



PRE-EYCKIAN PANEL PAINTING
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

I
Catalogue

**PRE-EYCKIAN PANEL PAINTING
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES**

With the support of

The Courtin-Bouché Fund managed by the King Baudouin Foundation

and

The Richard Zondervan Trust

**Contributions to Fifteenth-Century Painting
in the Southern Netherlands and the Principality of Liège**

9

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING
IN THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIÈGE**

Under the auspices of
the Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
and the Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten

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CATALOGUE

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JANA SANYOVA, STEVEN SAVERWYNS

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Edited by

CYRIEL STROO



BRUSSELS

2009



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Glimpses of a Lost Splendour

An Introduction to Pre-Eyckian Panel Painting

CYRIEL STROO and DOMINIQUE VANWIJNSBERGHE

The new artistic concepts of the Van Eycks, Robert Campin, Rogier van der Weyden and their followers brought about a revolution in pictorial representation in the Southern Netherlands and subsequently in the whole of Europe. With its exceptional precision in the representation of visible reality their art surpassed everything that had previously been achieved. The perfecting of the oil painting technique allowed almost infinite variation in its use. The result was an extraordinary diversity of optical qualities. Their paintings reflect the complexity of man's ways of seeing. It seems as if they sought to duplicate our visual perception of the world. This mirroring of reality was a highly significant factor in the appreciation of their work.

At the start of this research we believed that indications of this mastery must already be detectable in the work of their predecessors. We hoped that the experimental phase that preceded the *Ars nova* of the Flemish Primitives could be reconstructed to a certain extent. We were convinced that the creative development that led to this sophisticated imagery must be traceable in the art of around 1400. The results thus far are promising – partial, of course, in this phase of the research, but still of a nature to significantly amend the traditional image of painting in this period.

In his *Early Netherlandish Painting*, published in 1953, Erwin Panofsky devotes a measure of attention to panel painting in the Low Countries around 1400.¹ In addition to the work of Melchior Broederlam he mentions ten panels, three in the Northern and seven in the Southern Netherlands. Apart from the dominating art of Broederlam, which he considers superior in every respect, he distinguishes two different but related trends: the style of the northern and eastern areas of the Netherlands and that of the south and west. The link between the two consists, according to Panofsky, of a prevailing 'domestic naturalism' for which the *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* in Brussels (see cat. no. 4) could be the paradigm.

With a few characteristic features and on the basis of a handful of works Panofsky defines a number of 'regional schools' in the Netherlands. Apart from one or two paintings he considers highly sophisticated, among them Broederlam's wings for the *Crucifixion Altarpiece* (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts), the *Norfolk Triptych* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) (fig. 1) and the *Antwerp-Baltimore Quadriptych* (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh and Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum), he assesses the painting in these regions rather as exemplifying an 'average or even sub-average production'.²



It is now realized that Panofsky's picture of early Netherlandish painting was far from complete. It requires addition, nuance, and improvement. 'Naturalism' can no longer be regarded as the dominating, let alone the exclusive hallmark of art in the Low Countries around 1400.³ The division into 'schools' that are defined on the basis of scarcely more than a single work is untenable. Such objects as have survived can be regarded at most as the fortuitous survivors of just so many workshops or individual artists. With a single exception they are all isolated works. The notion of 'school' itself sheds a far from adequate light on the (artistic) fabric of a local production. It takes no account of the individual style of the master, the possibility of collaborative work and/or competing artists. Moreover, it becomes increasingly clear that the 'regional' dimension of an artistic production – a concept that often seems to be underpinned only by romantic nationalistic ideas – takes insufficient account of socio-economic reality. What a work of art would look like was also largely determined by its patron and his or her milieu and budget, its destination and function, the ability of the artist and his or her origin, training and experience. The material and technical properties of the medium itself are also significant factors.

Therefore, we have tried to approach the entire issue without a priori assumptions. In the first place it is necessary to study each work individually, to document it as fully as possible from every relevant angle, and to trace a network of relationships, both among the works themselves and in comparison with the artistic production of around 1400 as a whole. On the other hand, the works' pictorial diversity should also be recorded in as nuanced a way as possible. Thus we hope to refine Panofsky's sketch of pre-Eyckian panel painting and to give it more relief, colour and perspective.

1. *Norfolk Triptych*
(opened: 33 × 58 cm),
Southern Netherlands, c.1415-1420 –
Rotterdam,
Museum Boijmans
Van Beuningen

Since Panofsky's groundbreaking work the study of European painting around 1400 has gathered momentum. The exhibitions in Vienna in 1962,⁴ in Frankfurt am Main in 1975-1976,⁵ and, of course, the great Parler event in 1978 in Cologne⁶ were milestones in the appreciation of the subject and the charting of border-transcending or 'international' relationships and influences. In 1990 a highly praiseworthy synthesis of the art of central Europe, the impressive *Internationale Gotik in Mitteleuropa* was published by Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner. The research carried out at the IRPA/KIK⁷ has coincided with the major international exhibitions held in recent years in Paris⁸ (2004), Dijon (2004), Bourges (2004), Nijmegen (2005), Budapest (2006) and Luxemburg (2006), all of which had a bearing on the art production of this period in the areas surrounding the Low Countries. They evidence a revived interest in this material. It is not by chance that a number of the works that are the focus of the present research occupied a central place in some of these exhibitions. They confirm the vital importance and key position of the medieval Netherlands as a crucible of artistic innovation around 1400.

'Flemish' book illumination of this period has already been the subject of innovative and fundamental study at the Catholic University of Leuven under the direction of the late Maurits Smeyers. The results have not yet been published in their entirety,⁹ but none the less a wealth of hitherto unknown visual material has been brought to light. The present research makes ample use of the abundant comparative material that was collected in the course of that study, and of the many new insights that emerged from it.

