dead baby. A Chrisom child would be depicted with its Christening robe converted into a shroud (For a discussion of Chrisom see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 338).

The landscape setting of the interior donor couple does not harmonize with the cityscape of the *Ecce Homo* (see Plate XXV). Both landscape and figures depend upon those works by Bosch generally believed to represent his early style, such as the Prado *Epiphany* (*Tolnay*<sup>1</sup> Plate 80), which also has donors on both sides of the shutters, and the *Crucifixion* at the Brussels Museum (No. 854, ex Coll. Franchomme, *Tolnay*<sup>1</sup> Plate 14). The donor panels may have been planned for association with a central scene set in an open landscape such as a Crucifixion stemming from the Rogerian pictorial tradition.

The association of the verso of Panels 1 and 2 with the central scene is puzzling in view of the discontinuity of their backgrounds. As the donors are associated with the *Confrérie de Notre-Dame*, the emphasis placed by this society on the lily among thorns would make plausible an iconographical juxtaposition of members of this order with the central scene stressing the crown of thorns. The obscured donors of the Städel panel also demonstrate the pietistic suitability of a subject such as the *Ecce Homo* for a devotional panel ordered by the members of a lay society. The subject of the predella - the Instruments of the Passion (see Panel 3, below) also forms a suitable pendant to the *Ecce Homo* and the donor wings. However the problem of the relationship of the wings to the central panel, like that of the authorship of the *Ecce Homo*, does not lend itself to immediate solution.

*Panel 3*

A third panel in the form of a predella appeared together with the *Ecce Homo* and the additional shutters at Christie's as part of Lot No. 36, from the collection of Charles Holden White, November 26, 1948, although not specifically mentioned in the sale catalogue.



Measurement of the panel	15,6 × 68,2 cm. 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> × 26 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.
Painted surface	14 × 66,2 cm. 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> × 26 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.

The panel was seen without the frame in which it was shown in London, where it was described as having Judas' pieces of silver painted upon the lower left part of the moulding. The edges of the panel are beveled. It is uncradled and warped.

The panel presents the Instruments of the Passion disposed horizontally, against a warm, grey-colored surface. The sudarium is placed at the center, hanging from a cross, over the edge of the sarcophagus in which the cross appears to be planted. Christ has reddish hair and a dark red cross as nimbus. The dice and the spitter appear to the left and right of the Sudarium. The three nails are at the lower left of the sarcophagus, near the column with the scourges of the Flagellation. Further left, the bust of a red-headed, crimson-robed Judas is shown facing that of Caiaphas, who, turning right, wears a green hood lined with white. A yellow coin is shown between them. At the extreme left are the pliers and the sponge at the end of a pole. To the lower right of the spitter is the lantern of the Arrest of Christ. Further right are busts of Peter and a maid-servant, illustrating the Denial. She wears a white coif and a green robe. Peter's robe is red. Above them are the three white unguent jars; to the right is the lance, and at the lower right, the hammer. The panel has been carefully restored; a long thin scratch-like disturbance of the paint surface having been repaired. It extends from the upper right of the spitter's head and runs across the panel to the lower left through the upper part of the Sudarium and down through the upper part of Judas' head. Two changes in composition are discernible. The angle of the spitter's head was originally tilted further upward. One of the scourges was first planned to be longer. No comparable predella associated with the Bosch studio survives. A lost predella, depicting *Limbo*, is thought to have been placed below a *Crucifixion* executed for the Archduke Ernest (*Tolnay*<sup>1</sup> 120, No. 8 c), but the entry from the Archduke's accounts describes the work as a single painting, with one scene above the other (*D. Coremans, L'archiduc Ernest, sa cour, ses dépenses, 1593-1595, in Comptendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire ou Recueil de ses bulletins, XIII, Brussels, 1847, 85-147, see p. 115*).

Predella are found in North Netherlandish painting, but they are generally larger than the panel in question, like the Engelbrechtsz predella at the Leiden Museum (reproduced in *Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, X, Plate XLII, Berlin, 1932*).

The motif of the Instruments of the Passion, or *Arma Christi*, like the theme of the *Ecce Homo*, seems to have been rather intensely explored in northern European fifteenth century art (*L. Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, II, Part 2, Paris, 1957, p. 508-509*). The definitive study on this subject has been made by *Rudolf Berliner, Arma Christi, in the Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst (3), VI, 1955, Munich (1956), p. 35-152*. Considerable variation in the number of signs of the Passion depicted is noticeable toward the end of the century, when there was a tendency to expand the quantity of narrative emblems. This may be observed in the Memlinc *Lamentation* in Melbourne (reproduced in *Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, VI, Plate XXVII, 1928*). A relationship between cross and sarcophagus similar to that of the Boston predella may be seen in a detail of a *Sacra Conversazione* panel by the Master of Delft (reproduced in *Friedländer, Op. cit., X, 1932, Plate XXXIV*). Perhaps the most extensive late fifteenth century illustration of the Instruments of the Passion is to be seen in association with the wounds of Christ. For these see *W.L. Schreiber, Hand-*

*buch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, IV, Leipzig, 1927, Nos. 1784 m - 1795 g, Nos. 2017-2017 a. The source for the signs may have been the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Chapter XXX, where the "columna, virgae, flagella, sputa, arundo et funiculi, Crux, clavi, lancea, mallei, corona et tabula tituli," are itemized. The widespread representation of the *Arma Christi* could also be derived from the *Stimulus Armoris* by Jacques de Milan (see Louis Gillet, *Histoire artistique des Ordres Mendicants*, Paris, 1912, p. 227-228). It is curious that the cock is omitted from the Boston predella panel.

Superior in design and execution to the shutters, the predella was painted by an accomplished North Netherlandish artist in the later fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. His skill is most noticeable in the powerfully painted head of Christ (see Plate XLI). The predella may have been planned to go together with the *Ecce Homo*, the present slight disparity in breadth being caused by a minor reduction of the upper panel. Certainly the *Arma Christi* and the *Ecce Homo* are compatible themes for iconographic juxtaposition. To assume the original proximity of these subjects is safer than connecting that of the *Ecce Homo* with the interior views of the shutters.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 66: GROUP BOSCH (5)

XXV.	The Ecce Homo (with side panels open)	C 3738	1958
XXVI.	The Ecce Homo (with side panels closed)	C 3739	1958
XXVII.	The Ecce Homo	C 3744	1958
XXVIII.	Christ, Pilate and Attendants	C 3749	1958
XXIX.	Landscape with the Bearing of the Cross	C 3750	1958
XXX.	Group in the Lower Left Corner	C 3751	1958
XXXI.	Group in the Lower Right Corner	C 3752	1958
XXXII.	Christ (1:1)	C 3754	1958
XXXIII.	Heads of Jews and Soldiers, at Right	C 3753	1958
XXXIV.	Pilate (1:1)	C 3755	1958
XXXV.	Head of Pilate's Attendants (M 2 ×)	C 3756	1958
XXXVI.	The Bearing of the Cross (M 2 ×)	C 3757	1958
XXXVII.	Heads, at Left (M 2 ×)	C 3758	1958
XXXVIII.	The Reverse of the Central Panel	C 3748	1958
XXXIX.	Interior of the Shutters, Saints and Donors	C 3740	1958
XL.	Exterior of the Shutters, Saints and Donors	C 3742	1958
XLI.	Detail of the Predella, the Veronica (M 2 ×)	C 3760	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 67: GROUP BOSCH (6), *A MAN AND WOMAN, DRINKING IN A TENT, GROTESQUE FIGURES IN THE BACKGROUND*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Hieronymus Bosch

Allegory of Intemperance

*Pictures Collected by Yale Alumni, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., 1956, p. 2, Pl. 2*  
(Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Rabinowitz).

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2. II. 1960 and VI. 1960)

*Form:* Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions:</i> panel	36 × 31,5 cm. 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.
original painted surface	34,8 × 31,5 cm. 13 <sup>11</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.

Strips less than <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. wide have been added to all sides of the panel.

*Protective Layer:* Varnish.

*Paint Layer:* Not very well preserved, especially where it is most thinly applied, in the sections depicting water. The paint surface has been recently extended over the strips at the left and right, enlarging the size of the painting by less than a quarter of an inch at the sides. Moderate repaints are most noticeable in the water areas, which are covered with a stippled application of green. As there is no *barbe*, or relief line, the panel is clearly cut down from a larger work (see section G, *Author's Comments*, p. 48).

*Changes in Composition:* Due to the thinness of the paint layer, changes in composition between the preliminary under-drawing and the finished work may be readily observed. The wind instrument of the man seated on the barrel originally turned up more abruptly; the barrel was differently hooped; the pole rising from the tent was further over to the left; the elbow of the swimmer at the upper left was further back; the object on the head of the swimmer holding onto the barrel was higher. Furthermore, the infra-red photograph shows that the arms of the man swimming in the middle were originally longer. The dish on his head was larger and carried a roasted chicken, transformed by the painter into a duck pie. The infra-red photograph reveals also in the lower middle section some traces of letters (?), perhaps IH (M?).

*Ground:* Not observed.

*Support:* Oak panel, cradled. The original oak panel, now 0,25 cm. thick, is lined with another oak panel of about the same thickness. Strips less than <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. wide have been added to all sides of the panel. Two vertical cracks are observable at lower left. As the grain of the wood is vertical, it is most probable that the entire original panel was higher than wide.

*Marks on the Back:* Stickers from the Yale University Art Gallery and the E.A. Silberman Galleries are attached to the back of the frame.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

The subject has not fully been identified as yet. For some tentative explanations, see below, section E. 1 b, *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*. An amorous couple is shown drinking in a tent on a rocky outcropping at the right. They are placed behind a circular table, the man appears to be offering a cup of wine to the woman who is at the extreme right of the panel. A chest with a vase (?) on it, is also shown in the tent. A coat of arms is attached to the top of the tent (see D.3, *Inscriptions and Heraldry*, below), a pole going through the top of the tent bears a device of a wreath of leaves with what may be a metal pig's foot at the center.

The foreground is occupied by land at the water's edge on which are scattered discarded garments, a hat, sword-belt, shoes and pattens. A small tree at the extreme lower right is burdened with gauntlets, additional clothing and a hat or ceramic vessel.

At the center a figure is shown swimming toward the left; only the arms, part of the shoulders and chin are visible, the head being obscured by a large dish of duck pie (see section C, *Changes in Composition*, p. 44). At the upper right a corpulent man, astride a barrel, wearing a funnel on his head, is propelled across the water by a group of nude swimmers, one wearing a monastic cowl, who are shown pushing the back end of the barrel at the left. The barrel-rider is fully dressed, blowing a long trumpet supported by his left hand while holding a leafy branch (from which an apple or orb is suspended by a string) with the other. A man wearing only a curious hat is shown swimming behind the barrel, tapping it so that a stream of liquid enters the cup he holds with the left hand.

### 2. Colors

The tent is a warm pink. The man within wears a green coat and black hat, the woman wears a white headdress and black dress. The drapery over the tree is pink, below the tree, grey-blue and white, the man on the barrel has a pink hood, a grey hat, a tan-grey jacket and black stockings. The furniture in the tent, the barrel and the vessel on the tree are a warm grey. The foreground is a warm pale brown, the lower part of the water a dark muddy green that becomes a light turf green further up. An excellent color reproduction is to be found on the cover of the *Rabinowitz Collection* (<sup>21</sup>).

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

A coat of arms appears on top of the tent, or a fess sable. According to *Renesse* (<sup>2</sup> 254) and *Rietstap* (<sup>1</sup> 173) these are the arms of the de Bergh family of 's Hertogenbosch and the Hague. *Brans* believes the arms are those of the young nobleman below and are indicative of the corruption of aristocratic virtue (<sup>12</sup> 44). Similar arms appear on the Prado *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*, in the Luxuria representation, placed on the wine vessel of the couple in the tent.

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

The origin of this picture is not known. *Baldass* has suggested that the panel may have formed part of a depiction of the *Seven Deadly Sins* recorded in the inventory of the collection of Margaretha Boge of Antwerp in 1574 (<sup>9</sup> 235).



b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

It was first attributed to Hieronymus Bosch in the sale catalogue of the collection of Sir Robert Felix Clay at Christie's in 1928 (<sup>4</sup> 6, No. 31); the descriptive title from the catalogue has been retained for the *Corpus*. The attribution to Bosch has been accepted by all the authors listed below, critical agreement as to the autograph quality of the panel appears to be unanimous. It was lent by the subsequent owner - the Galerie Malmédé, Cologne - to the Bosch exhibition at the Museum Boymans in 1936. In the catalogue it was placed after the Louvre *Ship of Fools* (<sup>6</sup> No. 51, Plate 65). Listed as stemming from the same period as the Louvre picture, ca. 1505, the panel, entitled *Allegorie* was thought to perhaps represent an episode from the life of the Prodigal Son (<sup>6</sup> 32). In 1937, *Tolnay* described the panel as a fragment from a satirical composition by Bosch. He placed the painting in the artist's middle period, after the Louvre *Ship of Fools*, pointing out that Bruegel must have known the panel as that artist adapted figures from it for his *Battle between Carnival and Lent* in Vienna (<sup>7</sup> 90, No. 9). According to *Baldass* the panel was a fragment of a representation of Luxuria. He also related the painting to the *Ship of Fools*. *Baldass* dated the New Haven panel from the end of the artist's second period, contemporary with what he postulated to be "the original" of the Anderlecht altarpiece, just before the painting of the Lisbon *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (<sup>8</sup> 68-69). In 1943 *Baldass* wrote that the panel depicted both Lust and Gluttony, and was probably a fragment from a larger composition depicting the *Seven Deadly Sins* known to have been in the possession of a Margaretha Boge of Antwerp in 1574; he also identified the device on the roof of the tent as that of an innkeeper's sign, the couple in the tent as Lust and the man on the barrel as Gluttony, dating the panel from Bosch's middle period (<sup>9</sup> 235). The same information is given in the 1959 edition (<sup>16</sup> 26, 82, Plate 20).

*Combe* regarded the panel as a depiction of Gluttony and Voluptuousness, a fragment of a lost composition (<sup>11</sup> Plate 40). According to *Lionello Venturi*, who catalogued the painting for the Rabinowitz Collection, it depicts an *Allegory of Intemperance*. Linking the panel with the proverb, "More are drowned in a goblet than in the sea", *Venturi* also related the subject of the painting to a detail in the background of the Boymans Museum *Prodigal Son*, and placed the New Haven panel, together with the Louvre *Ship of Fools*, in Bosch's middle period, at the very end of the fifteenth century (<sup>10</sup> 63-64). Listing the painting as Luxuria and Gula, *Brans* pointed out that the device on the roof of the tent represents an innkeeper's sign - a pig's foot within a wreath of foliage - while the coat of arms on the tent-top is to be regarded as belonging to the nobleman within, indicative of the corruption of aristocratic virtue (<sup>12</sup> 44). *Bax* regarded the New Haven panel as an allegorical satire on merrymakers, who are probably celebrating May Day or a summer festival such as Saint John's Day or Saint Anne's Day. He did not believe the painting to be a fragment from a depiction of Luxuria nor did he find the association of the subject with the life of the Prodigal Son to be correct (<sup>13</sup> 199, Fig. 37). *Lotte Brand Philip* is quoted as stating that the New Haven panel belonged together with the Louvre *Ship of Fools*, forming an altarpiece (<sup>15</sup> 81). She has since pointed out to the author that the Louvre painting is also a fragment, and believes it highly probable that both the New Haven and Louvre paintings were cut from a larger panel. This lost, large composition *Mrs. Philip* considers to have been a depiction of May or of Spring, the traditional time of love-making, feasting and swimming. According to *Winkler*, the panel seems to be a genuine work by Bosch, contemporary to the Louvre *Ship of Fools* (<sup>20</sup> 315). *Charles Seymour, Jr.*, adhering to the first Rabinowitz Catalogue (<sup>10</sup> 63-64) title of *Allegory of Intemperance*, points out that the panel concerns "the folly of indulgence in eating and drinking", characterizing the figure on the barrel as a "mock-Silenus" (who) straddles a cask of wine instead of the traditional ass (<sup>21</sup>).

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

- 1574 According to *Baldass*, the painting may be a fragment from a depiction of the *Seven Deadly Sins* known to have been in the possession of Margaretha Boge of Antwerp (<sup>17</sup> 235).
- before 1928 Owned by Sir Robert Felix Clay, London.
- 1928 Sold at Christie's (Sir Robert Felix Clay, a.o., Sale), May 11, 1928, London.
- ca. 1928 Owned by Galerie Malmedé, Cologne.
- 1936 Exhibited at the *Jeroen Bosch. Noord-Nederlandsche Primitieven*, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, 1936, Catalogue No. 51, lent by Galerie Malmedé, Cologne.
- 1940 Shown at the Grand Rapids Art Gallery, Michigan, May 1940, Catalogue No. 5, lent by Silberman Galleries.
- 1941 Shown at the Hackley Art Gallery, Muskegon, Michigan, October 29th to November 19th, 1941, lent by Silberman Galleries.
- 1945 Recorded and reproduced in color in the catalogue of the *Rabinowitz Collection* by *Lionello Venturi*, New York, 1945, p. 63.
- 1953 Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Rabinowitz to the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.
- 1955 Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Rabinowitz to *An Exhibition of Painting, for the Benefit of Research Fund of Art and Archaeology, The Spanish Institute*, Oct. 12-Nov. 1, 1955, E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, Catalogue No. 8.
- 1956 Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Rabinowitz to *Pictures Collected by Yale Alumni*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., May 8-June 18, 1956, Plate 2.
- 1959 Given to Yale University with the Rabinowitz Collection, Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz, November 18th, 1959. Shown in exhibition of the Rabinowitz Collection held at the Yale University Art Gallery, Catalogue No. 23.
- 1960 Exhibited at "*Le Siècle des primitifs flamands*", Bruges, June 26-September 11 (<sup>18</sup> 169-171, No. 69). Exhibited at "*Flanders in the fifteenth century: Art and Civilization. Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch*", The Detroit Institute of Arts, October - December 1960 (<sup>19</sup> 206-208, No. 55).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

As the panel lacks a *barbe* on all sides, it has been cut down from a larger work. The painting, on oak, has been cradled at an undetermined date (see section C, *Paint Layer and Changes in Composition*). The additions to the paint surface in the area depicting water seem to be of fairly recent date.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

No other version, copy or replica of this composition is known. See section G, *Author's Comments*, below, for other paintings by Bosch which have been associated with the panel at the Yale University Art Gallery.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The panel is certainly by the same hand as the Louvre *Ship of Fools* (Louvre, No. R.F. 2218; *Hélène Adhémar, Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris*, vol. I. (*Les Primitifs flamands, I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*), Brussels, 1961 - in preparation). Infra-red



photographs of both works reveal a very similar style of draughtsmanship, with the same distinctive hatching from upper left to lower right.

L. Brand Phillip's suggestion that both the Yale and Louvre panels are fragments from a large, dismembered work is highly plausible. The Yale panel may have been in the foreground at the lower right, with the Louvre section above and possibly somewhat to the left.

Prof. Charles Seymour, Jr. has pointed out to the author that the combined measurements of the Louvre and Yale University Art Gallery paintings, when placed one above the other, equal the dimensions of the same artist's *Death of the Miser* (Kress Collection, National Gallery, Washington, reproduced in <sup>†</sup> Plate 21). According to Prof. Seymour both the Louvre-Yale panels and the Washington panel may have functioned jointly as wings of a lost small devotional triptych. Charles de Tolnay, before measurements of the *Death of the Miser* had been published, had already grouped it with the Louvre and Yale panels on a purely stylistic basis as the first three consecutive entries in his catalogue of Bosch's small figure compositions of the middle period.

The scene in New Haven is typical of Bosch's most spontaneous, rapidly executed work. The preparatory drawing, showing through the now transparent pigments, gives the work something of the character of a pencil and watercolor sketch.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- 1900 <sup>2</sup>: THEODORE DE RENESSE. *Dictionnaire des Figures Héraldiques*, Vol. V, Brussels, 1900.
- 1914 <sup>3</sup>: PAUL LAFOND. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Brussels/Paris, 1914.
- 1928 <sup>4</sup>: *Sale of Sir Robert Felix Clay and Others* (Christie's), London, May 11th, 1928.
- 1932 <sup>5</sup>: J. DENUCÉ. *Inventaire von Kunstsammlungen in Antwerpen im 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert*, Antwerp, 1932.
- 1936 <sup>6</sup>: DIRK HANNEMA. *Jeroen Bosch. Noord-Nederlandsche Primitieven* (Boymans Museum), Rotterdam, 1936.
- 1937 <sup>†</sup>: CHARLES DE TOLNAY. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Bâle, 1937.
- 1938 <sup>8</sup>: L. BALDASS. *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Hieronymus Bosch*, in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels, Vol. I, 1938.
- 1943 <sup>9</sup>: LUDWIG VON BALDASS. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1943.
- 1945 <sup>10</sup>: LIONELLO VENTURI. *The Rabinowitz Collection*, New York, 1945.
- 1946 <sup>11</sup>: JACQUES COMBE. *Jérôme Bosch*, Paris, 1946.
- 1948 <sup>12</sup>: J.V.L. BRANS. *Hieronymus Bosch en el Prado y en el Escorial*, Barcelona, 1948.
- 1949 <sup>13</sup>: D. BAX. *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, 's Gravenhage, 1949.
- 1956 <sup>14</sup>: *Pictures Collected by Yale Alumni*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., 1956.
- 1958 <sup>15</sup>: *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Rijksmuseum), Amsterdam, 1958.
- 1959 <sup>16</sup>: LUDWIG VON BALDASS and GÜNTHER HEINZ. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1959.
- 1959 <sup>1†</sup>: *Paintings from The Rabinowitz Collection presented to Yale University from nineteen hundred and forty-seven to nineteen hundred and fifty-five*, New Haven, 1959.
- 1960 <sup>18</sup>: *Le Siècle des primitifs flamands. Exposition au Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, 26 juin - 11 septembre 1960. Catalogue*, Bruges, 1960.
- 1960 <sup>19</sup>: *Flanders in the fifteenth century. Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the exhibition Master-*

*pieces of Flemish art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts, October-December 1960, Antwerp, 1960.*

1960<sup>20</sup>: FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Ausstellung altniederländischer Bilder aus Amerika in Brügge*, in *Kunstchronik*, Munich, 1960, 312-316.

1961<sup>21</sup>: CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR. *The Rabinowitz Collection of European Paintings. Yale University Art Gallery*, New Haven, Conn., 1961.

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 67: GROUP BOSCH (6)

XLII.	Allegory	B	181.901	1960
XLIII.	Allegory (infra-red)	B	L 8613	1960
XLIV.	Man on a Floating Cask (1:1)	B	181.903	1960
XLV.	Clothes on Shore and Man Swimming (1:1)	B	181.904	1960
XLVI.	Man with a Cup (M 2 ×)	B	181.907	1960
XLVII.	Man Swimming (M 2 ×)	B	181.906	1960
XLVIII.	The Tent (1:1)	B	181.905	1960
IL.	The Reverse	.B	181.902	1960



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 68: GROUP BOUTS, AELBRECHT (2), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH AN ANGEL*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Albert Bouts

Madonna and Child with Angel

No. 166, *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings, Worcester Art Museum*, 1922, p. 29.

Accession No. 1917.5.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8. VIII. 1957)

*Form:* Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions:</i> panel	40,1 × 29,1 × 0,5 cm. 15 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> × 11 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.
painted surface	39,3 × 28,5 cm. 15 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> × 11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins. at top, 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins. at bottom.

*Protective Layer:* Slightly discolored mastic and oil.

*Paint Layer:* The flesh-tones have become transparent, the underdrawing showing through. The upper part of the sky somewhat abraded. A vertical crack down the entire panel, to the right of Mary, has necessitated some restoration. A small hole at the extreme left can be seen in X-rays of that area.

*Changes in Composition:* The X-radiograph indicates that the Virgin's and the Angel's draperies may have extended further down and that their lowermost sections may then have been covered by the flower garden. Infra-red photography reveals the underlying drawing of the figures.

Changes can be discerned in the position of the legs, feet and right arm of the Child and in the angel's foot.

*Ground:* White, very good adherence.

*Support:* Single panel of oak with grain vertical. A vertical split at the right extends the entire length of the support. The panel was planed down at an unknown date. It may have been sawed down all around. There is no *barbe* (relief line) at the right edge. It is known to have been cradled in 1924.

*Marks on the Back:* None. Reproduction of the back on Plate LVII.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin, holding the Child, stands in a low-walled garden before an open landscape, with mountains to the right and a town surrounded by a moat at the left. An angel, appearing in the garden at the left, holds two carnations in one hand, extending a single bloom to the Infant with the other. The nude Infant reaches the right hand out for the carnation. His other hand toys with a coral necklace. Among the plants it is possible to recognize the sweet violet, daisy, plantain, wild strawberry, different

grasses, and above the wall, a dandelion and a daisy (verbal communication by Mr. A. Lawalrée, director of laboratory at the Jardin botanique de l'État, Brussels).

The composition showing the Virgin and Child standing at full length in an open landscape, frequently used by the followers of Dieric Bouts, could have originated, according to *Friedländer* (<sup>6</sup> 72) and *Schöne* (<sup>8</sup> 136) from a lost work by that master. *Lotthé* gives it as a rare example of the Virgin walking through the country, not mentioning the low-walled garden (<sup>11</sup> 114).

This walled-in garden may allude to the symbolism of the closed garden of the Virgin's purity. The coral of Christ's necklace was a popular talisman against the Evil Eye (*George Ferguson, Signs and Symbol in Christian Art*, New York, 1957 p. 53). The jewel-like pebbles in the stream-bed, resembling those in Dieric Bouts' *Paradise* at Lille, suggest an allusion to the river of Paradise. Carnations and strawberries, shown in the garden among other plants, are also frequently represented in *Paradise* (*Elizabeth Hague, The Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters*, New York, 1913, p. 83). Known as *Nagelboemen* in the Lowlands, due to their nail-shaped buds, the three carnations held by the angel may be intended as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion (*F.P.H. Prick van Wely, Engelsch Handwoordenboek*, The Hague, II, 1933, p. 476); they are also a symbol of pure love (*George Ferguson, op. cit.*, p. 34). The blue-white costume of the angel similar to the Carthusian habit, suggests a possible association of the carnations with those known in northern Europe as *Dianthus Carthusianorum* (*Dictionnaire de botanique chrétienne*, Paris, 1851, p. 1007-1009). However Mr. A. Lawalrée points out that this kind of carnation is extremely rare in Belgium.

## 2. Colors

Mary has a black hairband, she wears a red cloak with a gold border over a blue dress lined with grey fur with an underskirt of purple, seen at the lower left. Both she and the angel have reddish hair; the angel wears a blue-white robe and has blue and orange wings. The wall is made of grey masonry. Christ has a necklace of red (coral?) beads.

## 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.

### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The panel was acquired by the Worcester Art Museum from Reinhardt and Son in New York in 1917 as a work by Aelbrecht Bouts (*Worcester Art Museum Bulletin* <sup>1</sup> 25,26) and this attribution has never been challenged. *Conway* considered it a good example of this artist's work (<sup>3</sup> 258, Note 2). It was listed in the *Worcester Catalogue* (<sup>4</sup> 28-29, 166). *Friedländer* placed it fairly late in the oeuvre (<sup>5</sup> 120, No. 64, Plate LXI). This view was also given in the Worcester publication of 1948 (<sup>12</sup> 52-53, Fig. 70). The panel is listed among works of Aelbrecht Bouts by *Schöne* (<sup>8</sup> 136, 202, No. 111).



## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

- 1917 Acquired by the Worcester Art Museum from Reinhardt and Son, New York.  
 1936 Exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum exhibition *European Art 1450-1500*, Catalogue No. 27, Plate 27.  
 1939 Exhibited at the *Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting*, Catalogue p. 29, No. 31, Plate 31.  
 1944 Shown at the *Art of the Past* exhibition held at the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, No. 3.  
 1945 Shown at the Brooklyn Museum exhibition *Landscape*, Catalogue p. 20, No. 11.  
 1948 Shown at the *Art through Fifty Centuries* exhibition, The Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Plate 70.

### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- before 1917 Panel planed down. Probably cut down all around, certainly along the right edge.  
 1924 Cradled at the Worcester Art Museum by H.A. Hammond Smith.  
 1953 Wax emulsion applied to surface by Edmond de Beaumont.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

None known to author.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The panel appears correctly attributed to Aelbrecht Bouts. The landscape and types can be compared with the wings at Bonn (*Provinzialmuseum; Friedländer* <sup>5</sup> 117; reproduced in *Dieric Bouts*, catalogue of the exhibition held at the *Palais des beaux-arts*, Brussels, 1957-1958, p. 147). These wings are dated by *Friedländer* from the middle of Aelbrecht Bouts' activity. The Worcester *Virgin and Child*, showing a more advanced style, should most probably be dated from a later period, perhaps among the last works of the master, as *Friedländer* suggests (<sup>5</sup> 120).

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 1917 <sup>2</sup>: *Worcester Art Museum, Report of the Trustees, Officers and List of Sustaining Members*, Worcester, 1917.  
 1921 <sup>3</sup>: MARTIN CONWAY. *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.  
 1922 <sup>4</sup>: *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings*, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, 1922.  
 1925 <sup>5</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, III. *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.  
 1933 <sup>6</sup>: *A guide to the collections of the Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, 1933.  
 1936 <sup>7</sup>: *European Art 1450-1500*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1936.  
 1938 <sup>8</sup>: WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1938.  
 1939 <sup>9</sup>: *The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Paintings*, s.l., 1939.  
 1945 <sup>10</sup>: *Landscape*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1945.  
 1947 <sup>11</sup>: ERNEST LOTTHÉ. *La pensée chrétienne dans la peinture flamande et hollandaise*, Lille, 1947.  
 1948 <sup>12</sup>: *Art through Fifty Centuries* (The Worcester Art Museum), Worcester, Mass., 1948.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 68: GROUP BOUTS, AELBRECHT (2)

L. The Virgin and Child with an Angel	C 3761	1958
LI. The Virgin at Half Length (1:1)	C 3763	1958
LII. Upper Left Corner (1:1)	C 3764	1958
LIII. Upper Right Corner (1:1)	C 3765	1958
LIV. Lower Left Corner (1:1)	C 3767	1958
LV. Lower Right Corner (1:1)	C 3766	1958
LVI. The Virgin and Child, Detail (M 2 ×)	C 3768	1958
LVII. The Reverse	C 3762	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 69: GROUP BOUTS (7), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

*Dierick Bouts**The Virgin and Child*, at half length.

The painting has been given to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University by Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus in memory of her husband Jesse Isidor Straus, Class of 1893, in 1959. It is at 720 Park Avenue, New York (*Friedländer*<sup>3</sup> 107, No. 11, Plate XVIII).

Fogg Museum Accession No. 1959.186.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(2/5. XII. 1957)

*Form:* Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions:</i> panel	30,5 × 21,6 cm. 12 × 18 1/2 ins.
painted surface	29,5 × 20,2 cm. 11 5/8 × 7 15/16 ins.

*Protective Layer:* Varnish, thickly applied and very yellowed.*Paint Layer:* Local damages mainly due to the ground. These can be located e.g. at the bottom of the picture, at the right part of the Virgin's face and at the veil.

*Changes in Composition:* Underneath the present composition, infra-red photography reveals what seems to be the preparatory drawing for an elongated female nude figure, standing with her left arm before the waist (see Plate LIX). This drawing is in places quite cursory, as in the head; but in other areas, such as the legs, it appears more elaborated with indications of modeling by short parallel lines. The preparatory drawing of the present composition is also discernible in some areas of the flesh parts. Some slight changes are observed in the Virgin's fingers, the Child's hands and legs.

*Ground:* Whitish, with local differences in adherence.*Support:* Oak panel, with grain vertical, cradled.*Marks on the Back:* Traces of numbers; reproduction of the back on Plate LXIII.*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin is seen at half length, she looks to the lower left, holding the nude Child with both hands. He is raised from a horizontal position by Mary, His right forearm supported by the Virgin's right hand. While the Child's hand rests on Mary's exposed right breast, His left hand is held in a gesture of benediction. His head is seen in three-quarter view seeming to glance to the right toward the beholder before nursing.

## 2. Colors

Mary wears a blue cloak that covers her pale brown-blond hair, a white cloth is placed over her head and around her neck, another white cloth is under the Child. Greyish fur is shown at Mary's wrists and a dark jeweled band encircles her brow. The colors of Mary's dress and of the background are, due to the painting's present condition, extremely dark, their original tonality cannot be determined.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front of the panel.

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

## 1. Origin

### a. Factual Evidence

Nothing is known of the panel before its publication in the Stroganoff Catalogue (<sup>1</sup> 55, Plate 39).

### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

*Muñoz*, describing the panel for the Stroganoff Catalogue of 1911, listed the work as by Roger van der Weyden (<sup>1</sup> 55, Plate 39) and it was similarly recorded by *Burger* in 1923 (<sup>2</sup> 68, Plate 31). The painting was first attributed to Bouts by *Friedländer* in 1925 (<sup>3</sup> 107, Plate XVIII). He related the *Mladonna and Child* to another depiction of the same subject, also ascribed to Bouts, at Frankfurt (reproduced in *Schöne* <sup>12</sup> Plate 69a), pointing out that both works depend upon a composition from the studio of Roger van der Weyden. The attribution to Bouts was accepted by the Burlington House Flemish Exhibition of 1927 (<sup>5</sup> 29, No. 63) and by *Baldass* in his review of the exhibition (<sup>4</sup> 109). *Pächt*, questioning *Friedländer's* view that the painting was by Bouts, pointed out in 1927 that the work should be regarded as that of a Bouts follower. He found that the additive manner in which the forms were built up, and the lack of inner tension precluded the possibility of the painting's being by Dieric Bouts (<sup>9</sup> 48). In 1932, *Baldass* withdrew his earlier view, agreeing with *Pächt's* analysis of the painting. *Baldass* found the sweetness of Mary's face Rogerian rather than Boutsian and included the panel in a list of works by the School of Dieric Bouts (<sup>11</sup> 113, Note 45; 114). In his sorting out of Bouts followers, *Schöne* assigned the painting to the anonymous master named after one of his chief works, the *Arrest of Christ* in Munich (<sup>12</sup> 167, No. 49, Plate 70b). Like *Friedländer*, *Schöne* compared the *Virgin and Child* to the Städel panel, which he listed as another work by the Master of the Arrest of Christ (<sup>12</sup> No. 47, Plate 69a). *Schöne* noted that the Child is very much alike in posture and expression in both paintings; he observed that the depiction of Mary's face is under the influence of the art of Hugo van der Goes. He found the Straus panel a more highly developed example of the art of the Master of the Arrest of Christ than the painting in Frankfurt, dating it ca. 1475 (<sup>12</sup> 167). The attribution to Dieric Bouts has been maintained by the catalogues of the exhibitions at which the painting was shown since 1927 (<sup>10</sup> 58, No. 15; <sup>13</sup> 34, listed opp. wrong plate; <sup>16</sup> 42, No. 11, Plate p. 43). According to *Panofsky* the painting, together with the example in Frankfurt, are based on a composition by Roger van der Weyden and are not attributable to Bouts himself (<sup>15</sup> 296 note 3, see p. 480; 317 note 3, see p. 493). This opinion is echoed in 1957 by *G. Marlier*, writing about the Bouts Exhibition in Brussels ((<sup>17</sup> 8).

## 2. Subsequent History

1911 Recorded in the catalogue of the collection of Count G. Stroganoff, Rome (<sup>1</sup> 55, Plate 39).



- 1924 Listed by *Schöne* as being on the New York art market at Wildenstein (<sup>12</sup> 167, No. 49).
- 1925 Listed by *Friedländer* as being on the New York art market (<sup>3</sup> 46).
- 1927 Lent by Sir Robert Abdy to the *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Burlington House, London (<sup>5</sup> 29, No. 63).
- April 18 - On temporary loan (No. 298.1929) from Jesse Isidor Straus to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Fogg Art Museum Annual Report 1929-30, p. 8).
- October 19, 1929
- 1929 Lent by Jesse Isidor Straus to a *Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, F. Kleinberger Galleries, New York (<sup>10</sup> 58, No. 15).
- November 19 - On temporary loan (No. 475.1941) from Jesse Isidor Straus to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Fogg Art Museum Annual Report 1941-42, p. 5).
- December 19, 1941
- 1942 Lent by Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus to *An Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York (<sup>13</sup> 34, Plate 33).
- 1957-58 Lent by Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus to the *Dieric Bouts* Exhibition, Brussels, *Palais des Beaux-Arts* and Delft, *Prinsenhof* (<sup>16</sup> 42, No. 11).
- 1959 Given to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, by Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus in memory of her husband, Jesse Isidor Straus, Class of 1893.

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

No actual copy of this *Virgin and Child* is known.

The composition of the half length figure of Mary holding the Child is derived from works of the Studio of Roger van der Weyden, which in turn are taken from a major work of the master, such as the *Saint Luke drawing a portrait of the Virgin* (see *Corpus* No. 73 and No. 64, Fogg Diptych). Numerous paintings by followers of Dieric Bouts depend upon these sources, or more probably upon a lost work by Bouts in which the definitive adaption from Roger's art was first made, like his *Virgin and Child*, National Gallery, London (see *Martin Davies* <sup>14</sup> *Corpus* No. 32, Group Bouts (6)).

The most specifically Boutsian of the many comparable pictures is at the Städel Institut, Frankfurt, (reproduced in *Schöne* <sup>12</sup> No. 47, Plate 69 a), an inferior version is at the *Museo Correr* (reproduced in the Bouts exhibition catalogue, 1957-58, <sup>10</sup> 96, No. 34, Plate p. 97).

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The *Virgin and Child* is an important work from the circle of Dieric Bouts. *Pächt's* re-attribution of the panel to a follower of Bouts, rather than the master himself is convincing (<sup>9</sup> 48) as is *Schöne's* linking of the painting to several works which he assigns to the author of the Munich *Arrest of Christ*. The clearly indicated influence of van der Goes makes the date of ca. 1475, also proposed by *Schöne* (<sup>12</sup> 167), plausible.

The artist's first project, a drawing of a female nude, revealed by infra-red photography, possibly intended as an Eve or a Vanitas (see Plate LIX and p. 54, C, *Changes in Composition*) should be compared with Dieric Bouts' *Execution of the Innocent* (painted with assistants), Brussels, *Musées des Beaux-Arts*, No. 65. In the latter work infra-red photography has also brought to light figure drawings which were abandoned in the final composition, one of these, at the left of the Emperor, is similar in draughtsmanship to that of the rather schematic rendering of the head on the Fogg panel (see *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique*, I, Brussels, 1958, pl. 17).

