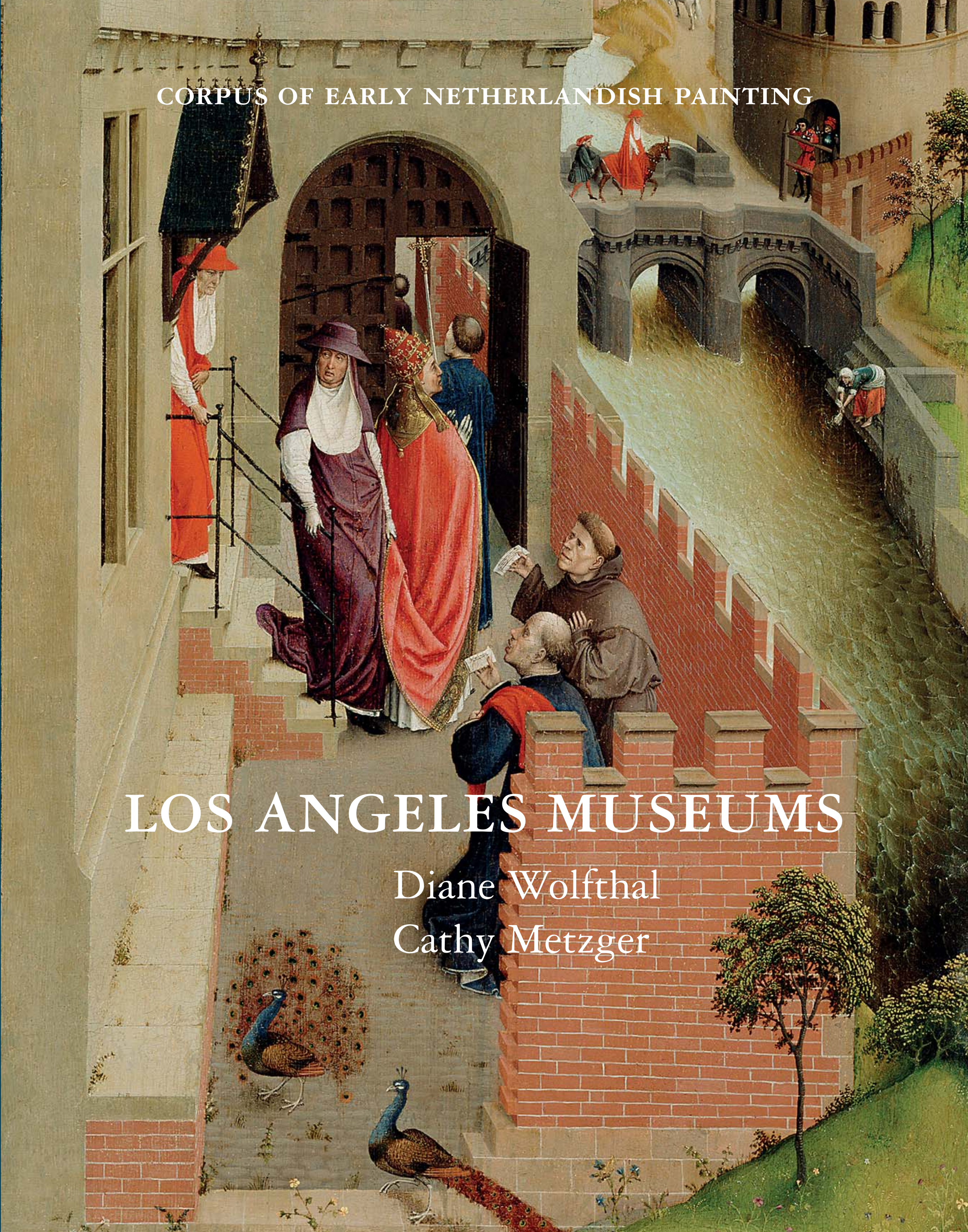

CORPUS OF EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTING

LOS ANGELES MUSEUMS

Diane Wolfthal
Cathy Metzger

Los Angeles Museums

Corpus of Early Netherlandish Painting
22

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE FLEMISH PRIMITIVES
The Centre for the Study of the Flemish Primitives is a specialized research unit of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA), Brussels. The Study Centre produces three series of scientific publications: the Corpus, the Repertory and the Contributions.
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LOS ANGELES MUSEUMS