The present research is complicated by several different factors. The art produced around 1400 was dominated by the virtual ubiquity of the International Style, an artistic phenomenon that set the trend at the princely courts of Europe. Despite common characteristics, however, the artistic expression of around 1400 is distinctly diverse. A common aesthetic is apparent, but not to the extent that one can speak of a uniform pictorial language. To put it another way, it is often possible to discern a shared formal vernacular that seems regionally hued and individually articulated. It is no easy matter to define the individual and/or regional stylistic and iconographic accents precisely and to distinguish them from the generally prevailing characteristics and stereotypical modes of expression. Indeed, the same works have been attributed to the most diverse European artistic centres. The problem is compounded by the meagre amount of relevant comparative material offered by other forms of art, which is often equally hard to date and localize with accuracy and which consequently provides only an uncertain foundation on which to build.

Surviving pre-Eyckian panel painting of around 1400 is in short supply, but more remains than was thought. At present the list of works to be studied includes some thirty objects in collections in Belgium and elsewhere. Some are well known. Since the nineteenth century most of them have been grouped under the heading of 'Franco-Flemish'. This rather vague and poorly defined concept is used to denote certain realistic tendencies in the areas north of Paris. In its strictest sense the term encompasses the art of these areas,¹⁰ but most authors have used it rather to allude to the impact of these realistic trends on French and particularly on Parisian art. This latter sense, developed by Renan from 1862, was appropriated by Courajod (1887-1896) and subsequently reiterated indiscriminately¹¹ until it became a dogma,

as Fierens-Gevaert¹² and more recently Robert Didier¹³ have rightly emphasized. Panofsky put the term in inverted commas and limited its application to artists born in the Low Countries but active in Paris.¹⁴ After Panofsky, the term seems to have fallen into disfavour; already abandoned by a specialist of the period like Millard Meiss,¹⁵ it was deemed to be incorrect and was consequently resolutely avoided by Françoise Baron.¹⁶

Although the term 'Franco-Flemish' has the virtue of highlighting the cross-fertilization between the Netherlands and Paris, and distinguishing the existence of innovative tendencies in the northern areas, the disentangling of these artistic contacts in stylistic terms is scarcely feasible. Other neighbouring regions such as the Meuse area, Guelders and the Rhineland or the 'Lower Rhenish' region, as well as the more distant Bohemia, northern Spain, Britain (with the so-called 'Kanal Stil') and southern France, or political entities such as Burgundy, lend themselves equally often to the purported discernment of presumed common characteristics. These problems of localization and attribution reflect an inherent stylistic eclecticism as much as a complex tangle of evolving ideas on the matter. They have dominated the art-historical discourse of the last century, which has not infrequently been biased by the chauvinistic attitude of some authors.

Delineating the area of research is indeed not simple, either chronologically or geographically. Whether it can or even should be so meticulously defined is highly debatable. The 'Netherlands' did not form a well defined political or geographic entity in the late fourteenth century, though Philip the Bold's acquisition of Flanders and subsequent expansion of the territory under his control was the first step in this direction. Many Netherlandish artists moved around, sometimes working far from their places of origin, and they developed a network of contacts. The genesis of a work of art and the artistic expression itself are still all too often regarded as static processes. But motifs and compositions were purposefully borrowed, adapted and recycled. They passed to and fro across political and geographic borders by way of artists' sketchbooks and pattern books,¹⁷ and there were numerous prestigious architectural and decorative projects that attracted an 'international' body of artists. Under Philip the Bold and John the Fearless the Charterhouse of Champmol, with its manifold artistic requirements, was one of the most notable magnets in this respect.¹⁸

The term 'pre-Eyckian' is no less problematic. Frédéric Lyna, its popularizer, sees in it a reaction to courtly art or the International Style, 'une tendance vers une expression sans cesse plus dégagée des contraintes de l'époque, une compréhension plus indépendante de l'homme, même de l'homme du peuple et de ses réactions naturelles dans des circonstances données. C'est cette négation ou peut-être cette ignorance inconsciente de conventions bien établies qui différencie d'une manière si nette cet art de la formule française modelée sur les habitudes et les exigences d'une cour extrêmement raffinée [...] [Ces miniatures] préparent [l'art] de Van Eyck et de Van der Weyden'.¹⁹ Clearly this negative definition of pre-Eyckian art takes no account of the 'realistic' tendencies that were also typical of the International Style associated with Parisian art.²⁰ Moreover, Gerhard Schmidt rightly stresses that the 'realism' ('Realismus') of pre-Eyckian illumination appeared simultaneously in other European regions and that it by no means heralded the 'realistic naturalism' ('realistischer Naturalismus') of the Van Eycks.²¹ None the less, we shall use the term 'pre-Eyckian'

here: it is well established in the art-historical discourse and has its uses as a broad geographic and chronological definition of the art produced in the regions where the Flemish Primitives would evolve their new techniques and ideas.

In fact there are no fixed and well-defined criteria that allow one work to be described as 'pre-Eyckian' and another not. Which parameters are employed and how similarities are interpreted are questions that must be gauged afresh in each individual case. A minute comparison with images from other branches of art – with works that can be dated and localized, preferably – offers, at best, the only (yet uncertain and always relative) foundation on which to build.

Assessments and treatment of the findings consequently demand a differentiated approach. Given the substantial amount of archival data pertaining to it, Broederlam's work could certainly serve – and has indeed done so – as a starting point around which, on various grounds, other works can be grouped. This approach builds critically and discerningly on earlier attributions to Broederlam, among which many of the works studied here were once included. Indeed, the name of the Ypres-born artist was long understood as a generic term for a certain period and provenance – *circa* 1400, and Flemish. Our research builds on those earlier attributions, which we endeavour to refine and nuance in the hope of mapping a network of relationships.

Many works, however, have little if anything to do with Broederlam's advanced art, but can be grouped on the basis of entirely different and object-related criteria. These are the small painted reliquaries of diverse shape, comparatively modest objects and for that very reason most likely to be local works that may have been made not far from their present locations. But of course there are always isolated cases as well, which largely elude every attempt at grouping and classification.

Chronological limits are equally difficult to apply. We have kept to 'around 1400', a description which, in the sense it has been used here, spans forty to fifty years, or two generations, and which is just indefinite enough to allow the inclusion of 'conservative' works which – always on the basis of an approximate dating – must already be regarded as 'para-Eyckian'.