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1911 <sup>1</sup>: ANTONIO MUÑOZ. *Pièces de choix de la collection du comte Grégoire Stroganoff*, Rome, 1911.
- 1923 <sup>2</sup>: WILLY BURGER. *Roger van der Weyden*, Leipzig, 1923.
- 1925 <sup>3</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, III. *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.
- 1927 <sup>4</sup>: LUDWIG BALDASS. *Die Niederländer des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung flämischer Kunst in London*, in *Belvedere*, XI, Vienna, 1927, 109-117.
- 1927 <sup>5</sup>: MARTIN CONWAY. *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (Burlington House), London, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>6</sup>: *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art (1300-1900). Illustrated Souvenir*, London, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>7</sup>: *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art (1300-1900) organized by the Anglo-Belgian Union*, London, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>8</sup>: PAUL LAMBOTTE [and others]. *Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (Burlington House), London, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>9</sup>: OTTO PÄCHT. Review of *Max J. Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, III. Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent, Berlin, 1925*, in *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtliche Literatur*, Leipzig, 1927, 27-54.
- 1929 <sup>10</sup>: HARRY G. SPERLING. *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (F. Kleinberger Galleries), New York, 1929.
- 1932 <sup>11</sup>: LUDWIG BALDASS. *Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. VI, Vienna, 1932, 77-114.
- 1938 <sup>12</sup>: WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1938.
- 1942 <sup>13</sup>: *An Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (M. Knoedler & Co.), New York, 1942.
- 1953 <sup>14</sup>: MARTIN DAVIES. *The National Gallery, London*, vol. I (*Les Primitifs flamands, I. Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au XVe siècle*), Antwerp, 1953.
- 1953 <sup>15</sup>: ERWIN PANOFSKY. *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953.
- 1957-1958 <sup>16</sup>: *Dieric Bouts. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles, 1957-1958, Museum Prinsenhof, Delft, Brussels*, 1957.
- 1957 <sup>17</sup>: GEORGES MARLIER. *Zwei große Ausstellungen in Belgien*, in *Die Weltkunst*, XXIII, Berlin/Munich, Dec. 1957, 8.

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 69: GROUP BOUTS (7)

LVIII. The Virgin and Child	B	172.301	1957
LIX. The Virgin and Child (Infra-red, Loose Masking Process)	}	B L 5479	1957
		B	172.301
LX. Head of the Virgin (1:1)	B	172.302	1957
LXI. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	B	172.304	1957
LXII. The Child (1:1)	B	172.303	1957
LXIII. The Reverse	B	171.353	1957



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 70: GROUP BOUTS (8), *CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Dutch School. XV Century

Head of Christ with Thorns

No. 410 in the catalogue *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings* (September 28th, 1957), Williamstown, Mass.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(26. V. 1958)

*Form:* Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions:</i> panel	39,2 × 29,8 × 0,6 cm. 15 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> × <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ins.
painted surface	37,3 (± 0,1) × 27,3 (± 0,1) cm. 14 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> (at right) × 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (at top) 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> (at left) × 11 (at bottom) ins.

*Protective Layer:* Was removed at the time of examination, to be replaced by natural resin varnish with a thin coating of wax spray.

*Paint Layer:* Losses in the robe, the left of the beard, and the neck. The reddish tonality of the eyes may be partially attributable to old surface damage and repainting. Otherwise generally well preserved. A crack runs down the length of the panel at the right, 7,2 cm. from the edge, necessitating slight replacement of losses all the way.

*Changes in Composition:* None observed.

*Ground:* Not observed, adheres well.

*Support:* Oak, two panels, with grain vertical, of identical size, one placed on top of the other, with mahogany cradling (see section E. 2 b).

*Marks on the Back:* None observed; reproduction of the back on Plate LXVIII.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

Christ is seen frontally, with clasped hands; He wears a mantle, the Crown of Thorns is on His head. The mantle represents the robe put on Him before the Crucifixion, when He was crowned with thorns (*Matthew*, XXVII, 28/29; *Mark*, XV, 17; *John*, XIX, 2).

2. *Colors*

The robe is a rich red, the crown of thorns dark green, the background gold and brown-black flecks. Christ's hair is dark brown, the eyes of a curious pinkish tinge. There is a pronounced color contrast between the pink tonality of the hands and the white pigmentation of face and neck.

### 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.

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

Attributed to Quentin Metsijs when on the London art market (Paterson, see below, *Records of Ownership*). It was included by *Schöne* among the copies after a lost Dieric Bouts (<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 12). Listed in the Clark Art Institute Catalogue (<sup>4</sup> No. 410) as being of the *Dutch School, XV Century*, where its resemblance to a similar painting in the National Gallery, London, is observed. The latter has been studied closely by *Davies* (<sup>3</sup> I, 34-36, *Corpus* No. 29), who lists the Williamstown painting among numerous versions of a lost original.

### 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

No information is available as to when or where Sterling Clark acquired the panel. The painting is most probably identical with the *Man of Sorrows* which was, according to *Schöne* (<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 12) on the London art market (Paterson) before 1938. This identification appears correct upon examination of the photograph at the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London, showing a *Man of Sorrows* owned by Paterson at that time.

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

The original panel has been shaved to its present thickness of  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. and placed on top of another panel of the same thickness, to which the cradling is attached, at an unknown date. In 1958 the old varnish was removed; replacement of former restoration of small losses by Suhr. At the time the painting was photographed at Paterson's (see above, section E. 2 a, *Records of Ownership*) it seemed to have been slightly overpainted so as to make it look closer to the National Gallery version (see below, section F, *Comparative Material*, No. A. 2). This similarity had been noted by *Schöne* (<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 12).

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Many versions of this picture are known, frequently accompanied by a pendant *Mater Dolorosa*. Lists of these paintings have been prepared by *Friedländer* (<sup>1</sup> 124), *Schöne* (<sup>2</sup> 129 ff) and *Davies* (<sup>3</sup> 34-36). The following list is based upon that of *Davies*, with some additions and some changes.

### A. Pairs: Christ and the Virgin

(1) Zürich-Erlenbach, Coll. K. Gratwohl, ex Coll. Cabot, Barcelona; Catalogue of the exhibition *Dieric Bouts*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1957-58, No. 22, Plate 22; *Schöne* <sup>2</sup> 129, No. 19 A 1 and Plates 48 a (The Virgin) and 48 b (Christ); *Davies* <sup>3</sup> 34, No. A 1. Wood, 45 x 29 cm, with rounded top.

(2) London, The National Gallery, Nos. 711 (Christ) and 712 (The Virgin); *Friedländer* <sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83; *Schöne* <sup>2</sup> 129-130, No. 19 A 2; *Davies* <sup>3</sup> *Corpus* No. 29, Plates LXXVII and LXXVIII. Oak, 37,3 x 28 cm.



(3) Paris, Louvre, Nos. 2200 (Christ) and 2201 (The Virgin); *Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83 a; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 3; *Edouard Michel, L'Ecole Flamande du XVe siècle au Musée du Louvre*, 1944, 93 f. and Plates XLVIII A (The Virgin) and XLVIII B (Christ); *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 34, No. A 2; *Hélène Adhémar, Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris*, vol. I (*Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*), Brussels, 1961, in preparation, *Corpus* No. 84, Group Bouts (12), Plates LIV to LXII, oak, 38,6 × 29,5 cm.

(4) Goluchow, Czartoryski Collection; *Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83 b; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 4; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. A 3; reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, New Series, Vol. XXVI, 1914/5, 201. Wood.

(5) Amsterdam, H. Th. Westenberg etc. Sale, 28-30 October, 1902, lot 10 (Christ) and lot 11 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue; *Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83 c; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 5; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. A 4. Apparently the same as Lutzen van Voorst Sale, Berlin (Lepke), 10 February, 1904, lot 73 (Christ) and lot 74 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue; *Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83 c; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 5. Apparently the same as W. Cornwallis etc. Sale, Brussels (Fievez), 19/20 December, 1924, lot 135 (The Virgin) and lot 136 (Christ), reproduced in the catalogue; *Schöne*<sup>2</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. Wood, 40 × 27 cm.

(6) Anon. Sale, Paris, 22 May, 1914, lot 6 (together), reproduced in the catalogue; *Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 124, No. 83 d; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 6; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. A 5. Wood, 37 × 28 cm.

(7) Lent by Silberman to *An Exhibition of European Art 1450-1500* (Brooklyn), 1936, No. 33 (Christ) and No. 34 (The Virgin), reproduced in the catalogue; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, No. 19 A 10; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. A 6. According to *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130, perhaps identical with his No. 19 B 19. Wood, 16,5 × 12,3 cm.

(8) New York, Metropolitan Museum, *Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, 1947, 49 f., Nos. 71.156 and 157, reproduced. Wood, 40,7 × 31,7 cm.

(9) Nettuno, Rome, Coll. Prince Steno Borghese, ex Coll. Don Pietro Statella, Prince of Cassaro, Sicily. *Schöne* lists still two diptychs: No. 19 A 8 of a very poor quality, and No. 19 A 9 from a Spanish origin.

#### B. Christ alone

(1) Berlin, Ehemalige Staatliche Museen, No. 528 D; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 130/1, No. 19 B 11 and Plate 48 d; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 1. Wood, 36 × 27 cm.

(2) Spanish Art Gallery (Tomas Harris), London; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 13; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 3. Perhaps identical with No. B (8), below. Wood, 39,5 × 25,5 cm. with rounded top.

(3) Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 4118 (ex Coll. P. Stroganoff); reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, XLVII, 1925, 335; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 14 and No. 19 B 17, erroneously as property of Count G. Stroganoff, Rome; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 4. Oak, 39,7 × 29,4 cm.

(4) 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>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 15; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 5; reproduction in the National Gallery, London. Wood.

(5) Madrid, Coll. Rafael García; photograph in the *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* at The Hague; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 16; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 6.

(6) Varallo Sesia, Museo Artistico; reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, XI, 1898, Col. 273; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 20; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 8. Wood, 40 × 27 cm.

(7) Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano; Catalogue *La Colección Lázaro de Madrid*, 1927, II, 40, No. 500, reproduced; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 21; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 9. Presumably the picture men-

tioned by *Jesé Camón Aznar*, *Guía Abreviada del Museo Lázaro Galdiano*, Madrid, 1951, 75. Apparently the same as J.F.D. Sale, Berlin (Lepke), 28 November, 1911, lot 84, reproduced in the catalogue; *Schöne*<sup>2</sup> 131, No. 19 B 18; *Davies*<sup>3</sup> 35, No. B 7. Wood, 36,5 × 27 cm.

(8) Coll. Major Trevor Cox, London, sold at Christie's, March 18, 1955, catalogue No. 9. Perhaps identical with No. B (2), above. Wood, 39 × 25 cm. With rounded top. Photo at the Centre.

(9) Italy, Private collection, reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition *Dieric Bouts, Palais des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels, 1957-58, No. 23, Plate 23. Wood, 47 × 32,5 cm. With rounded top.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The panel is probably of early sixteenth century manufacture. The face of Christ may already incorporate Italian influence, although the work as a whole is based presumably on a lost *Man of Sorrows* by Dieric Bouts.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1925<sup>1</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, III. *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, Berlin, 1925.

1938<sup>2</sup>: WOLFGANG SCHÖNE. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1938.

1953<sup>3</sup>: MARTIN DAVIES. *The National Gallery, London*, Vol. I (*Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*), Antwerp, 1953.

1957<sup>4</sup>: *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings* (September 28th, 1957), Williamstown, Mass., 1957.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 70: GROUP BOUTS (8)

LXIV.	Christ Crowned with Thorns	C 3770	1958
LXV.	The Head of Christ (1:1)	C 3773	1958
LXVI.	The Hands (1:1)	C 3774	1958
LXVII.	The Face (M 2 ×)	C 3856	1958
LXVIII.	The Reverse	C 3772	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 71: GROUP MEMLINC (7), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Hans Memling

*Virgin and Child*No. 136 in the *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings*, Preliminary Edition, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1955, p. 42.

Accession No. 02.3.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(9. IX. 1957)

*Form:* Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions:</i> panel	27 × 19,5 × 0,5 cm. 10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> × 7 <sup>11</sup> / <sub>10</sub> × <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.
painted surface	24,4 × 16,8 cm. 9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> × 6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ins.

*Protective Layer:* Old mastic varnish, covering earlier varnish, noticeable in the sky.*Paint Layer:* Not well preserved. Major vertical crack running through panel close to inside edge of Mary's ear has necessitated repainting of upper left part of head. This repainting is poorly executed. Two additional cracks on the right half of the panel have also damaged the paint surface. A strip approximately 3 cm. in width has been laid down the right edge of the painted surface, the join covered with a fine linen canvas, all of which has been coarsely over-painted. Traces of a gold border may be seen below the black band surrounding the panel, which was probably added after the removal of an engaged frame.*Changes in Composition:* None observed.*Ground:* White layer observed at edges, adheres well.*Support:* Single oak panel, grain vertical. Cradled with four vertical struts of pine. Three vertical cracks run through the panel, one slightly left of center, two others at the right. A strip has been added to the panel at the right, about 3 cm. in width, the join is covered with fine linen canvas.*Marks on the Back:* Four labels, attached to cradling: at left, "No. 30022 picture". Below, "Museum of Fine Arts 02.3." At center, apparently oldest label, "No. 6804", at upper right, "Flemish School Madonna and Child. Purchased from Elton and James Funds 02.3". Label below, "Group C 02.3." Reproduction of the back on Plate LXXII.*Frame:* Not original, panel probably had engaged frame.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The half-length figure of Mary is shown nursing the nude Child, Whom she holds with both hands. His Head is at the right, hers inclined towards Him. A river divides the picture horizontally across the

middle of the composition. Churches and other buildings are seen at the left, a mountainous landscape is at the right.

### 2. Colors

Mary's cloak is red, her bodice black. She wears a black, jeweled band over her reddish hair. The Child is on a white cloth. The trees along the river are a rusty, autumnal color, the mountains blue, the sky blue, with a green appearance due to old varnish.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front.

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

Unknown, probably executed for personal devotional use of owner.

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The panel entered the Museum of Fine Arts in 1902 as a work from the "School of Memling", it had earlier been considered as by Dieric Bouts (<sup>4</sup> 57, No. 136). *Reinach* listed it as possibly by Bouts (<sup>1</sup> 131, fig. 1), followed by *Gomez-Moreno* (<sup>2</sup> 298). *Conway* thought it to be by a follower of Memling, relating the painting to other works after Memling of approximately the same subject in the Lehman (ex Northbrook) and Sommier Collections (<sup>5</sup> 244). The latter painting is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, catalogued as being by a "Follower of Memling" (<sup>10</sup> 74). It was listed by *Friedländer* among works inspired by the van der Weyden types of Madonna (<sup>6</sup> 134, No. 111).

The painting was exhibited at the *Exposition Memling*, Bruges, 1939, as a work by Memling (<sup>7</sup> 69, No. 24, Plate 20 b). In a letter dated November 23rd, 1937, *Friedländer* wrote that both the Boston painting and a panel in the *Musées royaux des beaux-arts*, Brussels, (Catalogue No. 667), were very early works by Memling. He repeated this view in a commentary on the Memling exhibition (<sup>8</sup> 124, Plate A) and in a later article, where the Boston work is thought to have been adapted from the *Virgin* by Roger van der Weyden formerly in the Donaueschingen collection (<sup>9</sup> 14-15).

### 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

1902 Acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from the Margaret Allen Elton and Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund.

According to the *Exposition Memling* Catalogue (<sup>7</sup> 69, No. 24), the panel was in the collection of "A. Ellen" before entering the Museum of Fine Arts in 1902, but this information may have been obtained by confusing the special funds from which the panel was purchased with the name of an earlier owner.

1936 The painting was exhibited at the Fogg Art Museum in 1936.

1939 Shown at the *Exposition Memling*, Bruges, in 1939 (<sup>7</sup> 69, No. 24).

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

1940 The panel was re-varnished.





imitating letters cast in precious metal. See section D.3 (p. 68), for inscription and heraldry painted on the frame. A number of nail holes are seen in the frame edge. There are no clearly discernible hinge marks.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

### 1. Subject

A middle-aged man is shown in three-quarter view, looking to the left, his hands folded in prayer. He wears a fur-trimmed jacket; two rings are on his left hand, one mounted with a blue jewel, the other with the same arms as those painted on the left side of the frame. According to the inscriptions on the frame (see section D.3, p. 68), he was 47 at the time of the portrait, that is in 1472. The coat of arms (see also section D.3) and the text on a label pasted on the back (see section C, *Marks on the Back*) identify the sitter as Gilles Joye, canon of Saint-Donatian at Bruges, and *curé* of the church of Saint-Hippolyte at Delft. According to this text, he died on December 31, 1473. In research for the Corpus, *Van Molle* (<sup>4</sup>) has deciphered the label and reconstructed the principal facts of Gilles Joye's biography.

Gilles Joye was a priest in the diocese of Tournai before being appointed by Duke John of Cleves canon at Notre-Dame de Cleves on April 24, 1453, where he is last recorded in 1455. On September 16, 1458, Gilles Joye presented a letter of nomination from the provost of the church of Saint-Donatian at Bruges to the Chapter of that church. He was not acceptable to the Chapter of Saint-Donatian until he renounced his prebend at Cleves, which he proceeded to do in 1460; only in 1463 was he installed as a canon at Saint-Donatian. Meanwhile he had been appointed *clerc* to the *chapelle musicale* of the Burgundian court, in 1464 he was given the rank of chaplain.

As a member of this famous *chapelle musicale*, Gilles Joye enjoyed a certain reputation as a composer (see particularly *J. Marix, Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)*, (*Collection d'études musicologiques fondée par Karl Nef*, t. XXVIII [sic for XXIX]), Strasburg, 1939, p. 213, 255-261; *Idem, Les musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1420-1467)*. *Gilles de Binche... Messes, motets, chansons*, Paris, 1937, p. XVI; *G. Van Doorslaer, La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau*, in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, t. IV, Antwerp, 1934, p. 23). At least four musical compositions by him are preserved, and in the famous *Déploration sur la mort de J. Okeghem*, written between 1496 and 1499, Joye is mentioned as an equal of Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois and a few others. He retired from the court after 1468, apparently following illness and moved some time later to Bruges where he died on December 31, 1483. According to *Van Molle*, a publication of 1731 provides further corroboration of the biographical information given by the label. It states that: *Aegidius Joye, Capellanus Honoris Philippi Boni Burgundiae Ducis, Canonicus S. DONATIANI, et Pastor opulentissimi Pastoratûs S. Hippolyti Delphis in Hollandia; fuit praeclarus S. Theologiae Professor et excellens Poëta* ([*J.F. Foppens*], *Compendium chronologicum episcoporum Brugensium necnon praepositorum, decanorum et canonicorum etc. ecclesiae cathedralis S. Donatiani Brugensis*, Bruges, 1731, p. 136-137 and 166). Not a poet or professor of theology, Gilles' description as such stems from a confusion with a Gilles de Delft, who died in 1524.

The hands folded in prayer seem to indicate that the painting was originally the right wing of a diptych or a triptych, most probably a diptych, with a *Virgin and Child* on the left panel, but no hinge marks have been observed on the frame (see section C, *Frame*, p. 66-67).



## 2. Colors

The donor wears a russet jacket trimmed with greyish fur, he is shown against a blue-green background.

## 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

The frame is inscribed in gold-colored letters "ANNO DOMINI 1472" at the top, and "ETATIS SUE 47" at the bottom. The arms at the left - argent, a chevron gules, between three billets or (?) - are repeated on the sitter's signet ring at the lower left. An armorial device (badge?) consisting of a lozenge-shaped silver chain has letters resembling a D(?) and two I's (perhaps for IOYE, see *Van Molle*<sup>4</sup> 13) attached to the upper half of the lozenge, which frames a small bronze or gold-colored object. The arms have been identified as those of Gilles Joye, Canon of Saint-Donatian, Bruges, whose name appears on an inscription on the back of the panel, added after the completion of the work. See section C, *Marks on the Back*, p. 66; see also section E. I a, below.

The metal device at the right of the frame has been identified by *Lynn White, Jr.* (letter to the author of June 9, 1958), as being "the most conspicuous element on a minting press" - "a unique representation of the minting press in the fifteenth century". The golden ingots which appear on the sitter's arms would suggest that he were a descendant of minters, if not one himself. According to *G. de Schoutheete de Tervarent*, the device seems to show a burning candle (letter of November 29, 1960, at the Centre).

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

According to the inscription on the original frame the work was painted in 1472, when the sitter was 47 years of age. The label on the back, probably added in the century following the completion of the painting, states that the subject is Gilles Joye, *curé* of the church of Saint-Hippolyte of Delft and canon of the church of Saint-Donatian, Bruges, where he was buried on the last day of December, 1473. *Van Molle* has been able to read the label and to support its statement in reconstructing the principal facts of Gilles Joye's biography (see section D.1, *Subject*). He notes that in 1472 Gilles Joye was living in Bruges. According to the archives, he died there on December 31, 1483, that is ten years later than given in the text on the label. The same error appears in a group of *épitaphiers* (collections of funerary inscriptions; see *Van Molle*<sup>4</sup> 11). Gilles Joye's funerary slab is known from a sketch of the late eighteenth century, where similar arms appear to those on the frame of the Williamstown portrait, and on the seal-ring worn by the sitter with the difference that the golden billets are here shown as sheaves of wheat. The mustache on the sketch - evidently unknown in the XVth century - and a few small errors in the text of the epitaph prove that the XVIIIth century drawing is not to be taken too literally. This sketch comes from the collection of funerary inscriptions by *Pierre de Molo*, ca. 1785, Bruges, Municipal Library, MS. 595, t. I, p. 144; it is reproduced by *Van Molle* (<sup>4</sup> Plate IV). Documents of 1465, 1468 and 1469 record Gilles Joye as *curé* at the Church of Saint-Hippolyte at Delft; one of these documents has a seal with S. Hippolytus and two shields, one of which bears the same arms as those of the Williamstown portrait and the sketch after Gilles Joye's funeral monument (*Van Molle*<sup>4</sup> 11 and 13, Plates III and IV).

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

When the panel first appeared in the sale of the collection of Sir Henry Michael Hawley, 5th Bart. of Leybourne Grange, Maidstone (at Christie's on April 16, 1919, Lot No. 19, p. 5) it was listed as "Van Eyck (After) - Portrait of Saint Donatiani of Bruges, in brown dress trimmed with fur, his hands clasped in prayer by Cornelius Van Haarlem".

The painting was first attributed to Memlinc by *Friedländer*, who described and illustrated it (<sup>1</sup> 129, No. 72, Plate XL) and associated the work stylistically with the Portinari portraits at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (<sup>1</sup> No. 69, Plate XXXVII and No. 70, Plate XXXVIII) which he placed at the same date as the Williamstown panel. These views are repeated in his later Memlinc monograph (<sup>2</sup> 31,33).

2. *Subsequent History*

a. *Records of Ownership*

- 1799 The Church of Saint-Donatian, Bruges, where the painting was presumably hung (see section G, *Author's Comments*, p. 70), was sold and torn down (*Ad. Duclos, Bruges. Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1910, p. 445).
- 1919 Listed as lot No. 19 in the sale of the collection of Sir Henry Michael Hawley, 5th Bart. of Leybourne Grange, Maidstone, at Christie's on April 16th. A manuscript note in the sale catalogue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art states that the panel was purchased by E. Thomas, presumably for Colnaghi.
- 1919 Purchased by Sterling Clark from Colnaghi, London, in July. It is listed by *Friedländer* as still being in the latter's possession in 1920 (<sup>1</sup> 129).

b. *Records of Condition and Treatment*

- since 1919 Judging by the photograph of the panel reproduced in *Friedländer* (<sup>1</sup> Plate XL) the work appears to have undergone some restoration between the date at which the photograph was taken and its first exhibition at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.
- 1959 The painting was restored by William Suhr. Cleaning of the panel brought out the colors of the background and the sitter's jacket. The features appear to have been strengthened in the areas where the original paint was very much abraded.

F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Highly finished, inscribed frames like the one of the Clark panel were painted by Memlinc for works in *Friedländer's* catalogue numbered 2, 11, 33, 39 (<sup>1</sup> 114, 117, 122, 124) ranging in date from 1479-1487). The only other known work by Memlinc dated the same year as the Clark panel is the *Madonna and Child standing with S. Anthony Abbott and a Donor*, in the National Gallery of Ottawa, dated 1472 on the wall (*Friedländer* <sup>1</sup> 128, No. 64; reproduced in *Karl Voll, Memling. Des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst), Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1909, Plate 16).

G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Despite considerable losses of the original surface, there is clear evidence of Memlinc's authorship of this work. Its date and style are in accord with other works known to have been executed relatively early in the artist's Bruges residence. The portrait's monumentality may be partially attributable to Flémallesque influence, also seen in the male portrait of uncertain authorship from the Harkness collection, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The panel was perhaps painted in association with a devotional subject sharing the sculptural style and



heroic scale of the *Madonna and Child* in the collection of Lady Ludlow (*Friedländer*<sup>1</sup> 125, No. 48, Plate XXIX). After the sitter's death the portrait appears to have had a commemorative function, possibly in association with his grave at Saint-Donatian, Bruges (for examples of portraits used in a similar funerary way, see p. 20 and 29, in the present volume).

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1928<sup>1</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei, VI. Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 n.d.<sup>2</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Hans Memling*, Amsterdam, n.d.  
 1957<sup>3</sup>: *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings, September 28th, 1957*, Williamstown, Mass.  
 1960<sup>4</sup>: F. VAN MOLLE. *Identification d'un portrait de Gilles Joye attribué à Memlinc (Les Primitifs flamands, III. Contributions à l'étude des Primitifs flamands, 3)*, Brussels, 1960.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 72: GROUP MEMLINC (8)

LXXIII.	The Portrait of Gilles Joye	C 3780	1958
LXXIV.	The Head of the Sitter (1:1)	C 3787	1958
LXXV.	The Hands and Frame with Coat of Arms (1:1)	C 3786	1958
LXXVI.	The Hands (M 2 ×)	C 3788	1958
LXXVII.	The Face (M 2 ×)	C 5681	1958
LXXVIII.	The Reverse	C 3782	1958





*Ground:* Not observed. Some of the restorations at the extreme edge of the paint surface are in lead white.

*Support:* The original support of oak seems to have been planed down before entering the Museum in 1893; it is mahogany cradled. The panel is formed by what appear to be four vertical members, with indications of an additional, very narrow strip at the extreme left. Three vertical cracks mark the panel-joints, the first runs down the entire panel by the side of Luke's ear, the second is to the right of the vertical beam at the center of the composition, and the third goes through the interior corner of the right eye of Mary.

*Marks on the Back:* *Friedländer* stated erroneously that the seal of Antoine, Bâtard de Bourgogne, appears on the back of the panel (<sup>63</sup> 127), and later retracted the observation (<sup>97</sup> 88). A circular illegible customs stamp (?) measuring 4,2 cm. across is on the back of the panel. Reproduction of the back on Plate CXI.

*Frame:* Not original.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. Subject

Mary is shown as a richly dressed young woman. She is seated at the left on two cushions placed upon the step of a canopied throne. The Virgin nurses a smiling Infant, while posing for a half-kneeling man shown drawing her at the right. He holds a silverpoint with the right hand and a drawing block with the left. The scene takes place in a loggia-like room, opening out onto a small garden, enclosed by a crenellated wall. At the far edge of the garden a couple, seen from the back, look over a parapet at the river below. The banks are lined by town walls, enclosing scenes of urban life at the left, and larger houses at the right. A doorway at the extreme right opens onto a study, where an open book is shown on a desk under a window. An ox with a scroll below its head is placed just behind the draughtsman in the foreground, below the desk in the study. The following flowers may be identified in the garden - wild strawberries, above them a bugle near a silverweed, then some ribworts, meadow buttercups, a moon daisy and a sweet violet at the left (verbal communication from Mr. A. Lawalrée, director of laboratory at the *Jardin Botanique de l'Etat*, Brussels).

The painting represents the apocryphal subject of S. Luke making an image of the Virgin. The scene takes place in an "ideal throne room" (*Panofsky* <sup>115</sup> 254). This composition has been catalogued by *Klein* (<sup>83</sup> 39) in her study of the subject, as the earliest known representation of "Der distanzierende Typus" - based on the "patron-donor" relationship of the figures in the *Rolin Madonna* of Jan van Eyck, although separated by a greater distance.

The Virgin is shown as the *Maria lactans*, nursing the nude Infant before a canopied throne. This throne alludes to both Mary's role as future Queen of Heaven, and to that of Mary and her Son as the New Eve and the New Adam - their diminutive figures being carved in a representation of the Fall on the armrest at the extreme left (Plate CIII). The nursing has been related by *Wauters* (<sup>53</sup> 232) to the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* from the antiphon of the Virgin for the seasons of the Advent and Christmas. He cited the passage from *Isaiah*, XLIX, 23, "Kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and their queens thy nursing-mothers." Mary's ambiguous position, seated below and in front of the throne, has been associated by *Panofsky* (<sup>115</sup> 163) with the concept of the Madonna of Humility (*Luke*, I, 48-52), on the basis of *Meiss'* detection of this theme in the art of Campin (<sup>96</sup> 143). S. Luke can be identified by his activity as image-maker of Mary, according to the text of *Varagine* (<sup>92</sup> 168), and by his proximity

to his emblem, the ox (<sup>108</sup> 588). The open book in the study presumably alludes to his Gospel which was believed to have been brought to him by the Virgin. His silverpoint drawing of the head of Mary is clearly indicated on the drawing block (Plate XCI). *Meder* (<sup>59</sup> 84) and *Stout* (<sup>106</sup> 4) discuss Luke's graphic technique. The saint's attitude has been characterized as that of a genuflexion by *Panofsky*, who sees an annunciation theme as underlying the formal relationship of the figures of artist and model (<sup>115</sup> 254). *Klein* (<sup>83</sup> 39) considers Luke's cap and robe to be indicative of his role as physician, because Roger van der Weyden portrayed Cosmas and Damian wearing similar attire in the Städel *Medici Madonna*. The couple seen from the back in the *hortus conclusus* have been regarded as Joachim and Anna by *Schmarsow* (<sup>70</sup> 86) and *Panofsky* (<sup>115</sup> 253). Their costumes resemble those of Joachim and Anna in Roger's Turin *Visitation* (*Corpus* No. 19). A similarly placed figure of Joseph alone is shown in Colyn de Coter's *S. Luke painting the Virgin* at Vieure. A donor panel by the Master of the S. Ursula Legend in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, has Joseph near a crenellated wall, drawing water - his costume and the setting resemble those of the Boston picture (see Plate CXXVII). It has been suggested that the landscape represents Brussels and that the shop at the upper left was for the sale of artist's supplies (*Renders* <sup>75</sup> II, 38, Plate 9).

The question as to whether S. Luke is to be regarded as a self-portrait of the artist was first raised by *Hulin de Loo* (<sup>20</sup> 28), then rejected by *Waetzoldt* (<sup>32</sup> 397) and revived by *Voll* (<sup>38</sup> 79-80) and *Lafond* (<sup>51</sup> 105), the latter stating that this identification is an "ancienne tradition". *Ring* accepted the idea, believing the composition to represent the earliest known instance of an artist's self-portrait in the role of his guild patron saint (<sup>66</sup> 105). *Kaufmann* identified a figure in the Berne *Judgment* tapestry, woven after Roger's lost Brussels series, as a self-portrait, on the basis of a text by Nicolas of Cusa. He rejected Luke as a representation of the artist, believing it to be an early work, executed when he would have been younger in appearance (<sup>56</sup> 25). *Conway* considered the drawing in the *Recueil d'Arras* to be the most reliable depiction of Roger van der Weyden (<sup>61</sup> 132-33). *Destrée* reproduced the head from the Hermitage version of the painting as "Auto-portrait présumé d'après le Saint Luc" (<sup>74</sup> I, Frontispiece). In her study of the subject of *St. Lukas als Maler der Maria*, *Klein* accepted the Luke as an idealized self-portrait of the artist (<sup>83</sup> 39, Note 197). The Boston *Luke* is catalogued and illustrated in *Goldscheider's* survey of self-portraits as the oldest known representation of an artist in the guise of the guild saint (<sup>93</sup> 7).

*Fierens* agreed with this identification (<sup>114</sup> 67). *Panofsky* observed that "Roger's St. Luke bears perhaps a more than accidental resemblance to the 'Maistre Rogiel' represented in the Arras drawing", which he considers to be a dependable source for Roger's appearance (<sup>115</sup> 254). Following *Kaufmann's* view of the painting as a fairly early work, *Panofsky* does not believe the Luke to be a "self-portrait in the accepted sense of the term" (<sup>110</sup> 399). His study of the subject concludes with the view that Roger "may well have imagined a St. Luke whose features, partaking of the dignity of age and softened by the mildness of sainthood, yet bear the imprint of the 'facies illa Rogeri maximi pictoris.'" (<sup>119</sup> 399, see Notes 1/8 for exhaustive bibliography).

## 2. Colors

The painting has an over-all pastel tonality.

Mary wears an underdress of golden brocade, grey furred at the cuffs and jewel-trimmed, covered by a pale purple garment lined with grey fur, worn under a mantle of deep blue with borders embroidered in gold. She has a white cloth around her neck. His white shirt is under the nude Infant. Her hair is a



fair, reddish brown, that of the Child is very blond. She is seated under a canopy of a soft coral-red color, bordered and backed in olive green. The throne is of a light, honey-colored wood. Luke wears a pale orange-red robe with traces of green, trimmed with grey fur. A grey-brown *couvre-chef* hangs over his right shoulder. He wears a moleskin-colored cap.

Both Mary and Luke are seated or kneel on olive green cushions, placed on a slate-blue, purple and white inlaid stone floor. The wooden ceiling is tobacco color, as is the ox at the right. The masonry wall is a soft, pale grey and the richly carved columns are of a dark, blue-grey stone. Most of the buildings in the landscape are of a pale pink brick. The female figure in the garden has a white headdress, a light blue mantle with a grey lining over an orange-red dress. Her companion wears a black hat, a lavender coat with an orange-red stripe of a scarf down his back. The color of the water changes suddenly toward the horizon from a cool, pale aqua to a deeper, darker blue. The sky is a much paler blue with many little white clouds. A very poor color-plate of the painting is reproduced in *Genaille* (<sup>117</sup> 39). An excellent color-plate of the landscape section of the Munich version is provided by *Christoffel* (<sup>101</sup> 229). The extremely dense, fine, over-all crackle pattern lends the color a certain atmospheric depth which is intensified by the reflecting quality of the varnish. Both qualities appear somewhat alien to the original coloristic intent of the artist.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

At the extreme right, in the uppermost section of the window above Luke's study (Plate XCVII), half-observed by the masonry doorway through which it is seen, is a coat of arms of an inescutcheon azure with argent bordure. This may relate to the conventional arms of most Northern guilds of S. Luke,

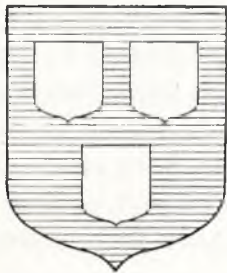


Fig. 1

showing blasons argent, two and one, on azure (see Fig. 1). The arms of the guild of S. Luke appear in an identical location in Blondeel's depiction of the same subject, painted for the guild chapel in Bruges, illustrated in *Bautier* (<sup>49</sup> Plate facing page 22). For comparable guild heraldry, see *de Vigne* (<sup>1</sup> Plates 2, 24, 28). The arms also correspond to those of the Wavrin de la Cessoye (as communicated by *L. Fourez*, Tournai), a prominent family in the North of France, Flanders and the Tournaisis, related to Roger's patrons - the Bracques. The same arms appear in the Munich and Wilczek versions; they are not shown in the Hermitage painting, as the section in which they would have been painted has been cut away.

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

### 1. Origin

#### a. Factual Evidence

Although no conclusive documentary evidence survives, the Boston painting, together with similar works in Munich, the Hermitage, and the Wilczek Collection, have been regarded as the originals or replicas of a painting executed by Roger van der Weyden for the chapel of the painters guild in Brussels, which, according to *A. Henne* and *A. Wauters*, was located in the church of S. Géry (*Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1845, III, p. 176). Paintings relating to the theme of S. Luke with an image of the Virgin are known to have been executed for guild chapels in Florence (*Klein* <sup>83</sup> 26) and Valencia in the fourteenth century (*Saralegui* <sup>118</sup> Plate 3). The coat of arms at the upper left (see section D. 3, above) may also be considered to support the guild theory.

Two early sixteenth century tapestries, based freely on the composition of *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*, include a Brussels cityscape in the distance, suggesting a specific association of the city with the painting (see section F, p. 82 and 84). *Renders* went so far as to suggest that the landscape in the painting represents Brussels, and that the small shop at the upper left (<sup>75</sup> II, Plate 9) depicts an artists' supply store. The same shop appears in the backgrounds of Flémalle's *Virgin and Child before a Fire Screen* (London, *Corpus* No. 36), in his *Annunciation* triptych at The Cloisters, New York, and in Roger's *Bladelin Altar* (Berlin Museum, No. 535).

The problem of the original function of the *Saint Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin* has been the subject of considerable critical concern.

In 1866, *Michiels* was the first to state that the composition related to a work painted by Roger for the guild in Brussels (<sup>9</sup> 362). *Michiels* gave no reason for his suggestion, other than his relatively late dating of the original at ca. 1450, when Roger was known to have been established as official painter to the city of Brussels. The *Boisserée* noted in the Munich Inventory of their paintings that the *Luke* was "chemals das Altarwerk in einer der Malerzunft gehörenden Kapelle zu Brüssel" (*Firmenich-Richartz* <sup>57</sup> 456, No. 40). In 1879, *Schnaase-Eisenmann*, studying Dürer's diaries, concluded that a reference to a "Sanct Lukas Tafel" opened for the artist's examination in Brussels for two *stuivers* on August 27, 1520, must relate to the version of *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* in Munich (<sup>14</sup> 186). Dürer's text, published by *K. Lange* and *F. Fuhse* (<sup>20</sup> 124), is as follows: "Mehr 2 Stüber geben von Sanct Lucas Tafel aufzusperren". *Woltmann* and *Woermann* (<sup>15</sup> 38), *Hasse* (<sup>23</sup> 22), *von Tschudi* (<sup>24</sup> 290), *Waetzoldt* (<sup>32</sup> 397) and *Hulin de Loo* (<sup>99</sup> 28), all agreed that the Dürer reference was to one of the surviving versions of the *Luke* composition.