DIANE WOLFTHAL
CATHY METZGER

ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE
BRUSSELS
2014

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Foreword

Early Netherlandish Painting in Four Collections in the Greater Los Angeles Area

EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTING IN THE GETTY COLLECTION

The seven early Netherlandish paintings in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum form a small but intriguing portion of a larger group of roughly 120 Northern paintings dominated by seventeenth-century masters. J. Paul Getty (1892-1976), who maintained an unusual passion for both Rembrandt and Rubens, exhibited no interest in late-medieval Netherlandish painting, even during his prolonged tour of pre-war Europe when he acquired important pieces for low prices. A collector who favored classical antiquities, French eighteenth-century furniture, carpets, and an otherwise wide range of paintings, notably Italian Renaissance and northern Baroque, he professed little interest in "small pictures," by which he meant not only diminutive in scale, but also perhaps an extremely refined technique.

By the time the first fifteenth-century Flemish painting was acquired for the Museum in 1969 (entry no. 258), it had become exceedingly difficult to obtain works of the high quality and stature that had formed the eminent collections in New York, Boston and Washington at the beginning of the century. Serious efforts were made to represent this important area of artistic achievement beginning with curator Burton Fredericksen, and most of the works catalogued in this volume were acquired between 1977 and 1985. An additional impediment to making significant acquisitions, particularly in the late-1970s, was the dearth of specialists upon whom to rely for advice. The attribution of the *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal* (entry no. 252) to Rogier van der Weyden, repeated throughout the early literature, proved to be anything but clear following its purchase. The popular duchess with her strange smile and extravagant attire is now understood to be one of the most complex pictures in this area of the collection.

The Getty's holdings grew carefully with the addition of paintings such as the *Dream of Pope Sergius* (entry no. 250) and the *Annunciation* (entry no. 245), which were well known to scholars and associated with related works ensemble located in other institutions. The acquisition of the Bouts *Annunciation* in 1985 was a particularly exciting moment for the Museum and its rapidly expanding paintings collection during that decade. Its stature was immediately transformed by the high quality of the work and its relationships to the *Entombment* in London and, significantly, to the Norton Simon *Resurrection*. Mr. Simon's spectacular purchase in 1980, with its astonishing price at auction, drew new attention to the rarity of the artist and the beauty of his *tuchlein* paintings. The presence of the *Annunciation* and

Resurrection only miles apart not only strengthened connections between the two institutions, which already jointly owned works, but also the West Coast holdings of Dirk and Albrecht Bouts.

The early Flemish paintings at the Getty are distinguished by their generally good condition and interesting, even unusual, iconography. The *Annunciation*, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon* (entry no. 254), *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre* (entry no. 253) and *Crucifixion* (entry no. 255), in particular, have continuously engaged scholars since their arrival at the Museum.

Early Netherlandish Painting in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art

The Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science, and Art was founded in 1913 with neither a permanent art collection nor money to acquire one. By the late 1950s, however, a group of the city's leading businessmen recognized the need for an independent art museum to house the encyclopedic art collection that had outgrown its definition as a "division" of the larger museum. In 1965 the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) seceded from what is now known as the Natural History Museum of the County of Los Angeles and moved further west to its present location on Wilshire Boulevard in close proximity to Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and Hancock Park. The museum was established as a partnership between the County, which helps to maintain the buildings, and the private, non-profit "Museum Associates," which owns the collection in trust for the community. In the almost fifty years since the museum was established as an independent institution, it has become one of the largest encyclopedic museums in the United States, with a collection of over 150,000 objects.

The collection of Old Master paintings and sculpture has grown primarily through the generosity of the Ahmanson Foundation. Among the original founders, Howard Ahmanson, founder of Home Savings and Loan, and Edward Carter, a businessman and civic leader, would remain steadfast in their commitment of support for the museum, while other early supporters, Norton Simon, Armand Hammer, and J. Paul Getty would establish their own independent museums.

The "Art Division" of the Los Angeles County Museum began in 1918 with the donation of a collection of outstanding American paintings by Mr and Mrs. William Preston Harrison. In 1931 the Harrisons added a collection of European paintings and drawings, primarily from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Old Master paintings entered the collection in the late 1930s through donations made by the banker Paul Rodman Mabury and Mr. and Mrs. Allan Balch. The Balch collection enriched virtually every department of the fledgling art division. Their collection of over thirty European paintings was especially rich in Dutch and Flemish works, including paintings by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (entry no. 257), Albrecht Bouts (entry no. 243), and Petrus Christus (entry no. 247). The couple gave the collection to LACMA in 1939 with the stipulation that they be able to enjoy the collection in their home until their deaths. The collection was transferred to the museum in 1944.