Though few in number the pre-Eyckian works are great in diversity. Among them are reliquaries, altarpieces, devotional paintings in the shape of autonomous panels, a tondo, a diptych, a triptych and a quadriptych. Shape and size vary according to the work's destination and function, from precious 'joyau' to impressive monument. One might be a prestigious commission from the court, another was perhaps intended for a more modest destination in a religious community, or for an individual.

This early panel painting appears to be a multifaceted art. The entire spectrum of artistic ability is revealed in it, from the rudimentary to the sublime. A few masterpieces attest to a great fertility of imagination and a refined aesthetic sense. The technical versatility of painting around 1400 is also very striking. Each work bears the signs of a carefully considered and creative exploitation of a whole gamut of materials and techniques. They seem to have been used to produce the widest possible range of optical effects, anticipating the virtually perfect illusionism of the Flemish Primitives.

Melchior Broederlam's *Crucifixion Altarpiece* in Dijon (fig. 2) exemplifies many aspects of the *métier*. The oak panels of the support were not only skilfully prepared,



2. Melchior Broederlam and Jacob de Baerze, *Crucifixion Altarpiece* (closed: 166 × 251 × 22 cm) – Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

they were also covered with linen, onto which the actual ground and painting were applied. In other works of this period it is often only the joins between the boards that were covered with strips of cloth or parchment.²² The panels of the *Wilton Diptych* (London, National Gallery) are probably completely covered with parchment.²³

From the underdrawing it can be seen that Broederlam prepared every composition and motif in great and meticulous detail.²⁴ The buildings in the Annunciation and Presentation in the Temple he drew partly freehand, in a sketchy fashion, and partly with the aid of ruler and compasses. He worked out the drapery of the garments to the last detail in the drawing, already making decisions about the play of light and shade, establishing light values whose gradation gives weight and volume. Save for a few minute details the positions of figures and objects correspond almost perfectly in the painting.

The contours of certain motifs and areas to be gilded were incised into the ground so that they were clearly distinguished from the areas to be painted. Along with the frames they were first covered with gold leaf laid on a red bole. Silver leaf and tin foil might also be used for the same purpose. The leaf was burnished then tooled with punches, slender metal rods of various diameters with which motifs were scored or punched into the metal foil without breaking the surface. Punching was often executed freehand, though a ruler and/or a mechanical device – probably a wheel set with pins at regular intervals – was evidently used as well. The result was a most refined decoration, with arcades and stemwork, leaves, flowers and stars. Sometimes freehand

punching was used to create light effects, achieved by varying the density of the punchmarks. Where precious textiles were to be portrayed a relief effect might be incised into the gold leaf or even directly into the ground before the foil was applied.

This punched decoration, executed in the main on gold leaf, has received little if any attention to date. None the less, it is one of the most noteworthy characteristics of pre-Eyckian panels and its study is essential, for it is particularly important in tracing connections between the various works. It can be examined as a technique, but also as a decorative system (motifs, style, where applied, intended effect). The question of specialized tasks in the workshops also arises. According to Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'arte* the working of gold leaf was a normal part of a painter's training in Italy. In certain commissions, such as the altarpiece made by the painter Saladin de Stoevere in 1434 for the church of the Friars Minor in Ghent, punchwork decoration was actually stipulated: 'van fijnen ghebruneerden gaude ende wel ende reinlic ghepointsonnert'.²⁵

The backgrounds of other works, including the *Crucifixion with St Catherine and St Barbara* in Bruges (see cat. no. 2), were decorated not with punchwork but with brush-applied relief (pastiglia).²⁶ Silks, brocades and other costly textiles were mimicked by painting patterns onto the gold, which may also have been punched. On the *Wilton Diptych* and the *Last Judgement* (Brussels, KMSKB/MRBAB; on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Diest) patterns were achieved by scratching off the paint that had been applied over the gold. This sgraffito technique was very popular in Italian panel painting of the Trecento. Another technique involved gluing prefabricated reliefs in metal foil (usually tin foil) onto the panel, as in the case of the *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* (Brussels) and the *Dortmund Passion Altarpiece* (St Reinold's Church).

With the refined use of oil paint, and its ability to evoke the illusion of every kind of textile, gold and silver leaf, tin foil, pastiglia and prefabricated reliefs became virtually redundant. Nevertheless, occasional traces of them can still be found in the work of the Flemish Primitives.²⁷ Moreover, some decorations produced with brush and paint are indebted in spirit to the older techniques. One thinks here of the backgrounds of various fifteenth-century panels, gilded and decorated with black, red or brown dots, strongly reminiscent of punched gold leaf. Or the way in which punchmarks are imitated with dots of yellow paint in the portraying of certain costly textiles, striking so, for instance, in the brocade sleeves of Mary Magdalene's gown in Van der Weyden's *Braque Triptych* (Paris, Musée du Louvre). Or how the effect of the lines incised into the gold leaf have been reproduced in paint in the rendering of the rich gown of one of the midwives in Robert Campin's *Nativity* (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts). (figs. 3a and 3b)

Broederlam also polychromed the carving and sculptures created by Jacob de Baerze for the interior of the *Crucifixion Altarpiece*. (fig. 4) On the older Bruges *St Ursula Shrine* (see cat. no. 3) painted and carved figures are integrated in the same surface. This prompts the question of whether it was the work of a single individual or of more than one. Some artists were adept in several disciplines. The example of the Bruges painter Jan van Oosenbrugge, who is known only through archival sources, is worth mentioning in this respect. He is referred to in five documents, dating from 1426 to 1429, once as 'beildesnidere' or wood carver, twice as 'steenhouwere' or stone carver, and once as 'schildere' or painter.²⁸



3a. Robert Campin,
Nativity (85.7 × 72) –
Dijon, Musée des
Beaux-Arts

3b. Robert Campin,
Nativity (detail) –
Dijon, Musée des
Beaux-Arts



Reality and artifice are still closely interwoven in this period. There is much experimenting with the representation of space and volume, with apparently interacting figures in attitudes expressive of emotion, but the older decorative and often quite abstract schemes of patterns and shapes never completely disappear. From work to work the balance can even swing from one extreme to the other. In the most progressive works there is a new interest in quotidian reality. In the work of the great masters of the following generation these naturalistic forms of expression would be refined to the utmost degree.