*Conway*, following *Lange-Fuhse* (<sup>20</sup> 124, note 2), *Heidrich* (<sup>45</sup> 338), and *Wurzbach* (<sup>47</sup> 872), wrote that the panel to which Dürer referred was "Doubtless a picture fabled to have been painted by St. Luke. Many such pictures were to be seen in those days" (<sup>61</sup> 102, note 2). *Firmenich-Richartz* stated that the work seen by Dürer must have been a reliquary rather than a painting of the fifteenth century, as the habitually specific Dürer would otherwise have recorded the name of the artist (<sup>57</sup> 131). *Veth* and *Müller*, in their study of Dürer's Netherlandish tour, observed that "In den bekannten Beschreibungen der Kapelle der Brüssler Malergilde ist das Gemälde, das wahrscheinlich St. Lukas die heilige Jungfrau malend dargestellt hat, nicht aufzufinden." (<sup>58</sup> II, 95, Note 1). Writing in 1921, *Conway* first expressed belief that if any of the surviving examples of the *Luke* composition was the original guild painting it would have to be the painting in Boston (<sup>61</sup> 132). *Destrée*, while asserting that Roger executed a representation of *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* for the Brussels guild, listed such a picture among the artist's lost works (<sup>74</sup> 203). *Klein* regarded the Boston painting as the one seen by Dürer (<sup>83</sup> 39). After seeing the newly-cleaned Boston panel in 1933, *Friedländer* (<sup>81</sup> 57) and *Hendy* (<sup>82</sup> 74-75) noted that it might well have been painted for the Brussels guild. The catalogue of the Brussels International Exhibition in 1935 (<sup>88</sup> 6), *Hulin de Loo* (<sup>99</sup> Col. 234-35), and *Fierens* (<sup>114</sup> 68) agreed with *Friedländer's* views. Like *Firmenich-Richartz*, *Panofsky* does not believe the work mentioned by Dürer to have been a painting by Roger (<sup>115</sup> 253). He considers the Boston *Luke* to be the best surviving replica of a lost work of this subject painted by Roger for the Brussels guild.

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

A chronological survey of opinions concerning the attribution and date of the Boston painting cannot exclude critical views of the three other related paintings in Munich, the Hermitage, and the Wilczek



Collection, as many scholars have expressed their evaluation of the work in terms of the other three. The painting in Munich was the first known, purchased by *Melchior Boisserée* from the dealer *Thys* in Brussels in 1814 (*Firmenich-Richartz* <sup>57</sup> I, 456). It was acquired by the King of Bavaria, and later presented to the *Pinakothek*, as a major work of Jan van Eyck, due to its resemblance to the *Rolin Madonna*. In 1841 *Sulpiz Boisserée* re-attributed the work to "Roger van Brügge", followed by *Förster* in 1853, who considered it an early work (<sup>3</sup> 94). *Passavant* was the first to mention the Boston painting in 1853, when seen in the National Museum of the former cloister *Santa Trinidad* in Madrid. He listed it as one of several copies after the Munich picture (<sup>2</sup> 134) stating that the Madrid (Boston) panel was in very bad condition. In 1855 *Wauters* followed *Passavant's* view that the Munich painting was an important early work of Roger, and that the Madrid (Boston) panel was a copy (<sup>4</sup> 94), as did *Crowe* and *Cavalcaselle* in 1857 (<sup>5</sup> 185). Studying the Munich painting more closely, *Passavant* noted in 1858 that it was in bad condition and had been heavily overpainted (<sup>6</sup> 13). He was the first to mention the painting that is probably identical with the one now in the Wilczek Collection, describing it as a very beautiful and well preserved old copy, formerly owned by Professor Hauber of Munich, who had attributed it to Friedrich Herlin. *Passavant* again recorded the Madrid (Boston) painting in 1858 as being a copy, also mentioning two other copies from the collection of King William II of Holland (<sup>11</sup> 13). See section F, *Comparative Material*, p. 82.

In 1860 *Waagen*, in attempting to create a Roger chronology, associated the Munich *Luke* with the *Columba Altar* and the *Mauritshuis Lamentation* (<sup>7</sup> 89). Two years later he placed it stylistically with the *Bladelin Altar* and the *Medici Madonna* (<sup>8</sup> 108). In 1866 *Michiels* dated the Munich example after Roger's Italian journey of 1450, detecting Italian influence in the representation of the Infant. Questioning the originality of the Munich panel, he also listed a copy owned by the sculptor Hans Gasser of Vienna, probably the work formerly owned by Hauber of Munich and now in the Wilczek Collection. The Madrid (Boston) panel was listed as a copy (<sup>9</sup> 361-2), as was the painting in the Hermitage from the collection of King William II of Holland. *Hotho* in 1867 dated the Munich panel as stemming from Roger's middle period, listing the Madrid (Boston), Hermitage, and another version then in Munich (presumably the Wilczek example) as copies (<sup>10</sup> 185). *Waagen's* Hermitage catalogue of 1870 listed the *Luke* as a contemporary copy by Memlinc of the painting by Roger in Munich (<sup>12</sup> 117). Citing the Gasser (Wilczek?) panel as another copy, *Waagen* assumed that the original must have been popular in the fifteenth century.

The Boston (Madrid) painting was first recorded as an original work of Roger van der Weyden in a catalogue of the paintings returned to the Infante Don Sebastian de Bourbon from the National Museum of Santa Trinidad, exhibited by his heirs at Pau in 1876 (<sup>13</sup> 72, No. 641). The Munich panel, which has frequently been described as an original work, was considered an "Exemplar" by *Justi* in 1886 (<sup>16</sup> 98). He listed the Madrid (Boston) panel as a copy, and the painting in the Hermitage as the one most probably referred to in a sixteenth century inventory of Maria of Castille mentioning a panel of the same subject provided with two wings with greek and latin inscriptions (see section I, *Transcription of Documents and Literary Sources*). In 1889, when the panel from Madrid and Pau was auctioned in New York (<sup>19</sup> 16, No. 67; see section E. 2 a, p. 80) and again in 1893, when it entered the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the painting was recorded as a work by Roger van der Weyden (<sup>21</sup> 6, 44).

The Boston painting was first considered a replica by *Bolton* in 1895, who described it as a "good replica" (<sup>26</sup> 84) of the Munich panel. Following *Justi's* critical views, *Hulin de Loo* in 1902 considered the Munich panel definitely a copy, the Wilczek example as "Original ou ancienne copie", and the

Hermitage work as the probable original (<sup>29</sup> 28, No. 116). He did not know of the Boston panel. He considered the original to be an early work, (<sup>29</sup> 29) because of Roger's dependence on the art of Jan van Eyck. In 1903 *Friedländer* referred to the Munich painting as the original (<sup>33</sup> 9). He considered the Boston painting to be a far better replica than the work in the Wilczek Collection (<sup>34</sup> 70).

Discussing the chronology of Roger's works in 1903, *Schmarsow* placed the composition definitely after 1450, without qualifying which, if any, version he considered the best (<sup>35</sup> 29). The first critic to endorse the originality of the Boston *Luke* was *Rankin*, who, writing in 1905, stated that the panel was by Roger van der Weyden, and far superior to the Munich and Hermitage paintings. He had seen all three and attributed the Hermitage picture to Memlinc (<sup>36</sup> 24-25). *Hasse*, while not differentiating between the four examples, illustrated the Munich panel in 1905, dating the composition ca. 1455 (<sup>37</sup> 52), attributing it to "Roger von Brügge". *Voll* in 1906 also argued for a late date, in view of the eclectic nature of the painting. He did not believe any of the surviving paintings to be the original (<sup>39</sup> 311-312). The same year *Friedländer* declared all surviving *Luke* compositions to be "Wiederholungen" of a lost work by Roger (<sup>41</sup> 144), in a study demonstrating the great influence of the original painting on Netherlandish art of the later fifteenth century. Three years later he still considered the Munich panel the best of the surviving works, despite what he described as its damaged surface (<sup>46</sup> 551). *Reinach* reproduced a line drawing of the Boston panel in 1907, considering it a replica of the Munich painting, which he did not accept as a work by Roger because of the Eyckian derivation of the background. Among other replicas or old copies he listed the Gasser (Wilczek ?) panel, the Hermitage *Luke* (wrongly described as still being separated from the left half of the work; see section F, *Comparative Material*, p. 82, for the history of this example), and the painting in Madrid, not realizing that this was the Boston example (<sup>42</sup> II, 628). In 1910 *Wurzbach* still considered the Munich *Luke* as the original, listing all others as copies, and attributing the work to "Roger van der Weyden II, van Brügge" (<sup>48</sup> 857).

The first European critics to accept the Boston panel as an original work of art were *Fry* and *Brockwell*, who wrote in 1911 that the Munich *Luke* was copied after the painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Fry* no doubt saw the work during his residence in the United States. Suggesting that the *S. Luke Drawing the Virgin* in the collection of Lord Penrhyn might be by Aelbert Bouts, they attributed its supposed source - the Boston *Luke* - to his father, Dieric Bouts (<sup>50</sup> 87). This Bouts attribution was mentioned by *Borenius* in 1927 (<sup>66</sup> 31-32, No. 68). *Bernath*, a German art critic who saw the Boston painting in 1912, described it as superior to the Munich and Hermitage examples (<sup>52</sup> 54). The same year *Lafond* (<sup>51</sup> 82-84) followed by *Winkler* in 1913 (<sup>54</sup> 111), doubted the originality of any of the four surviving works. *Ring* in 1913 described the four examples as copies of equal value, after a lost work by Roger van der Weyden (<sup>55</sup> 105), as did the *Fogg Art Museum Painting Catalogue* of 1919, which attributed the Boston *Luke* to Gerard David (<sup>60</sup> 301). *Meder* only considered the Munich example in 1919 when he suggested a date of ca. 1450 for the composition (<sup>59</sup> 84). *Conway* was the first European critic to tentatively accept the attribution of the Boston panel to Roger van der Weyden himself. Calling the composition one of the artist's earliest independent works, he noted in 1921 that "If any surviving example is the original, it must be that in the Boston Museum" (<sup>61</sup> 132).

*Burger*, claiming in 1923 that Roger could only have seen the *Rolin Madonna* (considered as chief source of the *Luke* composition) when he was painting the *Beaune Altar*, concluded that the *Luke* had to be contemporary with the *Beaune Altar*. He regarded the Wilczek panel as inferior to those in the Hermitage, Boston and Munich, which he described as almost identical exemplars (<sup>62</sup> 35). In 1924, listing the Boston panel as Version C in his catalogue of works after Roger van der Weyden, *Friedländer*



has little confidence in the autograph quality of any of the surviving *Luke* paintings, whose composition he placed at ca. 1440. He dated the genesis of the work at this time due to its relation to the art of Jan van Eyck (<sup>63</sup> 31). *Fierens-Gevaert* in 1928 (<sup>69</sup> 41) and *Dülberg* in 1929 (<sup>71</sup> 50-51) concurred with *Friedländer's* views. *Schmarsow* wrote in 1928 that the hypothetical lost original should be dated ca. 1450, as he thought Roger's Italian journey influenced the depiction of the Infant (<sup>70</sup> 83).

Disagreeing with *Burger's* low opinion of the Wilczek panel, *Glück*, upon its exhibition in 1930 stated that the picture was in no way a copy, and that if it was not by Roger himself, it was very close to the master, dating from before the last third of the fifteenth century (<sup>72</sup> 77). The same year *Baldass*, while noting that a recent cleaning by Isepp has caused the Wilczek panel to emerge as far superior to the Munich example, still regarded it as a studio copy, based upon a lost work by Roger, which must have been painted in his middle period (<sup>73</sup> 130). *Destrée* mentioned the Boston *Luke* in his Roger monograph of 1930, without comment, stating that he considered the Hermitage example superior to the one in Munich, and possibly the original work, dating it ca. 1436 (<sup>74</sup> 113-115). *Hendy* stated firmly that the Boston panel was the original painting by Roger van der Weyden, when he saw the work in 1931 (<sup>76</sup> 42), shortly before sending it to Berlin for restoration.

Commenting on changes in the position of Mary's head, seen in X-rays, *Burroughs* concluded in 1932 that "this can only be taken to mean that this is the original of the group of similar subjects. No copyist would have an excuse to tilt the head to the right and then change it to a more erect position". He deduced that the work was executed by Dieric Bouts under the influence of Roger van der Weyden, basing this view on a similarity of technique observed in an X-ray comparison between the Boston panel and a *Moses before the Burning Bush* attributed to Bouts in the Johnson Collection (<sup>77</sup> 285-88) (*Schöne* <sup>100</sup> 119, No. 65, re-attributed the *Moses* to Dieric Bouts the Younger). His observations of changes in composition discernible in X-rays of the painting caused *Burroughs* to decide that the Boston *Luke* must be the original of the group of similar subjects (<sup>77</sup> 285-88). See section C, *Changes in Composition*, p. 71.

Following the cleaning and restoration of the Boston painting by Ruhemann, it was placed on exhibition in the *Kaiser Friedrich Museum* in 1932. As this time *Hendy* remarked that the restoration confirmed his statement of 1931. He noted that the newly-revealed tonality indicated that "the airy colours of the acknowledged Van der Weyden may be said to have emerged entirely from the heavy plasticity of the supposed 'Maître de Flémalle' and it cannot therefore have been painted much after 1440" (<sup>79</sup>). His views were shared by *Friedländer* who wrote that "...all experts will, I am convinced, agree with the theory that the panel in Boston is the original from Roger's hand." (<sup>81</sup> 57).

*Hulin de Loo* is quoted as having said in Berlin at this time that he also considered the Boston *Luke* an autograph Roger (*Hendy* <sup>79</sup> 53) and wrote to this effect in 1938 (<sup>89</sup> Cols. 234-5). *Scheewe* (<sup>86</sup> 212) and *Weidler* (<sup>85</sup> 44-45) in 1934, and *Niederstein* in 1933, affirmed the originality of the Boston panel. The latter proposed a chronology in which a "drawing-centered period" of the early 1440's was succeeded by a more atmospheric, painterly period, with the *S. Luke drawing the Virgin* and the *Johannes Altar* at the end of the 1440's and the *Columba Altar* at the end, ca. 1460 (<sup>78</sup> 366). On seeing the Boston painting in Berlin, *Renders* wrote in 1933 that it should be regarded as the masterpiece of Roger's second manner, dating it ca. 1440 (<sup>84</sup> 74). *Klein* accepted the Boston *Luke* as the original by Roger, placing it shortly after 1432 - her date for the *Rolin Madonna* - and before 1440, where she detected a major stylistic shift. Despite giving the painting a relatively early date, she pointed out many similarities between it and the *Columba Altar*, which she followed *Friedländer* in dating ca.

1462 (<sup>8</sup> 38,43). In 1935, disagreeing with the general approval given the Boston *Luke* since its cleaning in 1933 *Puyvelde* called the panel a disappointment, stating that the colors lacked the transparency that was so characteristic of the master. He found the landscape inferior and concluded that the "Boston picture casts no kind of suspicion on those of Munich and Madrid which are replicas in better condition by the master's own hand" (<sup>90</sup> 83). The Madrid painting, cited by *Puyvelde* as being a replica by Roger, is identical with the Boston *Luke*, which he does not consider an authentic picture. His views are echoed by *Devigne*, who viewed the painting as "une grosse déception", finding it merely a superior copy (<sup>1</sup> 269). Writing in the same year, *Tietze* described the work as the original painting by Roger and dated it ca. 1450 (<sup>89</sup> Plate 125).

In 1936, *Robb* suggested that Roger executed the *Luke* at a date between the completion of the artist's apprenticeship and his Brussels appointment. He proposed a date of ca. 1430 for the *Rolin Madonna*, stating that the *Luke* would therefore have to have been painted before 1435 because of its obvious relationship with the work by Jan van Eyck. *Robb* found that the Boston painting was executed at a date close to that of the Louvre *Annunciation*, which he placed at 1432-35 (<sup>95</sup> 511). Four years after stating that the Boston panel "is an original from Roger's hand" (<sup>81</sup> 57), *Friedländer* observed in 1937 that "Das Exemplar im Museum zu Boston neuerdings gereinigt, wird als das Original betrachtet, ist wenigstens dem in München überlegen" (<sup>97</sup> 88).

In 1938 *Burroughs* revised his earlier attribution to Dieric Bouts, now suggesting that the Boston *Luke* was by the Master of S. Hubert but that should it actually prove to have been by Roger, it would belong stylistically with the late portraits at a time when his eclecticism was as strong as it had been in his early period (<sup>98</sup> 265, 268). In 1939 *Christoffel* dated the composition between 1430-40, favoring the Munich painting (<sup>101</sup> 229). Agreeing with this early date, *Beenken* in 1940 saw the Boston *Luke* as the major work of Roger's first Eyckian period, relating it to the Paris *Annunciation* and the *Granada Altar* (<sup>104</sup> 131). *Held* wrote the same year that the Boston *Luke* was a beautiful and long misjudged work (<sup>103</sup> 43), supporting the view of the painting as an original panel by Roger. In 1941 *Vogelsang* dated the composition at about 1440, perhaps somewhat earlier, stating that of all the examples, the Boston panel was most likely the original (<sup>105</sup> 112). The next year *Winkler* considered the Boston *Luke* to be a relatively early work by Roger, because of its dependence on the *Rolin Madonna*, calling it the best of all surviving examples (<sup>107</sup> 472). Reverting to the views of early nineteenth century critics, *Timmers* in 1947 thought the Munich panel to be by Jan van Eyck, the Hermitage work a Memling, and the Boston painting by Roger (<sup>108</sup> 959). *Musper*, although reproducing a detail of the Boston *Luke*, which he labeled as being the Munich version, stated in 1948 that the Boston panel was a copy of the one in Munich, dating the latter before 1436 (<sup>109</sup> 58, fig. 59). Reversing his earlier negative view, *Puyvelde* reproduced the Boston painting in 1949 as "Rogier van der Weyden, S. Luke Making the Portrait of the Holy Virgin" (<sup>110</sup> opp. p. 10). In 1951 *Beenken* accepted the Boston painting as an original work by Roger, executed during, or shortly after 1435, his date for the *Rolin Madonna* (<sup>112</sup> 131). In 1953 *Pimofsky* found the Boston panel the best of several replicas, painted ca. 1434-35, possibly in Bruges, immediately after the completion of the Vienna and Thyssen *Madonnas*. He grouped the painting together with the Louvre *Annunciation* and a hypothetical lost *Madonna on a Porch* known from a drawing formerly in the Dresden *Kupferstichkabinett* (<sup>115</sup> 251-252). *Puyvelde* still considered the Munich panel superior to the Boston one, but observed that "although of unequal merit, both pictures are by the same master" (<sup>116</sup> 153). *Held*, accepting the Boston *Luke* in 1955 as the original work by Roger van der Weyden, considered it to have been painted in the first years of the decade after 1440.



He pointed out that the *Rolin Madonna* may well have been painted considerably later than the dates usually ascribed to it. While recognizing the influence of Jan van Eyck's painting on Roger, *Held* stated that the Eyckian appearance of the Boston *Luke* was due in considerable part to changes in the condition of the painting after completion (<sup>120</sup> 226). See section E. 2 b, *Records of Condition and Treatment*, p. 81. The Boston painting was considered the original work of Roger by *Massey* in 1955, who dated it probably before 1440 (<sup>121</sup> 29-30). *Panofsky* wrote the same year that the *S. Luke Drawing the Virgin* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was the best of several replicas of a lost work by Roger van der Weyden dating from the middle 1430's (<sup>119</sup> 398-400). In 1957 *Lassaigne* regarded both the Boston and Munich paintings as excellent replicas of a lost original painted by Roger for the Brussels painters guild (<sup>123</sup> 84). According to *Faison*, writing in 1958 (<sup>125</sup> 90), the Boston panel is an original work by van der Weyden, of which several old copies are known. He dates it ca. 1435, characterizing the painting as an early work. In the same year the Hermitage catalogue, while listing its own example of the composition as the original work by Roger van der Weyden, dating it ca. 1435-1440, also referred to examples in Boston, Munich, the Wilczek painting and the work owned by the Infante Don Sebastian (<sup>126</sup> 13, No. 419), the latter being identical with the Boston panel.

The Munich and Boston panels were on exhibition side by side at Bruges in 1960 (see section E. 2 a, *Subsequent History*, p. 81) when *Jean Decoen* found the Munich panel superior (<sup>131</sup>). *Winkler* believes the two panels to be copies of the lost original (<sup>132</sup> 312) while the respective qualities of both panels are pointed out by *Jacques Lassaigne* (<sup>130</sup> 25) and *G. Gyselen* (<sup>128</sup> 270). *André Chastel* found the Boston panel less well preserved but of finer execution than the Munich panel, concluding that it was very probably the original (<sup>129</sup>).

## 2. Subsequent History

### a. Records of Ownership

- 1853 Recorded by *Passavant* as being among the pictures confiscated from the collection of the Infante Don Sebastian Gabriel Borbón y Braganza (1811-75), artist and scholar (<sup>2</sup> 134). The painting is said to have come from Toledo, and entered the National Museum in Madrid, the former cloister Santa Trinidad, after 1834, the founding date of the Museum. According to *Gaya-Nuño* (*El Museo Nacional de la Trinidad, Bolletín de la sociedad española de excursiones*, LV, I y II trimestres, 1947, 20-21), the Infante's collection was completed by 1833, after which date it was confiscated by Queen Isabella II from the Carlist Infante.
- 1859 Probable date of return of painting to Don Sebastian, as he recognized Queen Isabella in this year according to *A.A. Teixeira de Vasconcellos* (*Les contemporains portugais, espagnols et brésiliens*. Vol. I, Paris, 1859, p. 16).
- 1868 The painting was probably returned to the Infante before this date, as it is not included in a list of important Netherlandish works in the *Museo Nacional* seen by *Waagen* in 1868 (<sup>11</sup> 32-55).
- 1876 Listed in the *Catalogue abrégé des tableaux exposés dans les salons de l'ancien asile de Pau appartenant aux héritiers de feu Mgr. l'Infant don Sébastien de Bourbon et Bragançe*, Pau, September 1876 (<sup>13</sup> 72, No. 641).
- 1886 Recorded as being at Pau by *Justi* (<sup>16</sup> 98).
- 1889 Listed in the *Catalogue of oil paintings, drawings and original sketches by the old masters belonging to his Highness, Don Pedro de Borbón, Duque de Dúrcal. The paintings to be sold by auction, without reserve at Chickering Hall on Friday and Saturday evenings, April 5th and 6th at 8 o'clock. American Art Sales Association, New York, 1889* (<sup>19</sup> 16, No. 67). A copy of the catalogue at the New York Public

Library, owned by Charles B. Curtis, notes that the painting was "Sold to H.L. Higginson. Boston. Private Sale."

- 1893 Included in *Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1893, p. 6. "From Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Higginson, a painting by Rogier van der Weyden, purchased at the Duc de Dürcal sale." Among a list of contributions it is noted: "From Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Higginson. An oil painting by Roger van der Weyden, 'St. Luke drawing the portrait of the Madonna'. From the collection of the Duc de Dürcal." (21 44).
- 1909 Shown at a loan exhibition of Flemish Art held at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass., May 13th - August 20th.
- 1933 Exhibited after restoration in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.
- 1935 Exhibited at *Cinq siècles d'Art. Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles, 1935* (88 6, No. 7).
- 1960 Exhibited at *Le Siècle des primitifs flamands*, Bruges, June 26th - September 11th (127 60, No. 13).
- 1960 Exhibited at *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch*. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960 (133 76-80, No. 7).

b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1853 Described by *Passavant*, while in the *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad*, as having "sehr gelitten" (2 134).
- Before 1893 The panel was planed down to a thickness of 8 mm. and mahogany cradled. It was impregnated with wax or paraffin from the back. At least one of these treatments must have taken place between 1853 and before 1893, when it entered the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 1912 Described by *Bernath* as being superior to the examples in Munich and the Hermitage as it had never undergone any restoration (52 54).
- 1932-33 Cleaned and restored by *Ruhemann* in Berlin. Detailed description of technical procedure provided in his *A Record of Restoration* (87 3-15). Finding two layers of differently discolored films of old varnish varying in hardness, *Ruhemann* concluded that the Boston panel had undergone at least two intensive periods of conservation, probably both in the nineteenth century. He also found far earlier repairs of old damages, some of which he left intact, most noticeably in the robe of S. Luke and in the sky and sea at the center. The rocky section of the landscape as it appears at present is probably another area that was damaged and restored, perhaps as early as the sixteenth century. *Ruhemann* removed most of the more recent restorations, while leaving as much of the old mastic as possible. See Plate CX for the appearance of the panel at this date. He then reconstructed the lost crapery at the lower left, and replaced all the other exposed losses with pigments close to the originals, in egg tempera, glazed with one to three layers of wax resin, covered with simulated crackle wherever the restorations appeared too discordant. The solvents needed to remove the very tough layers of discolored varnish tended to thin some of the brown areas, which have become somewhat blurred and transparent. The removal of these hard layers of discolored yellow-grey and brown films revealed a fresh silvery tonality. *Ruhemann* detected considerable use of brown and green in the underpainting, especially in the areas of Luke's cap and Mary's gown, where the violet blues on the uppermost layer had been rubbed off.
- 1943 Almost all of the inpainting was removed and replaced by *Lowe* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Taking off much of the old repaired surface of Luke's robe, *Lowe* found that the repainted surfaces extended considerably beyond the damages, covering areas in the painting of the robe that were quite well preserved. See Plate CX.
- 1948 Blisters in the paint surface of the sky were secured with wax.



## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

1. *The composition in its entirety*

Three paintings, approximating the style and the complete composition of the *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*, are known. According to *Niederstein* these three pictures (Entries a, b and c below) are based upon the pentimenti of a preliminary state, rather than the completed form, of Luke's hat as it was finally executed in the Boston panel, so they must all have been executed at a date considerably after the completion of the original Boston composition to permit the emergence of pentimenti (<sup>78</sup> 361). *Friedländer's* entries (<sup>63</sup> 127, Nos. 106 c, e, f) all refer to the painting now in Boston, in his list of works relating to the *Luke*. For a photographic comparison of the *Virgin and Child* and *S. Luke* representations in the four principal versions, see the *Illustrated London News* (<sup>80</sup> 469).

(a) Munich, *Pinakothek*, No. 100 (*Friedländer* <sup>63</sup> No. 106 a). Ex Coll. Boisserée, 138 x 111 cm. Attributed to Jan van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden, and Memlinc. Stylistically, the painting has the flat, somewhat dry quality of the School of Brussels toward the end of the fifteenth century. The townscape at the upper left and the silverpoint drawing held by Luke are most noticeably inferior to parallel passages in the Boston painting. It is quite an accurate, if insensitive, copy, in which the composition has been very slightly "Gothicized", giving it a more perpendicular feeling than the Boston panel.

(b) Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 445 (*Friedländer* <sup>63</sup> No. 106 b). The painting is supposed to have come from a Spanish cloister, which was destroyed in 1813. Cut in half, the right section came to the collection of King William II of Holland, and was listed as Catalogue No. 14 in the *Nieuwenhuys* sales list of that collection (*Description de la galerie des tableaux de S.M. le Roi des Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1853, p. 36) where it was attributed to Memlinc. Acquired in 1853 from the sale for the Hermitage.

The left section entered the collection of Queen Isabella, and then went to the Baron de Beurnonville, whose paintings were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1883, May 21-22, Catalogue No. 56, where it was purchased for the Hermitage. Both sections were transferred to canvas, probably at the time of reunion. Severely cut down at the top, heavily restored at the bottom, with the loss of a narrow strip down the center of the composition, the painting is in irreparably damaged condition. It was attributed to Memlinc by *Waagen* (<sup>12</sup> 117). Although somewhat softer than the Munich copy, it belongs to substantially the same style and date.

(c) Count Wilczek Collection at Burg Kreuzenstein (formerly? *Friedländer* <sup>63</sup> No. 106 d). Presumably ex Coll. Hauber, Gasser. Formerly attributed to Friedrich Herlin. Panel measures 135 x 109 cm. Very close to the Munich example but apparently better preserved. After its cleaning by Isepp in 1929, *Glück* stated that it was not a copy, but was executed by Roger or his studio in the last third of the fifteenth century (<sup>72</sup> 77). *Baldass* considered both the Munich and Wilczek paintings to be studio copies, but found the latter superior (<sup>73</sup> 130). This panel was erroneously recorded as being in Berlin by *de la Grange* and *Cloquet* (<sup>18</sup> 112).

(d) Brussels tapestry, *Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art* (Legs Leroux; *Friedländer* <sup>63</sup> 106 g). Freely adapted from the *Luke* composition, which it reverses. The spire of the Brussels *Hôtel de Ville* is seen in the background. According to *H. Göbel* (*Die Wandteppiche*, Leipzig, 1923, II, p. 3, 404, Plate 367) the tapestry dates from the first third of the sixteenth century.

(e) London, collection of Lady Janet Douglas-Pennant (formerly collection of Lord Penrhyn). Painting measures 109 x 86 cm (43 x 34 ins). Purchased by Edward, Lord Penrhyn, in 1850 from Scoltock, who had acquired it on the continent. A free adaptation of the *Luke* composition by a follower of Dieric Bouts. Attributed to Aelbrecht Bouts in the Burlington House *Flemish Exhibition Catalogue*,

1927 (No. 68). Considered a work by the Master of S. John at Patmos in Rotterdam by *Schöne* (<sup>100</sup> 208-209, No. 133, Plate 89 a).

The possibility, first put forward by *Ring* (<sup>55</sup> 105, Note 1), and more firmly re-stated by *Klein* (<sup>83</sup> 40) and *Panofsky* (<sup>115</sup> 175) that the *S. Luke Painting the Virgin* by Colyn de Coter, now at Vicure, was based upon a lost work by the Master of Flémalle seems a most reasonable suggestion. Therefore, the panel by de Coter, and several similar works such as the engraving by Israhel van Meckenem (*Bartsch* 107) and the panel by the Master of the Holy Blood (Fogg Art Museum <sup>60</sup> 300-301, No. 61) should not be considered as having been derived directly from the Roger composition, but rather from its lost source. See section G, *Author's Comments*, p. 85. The scheme of composition has been used by the Master of S. Gudule for his *Mary and Jesus with a female donor and the Magdalen*, in the *Musée diocésain* at Liège, reproduced in *Friedländer* (<sup>64</sup> No. 73, Plate LVII).

## 2. *The Virgin and Child*

Innumerable paintings of the Virgin and Child were adapted from Roger's *Luke* composition or from a similar lost work by the same artist, toward the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For a discussion of some of these, see *Friedländer's* article of 1906 (<sup>41</sup> 143-148), also his Catalogue of Roger's works in 1924 (<sup>63</sup> Nos. 107-110); see also *Richardson* (<sup>102</sup> 41-42), and this Volume, *Corpus* Nos. 64 and 76, p. 13 and 101. The two examples considered below seem those closest to the studio production of Roger.

(a) *Virgin and Child*, ex Collection of Lord Radcliffe, London (sold, Christie's, June, 1959). The painting measures 85,6 × 71,3 cm. It came from Spain to the Spanish Art Gallery, London, ca. 1912. Owned by Sir Francis Beaufort Palmer, sold at Christie's, April 11, 1919. Sold by Dr. Jacob Hirsch to CS. Gulbenkian who presented the painting to Lord Radcliffe. This appears to be among the finest of many related works directly adapted from the *Luke* composition and the only one known to reproduce the whole lower left section of the original work; the figure of Mary is shown in its entirety. Two whippets and a peacock are placed in the garden; Mary and Jesus have aureoles. Attributed by *Friedländer* to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (<sup>64</sup> 145-6, No. 89), it has recently, and more convincingly, been given to the School of Roger van der Weyden in the catalogue of *L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques*, Bruges, 1956, No. 6.

(b) *Virgin and Child*, formerly Collection Emile Renders, Bruges, now the property of the Belgian State, on loan at Tournai, Museum of Fine Arts, reproduced in *Panofsky* (<sup>115</sup> Plate 227, Fig. 368). From the studio of Roger van der Weyden, this panel, while there are slight changes in the headdress and attitude of the Virgin's head, seems taken directly from the *Luke* composition.

## 3. *S. Luke Alone*

(a) Madrid, *Museo Lázaro Galdiano*. According to *Friedländer* (<sup>63</sup> No. 106 h), a painting of this subject, seen at half length, based upon Roger's composition, is to be found in the Lázaro Collection, but does not appear in the catalogue of 1924.

(b) National Gallery of Ireland, Catalogue No. 4 (*Friedländer* <sup>63</sup> No. 106 i; A.C.L. Photo No. 164 106 B). The panel measures 49 × 38 cm. (19 1/4 × 15 ins). Luke is shown at half length, a shelf is at the upper right; possibly a fragment from a larger work. Formerly attributed to Memlinc and Sturhout. Purchased in 1866 at the Choiseul Sale, Paris, according to *Henry E. Doyle, Catalogue of Works in the National Gallery of Ireland*, Dublin, 1890, p. 54. Apparently an early sixteenth century copy, with possible physiognomical influence from the art of Hugo van der Goes.



(c) Descalzas Reales, Madrid (A.C.L. Photo No. 169.487 B). Similar to the above, it includes the ox, placed at the left. Very coarse in execution, possibly not painted in the Lowlands, definitely sixteenth century.

(d) English art market, 1938 (A.C.L. Photo No. 164.105 B). Also with ox to the left, with curved top, certainly sixteenth century.

(e) In addition to the S. Luke now forming the right half of the Hermitage painting, King William II of Holland owned another version of the same subject, which was purchased by Brondgeest at the first sale (1850, Lot 16, *Lugt* 19978) and repurchased by him when it again appeared in the second sale (1851, Lot 6, *Lugt* 20484), where it was described: "Vêtu d'une draperie rouge en forme de manteau, l'Évangéliste est occupé à écrire sur un carnet qu'il tient à la main." The size is given as 49 × 35 cm., which suggests the possibility of the panel's being identical with the one in Dublin, measuring 48 × 38 cm.

(f) Bukowski Sale, Stockholm, April 15, 1959. Bust of Saint Luke, attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend. This painting, based upon Roger's Luke, shows the Evangelist facing to the right. Reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, May 1959, p. 191.

Two Netherlandish drawings, showing Luke as a draughtsman, facing to the right, may have been freely adapted from Roger's composition. The first, probably of late fifteenth century date, was formerly in the Koenigs Collection and is now in the Boymans Museum. It is reproduced in *Old Master Drawings*, V, No. 19 (Dec. 1930) on Plate 34, with a note by *Adler* on page 54. The second drawing was attributed by *Destrée* to the School of Roger (<sup>74</sup> II, Plate 105, Fig. A), and listed as being in the Masson Collection, Paris; it is now in the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*.

A tapestry showing S. Luke alone, seated, facing to the right, working on a painting of the Virgin and Child set within an elaborately carved frame, also has architectural details of Brussels in the background, and presumably was a pendant to a tapestry showing Mary with the Infant Jesus. According to *Crick-Kuntziger*, *Catalogue des Tapisseries - Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, n.d., it was woven in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The tapestry measures 105 × 82 cm., Vermeersch Bequest, and is shown on Plate 25, and discussed on p. 36, No. 19, of the above catalogue.

*Fierens-Gevaert* lists a half-length figure of S. Luke in the *Kaiser Friedrich Museum*, Berlin, but there is no evidence of this (<sup>69</sup> 41).

#### 4. *The Landscape*

The main elements of Roger's landscape are used on both sides of a brocade hanging behind a Virgin and Child, New York, Coll. Herbert H. Lehman (97 × 65 cm). First published and reproduced by *François Benoit*, *Un Gérard David inconnu...*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1904, t. XXXII, p. 311-325. Mentioned by *Friedländer* (<sup>64</sup> 145, No. 84 d) among compositions of the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, as perhaps an early work by Jan Provost, and in *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX, Leiden, 1934, p. 149, No. 164, among the works of Jan Provost.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Among the most important early Netherlandish paintings to have left Europe, the *S. Luke drawing a portrait of the Virgin* is also one of the first major examples of such art to come to the United States. It is also one of the few surviving works by Roger van der Weyden whose subject is to be found already associated with the artist's name in an inventory of the sixteenth century (see section I, *Transcription of Documents*, p. 92).

Despite the extensive damages to its surface, the painting is of enduring beauty, worthy of the hand and mind of Roger van der Weyden, and is here regarded as the original work by the master upon which the other examples of the composition are based. Technical evidence also points to the primacy of the Boston painting (see section C, *Changes in Composition*, p. 71 and Plates CVIII, CIX).

As has often been stated, Roger's composition appears to depend upon Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*. This dependence is complicated by the fact that the latter may in turn stem from a lost work by Robert Campin, Roger's master, showing Saint Luke painting the Virgin, first recognized by Ring (<sup>55</sup> 105, Note 1) as surviving in a copy by Colyn de Coter at the church of Vieure, Alliers, near Moulins. The fact that many German representations of the same subject, some probably earlier in date than the de Coter, are closer to his work than to the celebrated composition of Roger van der Weyden, argues for the Campinesque origin of de Coter's work, as so many of Campin's paintings are more zealously followed in Germany than the Netherlands.

It is probable that the lost painting of *Luke* by Campin was situated on the altar of the guild chapel in Tournai, and may have been executed in the years between 1423-1428, when Campin was elected dean of the painters' guild and a member of the city council until the return to power of the aristocracy in 1428. Recent evidence for the reliability of the de Coter copy at Vieure may be adduced from the fact that the only other painting known to have the distinctive radiant-disk halo (also seen in the *Visitation* page of the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry) is a French painting of the early fifteenth century in Berlin (see Meiss and Eisler, *A New French Primitive*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, June, 1960, Plate I). At about the time Jan van Eyck is assumed to have painted the *Rolin Madonna* he is known to have been deeply concerned with the art of Robert Campin, his absorption of Campinesque motifs may be seen in the Städel *Lucca Madonna* and the *Annunciation* of the Ghent Altar. Roger van der Weyden was drawn to a more Eyckian approach in the later 1430's, reflected in the Louvre *Annunciation*, and it seems appropriate that he should be able to follow the Bruges master most closely in Jan van Eyck's painting for Rolin, which was itself inspired by the art of Roger's teacher Campin.

Several critics, including Voll (<sup>43</sup> 291), Rosen (<sup>31</sup> 120), Schubert-Soldern (<sup>30</sup> 66) and Winkler (<sup>54</sup> 111) have seen a clarification of the spatial organization of the *Rolin Madonna* in its supposed echo, Roger's *Luke. Hotho* (<sup>10</sup> 522-23) even saw an influence of Roger on Jan van Eyck. The reason for this may again lie in the dependence of Jan's work on the lost Campin in which the spatial organization proved to be more sympathetically emulated by Campin's pupil than by his great contemporary, Jan van Eyck. The "Humility" pose of the Virgin, the curved wooden vaulting of the ceiling, and the type of carved stone columns in Roger's *Luke* are all pronouncedly in the manner of Campin and have little to do with comparable elements in the surviving art of Jan van Eyck. Ascertaining the extent of the Eyckian contribution to the *Luke* is complicated still further by the panel's poor state of preservation. As Held (<sup>120</sup> 226) has observed, the Eyckian appearance of the painting is in part due to its disturbed surface rather than to the artist's original intent. Modified by the cumulative effect of many cycles of damage and restoration, the work now has a quality of atmospheric density and complexity created by the passage of light over its rubbed and corrugated terrain.