Originally from New York State, Allan Balch (1864-1943) met his future wife Janet Jacks at Cornell University, where both were students. Following graduation and marriage in 1891 the couple moved to Seattle and five years later to Los Angeles, where Allan Balch, who had been trained as an electrical engineer, would become instrumental in bringing hydroelectric power to the region. Together with William G. Kerckhoff (1856-1929), Balch founded the San Gabriel Electric Company. In 1902 the company merged with the Pacific Light and Power Company, incorporated by Henry E. Huntington. In 1913 Balch and Kerckhoff took control of Southern California Gas Company, which had been split off from Pacific Light and Power, and constructed a pipeline that brought natural gas into Los Angeles for the first time.

The couple became involved with the young museum by the 1920s, when Allan Balch was appointed a trustee. During the late 1920s and early 1930s Allan and Janet gave generous sums of money to the museum to expand the collection, and in Alan 1938 was appointed chairman of the Museum Associates.

Alan and Janet Balch, who were childless, became avid collectors, ultimately assembling and donating 870 objects to LACMA, including over forty European paintings and sculptures. Janet Balch initiated the couple's collecting, starting with sketches and then paintings. Her husband's interest was primarily in ancient glass and pottery, inspired by his golfing partner, a dealer in Persian pottery. During the late 1920s the couple began to collect seriously, working closely with Knoedler Gallery in New York. Between 1927 and 1930 they purchased the three Early Netherlandish paintings that now belong to LACMA: the *Portrait of a Man* by Petrus Christus (entry no. 247), *Virgin and Child* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (entry no. 257), and the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* at that time attributed to Albrecht Bouts (entry no. 243), as well as *Portrait of a Young Woman with White Coif* by Hans Holbein (M.44.2.9).

LACMA purchased the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints* (entry no. 256) from Heim Gallery, Paris, in 1969. Anna Bing Arnold, one of LACMA's dedicated supporters, provided the funds for the acquisition. Mrs. Arnold was not herself a collector. She had inherited an extensive eclectic collection from her first husband, Leo S. Bing, who built the Empire State Building and with his brother Alexander M. Bing was one of the most important apartment developers in New York during the early twentieth century before moving to Los Angeles. Following his death in the early 1950s and her second marriage, his widow donated numerous objects from the collection to LACMA and generously supported numerous acquisitions and projects at the museum.

The Early Netherlandish paintings at LACMA are complimented by a group of large German linden wood sculptures from the late fifteenth century, a polychrome reliquary bust by an anonymous Brabant artist (no. 48.24.19), and an extensive glass collection presented to the museum by the newspaper giant and collector William Randolph Hearst. The collection also includes an alabaster with gilt wood crown sculpture of the *Virgin and Child* attributed to the Circle of Rimini Altar (Netherlands, ca. 1435) (M.89.140a-b).

Early Netherlandish Painting in the Norton Simon Museum

History will record Norton Simon (1907-1993) as a major twentieth century industrialist, philanthropist, and art collector. The Museum in Pasadena, California that bears his name is living testimony to his judgment as a connoisseur and to his generous legacy for the public's enjoyment. The scope of the collection spans European Art from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, along with a stellar collection of South and Southeast Asian Art. The Early Netherlandish paintings represent an extraordinary group of masterpieces that extends into the seventeenth century, with marvelous examples by Flemish artists including Peter Paul Rubens, Frans Snyders, and Jan Brueghel the Younger.