The paintings on panels still largely reflect the material aesthetic of precious metalwork, with quasi-enamelled figures set against gold backgrounds embellished with decoration produced by the goldsmith's punchwork technique. The wood is masked, refined, and made sublime. It often looks like a sort of ersatz art – though not in any pejorative sense of the word – that creates the illusion of authentic richness. Similar objects were listed among the 'joyaux' in the inventories of the jewels and valuables of contemporary princes. Indeed, the rare painted panels ('tableaux de bois [...] faiz de peinture') are scarcely distinguished from the many costly items made of gold and silver and precious stones.²⁹ They do confirm the variety of shapes and sizes, as emerges, for instance, from the descriptions of the few paintings in the inventory made in 1420 of the possessions of Philip the Good: circular panels ('un autre tableau de bois rond [...] tous faiz de peinture'), a square panel ('un autre plus grant tableau de bois, quarré [...] tous de peinture'), a panel in the shape of a 'door' with inscriptions on it ('un grandelet tableau de bois, en façon de porte [...] escript entour le diadesme de nostre dame et en la bordure fait de peinture'), a diptych ('uns autres tableaux de bois, ouvrans en deux pièces') and a triptych ('ung autre tableau de bois, quarré, ouvrant a deux fueillez [...] faiz de peinture').³⁰ Judging by the subjects, most of these were devotional panels, small in size, although there is the occasional portrait of the duke or a member of his family. For instance, the ducal accounts of 1413-14 record a payment to a Master Vrancke, an artist residing in Mechelen, for painting the portrait of Catherine of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless.³¹

With the exception of Melchior Broederlam we know nothing about the artists who created the objects studied here. Yet many names of painters active around 1400 have come down to us. A systematic and contextual examination of the archival resources of the major centres of the Low Countries could still bring many data to light.³² In documents dating from around 1400 in the Bruges archives some twenty painters are referred to,³³ most being employed to carry out decorative commissions and ornamental works: the painting of the city's arms on shields and banners, the



4. St Barbara, sculpture on the interior of the left wing (166 × 125,5 cm) of the *Crucifixion Altarpiece* by Melchior Broederlam and Jacob de Baerze – Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

designing of tapestries and the ceremonial attire of burgomasters and aldermen, and, not least, the embellishing of sculpture. This is perfectly in line with the kind of commissions Broederlam was charged with as court painter to Philip the Bold; as such he would also be involved in the execution of wall paintings, the design of stained glass windows and floor tiles, and the ornamenting of armour.

In 1388–89 the Bruges town council paid Jan Coene, the town painter, for what is generally interpreted as a panel depicting the Last Judgement: 'Item ghegheven bi beveilne van borghmeesters Jan Coenen van eenen barde daer 't jugement in staet bescreven, hanghende in scepenencamere ende coste: XLIs IIII d. gr.³⁴ The work has not survived, but a Last Judgement would certainly have been one of the standard features of the decoration of council chambers and sheriffs' courtrooms in the principal towns of the Low Countries.³⁵ In Ghent in 1413 Lieven van den Clite produced a work of the same name for the council chamber of the Council of Flanders.³⁶ It has been identified with the abovementioned *Last Judgement* in Brussels (fig. 5), though there seems to be very little basis for such a theory. Nevertheless, this panel could well have been intended for a town hall in the Southern Netherlands. Whether or not it can be regarded as belonging to the pre-Eyckian production is debatable, however.³⁷ There must also have been panels of this kind in Brussels and Aalst at an early date, for in 1422 the Aalst corporation commissioned Claus Poulette to paint a Last Judgement that was to equal or better the one in Brussels.³⁸ From the description it seems fairly clear that the Brussels work was a celebrated painting of great quality. Traces of other lost works lead to Kortrijk (Courtrai), and a painting by Marcus van Ghistel (1428).³⁹ Perhaps the panel that the aldermen of Ghent commissioned from Hubert van Eyck in 1424, a work for which the artist provided two sketches,⁴⁰ also had a jurisprudential theme. Hubert is often identified with the 'magistro Huberto pictori' who was paid by the chapter of the Church of Our Lady in Tongeren in 1409 for a painting ('de pictura tabule'), possibly an altarpiece.⁴¹

The work in relief ('d'ouvrage eslevé') that the painter Henry le Kien polychromed in 1413 for the aldermen of Tournai, a small triptych with a Crucifixion on the centre panel, St Piat and St Eleutherius on the wings, and bearing the arms of Tournai, has survived and is now preserved in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.⁴² It was on this work that public mandataries took their oaths. Strictly speaking, the work is not a panel painting as such, but it is certainly in keeping with the 'mixed media' objects in which painting and relief were combined, as in the case of the small *St Ursula Shrine* in Bruges, for instance. Wills from Tournai and Douai also mention votive paintings on panels: the earliest references date from 1385, 1392, 1400 and 1419.⁴³ Among these works for private devotion, however, paintings on canvas were vastly preferred to wooden panels.

Larger pictorial ensembles on panel, including the painted wings of carved altarpieces, must also have occupied an important place in the embellishing of churches and chapels then. The *Crucifixion Altarpiece* created by Melchior Broederlam and Jacob de Baerze, the example par excellence, was – according to the agreement with Philip the Bold⁴⁴ – an imitation, perhaps even a copy, of models in Dendermonde and Ghent. The conjectured early-fifteenth-century Southern Netherlandish provenance of the *Passion Altarpiece* in St Reinold's Church in Dortmund⁴⁵ (fig. 6), likewise with painted wings and a carved centre section, would be an additional and significant indication



5. *Last Judgement*
(231.5 × 186.5 cm),
Southern Netherlands,
c.1425-1435 (?)
– Brussels, KMSKB/
MRBAB (on loan to
the Stedelijk
Museum, Diest)

that this was the case. It would follow that by around 1400 Bruges, where that *Passion Altarpiece* was possibly produced, must already have been a major production centre for this kind of work.⁴⁶

The observations above regarding lost works bring together (by way of a sample) just a handful of known facts which hold the promise of many more relevant archival data. They could significantly alter our image of painting around 1400.