The depiction of Saint Luke may well represent an idealized self-portrait of Roger van der Weyden (see section D, *Subject*, p. 73 and Panofsky<sup>110</sup>) but it would be ill-advised to attempt a dating of the work on the basis of the artist-evangelist's assumed age. That Roger was himself especially close to the subject of the painting is a certainty. Altarpieces depicting Saint Luke portraying the Virgin were the focal point of painters' guild chapels. The first known such work was executed by Niccolo di Pietro



Gerini for the Company of Saint Luke chapel at Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, in 1383 (<sup>83</sup> 26). The altarpiece is lost, but may perhaps have resembled one executed in the last third of the fourteenth century for the Valencia guild (<sup>118</sup> Plate 3).

No original paintings of the scene survive in Northern Europe before the work of Roger, although two manuscript illuminations by the Bedford Master may give an impression of the possible appearance of early guild chapel altars (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms. 281, folio 17, rep. in *Art News*, Dec. 1959, p. 27, fig. 2; Morgan Library, New York, Ms. 453, folio 14, verso).

Upon his arrival in Brussels in 1435, Roger was probably obliged to make certain special contributions for masses at the altar of the guild of Saint Luke (see *C. Mathieu, Le Métier des peintres à Bruxelles aux XIV<sup>me</sup> et XV<sup>me</sup> siècles*, in *Bruxelles au XV<sup>me</sup> Siècle*, Brussels, 1953, p. 229) and it may have been shortly after this date that he painted the Boston panel. The guild altar was perhaps most important in its function at artists' funerals, and the subject of Saint Luke as painter may itself have been associated with the immortality of divine art. Simon Marmion, Roger's distinguished contemporary, so identified himself with the subject that he requested to be buried below the altarpiece which he had painted for the chapel of Saint Luke at Valenciennes (*J. Houdoy, Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai*, Lille, 1880, p. 77).

In Brussels, according to *Mathieu (op.cit., p. 230)*, one of the major obligations of the guild was the celebration of five masses on the seventh day after the decease of a member, before the altar of Saint Luke. Special services were held following Roger's death in 1464 in his native Tournai as well as Brussels. Archives in Tournai record money spent "pour les chandelles qui furent mises devant saint Luc a cause du service maistre Roger de la Pasturc, natif de cheste(sic) ville de Tournai, lequel demeroit a Brousselles" (<sup>18</sup> 66). The painting in Tournai was probably the *Saint Luke* by Campin, known only through de Coter's copy at Vieure.

The extraordinary influence of Roger's painting, one of the most persistent and pervasive pictorial creations of the fifteenth century in Northern Europe, points to its having been displayed in a location of unusual artistic accessibility, most probably on the altar of the Brussels painters' guild chapel.

The original location of the work in Brussels is also suggested by the enclosure of a view of the *Hotel de Ville* and *Palais des ducs de Brabant* in two tapestries freely adapted from the composition (see section F, *Comparative Material*, p. 82 and 84).

The Brussels guild of Saint Luke conducted elaborate funeral services for its most illustrious and leading member on June 18, 1464. (For information concerning Roger's burial, see *J. Lavalleye, L'Ecole bruxelloise de Peinture au XV<sup>me</sup> siècle*, in *Bruxelles au XV<sup>me</sup> Siècle*, Brussels, 1953, p. 170, Note 1). The many candles lit before the guild altar in the chapel of S. Catherine of the collegiate church of S. Gudule may well have illuminated the painting that now finds itself in Boston - Roger van der Weyden's most personal statement of Christian art - *Saint Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*.

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- 1957<sup>123</sup>: JACQUES LASSAIGNE. *Flemish Painting: the Century of Van Eyck*, New York, 1957.
- 1958<sup>124</sup>: ROBERTO SALVINI. *La Pittura fiamminga*, Milan, 1958.
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- 1960<sup>128</sup>: G. GYSELEN. *De Eeuw van de Vlaamse Primitieven*, in *West-Vlaanderen*, IX, Bruges, 1960, 269-274.
- 1960<sup>129</sup>: ANDRÉ CHASTEL. *Au Musée Communal de Bruges. Les "Primitifs" flamands d'Amérique*, in *Le Monde*, Paris, Aug. 12, 1960, 6.
- 1960<sup>130</sup>: JACQUES LASSAIGNE. *Les Primitifs flamands à Bruges*, in *L'Oeil*, LXIX, Paris, 1960, 16-25, 71-72.
- 1960<sup>131</sup>: JEAN DECOEN. *Saint Luc peignant la Vierge - Munich ou Boston ?* in *Le Cahier des Arts*, VI, Brussels, 1960, 2082-2090.
- 1960<sup>132</sup>: FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Ausstellung Altniederländischer Bilder aus Amerika in Brügge*, in *Kunstchronik*, XIII, Munich, 1960, 312-316.
- 1960<sup>133</sup>: *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts, October-December 1960*, Antwerp, 1960.



## I. TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

## I

*A S. Luke by van der Weyden, with shutters, mentioned in an inventory at the Escorial (April 12-16, 1574).*

Una tabla en que está pintado *Sant Lucas*, que tiene dos puertas escritas; la vna en griego y la otra en latín: es de mano de *Masse Rugier*, y tiene de alto tres pies y medio y de ancho tres sin puertas.

*Archives of the Escorial, Cajón 57 N° 1, 1571-1574, Entrega Primera, Informe 6°, Legajo 9°, Documento número 208. Published by P. JULIÁN ZARCO CUEVAS, Inventario de las alhajas, pinturas y objetos de valor y curiosidad donados por Felipe II al Monasterio de El Escorial (1571-1598), Madrid, 1930, p. 142. The same text with slight variations had been published in 1886 by JUSTI (16 98).*

## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 73: GROUP WEYDEN(8)

LXXIX.	S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin	C 3789	1958
LXXX.	The Virgin and Child	C 3792	1958
LXXXI.	S. Luke	C 3793	1958
LXXXII.	The Virgin, at Half Length	C 3800	1958
LXXXIII.	S. Luke, at Half Length	C 3801	1958
<i>Frontispiece</i>	<i>S. Luke, at Half Length, Color Plate</i>	Photo Loose	1960
LXXXIV.	Upper Left Corner	C 3796	1958
LXXXV.	Upper Right Corner	C 3797	1958
LXXXVI.	Lower Left Corner	C 3798	1958
LXXXVII.	Lower Right Corner	C 3799	1958
LXXXVIII.	Head of the Virgin (1:1)	C 3803	1958
LXXXIX.	Head of S. Luke (1:1)	C 3805	1958
XC.	Hands of the Virgin, and Child (1:1)	C 3804	1958
XCI.	Hands of S. Luke (1:1)	C 3806	1958
XCII.	The Landscape	C 3794	1958
XCIII.	Detail of Landscape, the River (1:1)	C 3807	1958
XCIV.	Detail of Landscape, at Left (1:1)	C 3808	1958
XCV.	Detail of Landscape, at Right (1:1)	C 3809	1958
XCVI.	Stained Glass in the Upper Window (1:1)	C 3810	1958
XCVII.	Window at Right (1:1)	C 3811	1958
XCVIII.	Book Shelves at Right (1:1)	C 3812	1958
IC.	Ox and Scroll (1:1)	C 3813	1958
C.	Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	C 3814	1958
CI.	Head of S. Luke (M 2 ×)	C 3815	1958
CII.	Head of the Child (M 2 ×)	C 3816	1958
CIII.	Adam and Eve (M 2 ×)	C 3820	1958
CIV.	View of a City, at Left (M 2 ×)	C 3818	1958

CV.	Man and Woman Looking from Battlement (M 2 ×)	C	3821	1958
CVI.	Detail of Drapery	C	3822	1958
CVII.	Plants in the Garden (M 2 ×)	C	3823	1958
CVIII.	Infra-red	C	3790	1958
CIX.	X-Radiograph, the Head of the Virgin (1:1)	D	L4111	1960
CX.	The Painting during Cleaning in 1933 and in 1943	{ C	3819	1933
		{	Boston Museum	
CXI.	The Reverse	C	3791	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 74: MASTER OF THE S. LUCY LEGEND (1), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD IN A LANDSCAPE*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Master of the Legend of St. Lucy

Virgin and Child in Landscape

No. 407 in the catalogue *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings* (September 28th, 1957), Williamstown, Mass.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(23. IV. 1958)

*Form:* Rectangular.

*Dimensions:* panel and painted surface 40,5 × 32,2 (30,0 at bottom) × 0,9 cm.

15 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12 <sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> at top (11 <sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> at bottom) × <sup>6</sup>/<sub>16</sub> ins.

*Protective Layer:* Natural resin varnish and a very thin wax spray.

*Paint Layer:* A crack, perhaps over a former join, going down the entire panel through the middle spire at the upper right to the bottom of the painting, has necessitated slight retouching. Small losses in sky area at top left and right, minute losses elsewhere. Face of Mary somewhat rubbed, restorations around area of car.

*Changes in Composition:* Infra-red photography reveals that the outline of the body of the Christchild has undergone slight changes especially in his left shoulder and in the upper part of the chest.

*Ground:* Not observed, adheres well.

*Support:* Masonite pressed-wood, with oak veneer at edges and back. Cradled with oak. Transferred by Suhr from the original oak panel in 1950 (see section E. 2 b, *Subsequent History*, p. 95).

*Marks on the Back:* The numbers 4594 and 942 are stamped on the back. Reproduction of the back on Plate CXVI.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

Mary is seated before a lattice of roses, nursing the Child. She is shown in three-quarter length, holding the nude Child with her right hand. He looks up and to the right of the painting, perhaps toward a donor on a second wing, should the panel have been originally part of a diptych. The town of Bruges, dominated by the tower of Notre-Dame, is seen in the landscape at the upper right. The hedge of roses is a reference to the *Hortus Conclusus* of virginal purity (<sup>3</sup> 99). Red roses may be associated with both paradise and martyrdom (*George Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, p. 47). The plant in the lower right corner has been identified as a meadow buttercup (verbal communication by Mr. A. Lawalrée, director of Laboratory at the *Jardin Botanique de l'Etat*, Brussels).

## 2. Colors

Mary wears a pale red cloak with a gold embroidered border, lined with light green, and a light blue dress with a grey fur lining. Her sleeves are of gold and deep blue brocade. A white cloth is over her head, another under the Infant. Her girdle is jeweled with red and blue gems and pearls. The roses are red, and a bluish tonality prevails in the background.

## 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. According to a transcription at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Knoedler has a certificate from Dr. Friedländer stating that the work came "from a Spanish Church."

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The painting was first studied by *Friedländer* in his notes on the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Referring to the artist as the "Brügger Meister von 1480" - after the dated panels of the Saint Lucy Legend - he stated that the tower of Notre-Dame was shown by the artist in several works, among them the "sehr schwachen Madonnenbilde, das auch der Versteigerung Fondi (Rom 1895) vorkam" (<sup>1</sup> 85). He also referred to it as "das geringe Madonnenbild" in another study of the Bruges exhibition (<sup>2</sup> 16). It is included in *Friedländer's* list of works by the Master of the S. Lucy Legend (<sup>4</sup> 141, No. 149).

*Frankfurter* places the painting at ca. 1480-82 (<sup>6</sup> 52), on the basis of *Friedländer's* suggestion that the artist's works may be dated by observing the changing appearance of the belfry as frequently shown in the background of his works (<sup>4</sup> 70). However the belfry referred to in *Friedländer* does not appear in this painting, invalidating *Frankfurter's* dating.

### 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

1895 Appeared in the Fondi Sale, Rome (*Friedländer* <sup>4</sup> 141, No. 149; and *Document I*, p. 96).

On the art market in Munich (*Friedländer* <sup>4</sup> 141, No. 149).

On the art market in Paris, at Bonjean (Clark Catalogue <sup>5</sup> No. 407).

On the art market in London (*Friedländer* <sup>4</sup> 141, No. 149).

1912 Acquired on Oct. 4th, by Sterling Clark from Knoedler & Co., New York.

1957 Shown at *Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings*, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass. (<sup>5</sup> No. 407).

#### b. Records of Condition and Treatment

1948 Blisters laid by Helfer in Paris.

1950 Transferred from original oak panel to a support of masonite pressed wood by Suhr in New York. Slight retouches along surface damage caused by old vertical crack at the right.



## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

*Friedländer* records four other half-length compositions of the subject by the Master of the S. Lucy Legend (<sup>4</sup> Nos. 146-8 and 150). Nos. 146 (now in the Baltimore Museum of Art) and 147 (Roulers, Coll. Wyckhuysse) are not very close to the Clark painting. Nos. 148 (owned by Jamarin in 1928) and 150 (Berlin, Coll. Schall) are unknown to the author.

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The painting appears correctly attributed to the Master of the S. Lucy Legend.

## H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 1903 <sup>2</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Meisterwerke der niederländischen Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903.  
 1913 <sup>3</sup> : ELIZABETH HAGUE. *The Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters*, New York, 1913.  
 1928 <sup>4</sup> : MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VI. *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.  
 1957 <sup>5</sup> : *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings* (September 28, 1957), Williamstown, Mass., 1957.  
 1957 <sup>6</sup> : ALFRED FRANKFURTER. *Now the old masters at Williamstown*, in *Art News*, December 1957, New York, 29 and 52.

## I. TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

## I

*M.J. Friedländer comments on the painting in a letter to Sterling Clark, stating that it came from the Fondi Sale.*

Berlin W., Genthinerstr. 43  
 13.V.1912

Monsieur,

J'ai retourné la photographie du tableau du maître de la légende de Ste-Lucie avec une note au dos de la reproduction. Ce tableau vient de la galerie Fondi et je l'ai mentionné dans la publication "Meisterwerke der Niederländischen Malerei" - p. 16 -

Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de ma haute considération.

Friedländer

*Letter at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.*

J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 74: MASTER OF THE S. LUCY LEGEND (1)

CXII. The Virgin and Child	C 3824	1958
CXIII. The Heads (1:1)	C 3827	1958
CXIV. The View of Bruges (1:1)	C 3828	1958
CXV. The Bruges Towers, including Notre-Dame (M 2 ×)	C 3829	1958
CXVI. The Reverse	C 3826	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 75: MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN LEGEND (2), *S. MARY MAGDALENE*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Antwerp Mannerist, about 1520

St. Mary Magdalene

*Jakob Rosenberg, Early Flemish Paintings, in Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (A Special Number Devoted to the Grenville Lindall Winthrop Bequest), X, No. 2, November 1943, 47-48.*

Accession No. 1943.96.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(12. IX. 1957)

*Form:* Rectangular.

*Dimensions:* panel  $32,8 \times 22,8 \times 0,6 (\pm 0,1)$  cm.

$12 \frac{15}{16} \times 9 \times \frac{1}{4}$  ins.

    painted surface  $30,5 \times 20,3$  cm.

$12 \times 8$  ins.

*Protective Layer:* Polyvinyl acetate, coated with film of hard wax.

*Paint Layer:* All flesh areas in face and neck severely rubbed, the hair is also damaged. The Magdalen's dress, headdress, hands and unguent jar are in a much better state of preservation. The features have been partially strengthened, and losses restored. See infra-red photo for condition of paint layer (Plate CXVIII).

*Changes in Composition:* None observed.

*Ground:* White.

*Support:* Oak, single panel with grain vertical, cradled with mahogany and pine.

*Marks on the Back:* None visible. Reproduction of the back on Plate CXXI.

*Frame:* Not original.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

A young, fair woman is shown in half-length, wearing a rich costume, jewels and elaborate turban-like headdress through which her long hair is drawn in pony-tail fashion. She is shown in a three-quarter view, looking to the left, holding an unguent jar in both hands, against a plain, dark background. This jar is the attribute of S. Mary Magdalene (*Timmers*<sup>5</sup> 964; see section G, *Author's Comments*, p. 99-100).

2. *Colors*

She wears a dress of pale brown-purple figured brocade, with a jeweled, gold-brocaded yoke and armlets, light blue sleeves, and red under-sleeves. Her headdress is light blue, with jeweled bands of golden brocade. The jar is green with a red jewel on the lid; the background appears to be black.

### 3. Inscriptions and Heraldry

None on the front.

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

##### 1. Origin

###### a. Factual Evidence

No known records before its acquisition by Grenville L. Winthrop of New York, at an undetermined date. See section G, *Author's Comments*, below and p. 100, for questions of identification and commission.

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

Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop had the panel listed as a work of Jan de Beer. *Friedländer* first published the painting as by the Master of the Magdalen Legend in 1935 (<sup>2</sup> 168, No. 24a). The painting is included by *Martin Davies* (<sup>7</sup> II, 209) as No. 1 in a list of versions of the same subject. According to *Rosenberg*, "The tentative attribution to Jan de Beer, under whose name the picture was listed, places it probably too high in quality." He suggests it was painted in Antwerp, by a member of the Mannerist school in about 1520 (<sup>4</sup> 49).

##### 2. Subsequent History

###### a. Records of Ownership

- 1929 Known to be in Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop's Collection (Fogg Art Museum Records).  
1943 Transferred with his collection from New York as a bequest to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, in 1943.

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

- April 1929 The panel was reinforced and cradled by Rougeron for Winthrop. Varnish and old restorations were removed, losses were restored, and the panel revarnished.  
1948 Surface coating removed and replaced at the Fogg Art Museum.  
1957 Surface coating removed and replaced at the Fogg Art Museum.

#### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A very close version belongs to the National Gallery, London (Cat. No. 2614) and is published in the *Corpus* by *Martin Davies* (<sup>7</sup> 207-210, Plates CDLIX - CDLXII). In connection with this painting, *Davies* publishes a list of eleven other versions (including the Fogg panel). One can add to these the following paintings:

- (1) According to *Aubert* (<sup>6</sup> 21) there is an example in a private collection at Bordeaux.
- (2) A portrait by the Master of the Magdalen Legend, identified as Mary of Burgundy was certified by *Friedländer* in Zürich, 1948. It has a rounded top and measures 40 × 28,3 cm. The work is not close in composition to the Fogg panel.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The traditional identification of this representation and the many others like it with Mary of Burgundy need not be completely disregarded. She is shown wearing a slightly similar headdress in her effigy at



the *Maximiliansgrabmal* at Innsbruck (*Oberhammer*<sup>3</sup> Plate 134). Margaret of Austria, daughter of Mary of Burgundy, was portrayed by the Master of the Magdalen Legend wearing a jewel around her neck that is very similar to the one in the Fogg painting, which she may presumably have inherited from her mother (*Tombu*<sup>1</sup> Fig. 14).

The large number of paintings similar to the Fogg example, when coupled with the contemporary mode for dual portraiture, make it seem probable that these "imagines" were produced as idealized votive commemorative portraits of Mary of Burgundy in the guise of her presumed patron saint, whose customarily rich attire and youthful appearance would make a suitable monument for the deceased young duchess.

Although its abraded condition makes it difficult to distinguish the Fogg panel qualitatively from the other examples of the subject, it does not appear to have been as fresh and direct an image as the paintings at Chantilly (<sup>6</sup> Plate XII), or The National Gallery (<sup>7</sup> Plate CDLIX). The panel is from the studio of the Master of the Magdalen Legend.

#### H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1929<sup>1</sup>: JEANNE TOMBU. *Le Maître de la légende de Marie-Madeleine*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, (6th period) II, Paris, 1929, 258-291.
- 1935<sup>2</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XII. *Pieter Coeck, Jan van Scorel*, Leyden, 1935.
- 1935<sup>3</sup>: VINCENZ OBERHAMMER. *Die Bronzestandbilder der Maximiliansgrabmales in der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck*, Innsbruck, 1935.
- 1943<sup>4</sup>: JAKOB ROSENBERG. *Early Flemish Painting*, in *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*, X, Cambridge (Mass.), November 1943 (A Special Number Devoted to the Grenville Lindall Winthrop Bequest), 47-48.
- 1947<sup>5</sup>: J.J.M. TIMMERS. *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roermond/Maaseik, 1947.
- 1947<sup>6</sup>: MARCEL AUBERT. *La Collection de Poncins-Biencourt au Musée de Chantilly*, in *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, XLII, Paris, 1947.
- 1954<sup>7</sup>: MARTIN DAVIES. *The National Gallery, London, II (Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle)*, Antwerp, 1954.

#### J. LIST OF PLATES

##### No. 75: MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN LEGEND (2)

CXVII.	S. Mary Magdalene	C 3830	1958
CXVIII.	S. Mary Magdalene (infra-red)	C 3831	1958
CXIX.	The Head (1:1)	C 3833	1958
CXX.	The Hands, Jar and Dress (1:1)	C 3834	1958
CXXI.	The Reverse	C 3832	1958





of the outermost frame suggest the panel's having originally formed the left half of a diptych, see section E, *Origin and Subsequent History*, below and p. 103, for further evidence of this. The innermost frame on the back is painted black, with a thin green strip lining the panel.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

##### 1. *Subject*

The Virgin is shown in half-length, her head slightly inclined to the left, looking down at the Child on her lap. The Child, in an almost horizontal position, is held by both her hands, His own are raised in benediction, toward the donor in an adjacent panel, formerly at the right, the direction in which He is looking (see section E. 1 a, *Factual Evidence*, below and p. 103). Parallel angels, one to the left and right of the Mother and Child, hold up the brocaded hanging behind them. Two groups of three angels fill the corners at the upper left and right, venerating Mary and Jesus below.

##### 2. *Colors*

Mary wears a red dress with a golden, jeweled collar, and a deep blue cloak. Her hair, like that of the angels and Jesus, is a red-blond. She is shown against a golden background dotted with red and blue, and scored with golden lines in relief, forming an aureole. The three pairs of angels at the left and right are wearing blue and green robes at the top, red at the center, and blue below. The Infant reclines on a white cloth. The hanging is predominantly pink in tone, with a design of green palmettes, light blue at the center, surrounded by yellow.

##### 3. *Inscriptions and Heraldry*

The letters IHS, in yellow, on a blue, medallion-like ground, appear on the reverse of the panel, surrounded by a circle of yellow-gold flames, against a red background. The monogram represents the Latin letters of "Jesus Hominum Salvator". When shown surrounded by a circle of flames, they are associated with the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, instituted by S. Bernardino of Siena (*F.L. Cross, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London, 1957, p. 161, 178).

The donor panel of the original votive diptych, of which the Fogg painting formed the left half, has similar red background coating on the reverse of the portrait, bearing the arms of the Portinari family (*Bautier*<sup>14</sup> 11): Or, a gateway sable, voided of the field, between two lions combattant of the second (*Howel Wills, Florentine Heraldry*, London, 1900, p. 165; see section E, *Origin and Subsequent History*, p. 103).

The initials LP at the lower right and left of the escutcheon probably refer to Lodovico Portinari, son of Pigello di Folco di Adoardo Giovanni Portinari, of the Milanese branch of the Florentine family. Lodovico was the heir of his Florentine uncle Accerito Portinari, with whom he was elected *Spedalingo* of S. Maria Nuova in 1479 (*Ambrogio Mariani, Notizie della nobile famiglia Portinari*, Florence, 1897, Table II, Note 1).

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

##### 1. *Origin*

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

The panel, whose frame bears hinge marks at the right, was originally the left half of a votive diptych, commissioned by a member of the Portinari family, probably Lodovico, whose portrait in the John G.

Johnson Collection (*Friedländer*<sup>10</sup> No. 134, Plate LVI) comprises the right half of the diptych. The wings are extremely close in size, the Philadelphia panel measuring  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$  ins. while the Fogg painting measures  $16\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{11}{16}$  ins. The diptych was probably completed shortly before 1479, when Lodovico was established in Florence as heir to his uncle Accerito. A portrait of Lodovico's brother, Benedetto, by Memlinc, tentatively identified by A. Warburg (*Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance*, in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIII, Berlin, 1902, p. 247-266, see p. 261 (fig. 8), 263) was originally in S. Maria Nuova, in S. Egidio, the family chapel of the Portinari and the original site of the Hugo van der Goes altar and probably that of Memlinc's *Turin Passion* (*Corpus* No. 18). Portraits of Pierantonio Baroncelli and his wife (*Friedländer*<sup>10</sup> No. 137), relatives of the Portinari and also active as Medici agents in Bruges, were from the same chapel. The diptych, now divided between the Fogg Art Museum and the Johnson Collection, was in all likelihood originally housed in the Portinari family chapel of S. Egidio as well.

Paintings from the chapel were dispersed in the nineteenth century, when the Kaiser Friedrich Museum acquired the central panel of Memlinc's *Benedetto Portinari triptych* (Berlin Catalogue No. 528 B), according to *Paatz* (<sup>13</sup> 32). The side panels of the donor and his patron saint were transferred from S. Maria Nuova to the Uffizi in 1825; see *Paatz* (<sup>13</sup> 32). Paintings were transferred from the *Galleria di Santa Maria Nuova*, extant 1870-1900, to the Uffizi in 1900, most of those remaining seem to have been sold at auction on November 11, 1904 (*Paatz*<sup>13</sup> 31).

#### b. Opinions concerning Attribution and Date

The panel was first published by *Firmenich-Richartz* as being an early work by Hans Memlinc (<sup>1</sup> 97-111). It was previously considered by the owners as an early work by Hugo van der Goes (<sup>1</sup> 105). *Friedländer* was the first to associate the painting with the anonymous author of the *Scenes from the Life of Saint Ursula*, in the Bruges cloister of the Black Sisters (<sup>2</sup> 85). Its identification with the Master of the S. Ursula Legend has seldom been questioned. However the painting still appeared as by van der Goes in the 1907 Catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition of the Toison d'Or (<sup>3</sup> 56, No. 188); *Hymans* does not accept this attribution (<sup>4</sup> 212-213). The 1908 Catalogue of the same exhibition confirms *Friedländer's* attribution (<sup>5</sup> 90, Plate 44). *Winkler* believed the work to be a copy by that artist after Roger van der Weyden (<sup>6</sup> 72, Plate XIV, fig. 39). *Friedländer* illustrated the work in his study of the Master of the S. Ursula Legend, reproducing it opposite the donor panel with which it is here believed to have formed a diptych (<sup>10</sup> 62, No. 122, Plate LV). He considered it to be a free adaptation after Roger. The painting is included in *Bautier's* recent study of the Ursula Master's oeuvre (<sup>14</sup> 8, No. 6).

### 2. Subsequent History

#### a. Records of Ownership

- Before 1902 Owned by Conte Palmieri, Florence, according to *Firmenich-Richartz* (<sup>1</sup> col. 105) and the catalogue of the *Exposition de la Toison d'Or* (<sup>5</sup> 90, Plate 44).
- 1902 In the Steinmeyer Collection, Cologne, according to *Firmenich-Richartz* (<sup>1</sup> col. 103) and *Winkler* (<sup>6</sup> 72).
- 1907 Lent by Leo Nardus, Suresnes, to the *Exposition de la Toison d'or*, Bruges, 1907 (<sup>3</sup> 56, No. 188; <sup>5</sup> 90, Plate 44).
- 1911 Described in detail by *Valentiner* as having formerly been in the Widener Collection, Philadelphia, and given in exchange by P.A.B. Widener to Knoedler & Co., N.Y. See section I, *Transcription of Documents and Literary Sources*, 1, p. 106.



- 1913 Listed as being in the Leo Nardus Collection by *Winkler* (<sup>6</sup> 72, Plate 14). He adds (*Ibidem*, Note 3) "Das Bild ist anscheinend jetzt bei Herrn Grenville Winthrop in New York."
- 1914 Recorded as being in the Winthrop Collection, New York, by *Valentiner* (<sup>8</sup> 164), writing on Roger-based compositions of the Virgin holding the Child with both hands, he noted: "Examples of this type are in the Winthrop Collection (New York) by the Ursula Master, others are at Brussels and Amsterdam, and in the M. van Gelder Collection (Uccle), also a miniature in the Vienna Library." See *Winkler* (<sup>6</sup> 72) and *Valentiner* (<sup>8</sup> 152, Note 2).
- 1921 Described as being in the Winthrop Collection by *Conway* (<sup>9</sup> 250).
- 1928 Listed by *Friedländer* (<sup>10</sup> 62) as having left the Nardus Collection for the Widener Collection in Philadelphia. It was then acquired by Michel van Gelder of Uccle, according to *Friedländer*, who placed it in his collection in 1928. *Friedländer* confused the Fogg panel with another *Madonna and Child* by the same master, known to have been owned by van Gelder since at least 1911 (*L. Dumont-Wilden, La collection Michel van Gelder au château Zeecrabe à Uccle*, Brussels, 1911, p. 22) and exhibited by him at the 1927 exhibition of *Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900* at Burlington House (Catalogue No. 161). The painting illustrated in the catalogue of the van Gelder Collection included an angel offering the Child a pear.
- 1943 Entered the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, with the permanent bequest of the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection (<sup>12</sup> 14).

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

- 1944 Areas of buckled paint re-attached to ground with size. Aqueous paint used to fill small surface losses. Panel re-coated with a thin film of hard wax.

### F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

While most *Madonna* groups by the Master of the S. Ursula Legend duplicate themselves with only slight variations, the Fogg panel's arch of angels in the background is not known to have been repeated by the Master. The figural composition, as *Firmenich-Richartz* (<sup>1</sup> 108) and *Friedländer* (<sup>10</sup> 62) have shown, depends upon the art of Roger van der Weyden.

The donor wing of the diptych of which the Fogg panel forms the left side is in the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Catalogue No. 327; see Plate CXXVII for original juxtaposition of panels). According to *Conway*, "This was obviously half of a diptych. The other half can scarcely have been a *Madonna*, because she appears in the background of the portrait-panel, seated on a throne in a garden courtyard with the harping and luting angel pair beside her. One of the towers of Bruges is in the background on one side, the landscape on the other being borrowed from Memling" (<sup>9</sup> 250).

The dual representation of Mary and the infant Jesus does not mitigate against the original juxtaposition of the panels, as in the donor panel she is shown on earth, with Joseph fetching water, while the other panel places her in a heavenly context, with a host of angelic attendants and a golden background, pointing to separate moments in the experience of Mary.

The curious disparity in scale between the heads in each panel of the diptych may be observed in a diptych formerly in the Fairfax Murray, Friedsam and A. Berg Collections, now in the *Musée royal des beaux-arts*, Antwerp (Catalogue n° 5.004 & 5.004 bis; *Friedländer* <sup>10</sup> 136, No. 116; reproduced in the

Murray Catalogue<sup>7</sup> 13, No. 12) which affords an even more striking disparity in scale between the left and right wing.

Bautier<sup>14</sup> 11, Note 15) suggests mistakenly that the Philadelphia donor panel originally formed the right wing of a diptych with the painting of the *Madonna and Child with two Angels* by the same artist in the Worcester Art Museum. See section F, of No. 77 in this volume, p. 110, for further information.

#### G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

The painting ranks among the best works of the Master of the S. Ursula Legend. Together with the companion donor wing, this Portinari diptych represents the highest point in the art of a derivative and usually somewhat mechanical artist. Strong and rich in color, even inventive in its background composition, the Fogg panel is representative of the most successful products of Rogerian art in Bruges.

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- 1907<sup>3</sup>: *Exposition de la Toison d'or à Bruges*, Brussels, 1907.
- 1907<sup>4</sup>: HENRY HYMANS. *L'exposition de la Toison d'or à Bruges*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXVIII (3rd period), Paris, 1907, 199 - 217.
- 1908<sup>5</sup>: *Les Chefs d'Oeuvre d'Art Ancien à l'Exposition de la Toison d'Or, Bruges 1907*, Brussels, 1908, Plate 44.
- 1913<sup>6</sup>: FRIEDRICH WINKLER. *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strassburg, 1913.
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- 1914<sup>8</sup>: W.R. VALENTINER. *Two paintings acquired for the Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts*, in *Art in America*, II, New York, 1914, 163-164.
- 1921<sup>9</sup>: MARTIN CONWAY. *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921.
- 1928<sup>10</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VI. *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
- 1943<sup>11</sup>: JAKOB ROSENBERG. *Early Flemish Painting*, in *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University*, X, Cambridge (Mass.), 2 November 1943 (A Special Number Devoted to the Grenville Lindall Winthrop Bequest), 47-48.
- 1944<sup>12</sup>: JAKOB ROSENBERG. *The Winthrop Collection - Flemish Primitives*, in *Art News*, XLII, New York, (January 1-16) 1944, 14.
- 1952<sup>13</sup>: WALTER and ELISABETH PAATZ. *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, IV, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1952.
- 1956<sup>14</sup>: PIERRE BAUTIER. *Le Maître brugeois de la Légende de Sainte Ursule*, in *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles, Bulletin*, V, Brussels, 1956, 2-12.



## I. TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS AND LITERARY SOURCES

## I

*Letter from W.R. Valentiner to Knoedler, with a note on the painting.*

Metropolitan Museum of Art  
New York  
Department of Decorative Arts

Jan. 18.11

Dear Mr. Knoedler,

Mr. Widener told me that he gave you the little picture of the master of the Ursula legend in exchange. I am sending you therefore the description of the painting which I had made for Mr. W.'s catalogue as it might be of interest to you.

As you know we have another picture by the artist lent by Mr. Morgan in the museum. He bought it from Kleinberger who got it from Mr. Stanley Mortimer II. Mr. Mortimer is now sorry - as I heard - that he gave away the picture. Perhaps he might be interested in the one which you have now.

With best regards,

Very truly yours,  
(signed) W.R. Valentiner

## MADONNA AND CHILD

The Virgin, in half-length figure and wearing a red dress and a dark blue mantle, holds the nude Child on a white napkin before her. The mantle is drawn over her head and long curls fall down before her shoulders. Behind her a red brocade curtain which is held by two angels; above it, around the golden nimbus, other praying angels, three on each side. The angels who hold the curtain are dressed in blue; the others in light red, light blue and green.

Panel :

The composition is influenced by Rogier van der Weyden, and has resemblance to the picture of the Virgin and Child in the museum at Aachen. Described by M.J. Friedländer: *Ausstellung in Brügge*, 1902, p. 15, and by E. Firmenich-Richartz: *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 1902, p. 98 (under the name of Memling).

From the collection of Count Palmieri, Florence.

*Copy of letter in the archives of the Fogg Art Museum.*

## J. LIST OF PLATES

No. 76: MASTER OF THE S. URSULA LEGEND (1)

CXXII.	The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels	C	3835	1958
CXXIII.	The Head of the Virgin (1:1)	C	3839	1958
CXXIV.	The Angels (1:1)	{	C 3840	1958
		}	C 3841	1958

CXXV.	The Face of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	C	3842	1958
CXXVI.	The Child	C	3838	1958
CXXVII.	The Reconstructed Diptych, with the Lodovico Portinari Panel from Philadelphia	{	C 3835	1958
		}	C 3844	1958
CXXVIII.	The Reverse of the Reconstructed Diptych (the Fogg Panel at the Eight)	{	C 3843	1958
		}	C 3837	1958



## A. CLASSIFICATION IN THE CORPUS

No. 77: MASTER OF THE S. URSULA LEGEND (2), *THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO ANGELS*

## B. IDENTIFYING REFERENCES

Master of the St. Ursula Legend

Madonna and Child with Two Angels

*Worcester Art Museum. News Bulletin and Calendar*, No. 8, May 1936.

Accession No. 1936.6.

## C. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(8. VIII. 1957)

*Form*: Rectangular.

<i>Dimensions</i> : panel	51,9 × 32,5 × 0,6 cm. 20 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>16</sub> × 12 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> × <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ins.
painted surface	49,8 × 30,5 cm. 19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> × 12 ins.

*Protective Layer*: A soft natural resin varnish, with a slight yellow discoloration, applied thinly and somewhat unevenly.

*Paint Layer*: Three vertical cracks, running through the center of the panel, have caused considerable damage to the paint surface. The crack at the left grazes the innermost part of the right eye of the Infant, and has necessitated considerable repainting of the lower right part of the jaw, the upper arm and the back of the right hand of Mary. A second, central crack, extending through the right eye and the left hand of Mary, has called for restoration in the right cheek and in the paint surface of the left hand, which appears to have been much rubbed as well. A third crack, running through the left cheek and wrist of Mary, has an enlarged crackle pattern web between it and the second, central crack, calling for considerable retouching in the area of Mary's face, most evident across the upper part of the left cheek. The rest of the paint surface, most noticeably in the painting of the crown and supporting angels, is well preserved (but for the left hand of right angel), despite the slight interference of the cracks through arms and hands of the angels above and Mary's drapery below.

*Changes in Composition*: X-rays indicate small changes in the lower right outline of the Child's Head.

*Ground*: White, adheres well.

*Support*: Single oak panel, grain vertical with three vertical cracks. Cradling added before panel's coming to America.

*Marks on the Back*: A stamp of the "Douane/Paris/Centrale". Reproduction of the back on Plate CXXXVIII.

*Frame*: Not original. Panel may have originally had engaged frame, suggested by traces of ground present in border.

## D. DESCRIPTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

1. *Subject*

The Virgin, her head slightly inclined to the left, prepares to nurse the Child, with her left hand, while holding Him in her lap with the other. Seen at half length, she is seated before a stone railing or balustrade, hung with brocade. Very small, full-length angels fly above the Mother and Child, holding a jeweled crown above Mary's head. Both Mary and Jesus have golden aureoles around their heads. The Child's left Hand is raised, while the right holds a small apple.

The painting unites references to Christ as the New Adam, and to Mary as Queen of Heaven, crowned by angels above. The Virgin's intercession at the Last Judgment may be suggested by her nursing the Child.

2. *Colors*

Mary and the angels have reddish hair, that of Christ is light blond. The background is of a deep red, glazed over a gold ground. The angels wear pale blue robes with gold bands, their wings are blue, red and green, with an iridescent, rainbow effect. Mary wears a blue cloak lined with grey fur, and a red overdress with an embroidered gold border at the neck. Her armlets are of green-brown brocade with lavender linings, having gold buttons at the wrists. She has a white cloth over her head and another one under the nude Child. The cut brocade hanging over a grey stone balustrade is green with a purple border. The golden crown has pearls and red, green and purple gems. Christ holds a pale yellow-pink apple.

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. It would appear to have been painted for personal devotional use of the owner. The Child may have faced a donor on an adjacent panel.

b. *Opinions concerning Attribution and Date*

Recorded as "Ecole flamande XVe siècle" in the *Vente de la collection de Mme Vve Brousse* at the Galerie Fiévez (Brussels, 1924, Plate I, No. 31). First attributed to the Master of the S. Ursula Legend by *Constable* in 1927 (<sup>3</sup> 246) while in the possession of Roland F. Knoedler. The painting appeared in the Burlington House, *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900*, as being by the same master (<sup>4</sup> 36, No. 78). In 1928, *Friedländer* listed the panel as No. 121 b in his catalogue of the works by the Master of the S. Ursula Legend (<sup>8</sup> 137). Upon its acquisition by the Worcester Museum it was published in the *Museum News Bulletin and Calendar* (<sup>10</sup> 3) and by *Comstock* (<sup>11</sup> 281-2) as a work by the same master. It was included under this attribution in the *Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting* (<sup>12</sup> 28, No. 27). The work was most recently included in *Bautier's* study of the master, where it is recorded twice (<sup>13</sup> 8, Nos. 4 and 5).