Each of the eight fifteenth-century paintings was acquired between the 1960s and 1980, coinciding with Simon's most fruitful years as a collector. He worked with private dealers and auction houses to assemble a group of objects distinguished by quality rather than quantity. The Duveen and Knoedler Galleries, two of the preeminent showplaces for European art in New York at the beginning of the last century, feature prominently in the acquisitions during the 1960s. Hans Memling's *Christ Blessing* (entry no. 249), was the first Early Netherlandish painting purchased by Simon. Secured through Knoedler in 1964, its provenance is traceable to the last king of Portugal, Don Manuel II (1889–1932). Shortly thereafter, Simon negotiated the purchase of the Duveen Gallery inventory, which at that time boasted the beautiful *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints* by Gerard David (entry no. 248). Exhibited for many years at the Prado before its journey across the Atlantic, the David belonged to the Spanish royal collection of Prince Juan de Bourbon, the son of Ferdinand the VII. Dirk Bouts' *Resurrection* (entry no. 246), a precious relic painted in distemper on unlined linen, marked Simon's final and greatest achievement in the area of Flemish primitives. When this rare, delicately painted image of Christ Risen resurfaced at Sotheby's in 1980, it sparked intense competition (Simon was bidding against the National Gallery, London). The enterprising circumstances of his bidding at auction, along with the fanfare surrounding its acquisition, provide insight into the collector's penchant for, and delight in, drumming up the attention of the press. It underscores Simon's pleasure in the pursuit as well as his admiration for this powerful image.[1]

Simon appreciated these artists' close observation and their exacting, descriptive skills in the service of devotional and anecdotal narrative. This holds true for the Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century paintings, which in terms of quality and quantity, form a substantive portion of the Museum's European collection. With regard to any overarching characteristic of the Early Netherlandish collection, it has less to do with Simon's selecting a particular artist, or associating with the culture, than it has to do with an object's emotional and aesthetic appeal, a pronounced characteristic evident in the Western art on display in the Museum. In concert with the collection as a whole, these eight paintings affirm Simon's belief in the affective power of art to help us better know ourselves.

Early Netherlandish Painting in the Huntington Art Collection

While the Huntington Art Collection is most renowned for its superb collection of eighteenth-century British art, it can also claim several Flemish 15th- and 16th-century paintings, including a masterwork by Rogier van der Weyden: the *Virgin and Child* (entry no. 251) of around 1460, half of the diptych of Philippe de Croÿ, whose donor portrait resides in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp. It was

Arabella Huntington's desire, rather than that of her second husband Henry (founders of the Huntington Art Collection), to acquire Old Master paintings. She assembled these works in her New York residence during the years between the death of her first husband, Collis P. Huntington, and her marriage to Henry E. Huntington, Collis' nephew. In addition to the Van der Weyden, these Flemish works include a *Flight into Egypt* and *Virgin and Child* attributed to Adrian Isenbrandt and a *Virgin and Child* possibly by Albert Cornelis, all of which she bequeathed to her son Archer (whose father was Collis). After her death in 1924, lacking evidence of certain portions of her collecting activities that reflected her connoisseurship and style – namely, her Old Master paintings and her eighteenth-century French decorative arts – Henry endeavored to create a collection in her honor featuring this material. He approached Archer and then Joseph Duveen, the Huntingtons' primary art dealer, with his plan. Archer had decided to leave his mother's decorative arts to the Legion of Honor in San Francisco, which meant that the task of representing Arabella's passion in this collecting area fell to Duveen. He quickly secured for Henry a superb group of eighteenth-century French decorative arts and sculpture. However, Archer still owned the Old Master paintings and Henry's negotiations with him to readmit them to his late mother's memorial collection were lengthy and complicated. In the end, with Duveen's help, Archer agreed to give these works to Henry. Informing Henry of Archer's generous gift, Duveen effuses, "I could have hugged him, and told him what a wonderful thing he was doing… What I loved even more was his remark: 'After all, Duveen, H.E. [Henry] has made me a Trustee of the Collection out there, and I am certainly interested.'"[2] Along with the French works of art, these Old Master paintings became part of the memorial collection that was initially housed in the Huntington Library but is now integrated, only steps away, among the other works of art in the Huntington mansion. The mansion opened as the Huntington Art Collection after Henry's death in 1927.

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The J. Paul Getty Museum
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Norton Simon Museum of Art
Catherine Hess
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Collection
Huntington

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[1] S. Muchnic, 1998, p. 186-188.

[2] Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Duveen Brothers Archive 960015, reel 322, box 467.

Acknowledgements

The origins of this book go back to the Bruges Colloquium for the Study of Underdrawing held in 2003, when Hélène Mund, of the Centre for the Study of the Flemish Primitives encouraged us to present a publication plan for a volume in the well-known Corpus of Early Netherlandish Painting. This would cover the collections of the greater Los Angeles area, which had long been regarded as a priority by the Centre. The book is the result of close collaboration, with Diane Wolfthal focusing on art historical questions and Cathy Metzger on technical aspects of the paintings. We selected a group of sixteen works from the collections of four museums: The J. Paul Getty Museum, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Norton Simon Museum of Art (Pasadena) and the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino). We are exceedingly grateful to the Centre for the Study of the Flemish Primitives of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage for publishing the results of this research.