In the first volume ten objects, which in fact constitute the majority of pre-Eyckian works in Belgian collections, are documented as thoroughly as possible.⁴⁷ Their interpretation is underpinned not only by classic pictorial analysis but also by macro-photography, X-radiography, infrared photography and reflectography, dendrochronological data and, in so far as was feasible or justifiable, laboratory analysis of pigments and binding media.

The conservation of the objects varies considerably. Well-preserved works like the Antwerp *Tower Relable* (see cat. no. 1) are exceptional. Cleaning the surface was all that was required to restore it to its original splendour. Construction, painting and decoration prove to be even more sophisticated than was originally thought, which is entirely in keeping with the prestige of the milieu for which it was probably intended.

6. *Passion Altarpiece*
(open: 292 ×
730 cm), Southern
Netherlands (?),
early 15th century –
Dortmund,
St Reinold's Church

Some works have undergone substantial restoration in the past, and not always in accordance with today's views and principles. For instance, the *Calvary of the Tanners* in Bruges (see cat. no. 2) has been repainted in places with imitation craquelure. A well-documented comparison with the Dortmund *Passion Altarpiece* revealed numerous striking and very close relationships. It offers a new line of approach to the thorny issue of workshop practice and the export of works from the Southern Netherlands around 1400. The X-radiographs of the Bruges *St Ursula Shrine* (see cat. no. 3)



disclosed numerous overpaints. The spectacular discovery of the shrine's original stemwork decoration, concealed beneath the later red background, is at once an important new starting point for further research. The *Virgin and Child with St Anne* in the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Neerlanden (see cat. no. 9) was almost entirely overpainted. After restoration the original execution was revealed, though in sadly damaged shape, which makes any kind of thorough stylistic comparison with contemporary works problematic. Nevertheless, it must have been a work of great quality, its technical execution both varied and refined. The conservation of the small Ghent *Entombment* (see cat. no. 5) also revealed a more subtle execution than was originally suspected.

A fundamental incomprehension of cultural heritage has also left its marks. The *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* in Brussels (see cat. no. 4) survives in a far from complete state. In several places the painting was planed away so the board could be used as a dresser top; and an entire scene has gone from the right-hand side. The underdrawing, brought to light for the first time, was a true revelation, evincing a mature mastery that was partly lost again in the painting. The panel remains a highly intriguing work whose purpose, function and production are open to interpretation. The *Annunciation and Visitation*, or *Walcourt Panels* in Namur (see cat. no. 7), had been turned into the doors of a cupboard for liturgical garments. The panels probably started life as the wings of an altarpiece, but they have been reduced by more than a third in width and there are also very large areas of loss.

Losses, overpaints, and a whole variety of material modifications and injudicious restorations complicate the study and aesthetic appreciation of the Bruges *St Ursula Shrine* (see cat. no. 3), the *St Maurice Shrine* in Namur (see cat. no. 8), the *Triptych with Calvary and Saints* in Mechelen (see cat. no. 6) and the *Reliquary of the Virgin's Veil* in Tongeren (see cat. no. 10). It should be borne in mind, however, that some alterations or wear and tear may also attest to the intensive use of these objects. They were exhibited, carried in processions, perhaps even touched by devout worshippers. As a cult's popularity waxed their value increased, as it waned they sank into obscurity.

In the first phase of the research the greatest attention turned out to be directed not at what are generally regarded as the most important works, the highly sophisticated products intended for executive circles, on the basis of which Panofsky developed his views (which is not to underestimate their importance, of course). On the contrary, most of the objects dealt with in this first volume are among the least known of the works that can be deemed to belong to this category. Many have been damaged in one way or another, or been subject to significant modification. With one or two exceptions they are all relatively modest works, although certainly not without merit and some even possess a 'hidden' refinement that only the most minute observation reveals. None the less, these works have probably absorbed more influences than they have emitted. Or at best they may embody an established tradition. For that very reason they are crucial in the context of this project for they provide a more nuanced picture of stylistic diversity than has been appreciated hitherto and give a glimpse of a splendour that is lost almost beyond recall. These observations already allow us to radically redraw the pre-Eyckian landscape. The insights gained will provide the guideline for the study of the next group of works.

The publication of the first ten pre-Eyckian works is the fruit of teamwork. The two art historians, Dominique Deneffe and Famke Peters, together with chemists Wim Fremout and his successor on the project for a short time, Matthieu Goursaud, as well as the senior scientists, Jana Sanyova and Steven Saverwyns, carried out the fieldwork. They assembled, evaluated and collated the diverse observations regarding each object. Famke Peters and Dominique Deneffe also wrote the catalogue entries: the former being responsible for entries 2, 5, 6, 8 and 10, and the latter for entries 3, 4, 7 and 9, while the text of the first entry is the result of their joint endeavour. For the interpretation of the laboratory studies of the painting technique reported in the technical sections, they could count on the contribution of Wim Fremout and Steven Saverwyns (for entries 2, 3, 5, 6 and 10) and Jana Sanyova (for the entries 1, 4, 7, 8 and 9). These technical sections could also not have been produced without the participation of Christina Currie, Livia Depuydt-Elbaum and Pascale Fraiture. Christina Currie supervised the interpretation of the underdrawing; Livia Depuydt-Elbaum guided the various observations on supports and paint layers; Pascale Fraiture carried out the dendrochronological research. Pigments and binders gave up their secrets, not a dent or splinter in the wood, not a brushstroke went unexamined, the meaning of every motif was mused upon. The researchers were fascinated by the image, determined to discover all that could be known. Without their enthusiasm, critical judgment and constant engagement this book would not exist. They have done a superb job. More able and agreeable colleagues could not be wished for.

In volume two of this publication are a number of individual contributions by 'guest authors'. They cover diverse topics, ranging from specific technical observations regarding one noteworthy feature or group of works, to historical context, peripheral iconographic phenomena, aspects of restoration, and even the exploration of Ghent's archives by way of a case study. We are particularly grateful to Barbara Baert, Lorne Campbell, Christina Currie, Livia Depuydt-Elbaum, Elisabeth Dhanens, Ingrid Geelen, Delpine Steyaert and Victor M. Schmidt for their great interest in the research and of course for the way in which they have participated.