## 2. Subsequent History

## a. Records of Ownership

- before 1924 According to *Friedländer* (<sup>8</sup> No. 121 b, 137) the panel was formerly in the Yandolo and Lazzaroni Collections, in Rome.
- 1924 Illustrated on Plate I of the sale catalogue of the collection of Mme Brousse, sold at the Galerie Fiévez, Brussels, June 25-26, 1924, Catalogue No. 31.
- 1927 Exhibited at the exhibition of the Anglo-Belgian Union at Burlington House *Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900*, as being in the collection of Roland F. Knoedler (<sup>5</sup> 136, Catalogue No. 78).
- 1928 In the possession of Knoedler, New York, according to *Friedländer* (<sup>8</sup> 137, No. 121 b).
- 1931 Advertised as being at Knoedler's in *Parnassus*, III, No. 2 (February), 1931, p. 26.
- 1936 Acquired by the Worcester Art Museum from Knoedler.
- 1939 Exhibited at the *Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting* (<sup>12</sup> Catalogue No. 27).

## b. Records of Condition and Treatment

- 1952-53 The cradle members were released, and cleavage set down. The panel was waxed from the back. Treatment by de Beaumont.

## F. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

(1) The panel is close to a work by the same artist in the Suermondt Museum, Aachen (*Friedländer* <sup>8</sup> 137, No. 121). The Suermondt painting lacks the brocade-covered balustrade of the Worcester panel; it is less idealized, and need not take precedence over the example in Worcester as suggested by *Friedländer*.

(2) According to *Friedländer* a replica of the Suermondt panel was on the Berlin art market in 1925 (<sup>8</sup> 137, No. 121 a). The whereabouts and exact appearance of the Berlin example are unknown to the author.

(3) Another painting similar to that at Worcester is in the Los Angeles County Museum, ex Collections J.B. van Stolk, Haarlem; Schlayer, Madrid; C. Balch, Los Angeles (*Friedländer* <sup>8</sup> 138, No. 125). Instead of crowning Mary, the angels are shown holding gifts for the Child.

The composition relates to that of a tapestry representing the *Coronation of the Virgin*, dated 1485 (Louvre, Legs Davilliers) which the artist may have designed or consulted (*Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, Les Arts décoratifs, in L'Art en Belgique* (Ed. by Paul Fierens), Brussels, 3rd edition, n.d. [1956], p. 177-8, fig.).

*Bautier* implies that the donor portrait of a young man in the John G. Johnson Collection originally formed the right wing of a diptych, with the Worcester panel as left wing (<sup>13</sup> 11, Note 15). This mistaken theory is probably based on an illustration in an article by *Constable*, where photographs of the panels are placed side by side, and appear to be identical in size, which is not the case (<sup>3</sup> Plate II, b and c). *Bautier* also confused a diptych formerly in the Parry Collection at Highnam Court, with the juxtaposed Worcester and Johnson Collection panels reproduced in *Constable's* article (<sup>3</sup> Plate II, b and c).

## G. AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

Despite the damage to its surface, this painting reflects the Ursula Master's characteristically delicate

technique. His derivative vision is again attested to by the panel's obvious debt to the art of Roger van der Weyden and Dieric Bouts, as has been frequently pointed out.

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- 1924 <sup>2</sup>: *Vente de la collection de Mme Vve Brousse* (Galerie Fiévez, Bruxelles, Mercredi 25 et Jeudi 26 Juin 1924), Brussels, 1924.
- 1927 <sup>3</sup>: W.G. CONSTABLE. *A Work by the Master of the St. Ursula Legend*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, L, London, 1927, 246-247.
- 1927 <sup>4</sup>: MARTIN CONWAY. *Catalogue of the loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, Burlington House, London 1927* (Section of pictures by TANCRED BORENIUS), London, 1927.
- 1927 <sup>5</sup>: PAUL LAMBOTTE (a.o.). *Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300 - 1900*, London, 1927.
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- 1927 <sup>7</sup>: *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art (1300-1900). Illustrated Souvenir*, London, 1927.
- 1928 <sup>8</sup>: MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VI. *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928.
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## J. LIST OF PLATES

## No. 77: MASTER OF THE S. URSULA LEGEND (2)

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CXXXI.	The Head of the Virgin (1:1)	C	3848	1958
CXXXII.	The Angel in the Upper Left Corner (1:1)	C	3849	1958
CXXXIII.	The Angel in the Upper Right Corner (1:1)	C	3850	1958
CXXXIV.	The Head of the Child (M 2 ×)	C	3852	1958
CXXXV.	The Left Hand of the Virgin (M 2 ×)	C	3855	1958
CXXXVI.	The Crown (M 2 ×)	C	3853	1958
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No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel A, *The Virgin and Child*





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop. Panel A, *Head of the Virgin* (1:1)





*No. 64 : Anonymous (6), The Virgin and Child ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel A, The Child and the Hands of the Virgin (1 : 1)*





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop. Panel A, Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel A, Detail of Landscape (M 2 ×)





*No. 64 : Anonymous (6), The Virgin and Child ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Juxtaposition of the Landscapes from both Panels (1:1)*



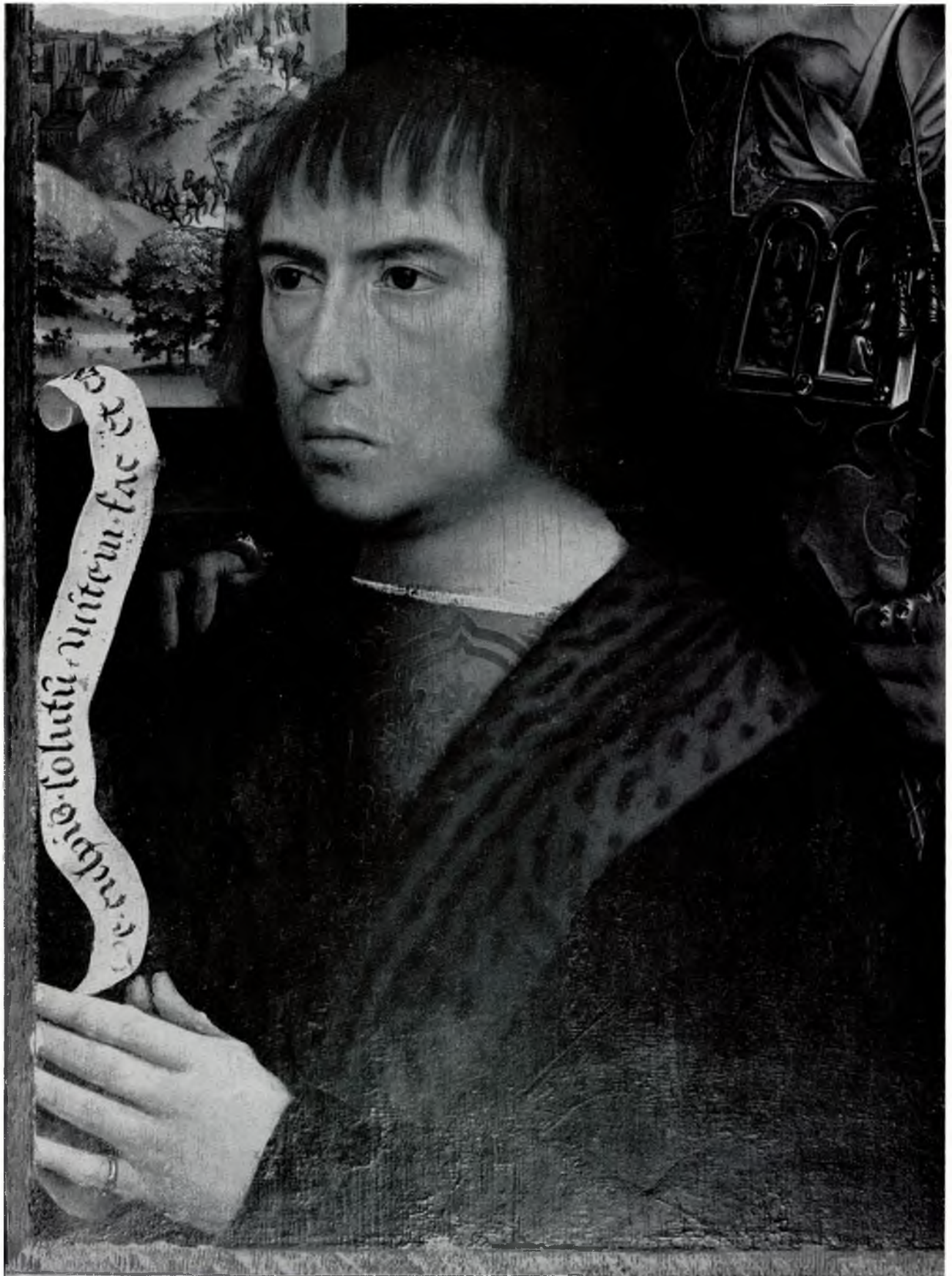


No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel B, Donor presented by Bishop





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel B, Donor presented by Bishop (infra-red)



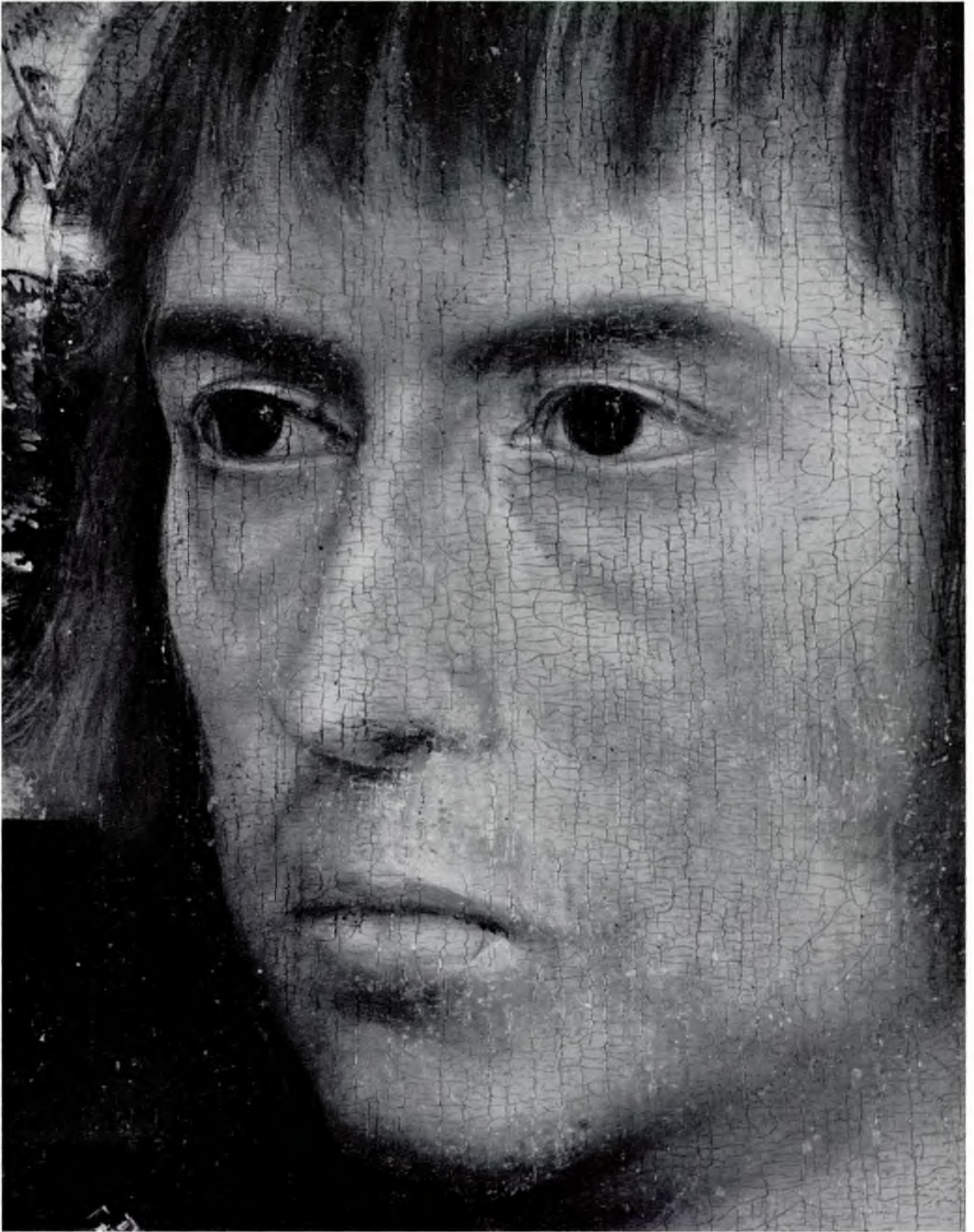
No. 64: Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child*; Donor presented by Bishop. Panel B, *The Donor*





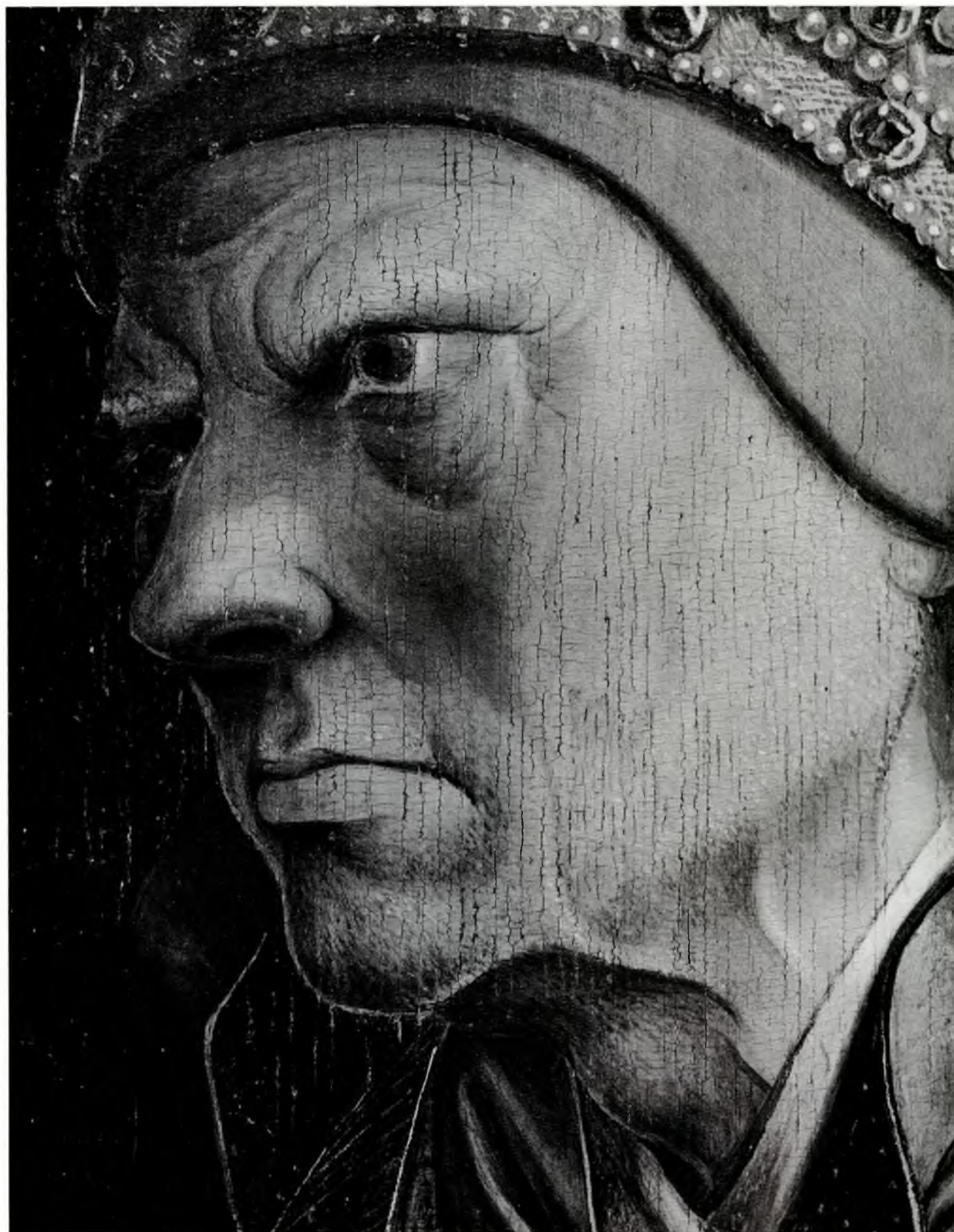
No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop. Panel B, *The Bishop*





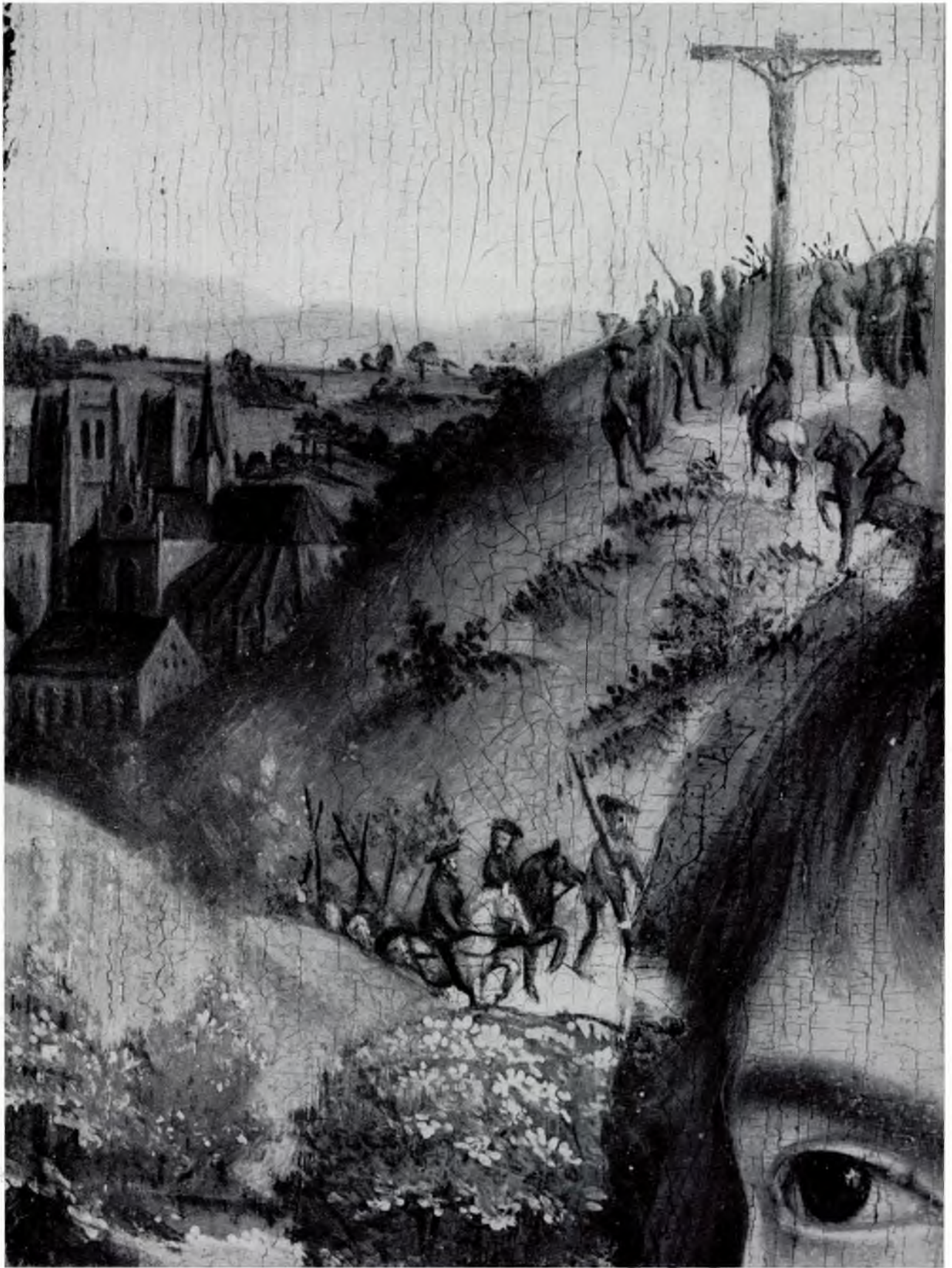
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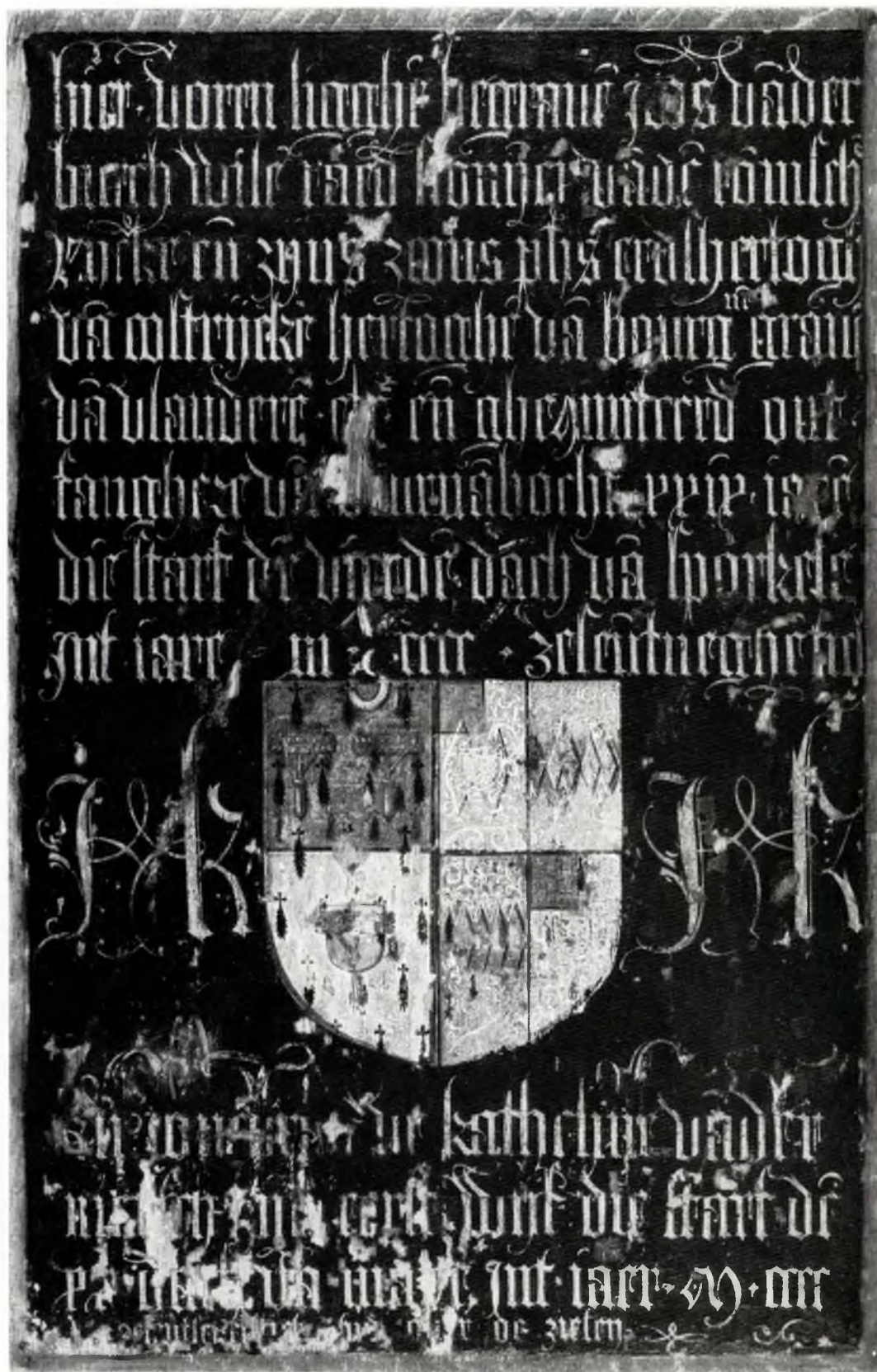
No. 6<sup>t</sup>: Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child*; Donor presented by Bishop. Panel B, Head of the Bishop (M2 ×)





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel B, Detail of Landscape (M 2 X)





No. 64 : Anonymous (6), *The Virgin and Child* ; Donor presented by Bishop.  
 Panel B, *The Reverse (infra-red)*





*No. 64 : Anonymous (6), The Virgin and Child; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel B, X-Radiograph Showing the First State of the Reverse*





*No.64 : Anonymous (6), The Virgin and Child; Donor presented by Bishop.  
Panel B, X-Radiograph Showing the Donor and the Bishop*





No. 65 : Anonymous (7), *The Portrait of a Man (Jérôme de Busleyden ?)*.  
*The Portrait and Coat of Arms (1:1)*





No. 65 : Anonymous (7), *The Portrait of a Man (Jérôme de Busleyden ?)*.  
*The Head of the Sitter (M 2 ×)*





No. 65 : Anonymous (7), *The Portrait of a Man (Jerôme de Busleyden ?). The Reverse*

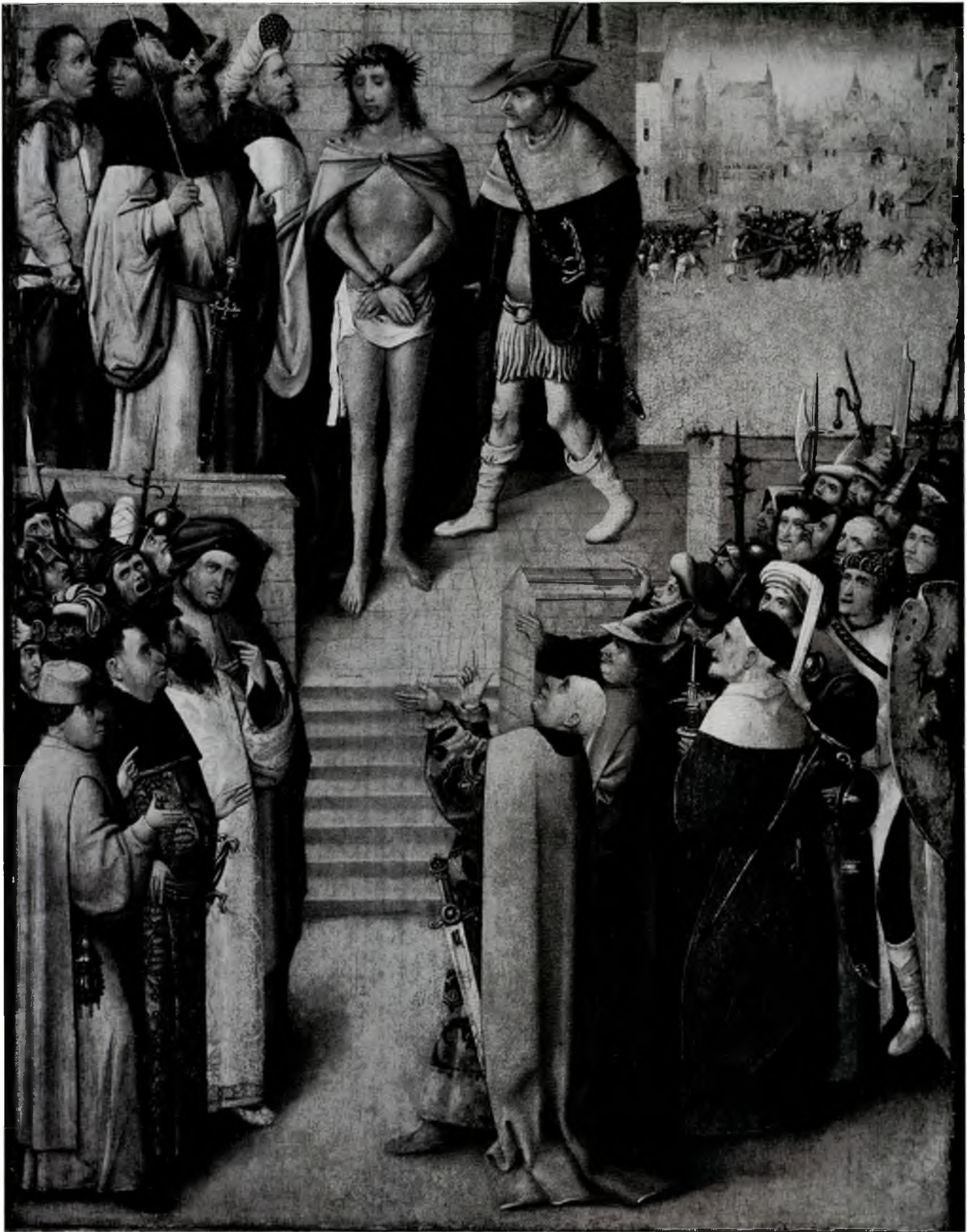


No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo (with side panels open)*





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo* (with side panels closed)

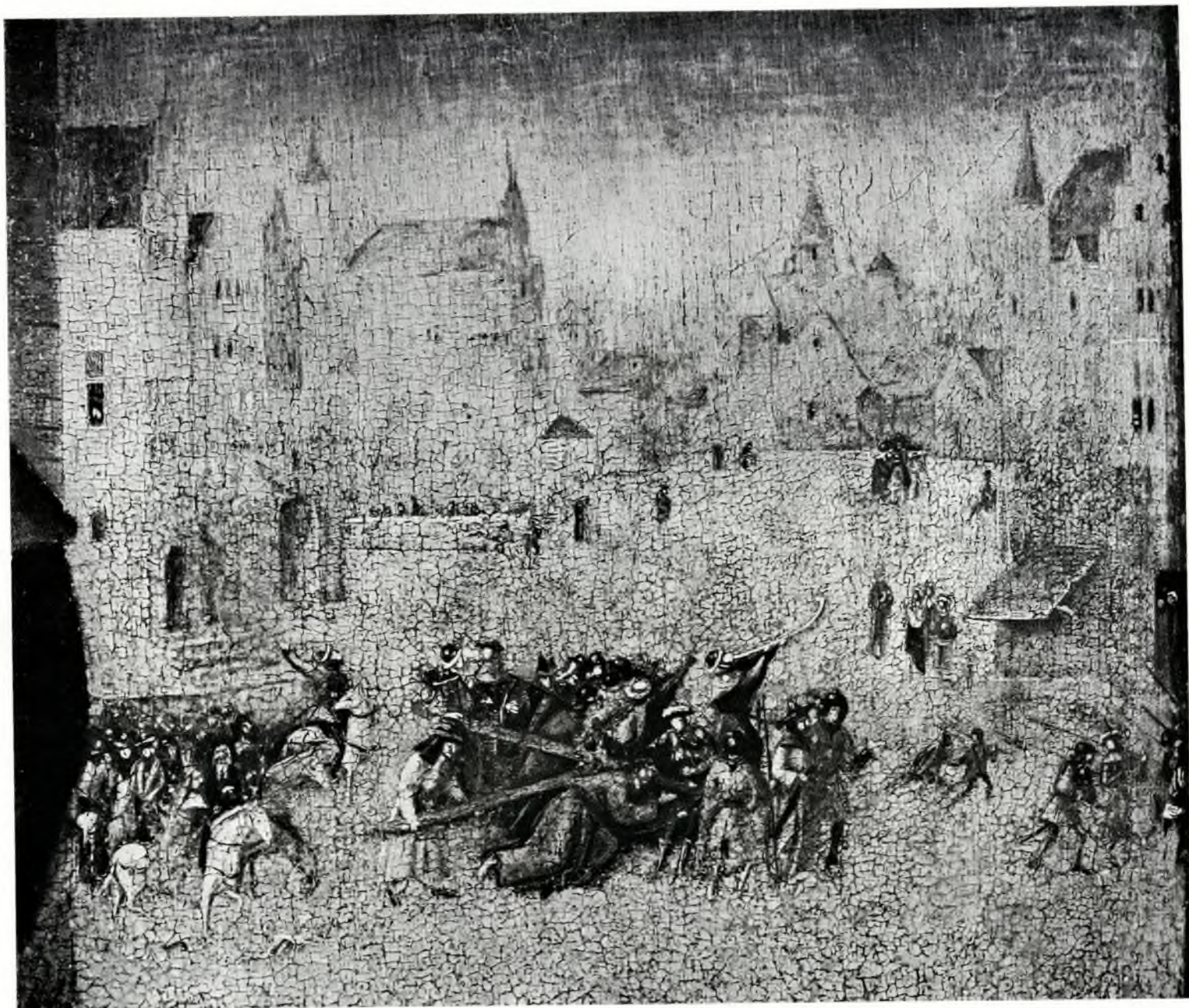


No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. Christ, Pilate and Attendants*



No. 66: Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. Landscape with the Bearing of the Cross*





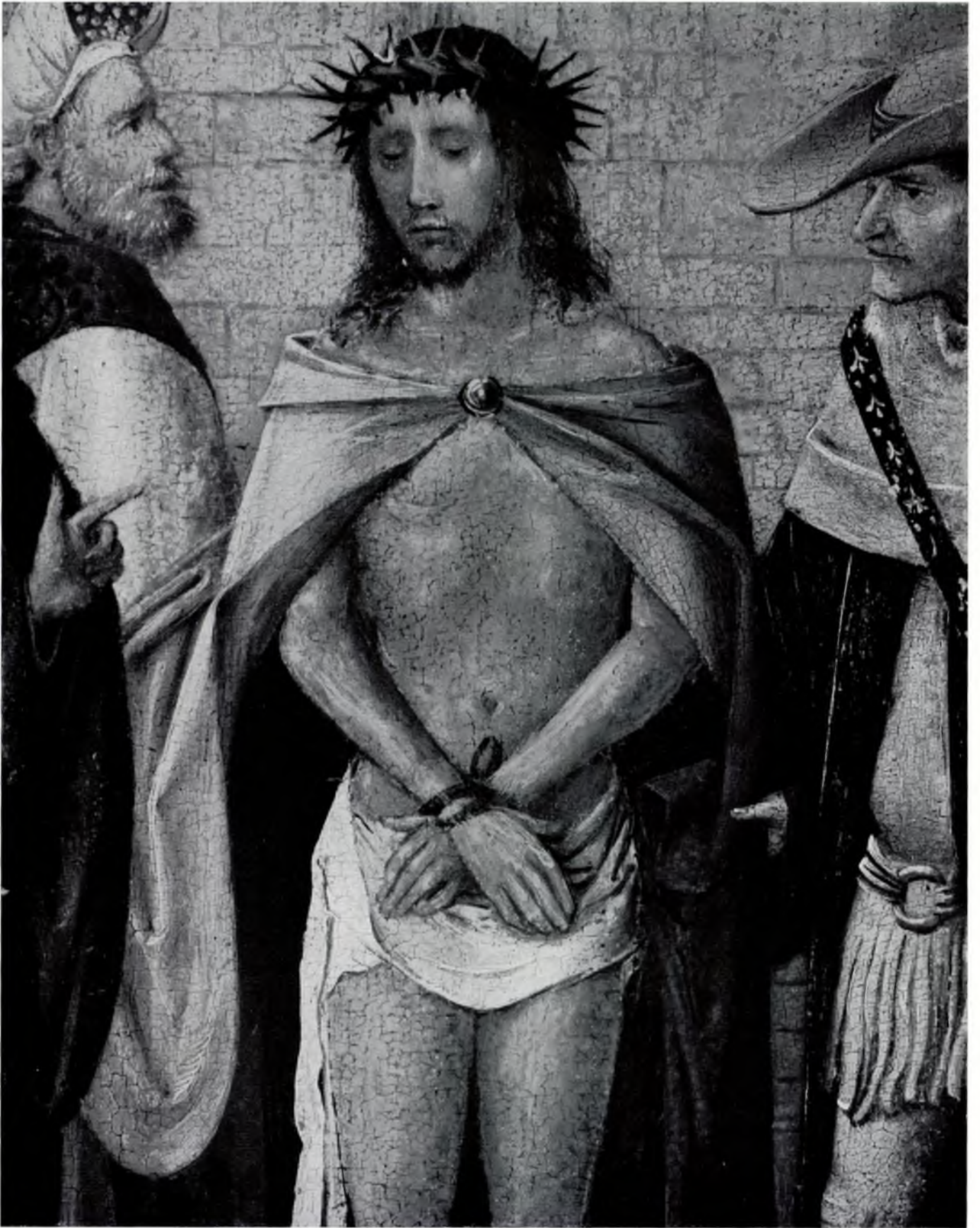
No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*. Group in the Lower Left Corner





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*. Group in the Lower Right Corner





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. Christ* (1:1)





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*. Heads of Jews and Soldiers, at Right