This volume would not have come to fruition without the generosity of a great many people. To Hélène Mund, we owe the initial invitation and her guidance in choosing the works to be examined. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Bart Fransen, Valentine Henderiks, and Cyriel Stroo for their careful and thoughtful editing, and their many expert suggestions, which greatly strengthened this volume. We warmly thank Elisabeth Van Eyck for her research contributions and meticulous editing.

We also owe a debt to the curators who welcomed us into their museums, answered our questions, and opened their files to us: Anne Woollett, Amy Walsh, Carol Togneri, and Catherine Hess. We would like to thank Joe Fronek, Mark Leonard, Irma O'Donoghue, and Yvonne Szafran for generously allowing us to use their studios and equipment in our study. We are also indebted to Yosi Posilev, a photographer for the Los Angeles County Museum, who went to great lengths to acquire images.

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Several colleagues have generously provided assistance: Maryan W. Ainsworth, Till-Holger Borchert, Lorne Campbell, Thom Kren, and Roger Wieck.

Finally, we would also like to thank, for their unfailing support, Beth Miller and Maurice Wolfthal.

Notes to the Reader

Classification

The painters whose works are studied in the Corpus may be anonymous, or be known by actual name, or else by a provisional name. All paintings from the four different collections are classified in alphabetical order according to their attribution proposed by the authors: first the identified masters, followed by the masters with provisional names and ending with the anonymous.

The first section of each entry is dedicated to the identification of the painting, mentioning its collection and inventory number and followed by the name of the 'group' to which they are classified in the documentation of the Centre for the Study of the Flemish Primitives. Finally the Corpus number is mentioned, referring to the number of the entry within the complete series of Corpus volumes, initiated by the Study Centre in 1952.

Each entry has a number of sections and subsections following a systematic order, build up in the previous Corpus volumes. In the different entries, these sections and subsections are handled with some flexibility, depending on the painting's data and the research results.

Left and right

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

Measurements

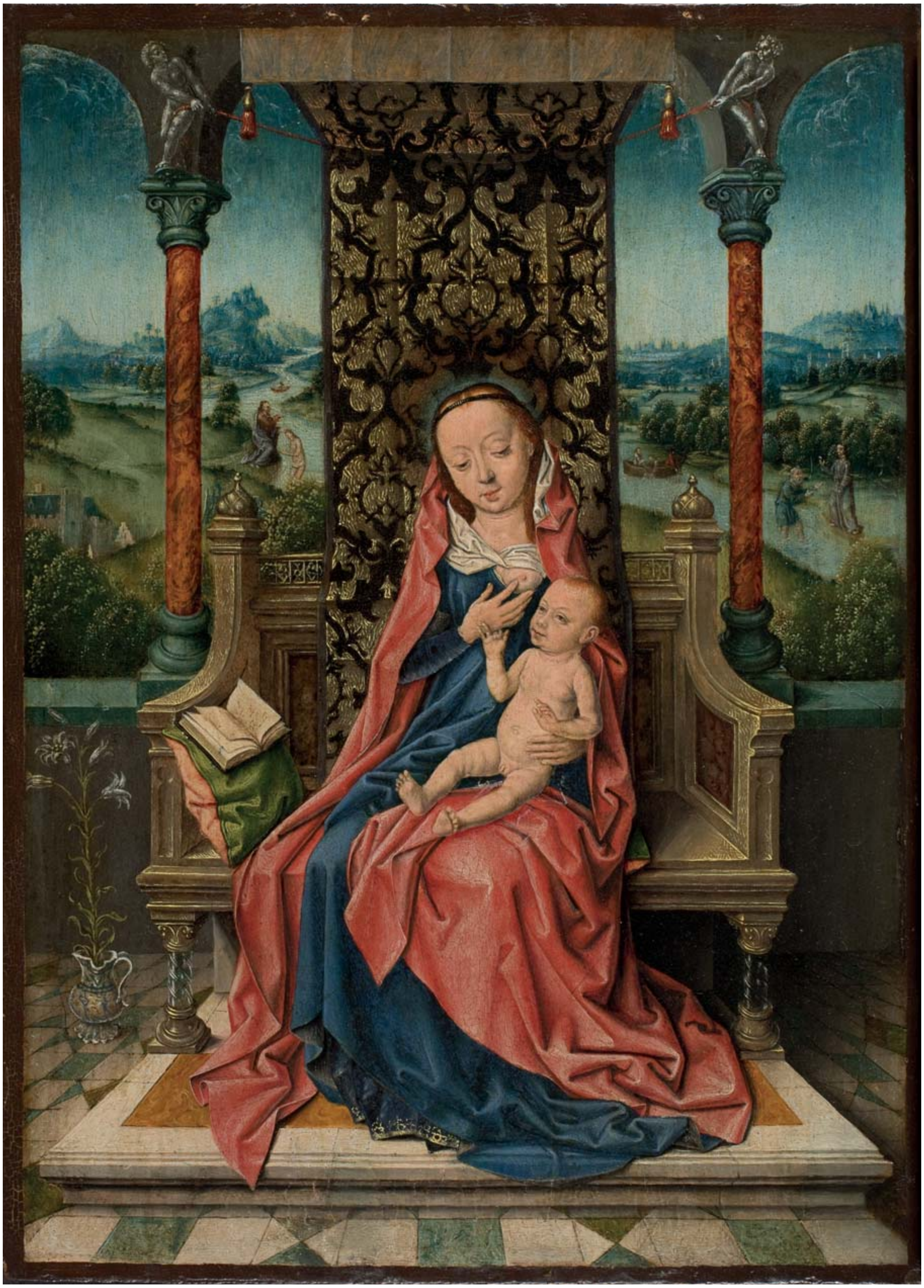
The measurements are given in centimetres; the order is height × width × thickness. On account of the irregularity of the earlier panels, the measurements given are only approximate.