The research has also benefited to the full from the expertise and know-how of the many specialists of the IRPA/KIK. Some of them took part in the meetings of the working committee at which the results of the research were regularly discussed before external advisors from various Belgian universities and study centres. They are all named individually elsewhere but here too we tender our sincere thanks for their contribution to the success of this project.

Lee Preedy was responsible for the English translation of the original Dutch texts. In no time at all she became one of the team. She cherished our 'treasures', intellectually and instinctively, if possible still more than we did ourselves, constantly searching for the one nuance that brought clarity. Our sincere thanks to you, Lee.

NOTES

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953: 91-99.
2. Ibid: 99.
3. On the issue of European stylistic trends circa 1400, see especially: Gerhard Schmidt, 'Kunst um 1400. Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven', *Internationale Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz, 24), eds. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner, Graz, 1990: 34-49; Gerhard Schmidt, "'Pre-Byckian Realism." Versuch einer Abgrenzung', *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September, 1993* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 8. Low Countries Series, 5), eds. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, Leuven, 1995: 747-769.
4. Vienna (1962), Kunsthistorisches Museum: *Europäische Kunst um 1400*.
5. Frankfurt am Main (1975), Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik: *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein: ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*.
6. Cologne (1978), Kunsthalle: *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern*.
7. Some introductory, general findings have already been published. See: Cyriel Stroo, with Dominique Deneffe, Famke Peters and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'De pre-Byckiaanse paneelschilderkunst in de Nederlanden. Een prelude op de Vlaamse Primitieven?', *Vlaanderen*, 54 (2005): 130-135; Cyriel Stroo, Dominique Deneffe, Famke Peters, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Wim Fremout, 'Onderzoek naar de bronnen van de Vlaamse Primitieven. De pre-Byckiaanse paneelschilderkunst', *Science Connection*, 9, December 2005: 8-12; Dominique Deneffe and Famke Peters, with Cyriel Stroo, 'De schilderkunst op paneel voor Jan van Eyck: twee voorbeelden in Brugge', *Museumbulletin Musea Brugge*, 26/1 (2006): 4-11; Wim Fremout, Steven Saverwyns, Famke Peters and Dominique Deneffe, 'Non-destructive Micro-Raman and x-ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy on Pre-Eyckian Works of Art – Verification with Results obtained by Destructive Methods', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, 37 (2006): 1035-1045.
8. Paris (2004), Musée du Louvre: *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI*; Dijon (2004), Musée des Beaux-Arts and Cleveland (2004), The Cleveland Museum of Art: *L'art à la cour de Bourgogne. Le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364-1419)*; Bourges (2004), Musée du Berry: *Une fondation disparue de Jean de France, duc de Berry. La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*; Nijmegen (2005), Museum het Valkhof: *De Gebroeders Van Limburg. Nijmeegse meesters aan het Franse hof 1400-1416*; Budapest (2006), Szépművészeti Múzeum and Luxemburg (2006), Musée national d'histoire et d'art: *Sigismundus. Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismundus von Luxemburg 1387-1437*.
9. See among others the diverse studies in: *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September, 1993* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 8. Low Countries Series, 5) eds. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, Leuven, 1995. See also: Maurits Smeyers, Bert Cardon, Susie Vertongen, Katrien Smeyers and Rita Van Dooren, *Naer natueren ghelike. Vlaamse miniaturen voor Van Eyck (ca. 1350 - ca. 1420)*, Leuven, 1993.
10. See the critical observations of: Anne Hagopian van Buren, 'Thoughts, Old and New, on the Sources of Early Netherlandish Painting', *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 94; Michael V. Schwartz, *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert*, Worms, 1986: 211, discusses north-eastern France, the Netherlands, Berry and Burgundy; Gerhard Schmidt, 'Beiträge zu Stil und Œuvre des Jean de Liège', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 4 (1971): 102-105, adds to this the Meuse region.
11. E. Renan, 'Discours sur l'état des Beaux-Arts en France, au XIV^e siècle', *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 24, Paris, 1862: 603-757 (p. 624-728); Louis Courajod, *Leçons professées à l'école du Louvre*, 2, Paris, 1901: 198 ff.; André Michel, *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*, 3. *Le réalisme. Les débuts de la Renaissance*, 1, Paris, 1907: 114 ff.
12. Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, *Études sur l'art flamand. La Renaissance septentrionale et les premiers maîtres des Flandres*, Brussels, 1905: 6.
13. Robert Didier, 'Flandern und Brabant', *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil, 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern* (exhib. cat. Cologne, Kunsthalle), 1, ed. Anton Legner, Cologne, 1978: 79.

14. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953: 35.
15. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, London, 1967: IX.
16. *Les fastes du gothique. Le siècle de Charles V* (exhib. cat. Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais), Paris, 1981: 61.
17. For a catalogue and study of medieval pattern books, see Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum. Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1450)*, translated by Michael Hoyle, Amsterdam, 1995. The drawings in the c.1400-1420 sketchbook of Jacques Daliwe (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Liber Picturatus*, inv. no. A 74), a Flemish illuminator working in Paris, display Flemish, Parisian and Bohemian influences. See Maurits Smeyers, *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw. De middel-eeuwse wereld op perkament*, Leuven, 1998: 185; Robert W. Scheller 1995: 233-240. Anonymous sketches and model drawings from the Netherlands, dating from c.1380 to c.1410, are collected in the *Wiesbaden Miscellany* (Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Cod. Abt. 3004 B 10). See Marta O. Renger, 'The Wiesbaden Drawings', *Master Drawings*, 25/4 (1987): 390-410.
18. For a recent publication on the Champmol Charterhouse, see Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol. Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge 1364-1477*, Berlin, 2002. See also *L'art à la cour de Bourgogne. Le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1364-1419)* (exhib. cat. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts and Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art), Paris, 2004.
19. 'a tendency towards an expression increasingly free of the constraints of the time, a more independent comprehension of man, even of the common man and his natural reactions in the given circumstances. It is this negation or perhaps this unconscious ignorance of well established conventions which so clearly differentiates this art from the French formula modelled on the customs and requirements of an extremely refined court [...] [These miniatures] prepare the way for [the art of] Van Eyck and Van der Weyden'. Frédéric Lyna, 'Les miniatures d'un ms. du "Ci nous dit" et le réalisme préeyckien', *Scriptorium*, 1 (1946-1947): 116-117.
20. See Élisabeth Antoine, 'Art parisien ou Gothique international?', *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI* (exhib. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre), Paris, 2004: 307-308.
21. Gerhard Schmidt, "'Pre-Eyckian Realism." Versuch einer Abgrenzung', *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September, 1993* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 8. Low Countries Series, 5), eds. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, Leuven, 1995: 747-769.
22. See also: Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete, 'Technologie des cadres et supports dans la peinture flamande vers 1400', *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September, 1993* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 8. Low Countries Series, 5), eds. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, Leuven, 1995: 371-383.
23. Dillian Gordon (with an essay by Caroline M. Barron and contributions by Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld), *Making and Meaning of the Wilton Diptych*, London, 1993.
24. For a new study of the underdrawing in Broederlam's work, see the contribution by Christina Currie in vol. 2 of this publication.
25. 'of fine burnished gold and well and carefully punched'. See the contribution by Elisabeth Dhanens in vol. 2 of this publication.
26. On this and other techniques using applied reliefs for decoration, see the contribution by Ingrid Geelen and Delphine Steyaert in vol. 2 of this publication.
27. Applied brocade has been used in the *Bad Thief* in Frankfurt (Städelsches kunstinstitut) by the Flémalle/Campin group, on the centre panel of the *Adoration of the Lamb* (St Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent), more specifically on the cloths of honour behind the enthroned deity, Mary and John the Baptist, and on the exterior of the wings of Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment* in Beaune. It has also been documented in some works of a later date attributed to the Master of the View of St Gudule. Moreover, Jan van Eyck still used gold leaf for the beams via which the dove descends in the Washington *Annunciation* (National Gallery of Art). Remains of silver leaf are still present in the window openings of the interior of the Brussels *Annunciation* (KMSKB/MRBAB), one of the early works of the Flémalle group. The background of the *Seilern Triptych* in London (Courtauld Gallery), also attributed to Robert

- Campin, is entirely covered with stemwork in pastiglia. The use of applied brocades and pastiglia around 1400 is examined at length in the contribution by Ingrid Geelen and Delphine Steyaert in vol. 2 of this publication.
28. Albert Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, 2. L-Z (Fontes historiae artis neerlandicae, II), eds. Erik Duverger and Henry Pauwels, Brussels, 2004: 86-87.
 29. See also: Philippe Lorentz, *Des tableaux de peinture comme les tableaux d'orfèverie*, in *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI* (exhib. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre), Paris, 2004: 194-200.
 30. Alexandre de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, II: *Preuves*, Paris, 1851: 240-241.
 31. 'A maistre Vranque, peintre, demourant à Malines, pour paindre et faire la figure de mademoiselle Katherine de Bourgogne, fille de MdS [...]'. Cited after: Alexandre de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, I: *Preuves*, Paris, 1849: 97. This was probably a panel painting. In public buildings the likenesses of the Burgundian rulers were also executed as wall paintings, such as the portraits of Philip the Bold and his duchess, Margaret of Male, painted by Melchior Broederlam in 1407 on the walls of the comital chapel in the Church of Our Lady in Kortrijk.
 32. On the relevant archival material from the Ghent area, see the contribution by Elisabeth Dhanens in vol. 2 of this publication. See also Daniel Lievois, ' "Le Chêne qui cache la forêt – Van (een) Eyck die het bos verbergt." La peinture sur panneau à Gand à l'époque de Robert Campin et de Jan van Eyck', *Campin in Context. Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut à l'époque de Robert Campin 1375-1445* (Actes du Colloque international ... Tournai, 30 mars-1^{er} avril 2006), eds. Ludovic Nys and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, Valenciennes-Tournai, 2007: 205-222. On panel painting in Tournai in Campin's time, see Douglas Brine, 'Campin's Contemporaries: Painting in Tournai in the Early Fifteenth Century', *Campin in Context. Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut à l'époque de Robert Campin 1375-1445* (Actes du Colloque international ... Tournai, 30 mars-1^{er} avril 2006), eds. Ludovic Nys and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, Valenciennes-Tournai, 2007: 101-112.
 33. Albert Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, 1. A-K (Fontes historiae artis neerlandicae, II), Brussels, 1989. Idem, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, 2. L-Z (Fontes historiae artis neerlandicae, II), eds. Erik Duverger and Henry Pauwels, Brussels, 2004.
 34. 'Item given by order of the burgomaster Jan Coenen of a board on which the judgment is described hanging in the aldermen's room and costing: XLIs IIII d. gr.' Albert Schouteet 1989 (cited in n. 31): 125. The transcription is incomplete, for, as in all account entries, on the line following the recording of the money paid out this sum is converted into pounds parisis: 'somme xxiiij lb. xvi s'. According to Noël Geirnaert (archivist at the Bruges municipal archives) the panel was probably relatively cheap and small. I am most grateful to Noël Geirnaert for his helpful examination of the original text and its subsequent interpretation.
 35. For general observations and publications on this subject, see also Cyriel Stroo and Rita Van Dooren, 'Wat hemlieden toebehoort die vonnesse wijzen zullen'. Bours' werk voor het Leuvense stadhuis in een ruimer perspectief', *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven* (exhib. cat. Leuven, St Peter's Church and Friars Minor's Church), ed. Maurits Smeyers, with the collaboration of Katharina Smeyers, Leuven, 1998: 137-151.
 36. 'Item à Liévin de le Clite, pointre, demourant en la ville de Gand, pour la fathon d'un très-bel tabbel tout doré et de fin aisur, du Jugement de Nostre-Seigneur Jhésu-Crist, par lui livré en ladicte chambre en l'an mil quatre cens et treize.' See: Juliaan H.A. De Ridder, *Gerechtigheidszafereien voor schepenhuisen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de 14de, 15de en 16de eeuw* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 51, 45), Brussels, 1989: 24-25. See also: Juliaan H.A. De Ridder, 'Vlaamse Primitief op de dool: "Het Laatste Oordeel" van Lieven van den Clite', *Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Musée royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin (Miscellanea Henri Pauwels)*, 38-40/1-3 (1989-1991) 1992: 91-123; Rudy Van Elslande, 'Het Laatste