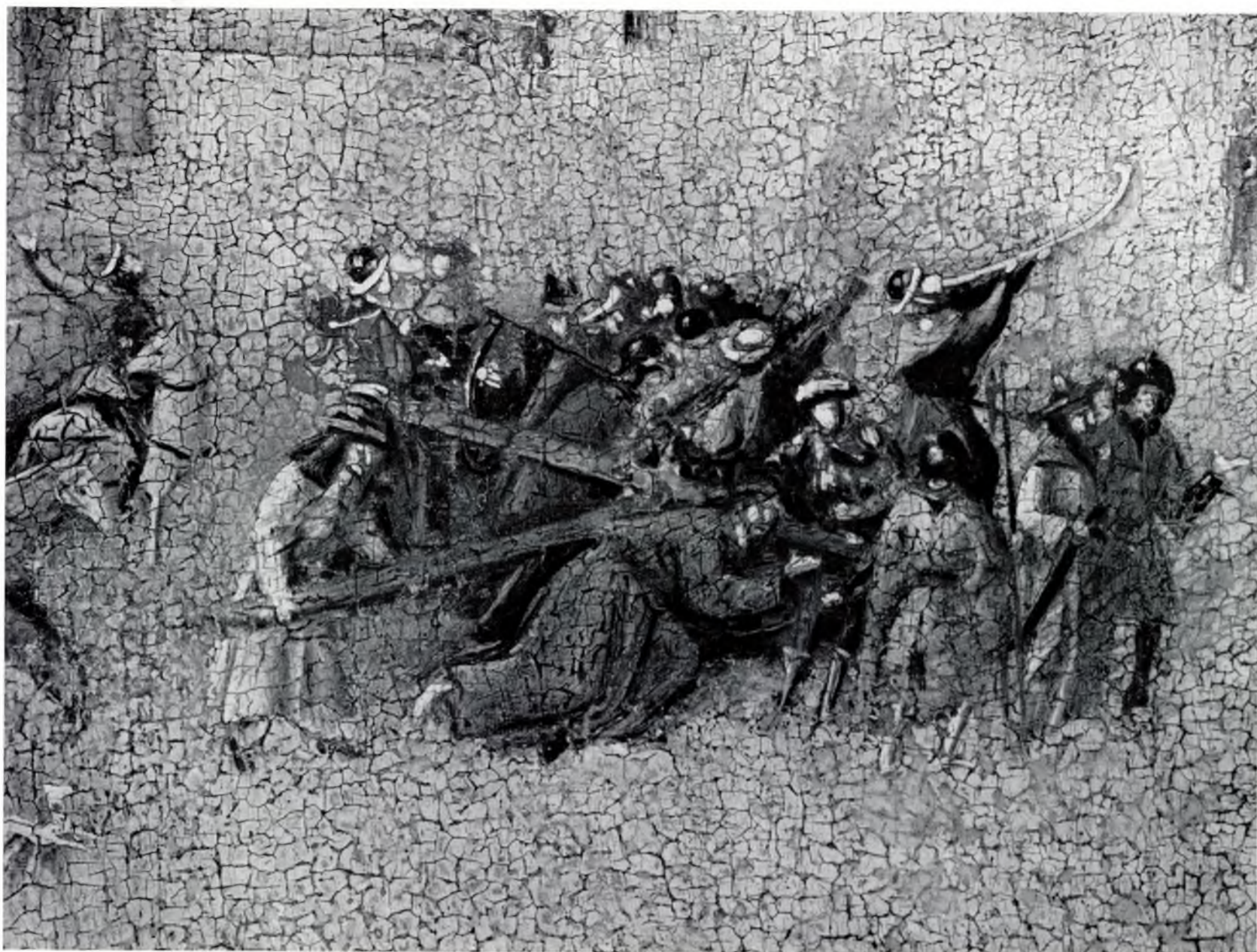
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No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. The Bearing of the Cross* (M 2 ×)



No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. Heads, at Left* (M 2 ×)





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*. Reverse of the Panel



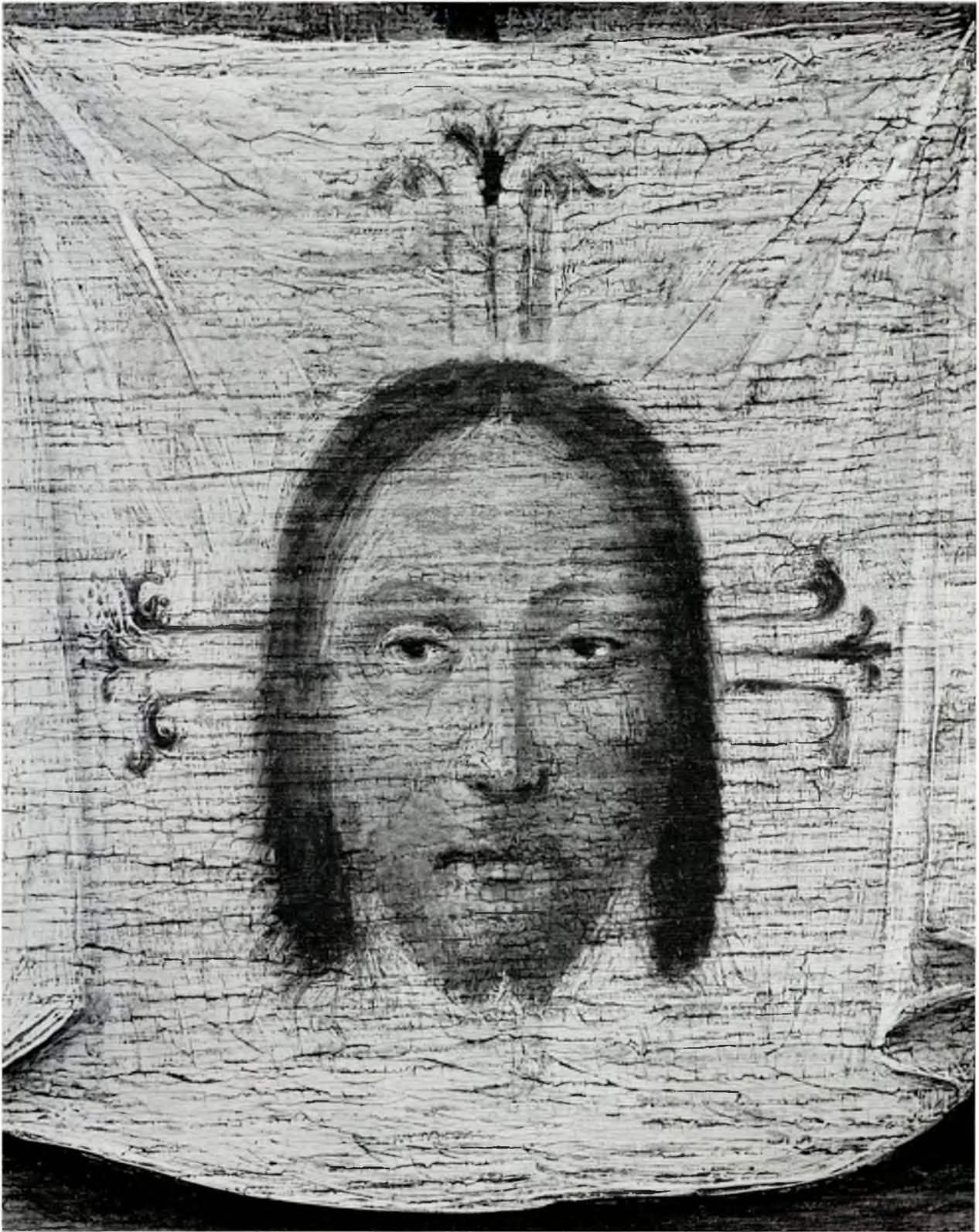
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No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo. Exterior of the Shutters, Saints and Donors*





No. 66 : Group Bosch (5), *The Ecce Homo*. Detail of the Predella, the Veronica (M 2 ×)





No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory*



No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory* (infra-red)



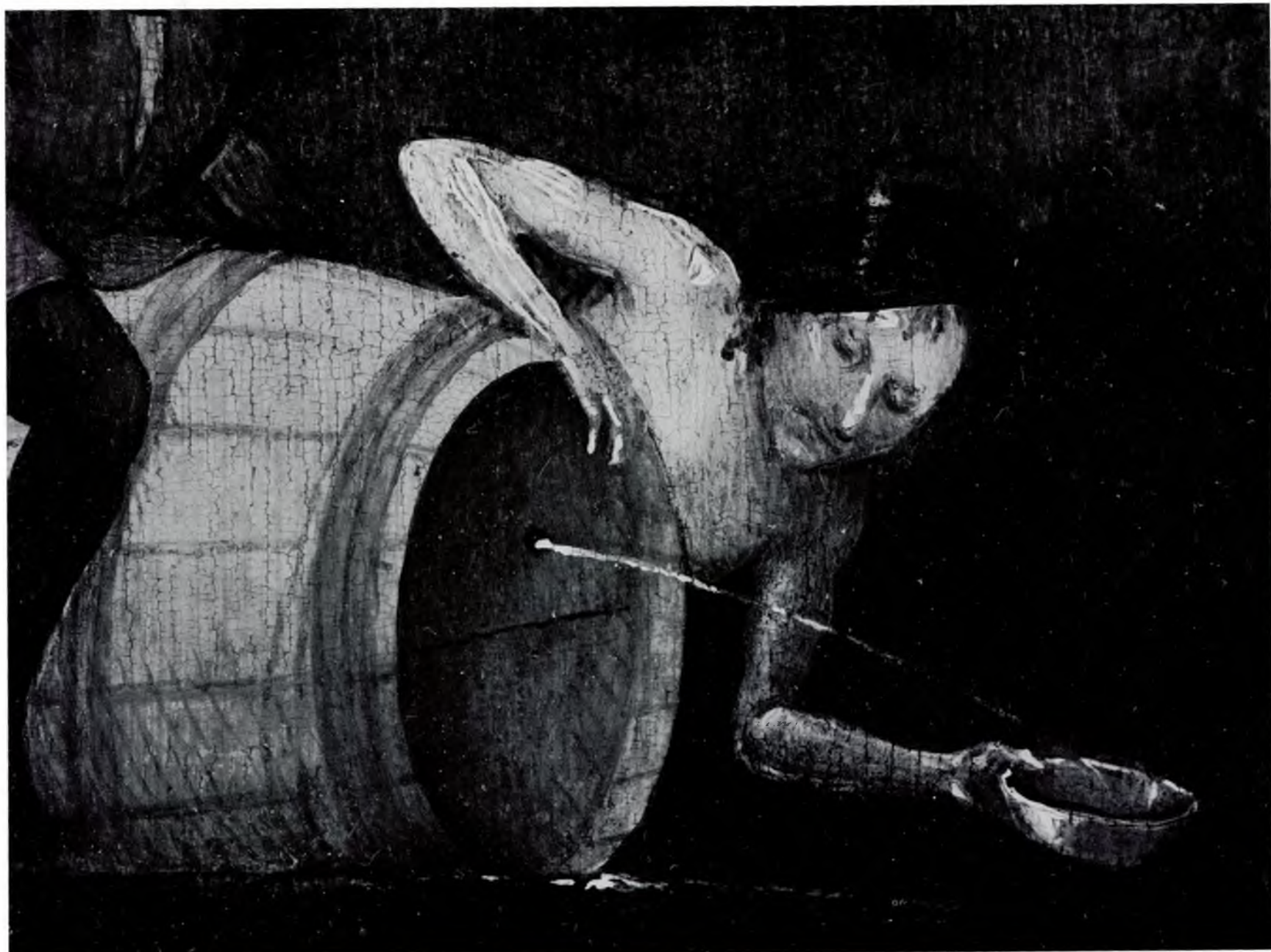


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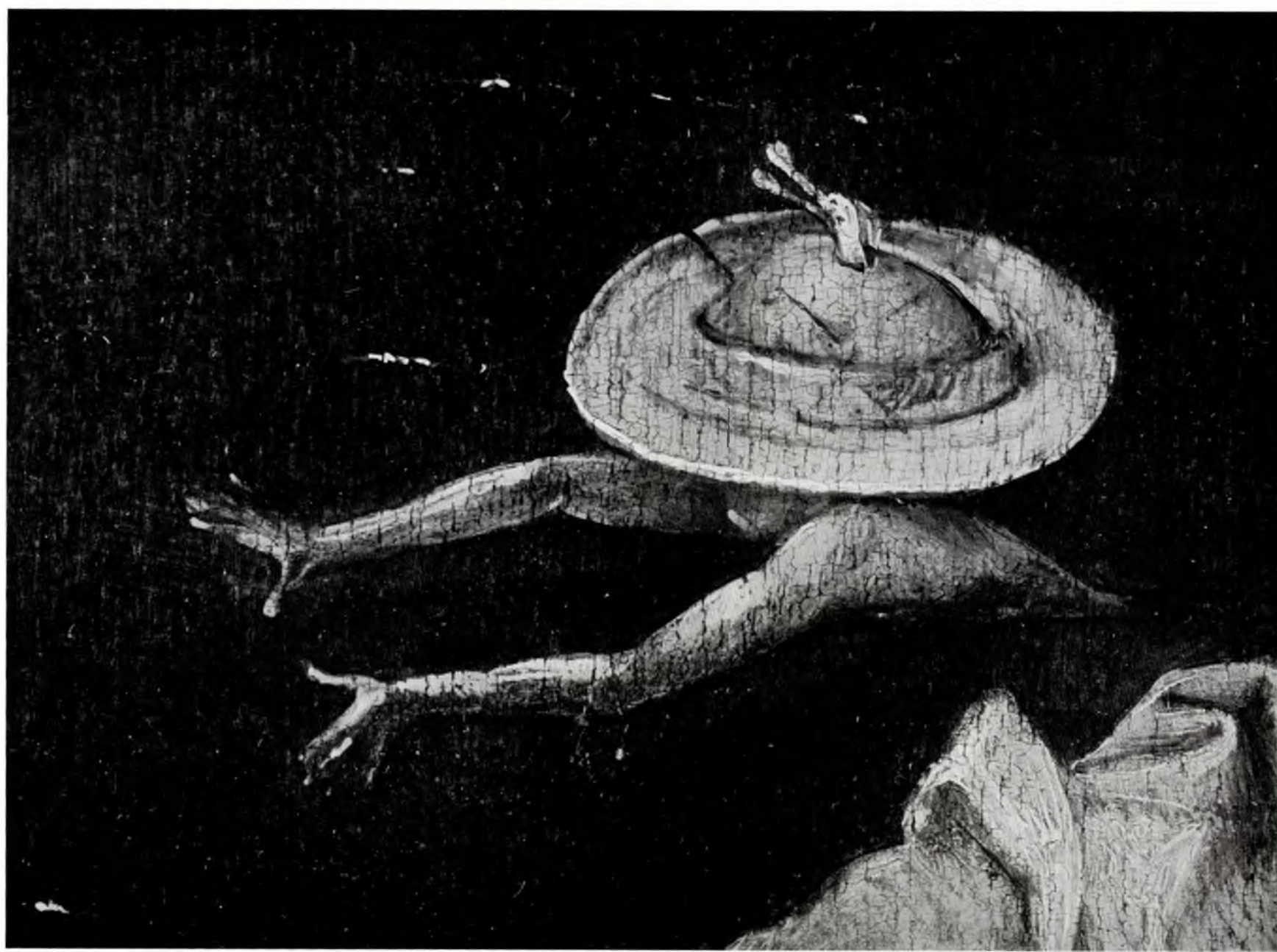


No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory. Clothes and Man Swimming (1:1)*





No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory. Man with a Cup* (M 2 ×)



No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory. Man Swimming* (M 2 ×)





No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory. The Tent* (1:1)





No. 67 : Group Bosch (6), *Allegory. The Reverse*





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel. The Virgin at Half Length (1:1)*





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*. Upper Left Corner (1:1)





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*. Upper Right Corner (1:1)





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*. Lower Left Corner (1:1)





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*. Lower Right Corner (1:1)





No. 68: Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel*. *The Virgin and Child*, Detail (M 2 ×)





No. 68 : Group Bouts, Aelbrecht (2), *The Virgin and Child with an Angel. The Reverse*





*No. 69 : Group Bouts (7), The Virgin and Child*



No. 69 : Group Bouts (7), *The Virgin and Child* (infra-red)



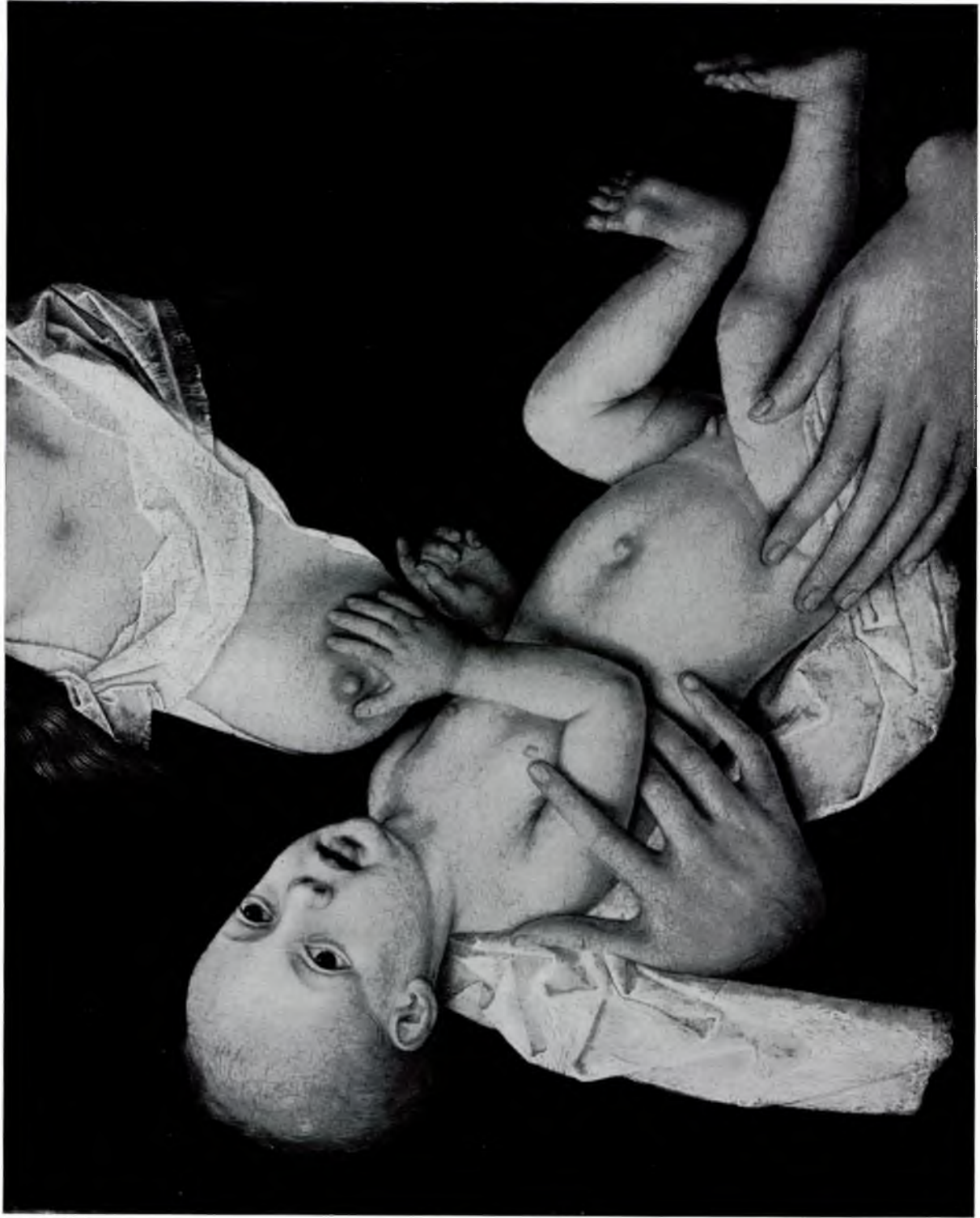


*No. 69 : Group Bouts (7), The Virgin and Child. Head of the Virgin (1:1)*

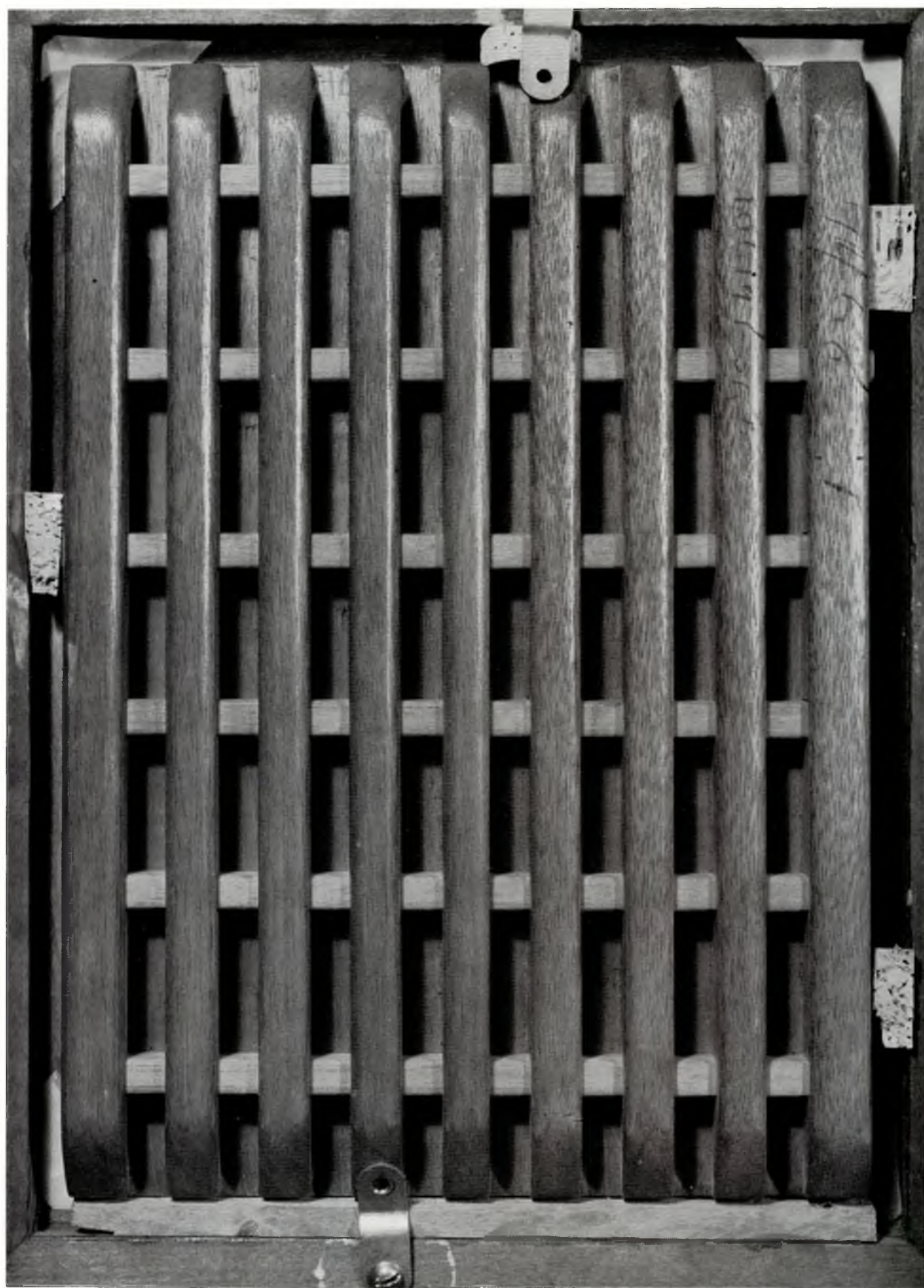


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No. 69 : Group Bouts (7), *The Virgin and Child. The Reverse*





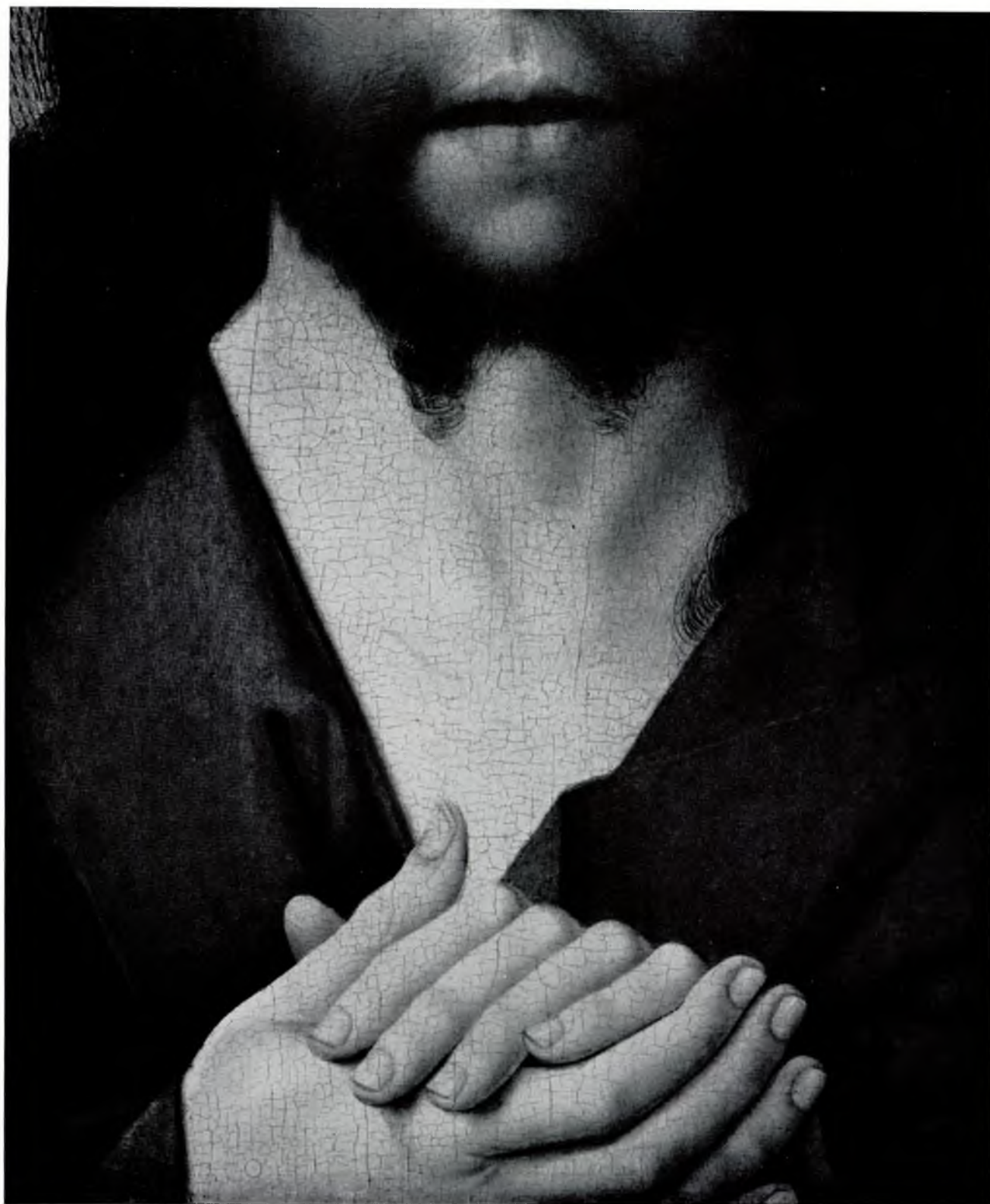
*No. 70 : Group Bouts (8), Christ Crowned with Thorns*





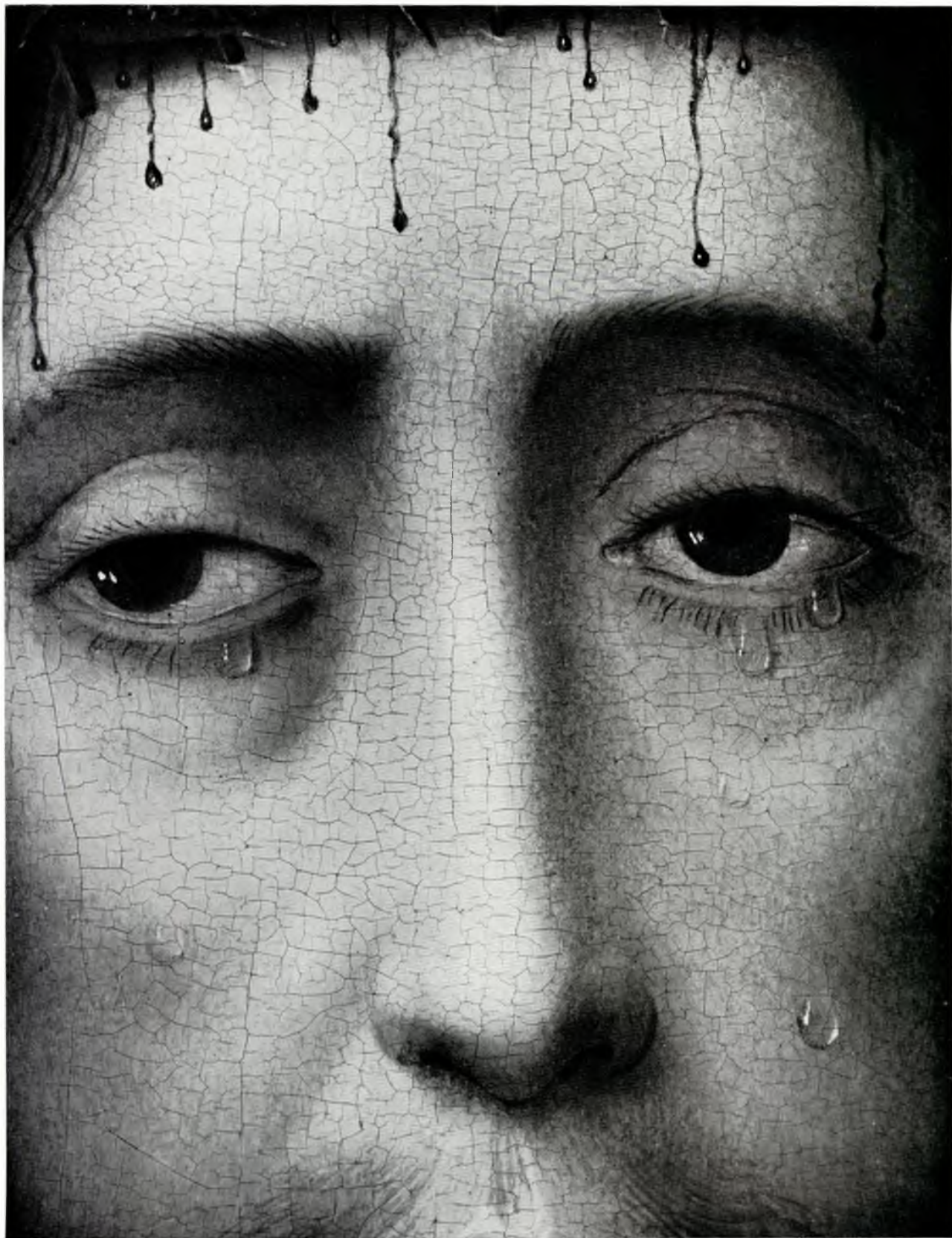
*No. 70 : Group Bouts (8), Christ Crowned with Thorns. Head of Christ (1:1)*





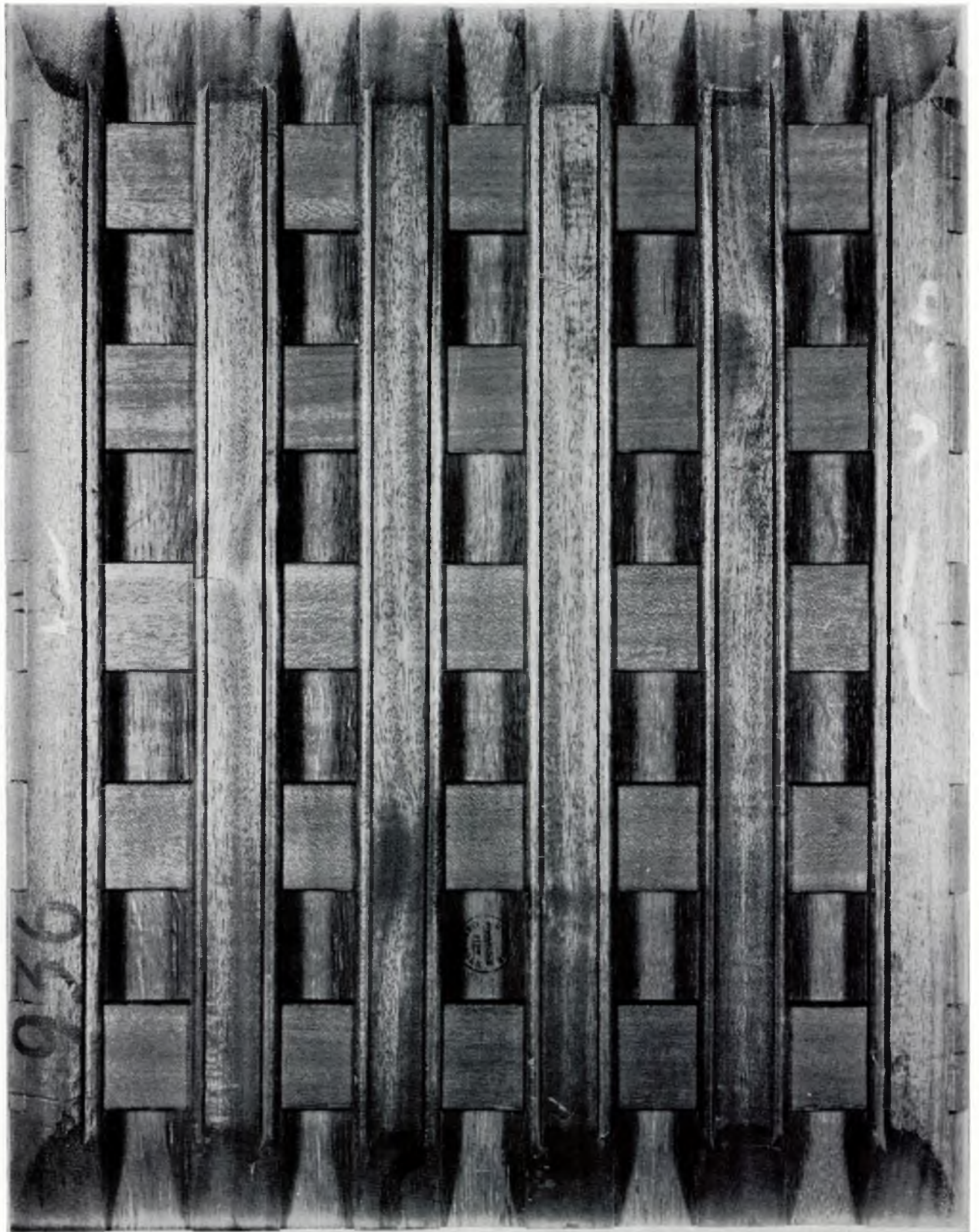
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No. 70 : Group Bouts (8), *Christ Crowned with Thorns. The Reverse*





*No. 71 : Group Memlinc (7), The Virgin and Child*





No. 71 : Group Memline (7), *The Virgin and Child* (1:1)





No. 71 : Group Memline (7), *The Virgin and Child. Head of the Virgin* (M 2 ×)