Abbreviations

Institutions:

KIK-IRPA	Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium / Institut Royal du Patrimoine artistique / Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, Brussels
RKD	Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie / Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague

1.



Albrecht Bouts, workshop

Madonna and Child Enthroned

1. IDENTIFICATION

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch Collection (M.44.2.5), inv. no. L 2100.44-1076

Group: Albrecht Bouts
No. Corpus: 243

2. HISTORY OF THE WORK

ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

1908: London, Durlacher Brothers
1909-1911: London, Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, Ltd.
1911: Düsseldorf, Mandel
1911-1912: Berlin, Carl von Hollitscher
1925: Düsseldorf, Dr. Edgar Haniel
1928: Munich, A. S. Drey
1930: London, Colnaghi
1930: New York, Knoedler & Co.
1930-1944: Los Angeles, Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch
1944: Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

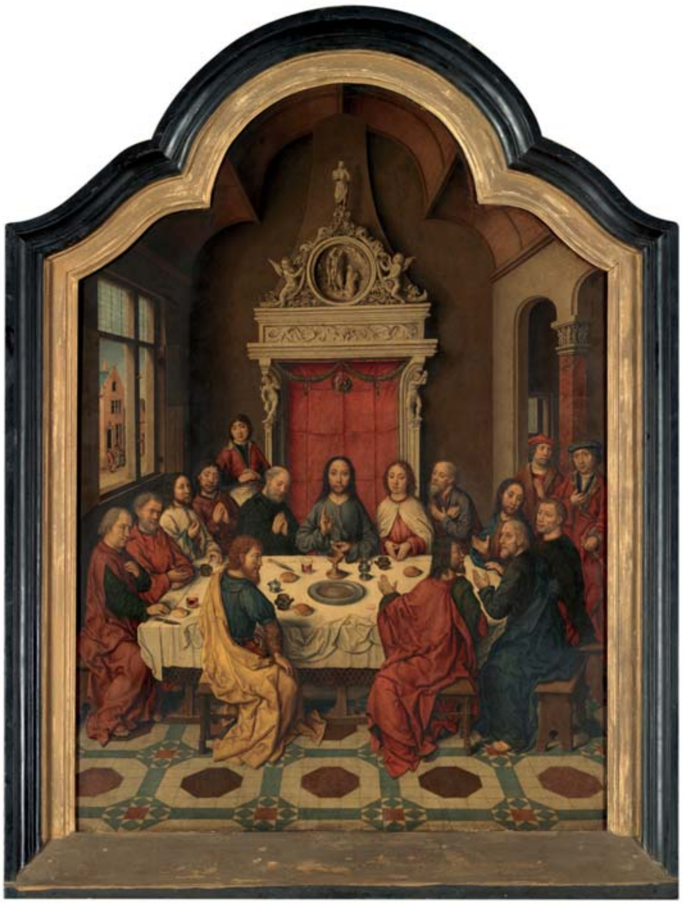
MATERIAL HISTORY

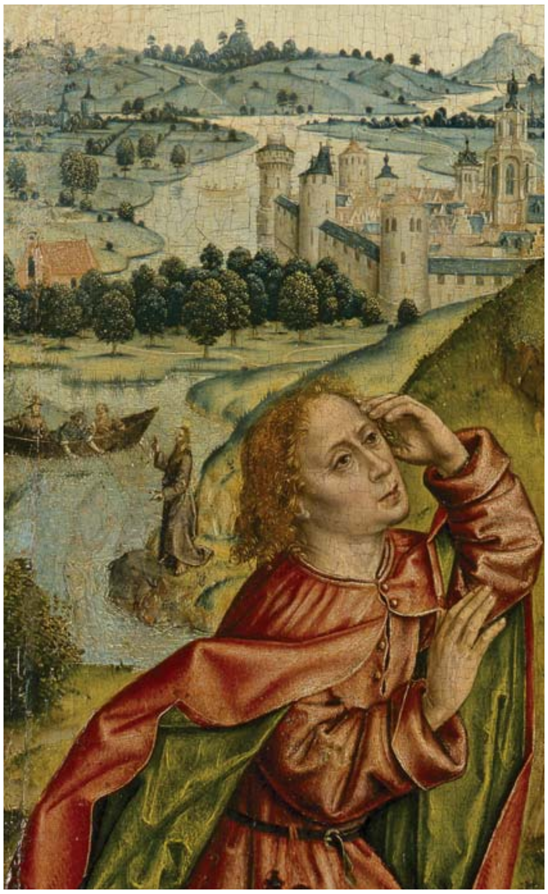
Undated, unsigned report: grime cleaned and revarnished. Velvet frame removed.

1. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* 25 × 18 cm., Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. no. L 2100.44-1076

3. HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

When the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* was first published in 1912, W. Bode and M. J. Friedländer (1912) attributed it to Albrecht Bouts, the youngest son of Dirk Bouts the Elder (fig. 1).[1] Scholars supported this attribution until 2011, when V. Henderiks ascribed the painting to Albrecht's workshop.[2] The first to date the *Madonna and Child* was W. Schöne (1938), who placed it at the turn of the sixteenth