- Oordeel (Diest, Stedelijk Museum) van Lieven van den Clyte', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen. Tweemaandelijks Tijdschrift van de Heemkundige en Historische Kring Gent*, 30/6 (2001): 367-371. See also the contribution by Elisabeth Dhanens in vol. 2 of this publication.
37. In this connection, see: Roel Slachmuylders, *Het Laatste Oordeel van Diest (ca. 1430-1445). Een kritische studie* (unpublished licentiate's thesis, K.U. Leuven, 1987). The Diest *Last Judgment* will be discussed in a subsequent volume of our study of pre-Byckian panels.
38. 'Item ende dit oordeel es bestaet te werkene an Claus Poulette, ende es voorwaerde dat hy 't maken sal, alsoe goed of beter alse 't oordeel es te Brussel, in de camere van scepenen, so de voorwaerde inhoud, ende salre af hebben: xxxvj liv. Parises.' Cited in: Alexandre Pinchart, 'Rogier van der Weyden et les tapisseries de Berne', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 17 (1864): 54-55; J.G. Van Gelder, 'Enige kanttekeningen bij de gerechtigheidsstaferelen van Rogier van der Weyden', *Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd. Internationaal Colloquium 11-12 juni 1964*, Brussels, 1974: 119-164 (121).
39. Hans Van Miegroet, 'Gerard David's "Justice of Cambyzes": "Exemplum Iustitiae" or Political Allegory?', *Simiolus*, 18 (1988): 117, n. 4.
40. 'Ghegheven meester Luberecht over syn moyte van ii bewerpen van eenre taeffele die hy maecte ten bevelene van scepenen'. See: W. H. James Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck, their Lives and Work*, London and New York, 1908: xxviii.
41. Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert et Jan van Eyck*, Antwerp, 1980: 20-23; Pierre Colman, '« En Liège » vers 1400. L'orfèvre Henri de Cologne, Hubert van Eyck et Claus Sluter', *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 17 (2006): 97-140.
42. 'A maistre Henry le Quien, pointre, pour son salaire d'avoir point et doré le tavelet servant au siege des eschevins pour faire les sermens, et tous les ymages qui y sont, de fin or, et y fait armoiries, 48s'. See: A. de la Grange, *Les tableaux pour les prestations de serment*, in *Bulletin de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, 21 (1886): 10-11. On the identification of the work, see: Ludovic Nys, 'Un petit triptyque sculpté de prestation de serment tournaisien du début du XV^e siècle, conservé au Musée des arts décoratifs de Paris', *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, 24 (1991): 47-56.
43. Ludovic Nys, 'Le Triptyque Seilern: une nouvelle hypothèse', *Revue de l'art*, 139 (2003): 19, n. 84; Marc Gil, 'Commande privée et typologie des œuvres à partir des testaments douaisiens (fin XIV^e siècle-1500)', *La peinture en province. De la fin du Moyen Âge au début du XX^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Pierre Lethuillier, Rennes, 2002: 31-45.
44. Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, (with Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen), *Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Les Primitifs Flamands, 1. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 14)*, Brussels, 1986: 134. See also the contribution of Elisabeth Dhanens in vol. 2 of this publication.
45. For the most recent views in this matter, see: Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, *Das Flügelretabel auf dem Hochaltar der Dortmunder Kirche St. Reinoldi. Untersuchungen zu seiner Gestalt, Ikonographie und Herkunft*, Cologne, 2004; Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, 'Das Hochaltarretabel der Dortmunder Reinoldikirche. Ein herausragendes Zeugnis franko-flämischer Kunstschaftens aus den Werkstätten der burgundischen Niederlande', *Städtische Repräsentation. St. Reinoldi und das Rathaus als Schauplätze des Dortmunder Mittelalters*, eds. Nils Büttner, Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel, Bielefeld, 2005: 181-203; Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, *Das Altarretabel in der Dortmunder St. Reinoldikirche (Dortmunder Mittelalter-Forschungen, 10)*, Bielefeld, 2007.
46. In this connection, see the carved retables that were attributed by Robert Didier and John Steyaert to a Bruges sculptor, and were intended for the parish church of Bokel (Hanover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum), Grönau (Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum), Neetze, and for St Antao de Faniqueira (Portugal). See: Robert Didier, 'Flandern und Brabant', *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil, 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern* (exhib. cat. Cologne, Kunsthalle), 1, ed. Anton Legner, Cologne, 1978: 91. Didier and Steyaert attribute the Dortmund *Passion Altarpiece* to a Brabant (Brussels) workshop, however. For a recent opinion on this topic, see the entry on the so-called *Grönauer Altar* in Lübeck in Uwe Albrecht, Jörg Rosenfeld and Christiane Saumweber, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Holzsulptur und Tafelmalerei in Schleswig-Holstein, 1. Hansesstadt Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum*, ed. Uwe Albrecht, Kiel, 2005: 114-122.
47. The results of the study of the pre-Byckian panels in collections outside Belgium will be published in a subsequent volume. This

INTRODUCTION

research will include works such as the *Norfolk Triptych* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), the *Antwerp-Baltimore Quadriptych* (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh and Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum), the *Virgin and Child Tondo* (Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum), the *Passion Altarpiece* (Dortmund, St Reinold's Church), the *Large Carrand Diptych* (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), *Chapelle Cardon* (Paris, Musée du

Louvre), the *Last Judgement* (Brussels, KMSKB/MRBAB; on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Diest), the *Sachs Annunciation* (Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art), the *Crucifixion Triptych with Saints Anthony, Christopher, James and George* (Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago), the *Holy Family with Angels* and the *Trinity Triptych* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), the *Altarpiece of St Crispin and St Crispinian* (Saint-Omer, Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin), amongst others.