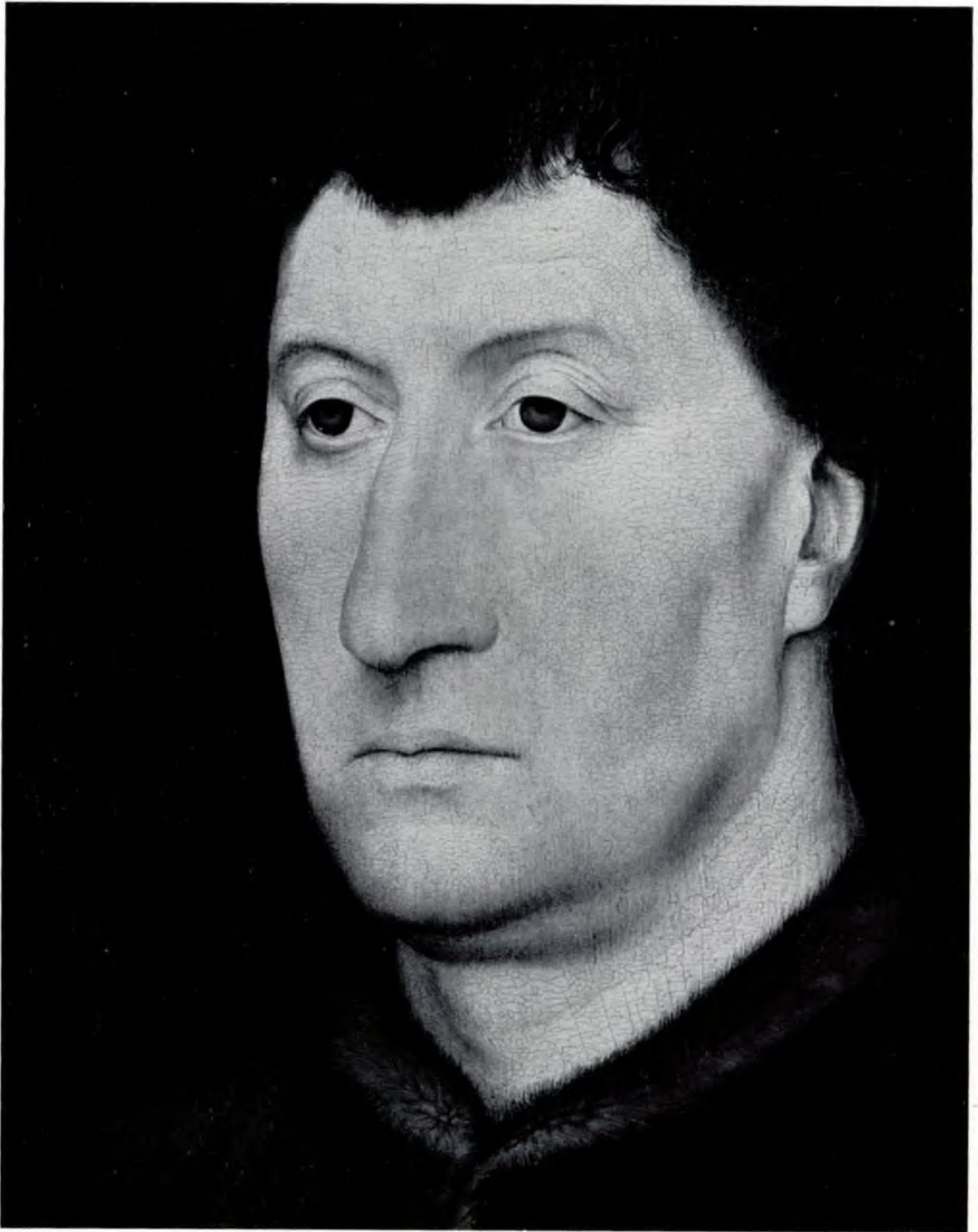


No. 71 : Group Memline (7), *The Virgin and Child. The Reverse*

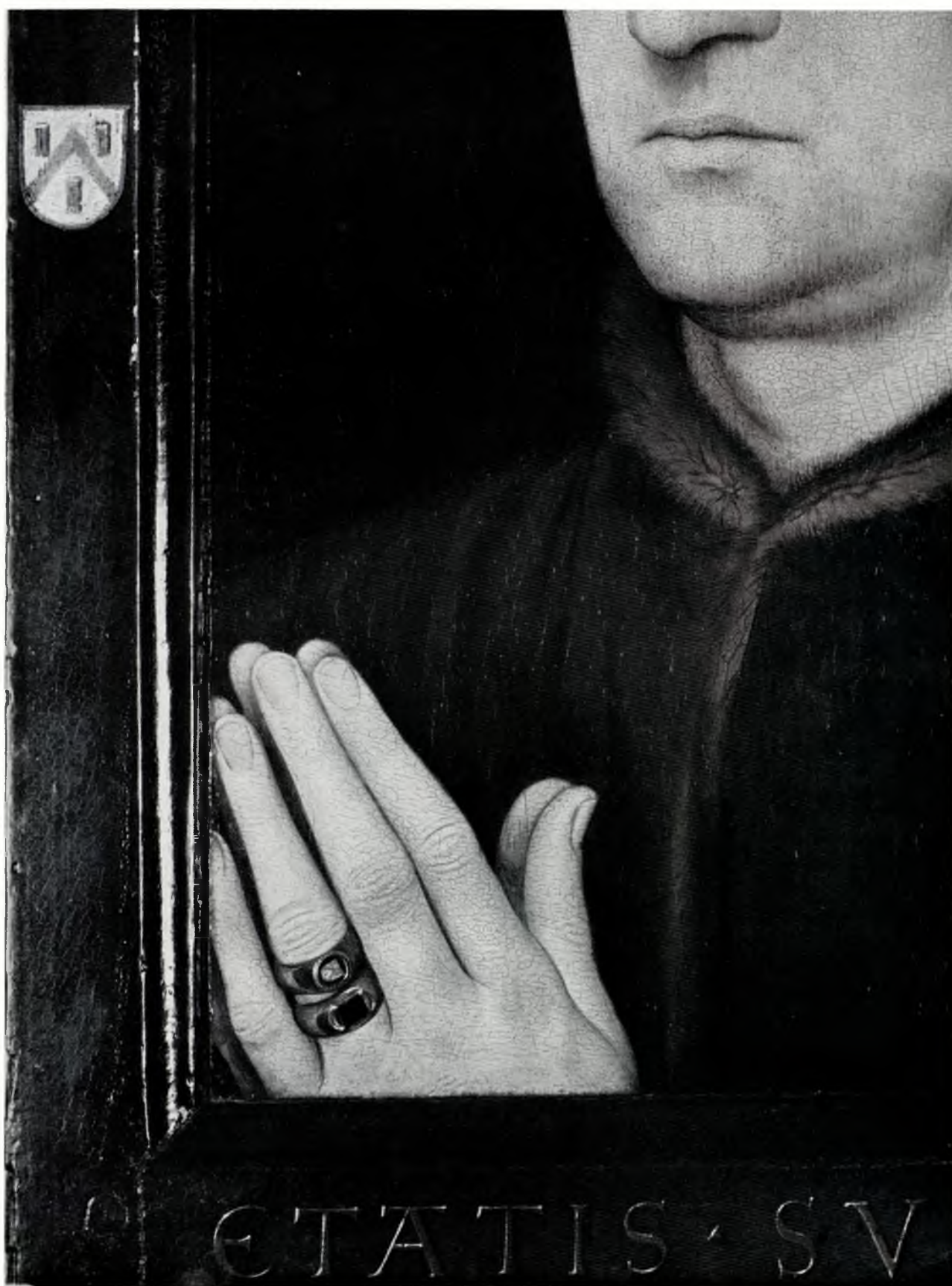


No. 72 : Group Memlinc (8), *The Portrait of Gilles Joye*



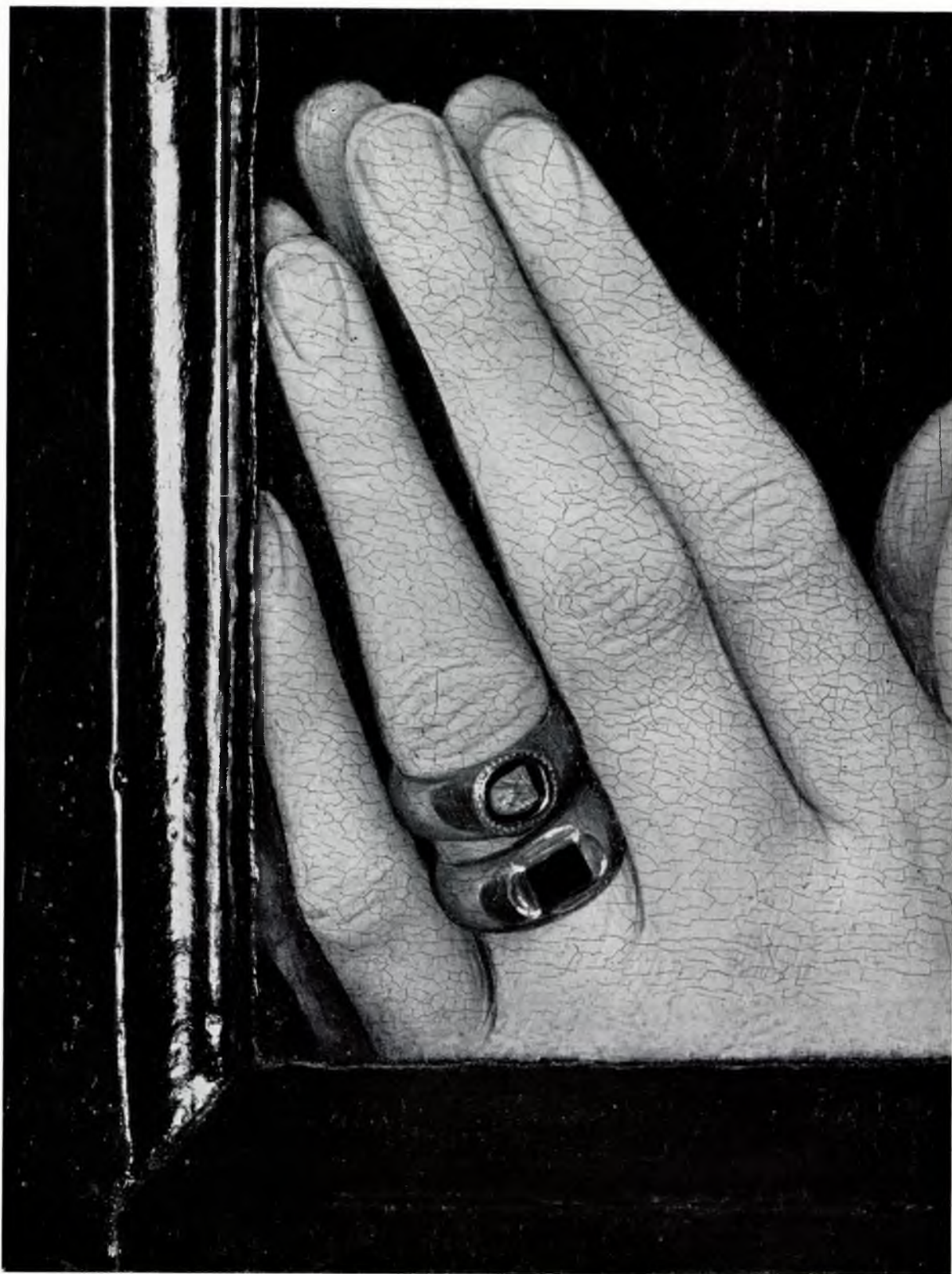


No. 72 : Group Memlinc (8), *The Portrait of Gilles Joye. Head of the Sitter (1:1)*



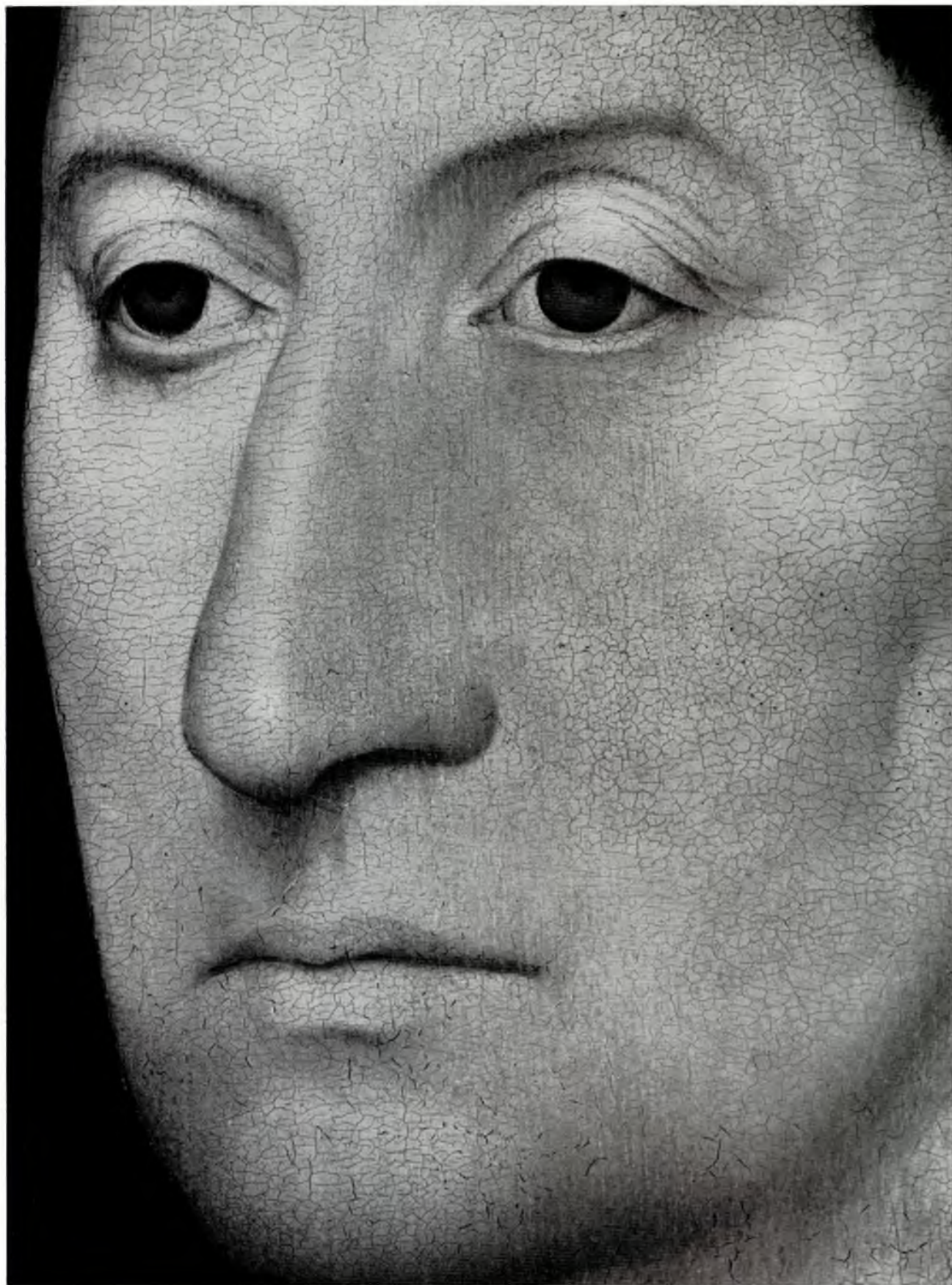
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*No. 72: Group Memlinc (8), The Portrait of Gilles Joye. Hands and Rings (M 2 ×)*





No. 72 : Group Memlinc (9), *The Portrait of Gilles Joye. Face* (M 2 ×)





No. 72 : Group Memlinc (9), *The Portrait of Gilles Joye. The Reverse*





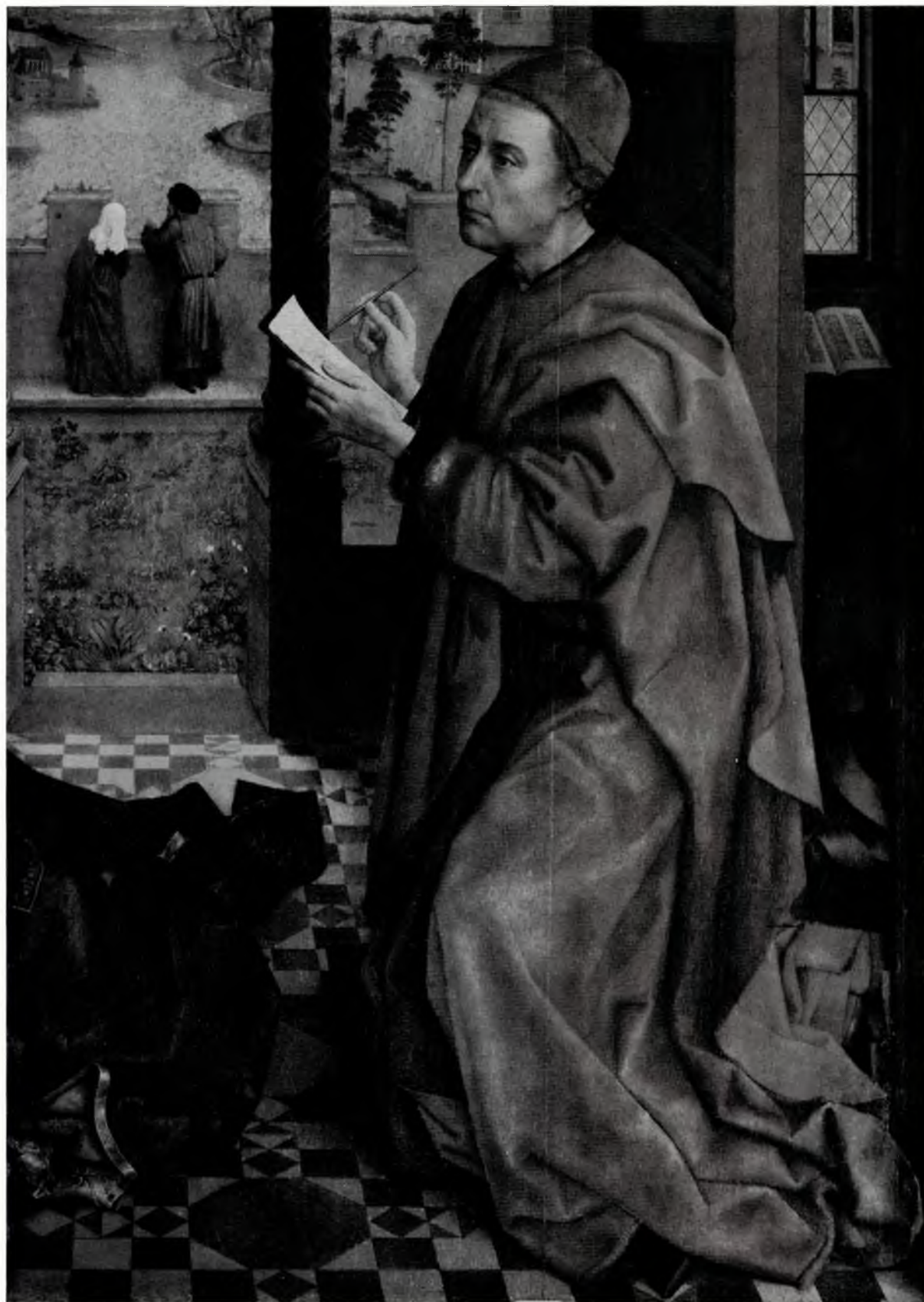
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. *The Virgin and Child*





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No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. The Virgin at Half Length*





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. *S. Luke at Half Length*





*No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Upper Left Corner*



No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Upper Right Corner





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Lower Left Corner





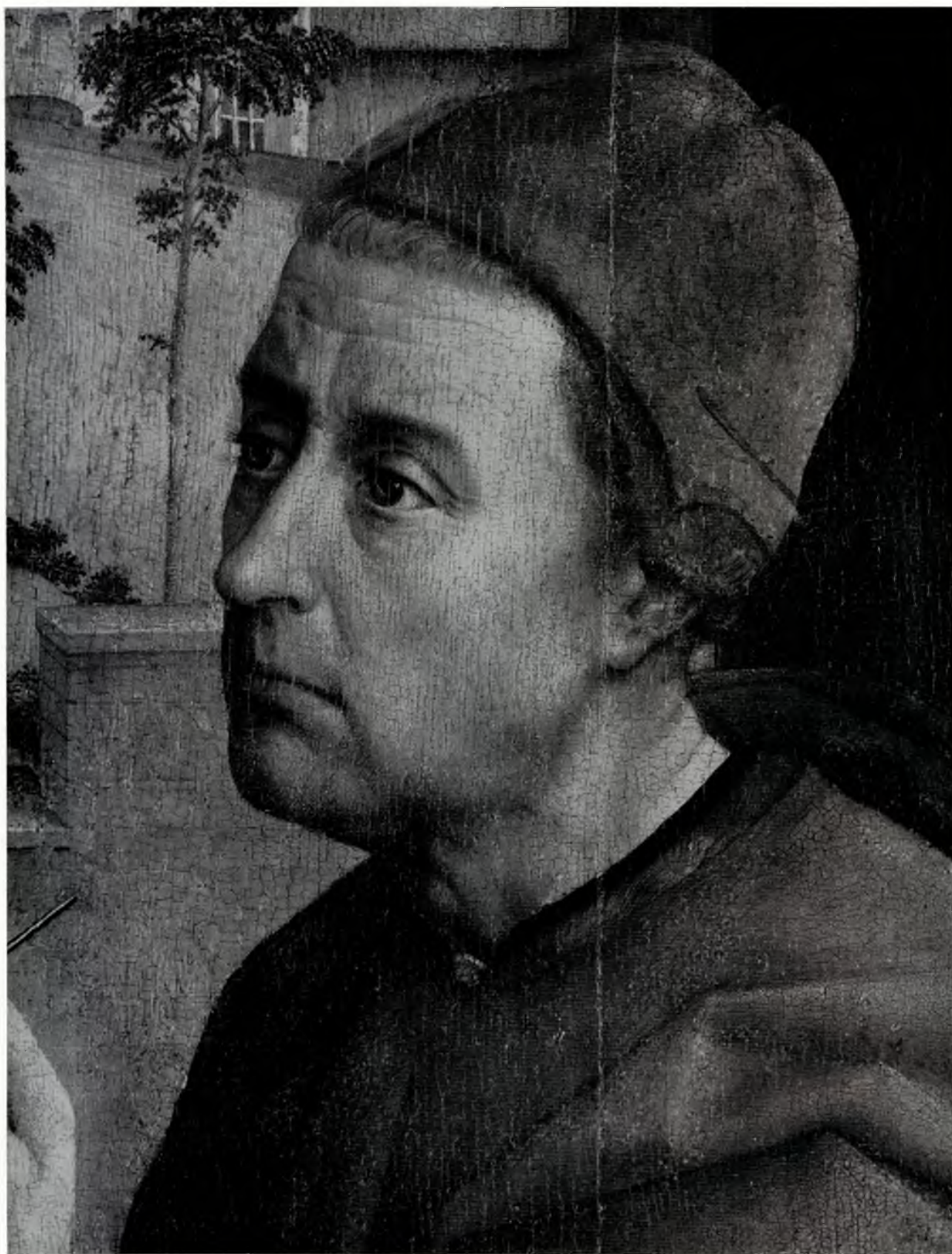
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Lower Right Corner





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Head of the Virgin (1:1)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Head of *S. Luke* (1:1)





*No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Hands of the Virgin and Child (1:1)*



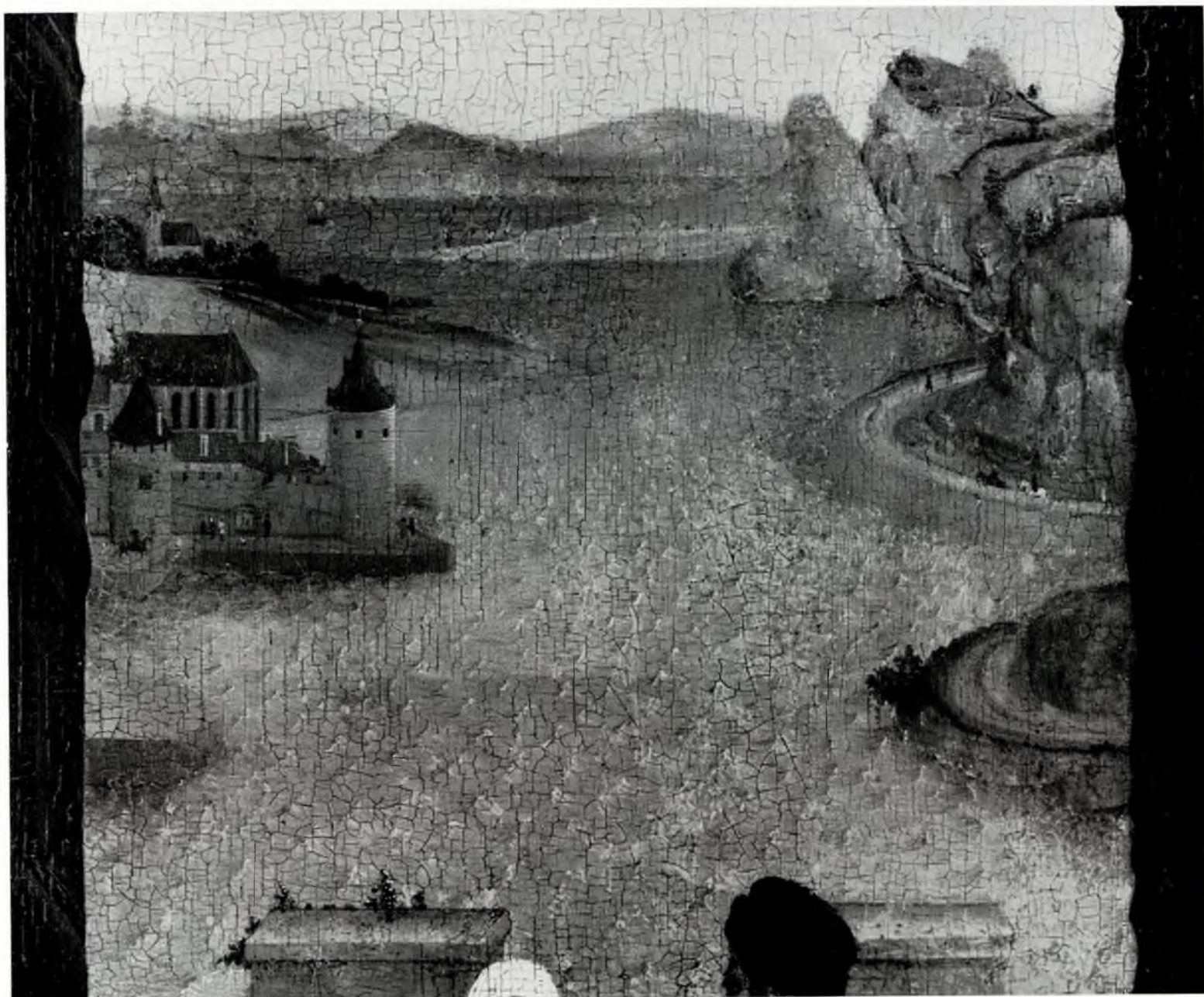


No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Hands of *S. Luke* (1:1)



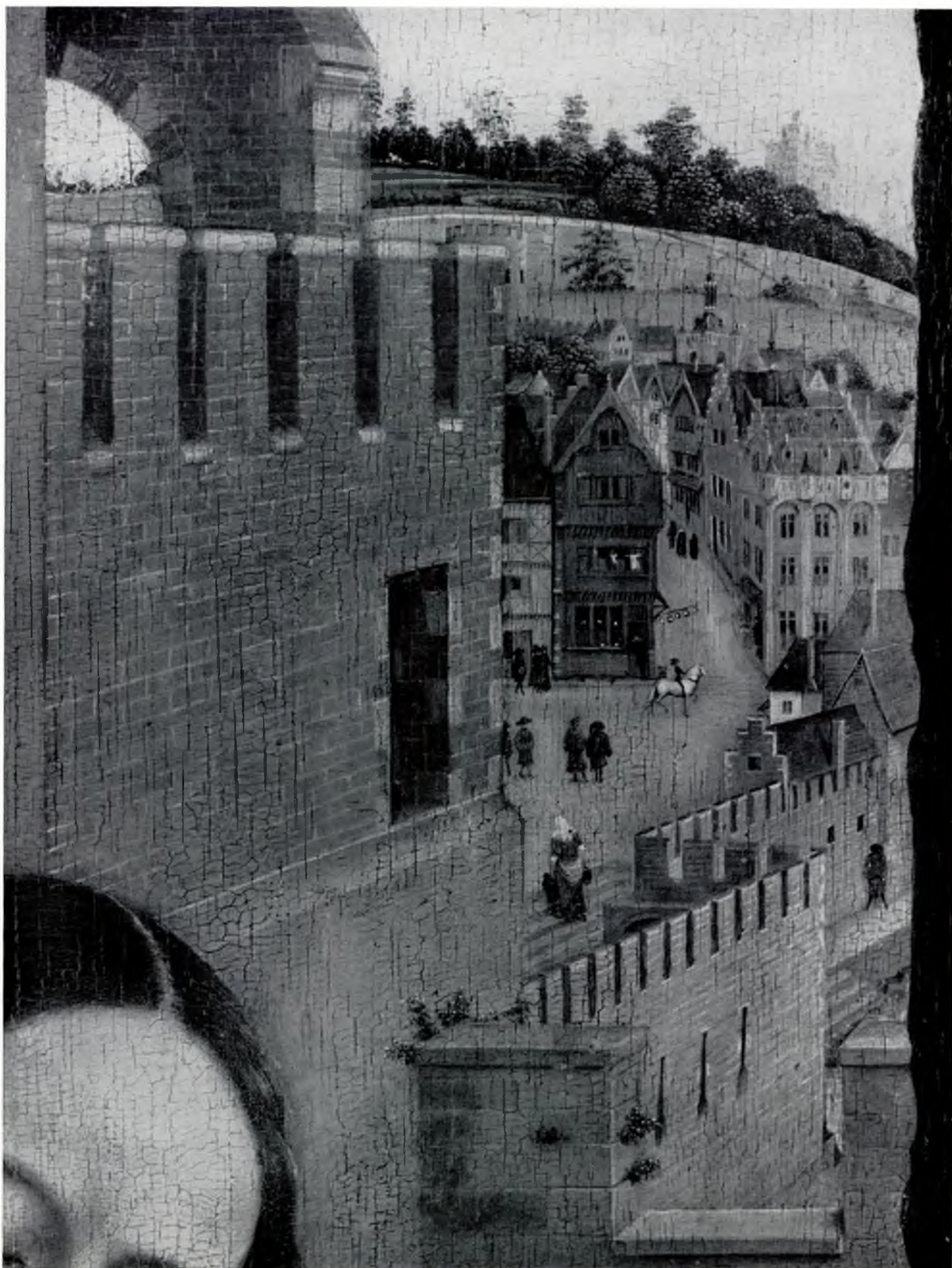


No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. The Landscape*



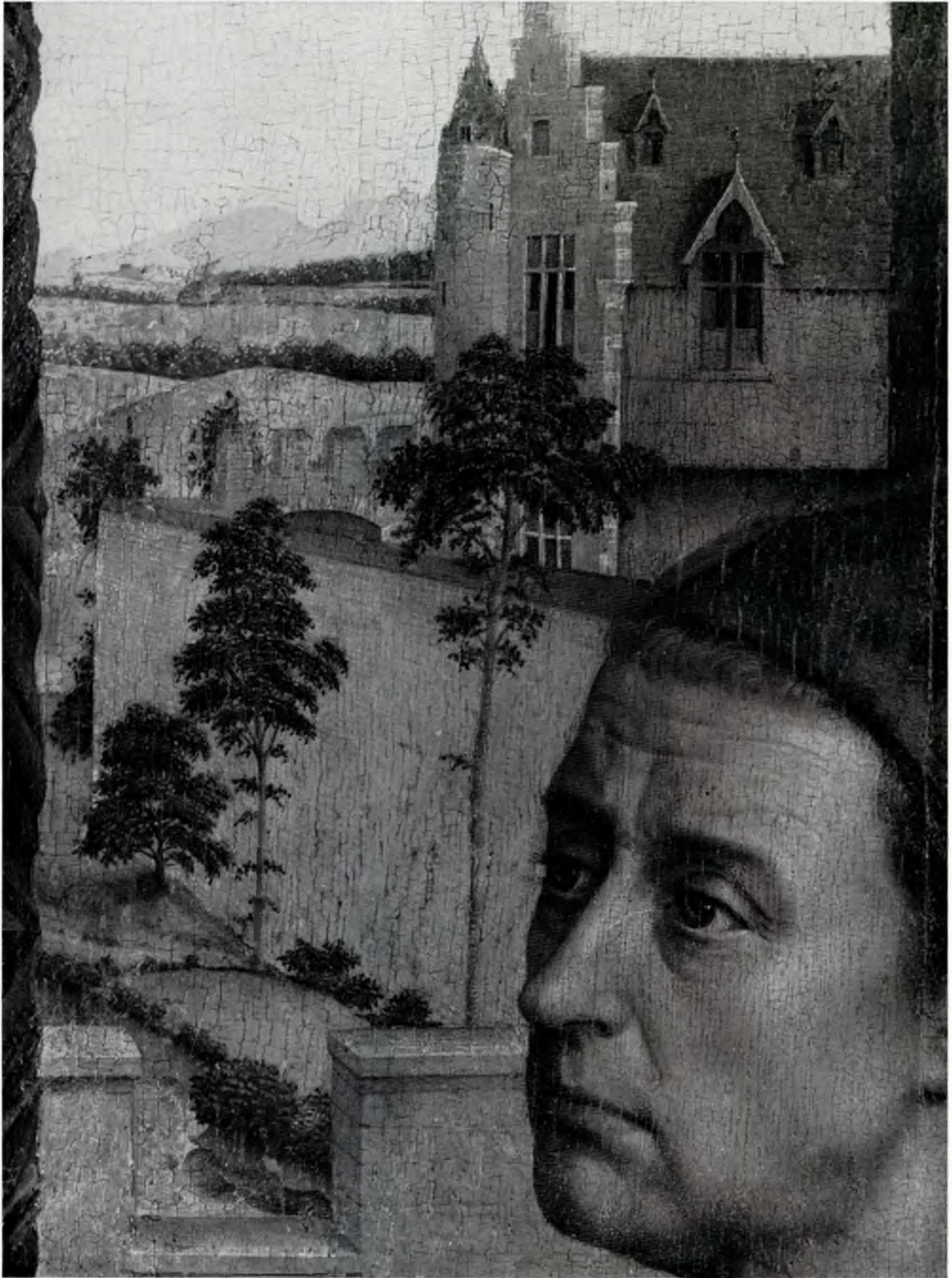
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Detail of Landscape, the River (1:1)*





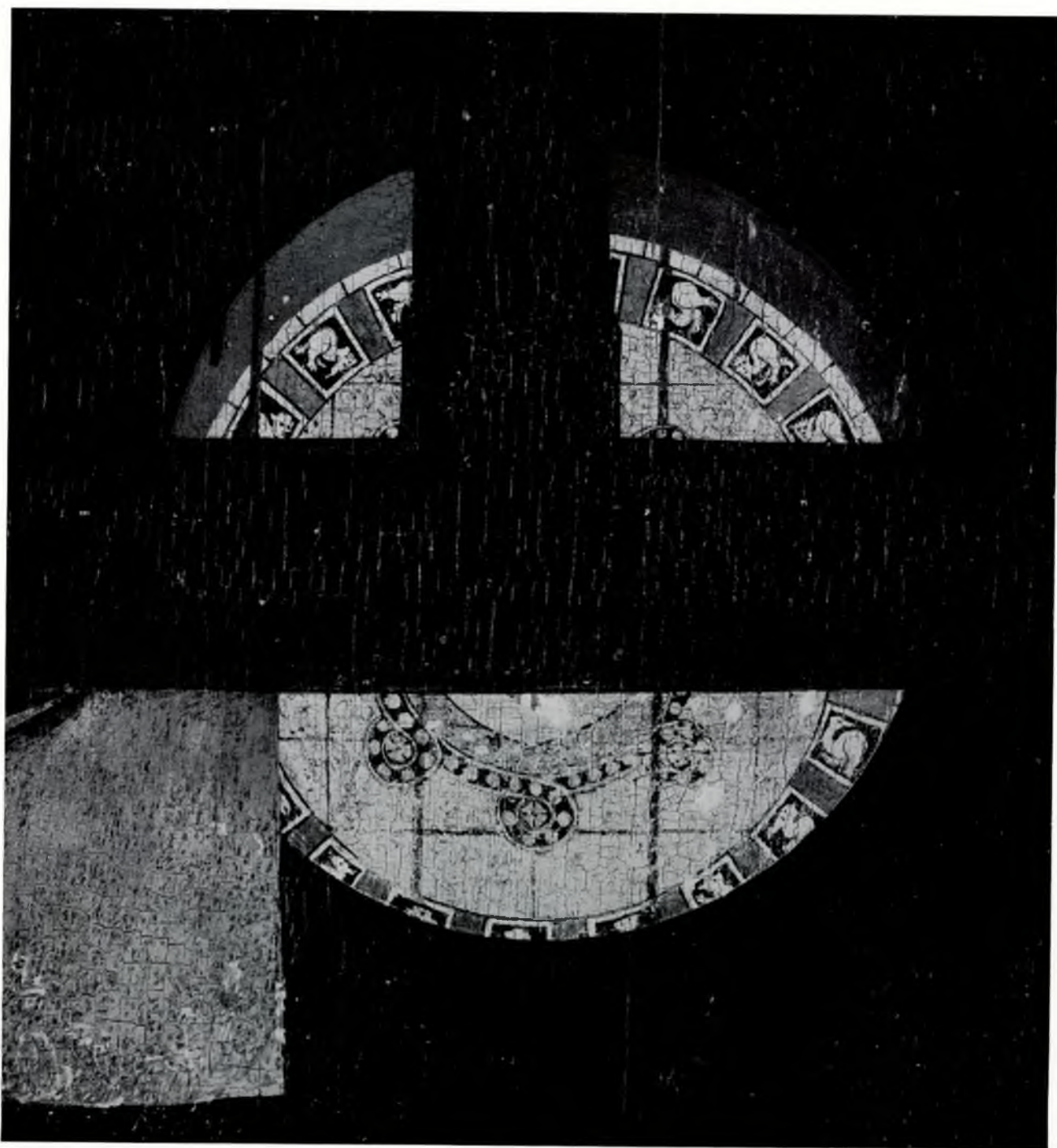
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Detail of Landscape, at Left (1:1)





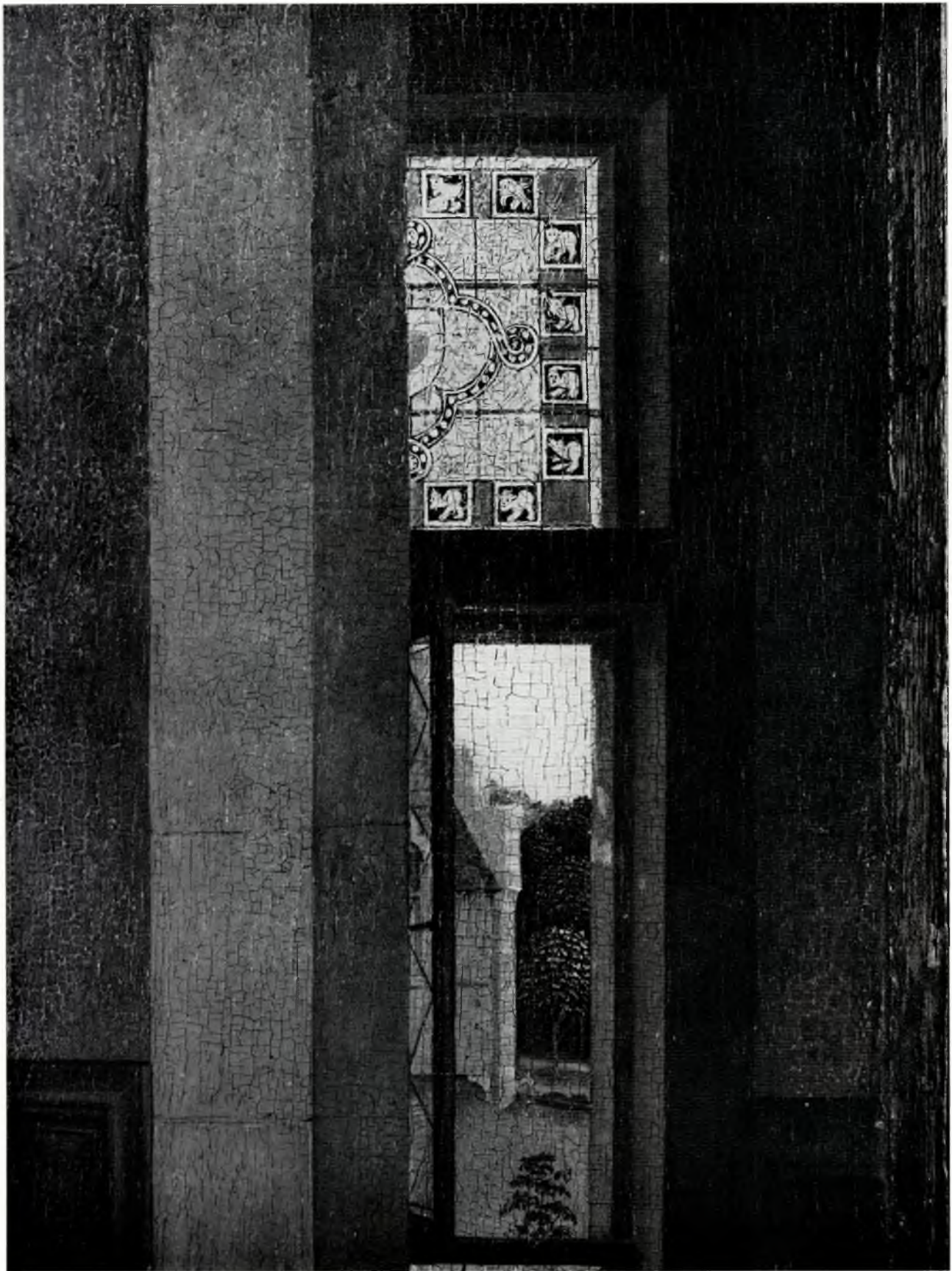
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Detail of Landscape, at Right (1:1)