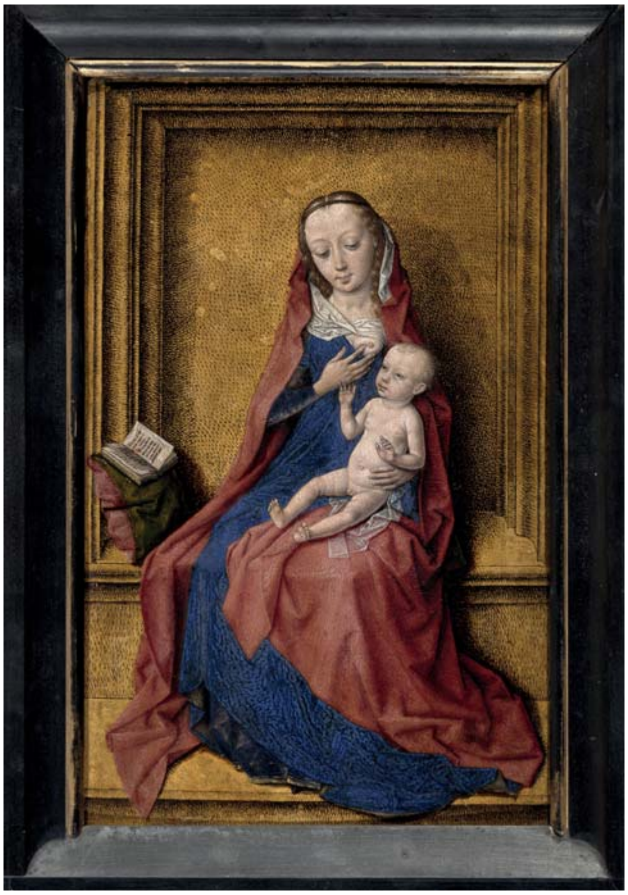


century. S. Schaefer (1987) dated it around 1510, and Henderiks around 1510-1515, citing its lack of subtlety in the painting technique as well as compositional elements that appear in Albrecht's workshop only in the early sixteenth century, most notably the Renaissance nudes that are visible at the top of the composition. Such elements, Henderiks noted, recur in the Bregenz triptych[3] and the *Last Supper* in Brussels (fig. 2). E. Feinblatt (1948) was the first to mention the presence of background scenes, the Baptism on the left and the Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew on the right. Henderiks observed that these are typical of Albrecht's workshop, citing a similar scene in the *Transfiguration* in Cambridge, dated ca. 1520 (fig. 3).

Friedländer (1925), followed by Schöne (1938), suggested that the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* was a replica of a panel in the Louvre (fig. 4). Friedländer also mentioned another version that includes a dog below and a lunette with God the Father above, which was at that time in a Spanish art gallery.[4] D. Martens (1993) discussed the *Madonna and Child* in relation to another source, the lost *Madonna on an Arched Throne,* which was invented by Dirk Bouts and echoed in many paintings by Bruges masters from the late fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[5] Martens noted that such versions as those in London (fig. 5) and Los Angeles show a play of forms that creates a visual instability by drawing a correspondence