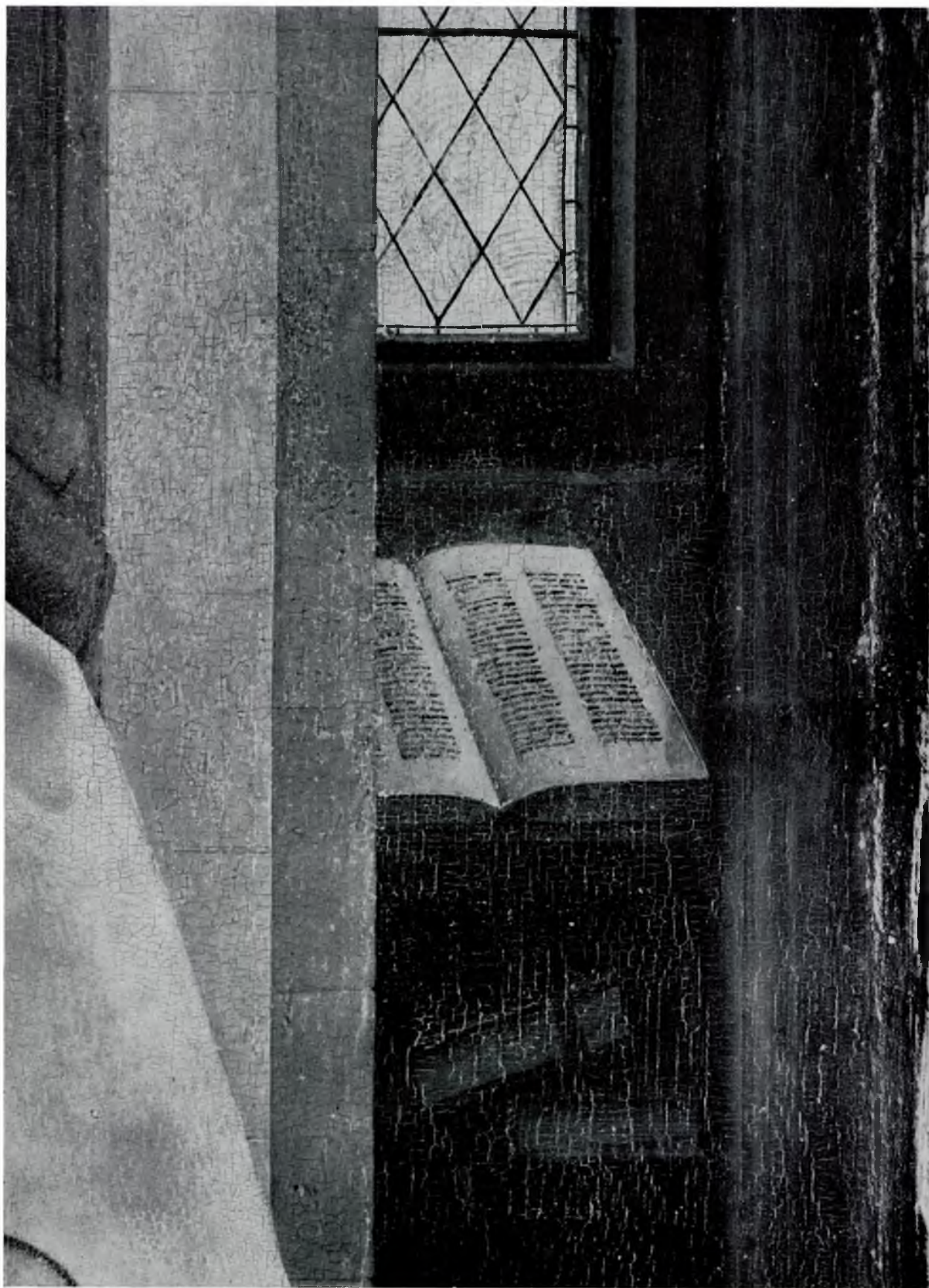
No. 73: Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Stained Glass in the Upper Window (1:1)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Window at Right (1:1)





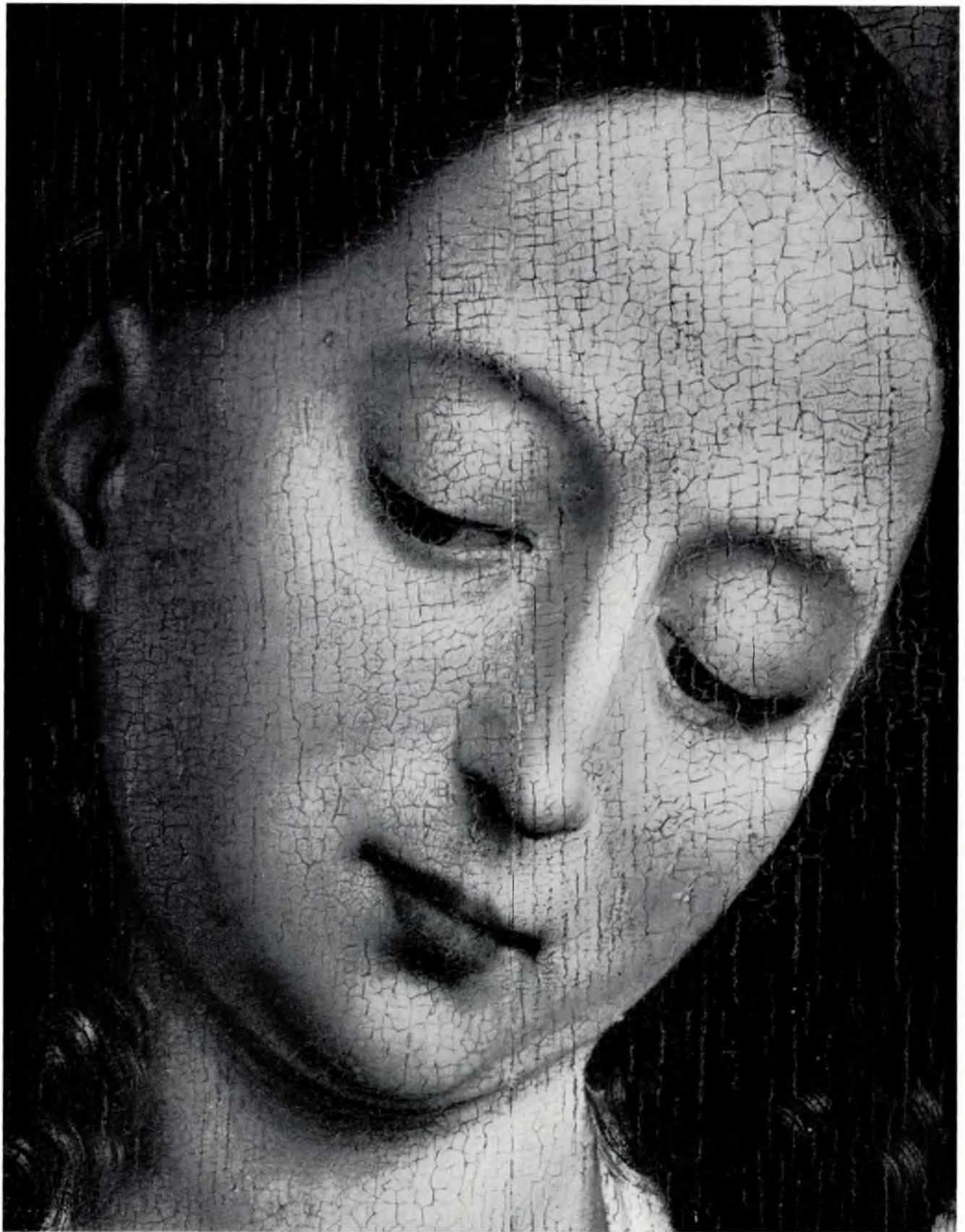
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Book Shelves at Right (1:1)





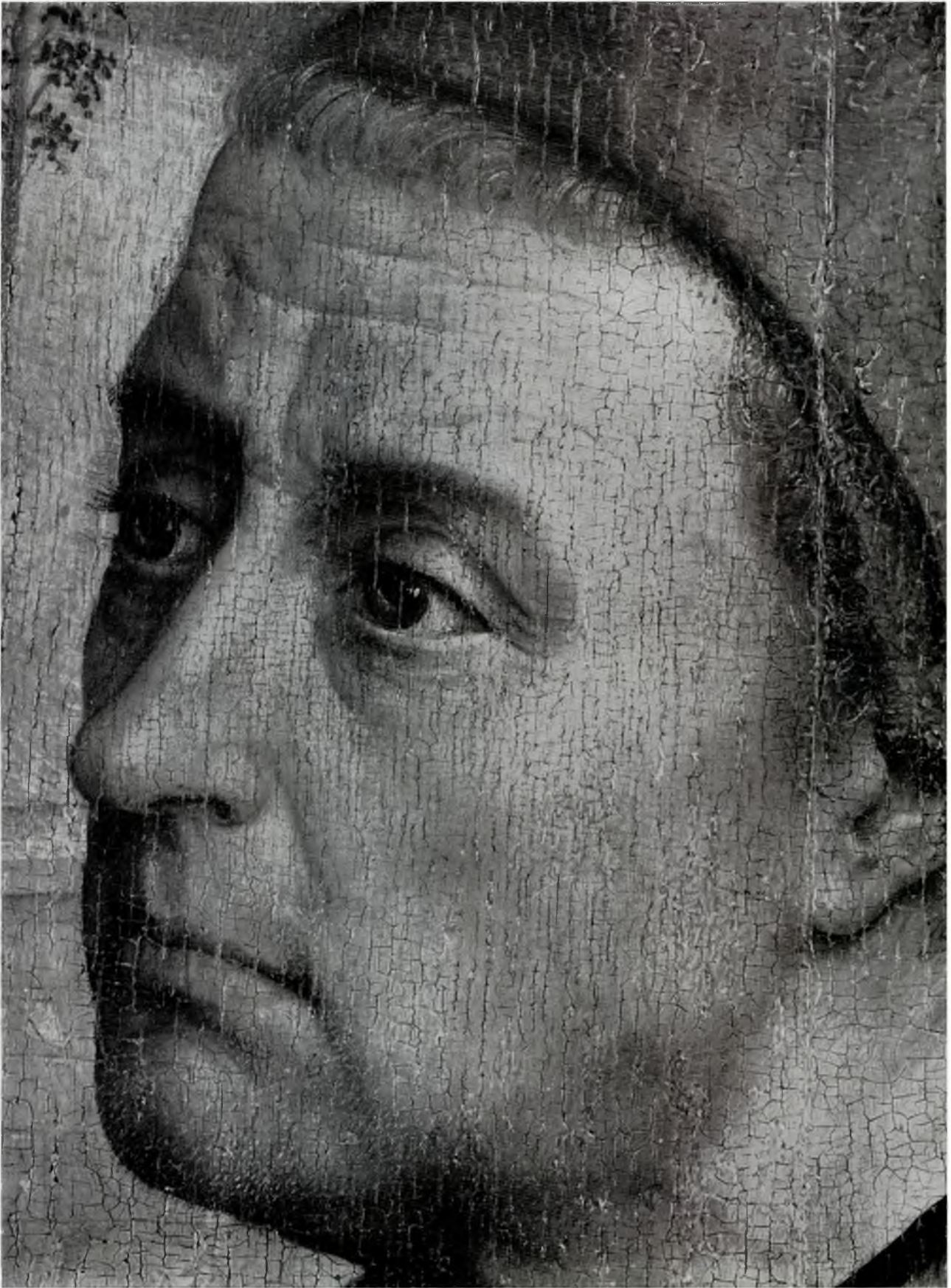
No. 73: Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Ox and Scroll (1:1)*





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Head of the Virgin (M 2 ×)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Head of St. Luke* (M 2 x)





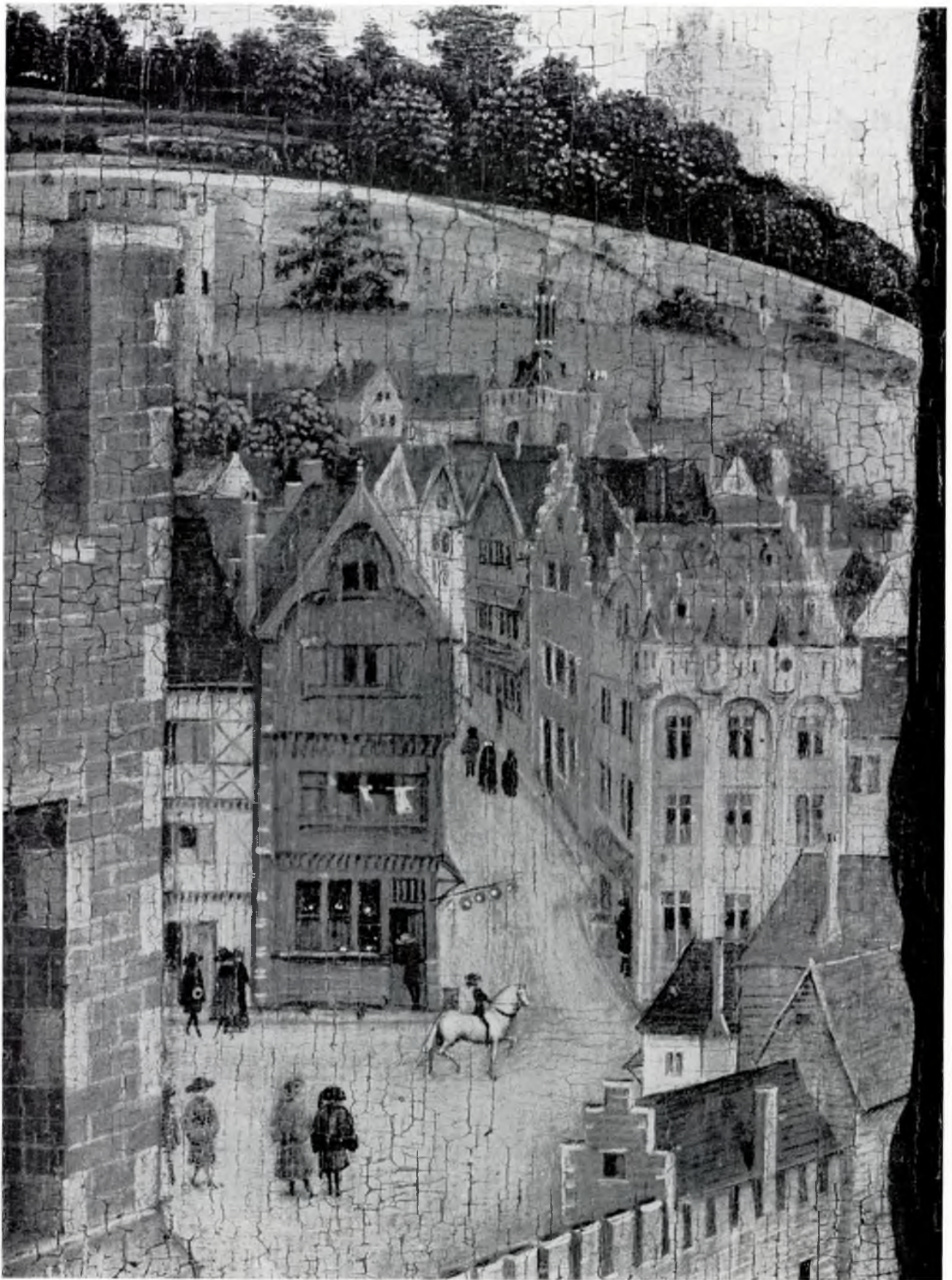
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. Head of the Child (M 2 ×)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin, Adam and Eve* (M 2 ×)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. View of a City, at Left (M 2 ×)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin.*  
*Man and Woman Looking from Battlement (M 2 ×)*





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Detail of Drapery





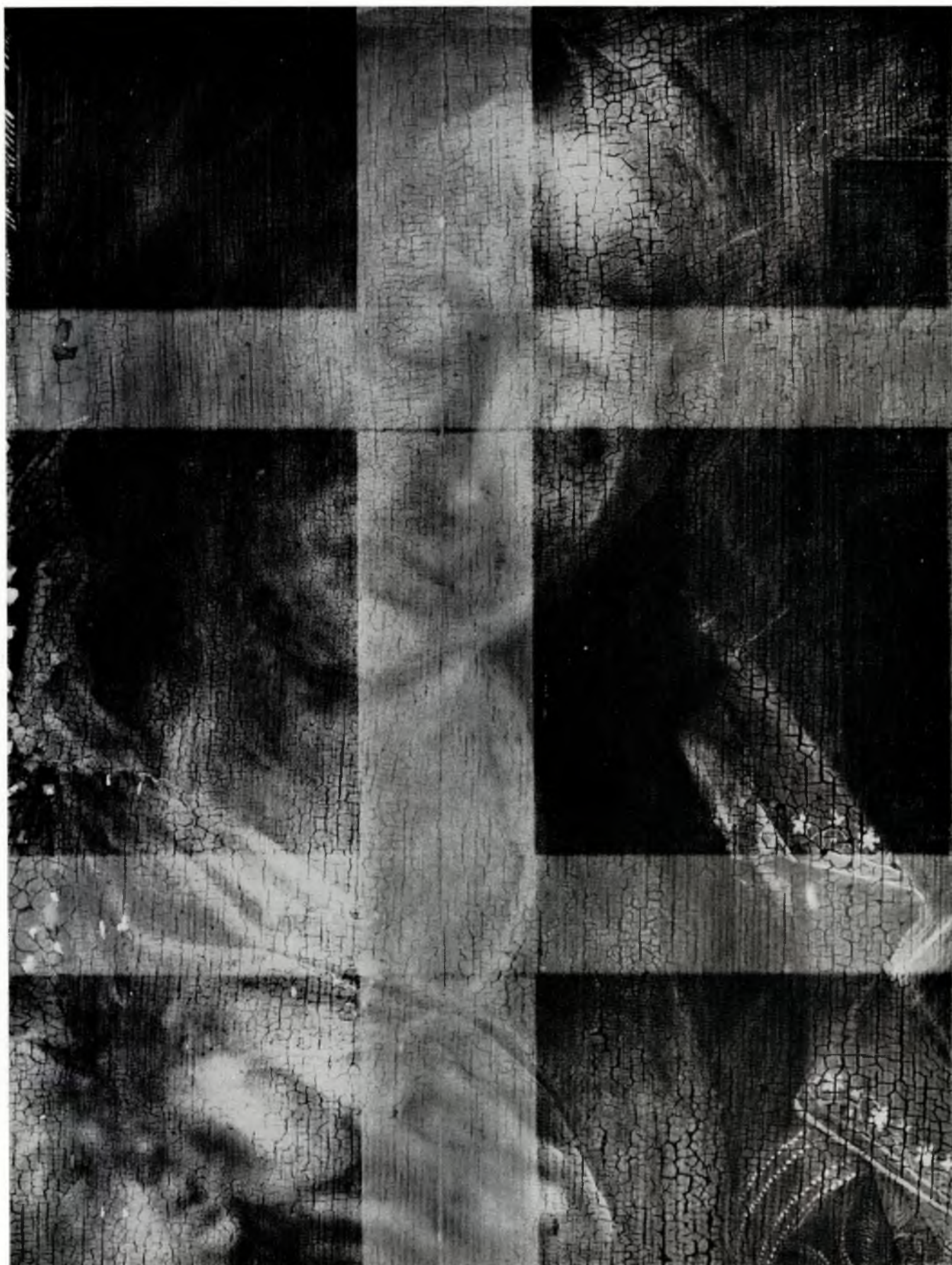
No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin. Plants in the Garden* (M 2 ×)





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin* (infra-red)



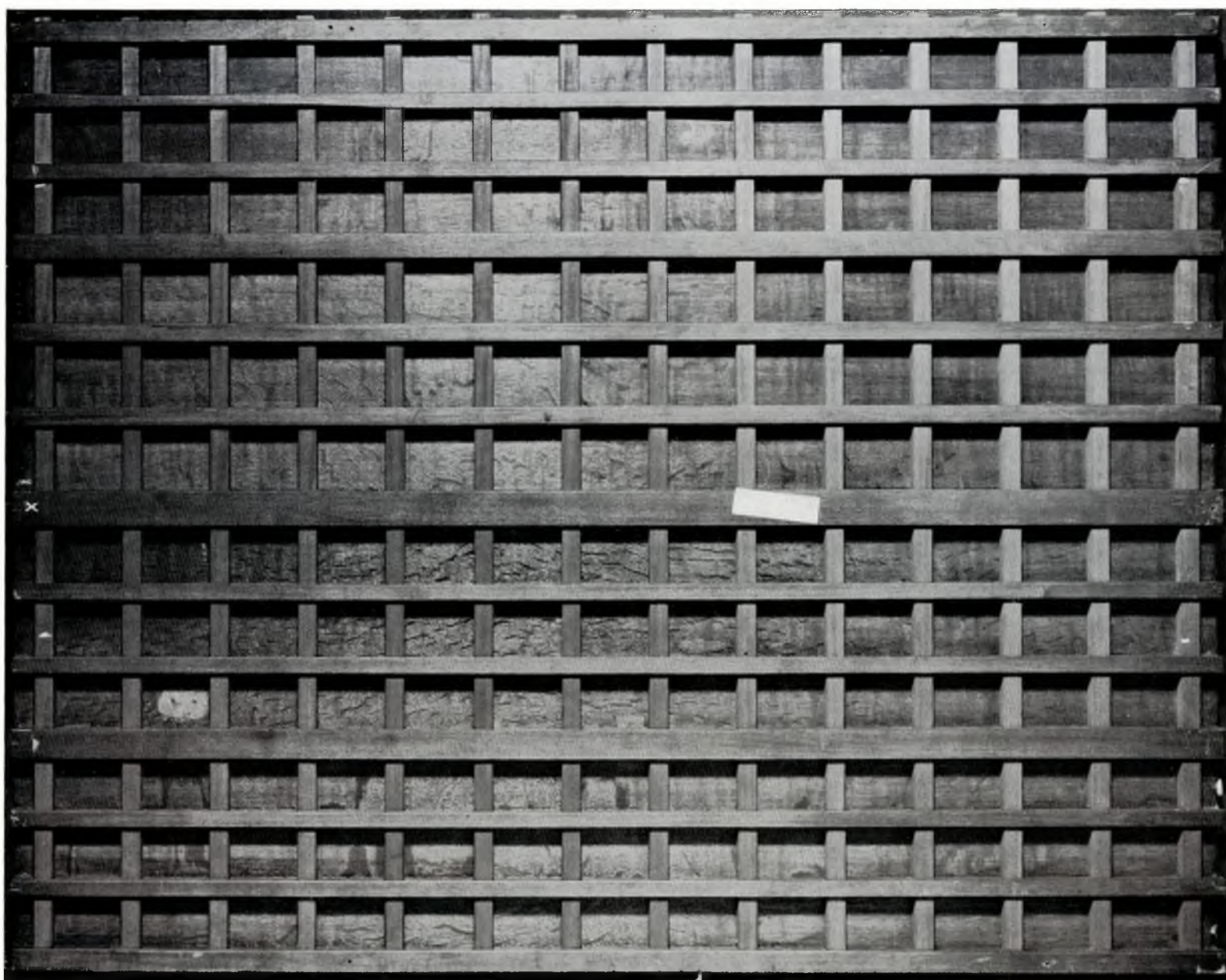


No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. X-Radiograph, the Head of the Virgin





No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. The Painting during Cleaning in 1933 and 1943



No. 73 : Group Weyden (8), *S. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin*. The Reverse





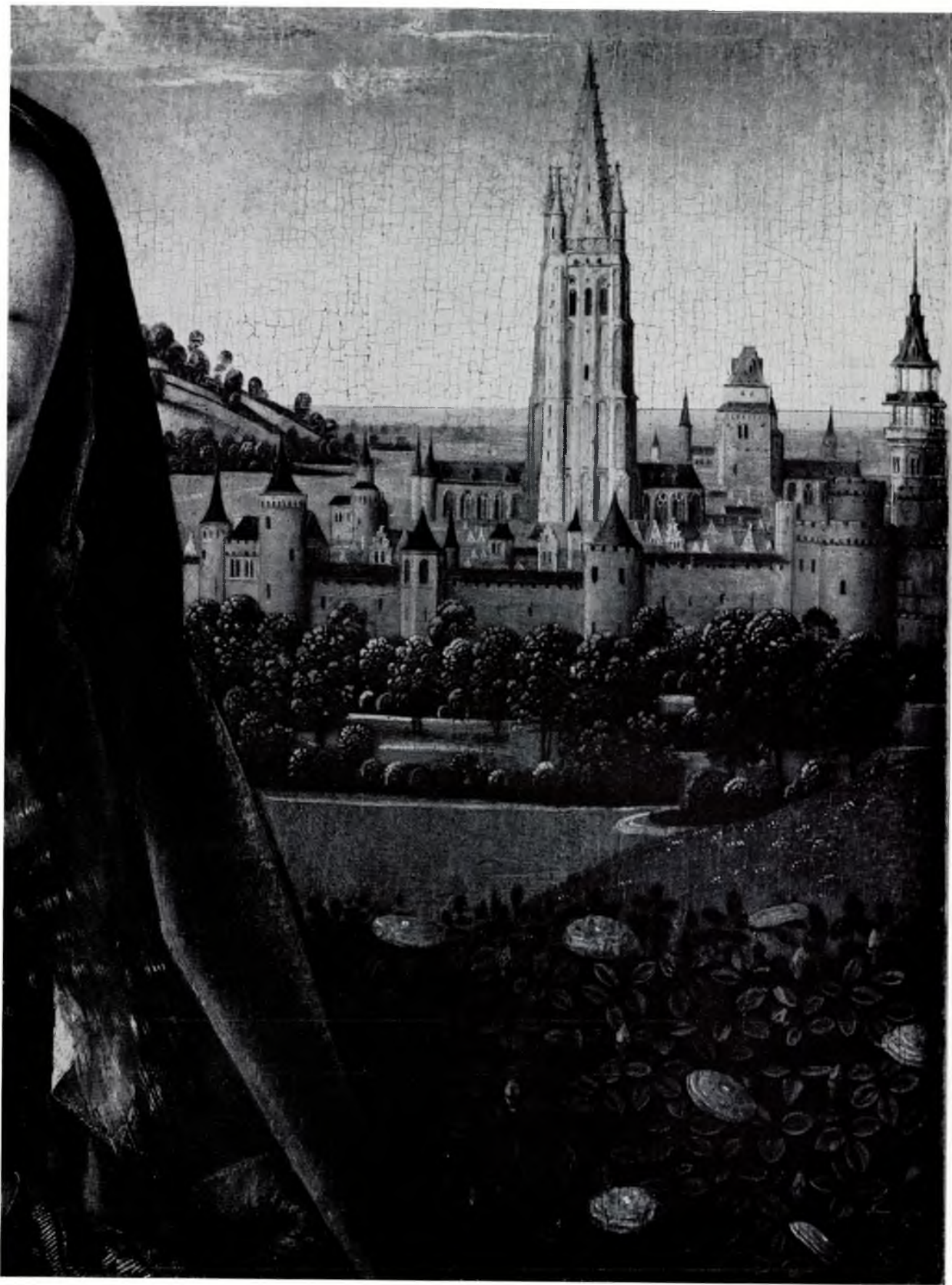
No. 74 : Master of the S. Lucy Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child*





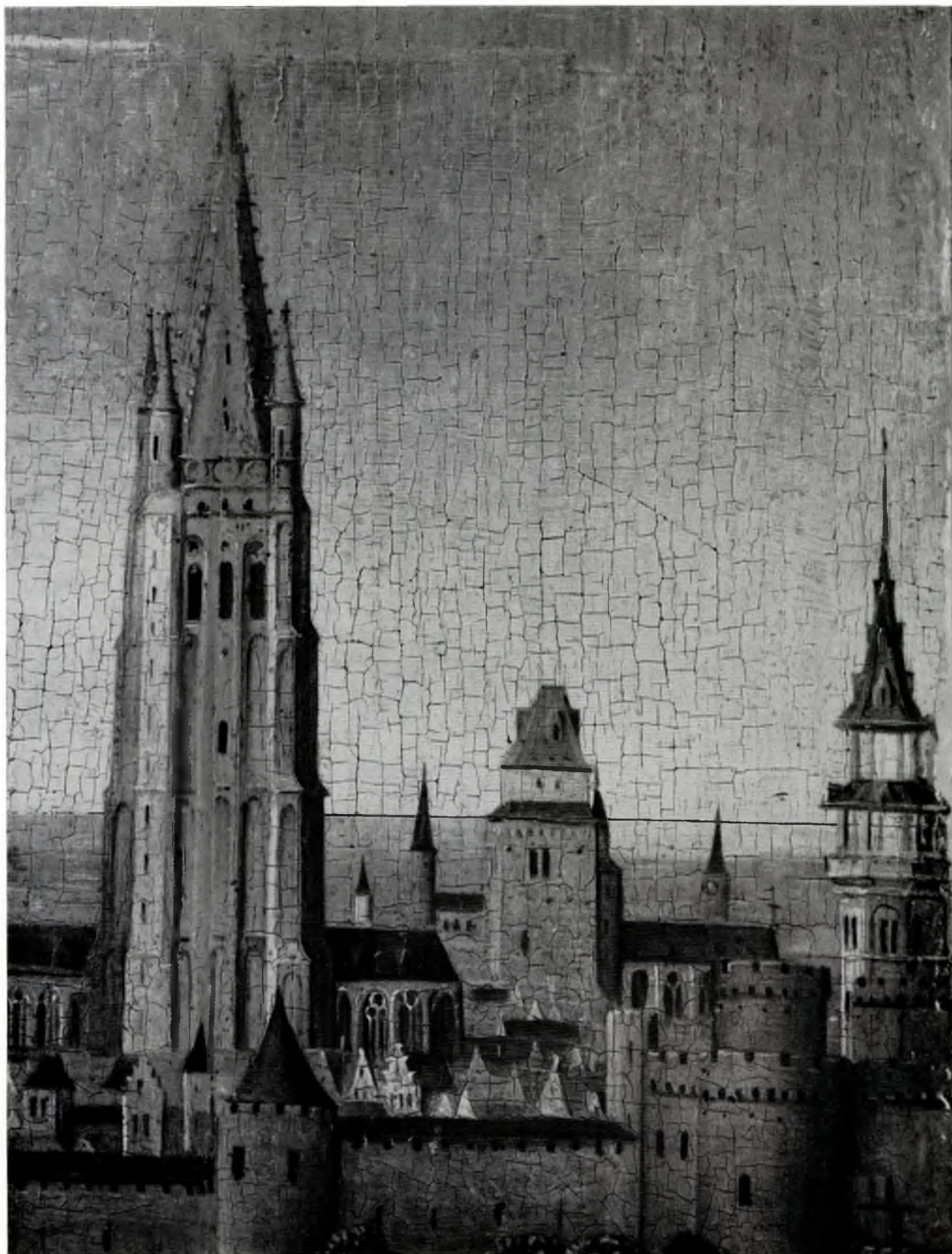
No. 74 : Master of the S. Lucy Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child. The Heads (1:1)*





No. 74: Master of the S. Lucy Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child. The View of Bruges* (1:1)





No. 74 : Master of the S. Lucy Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child*.  
*The Bruges Towers, including Notre-Dame* (M 2 ×)





No. 74 : Master of the S. Lucy Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child. The Reverse*





No. 75 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (2), *S. Mary Magdalene*





No. 75 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (2), *S. Mary Magdalene (infra-red)*



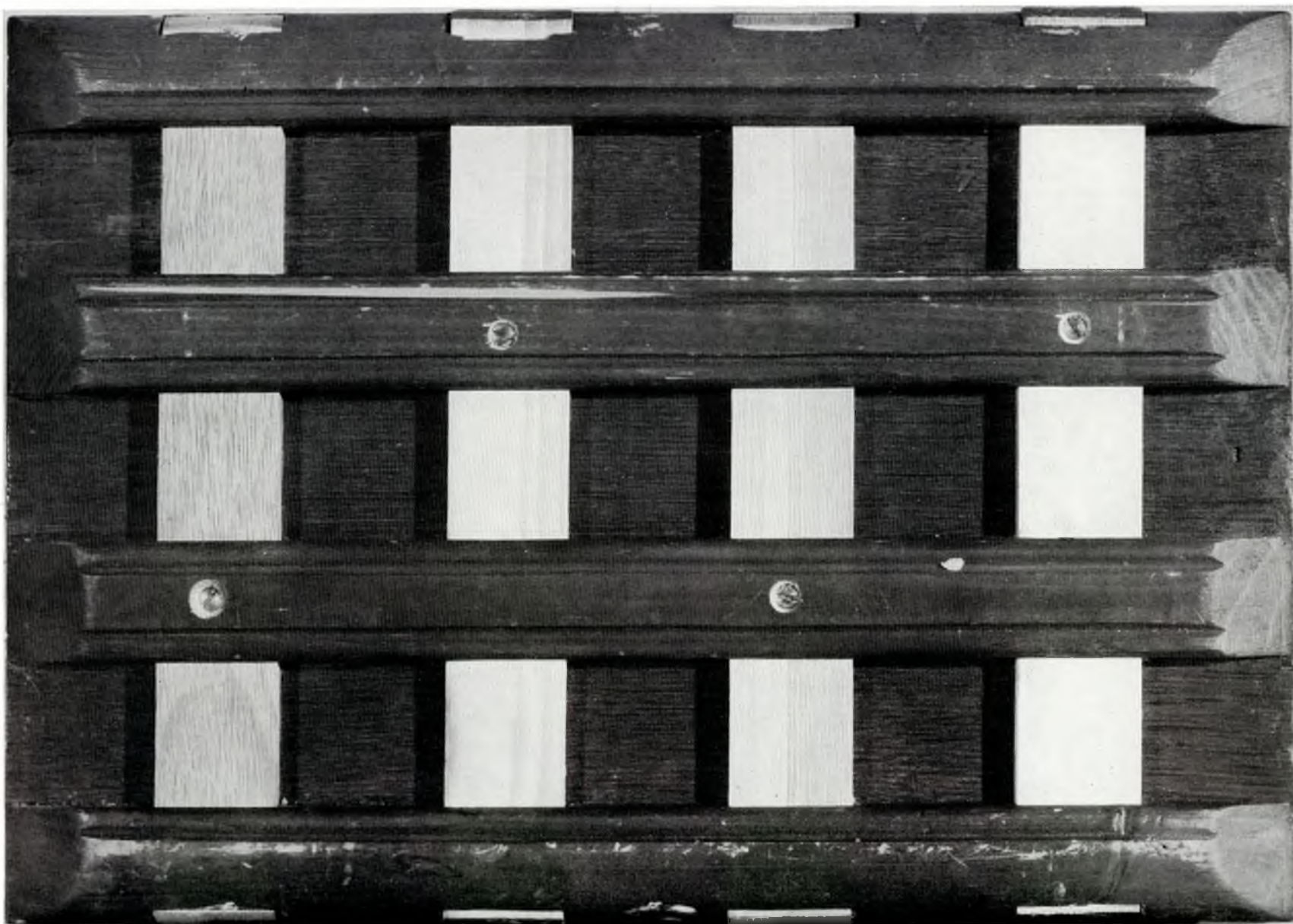


No. 75 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (2), *S. Mary Magdalene. The Head (1:1)*





No. 75 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (2), *S. Mary Magdalene. The Hands, the Jar and the Dress* (1:1)



No. 75 : Master of the Magdalen Legend (2), *S. Mary Magdalene. The Reverse*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels.*  
*The Head of the Virgin (1:1)*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels.*  
*The Angels on Both Sides (1:1)*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels.*  
*The Face of the Virgin (M 2 ×)*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels. The Child*



No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels. The Reconstructed Diptych, with the Lodovico Portinari Panel from Philadelphia.*





No. 76 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (1), *The Virgin and Child with Eight Angels.*  
*The Reverses (that of the Madonna being on the Right)*



No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels. The Child*





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels.*  
*The Head of the Virgin (1 : 1)*





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels.*  
*The Angel in the Upper Left Corner (1 : 1)*





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels.*  
*The Angel in the Upper Right Corner (1:1)*



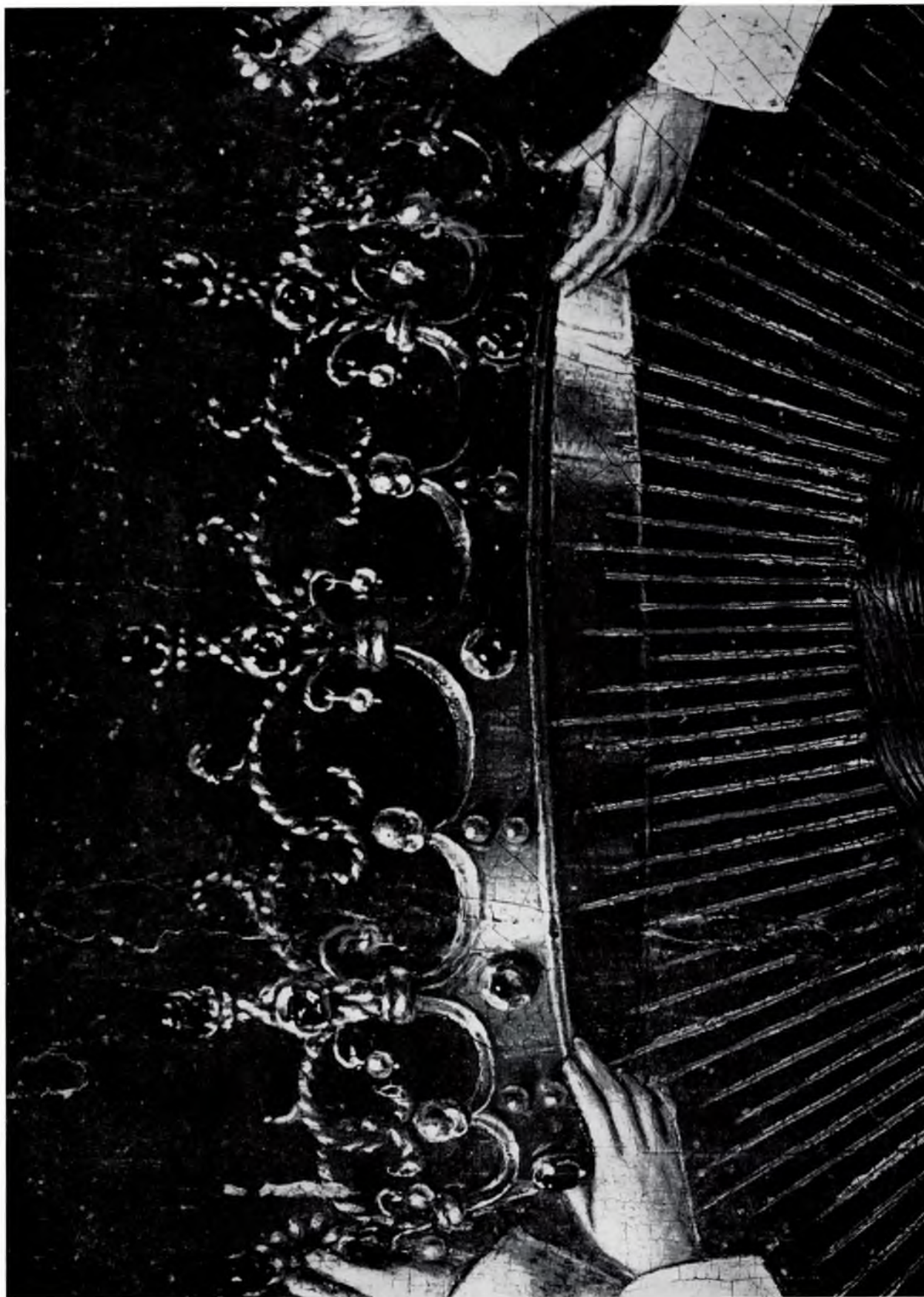


No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*. *The Head of the Child* (M 2 ×)



No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*. *The Left Hand of the Virgin* (M 2 ×)





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels. The Crown* (M 2 X)





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*.  
*The Face of the Virgin* (M 2 ×)





No. 77 : Master of the S. Ursula Legend (2), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*. The Reverse





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