2. Albrecht Bouts workshop, *Last Supper*, 40.9 × 61.9 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 2589

3. Albrecht Bouts workshop, *Transfiguration*, 73.5 × 45.5 cm., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 99, detail



4. Dirk Bouts the Elder (?), *Madonna and Child*, 20 × 12.3 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MI 734

between the curves of the armrests, which recede back into space, and those of the arches of the loggia, which are parallel to the picture plane. Finally, Henderiks proposed that the composition of the painting in Los Angeles also derived from Dirk Bouts' *Madonna and Child with Four Angels* in Granada (fig. 6).

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 25 × 18 cm.
Painted Surface: 24.8 × 17.7 cm.

Support

The support is a single panel of oak, thinned on the reverse with shallow, deep bevels on all sides (fig. 7). The bevels are approximately 3.5 to 4 cm. wide and thin the panel, which is approximately 1 cm. thick in the center, to about 0.1 to 0.3 cm. thick at the periphery. A paper label on reverse reads "DOWDESWELL BOND STREET, 160./LONDON, W."

Frame

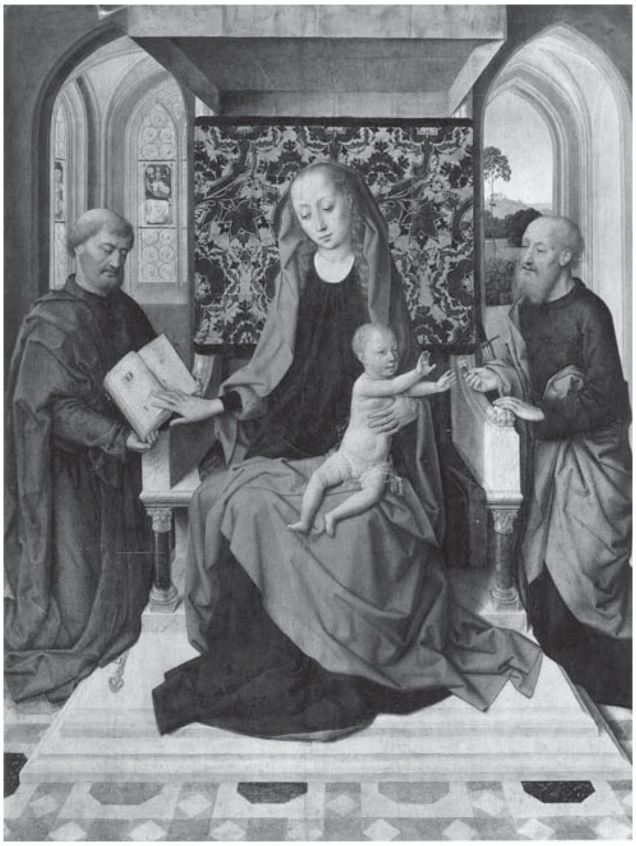
Not original.

Ground

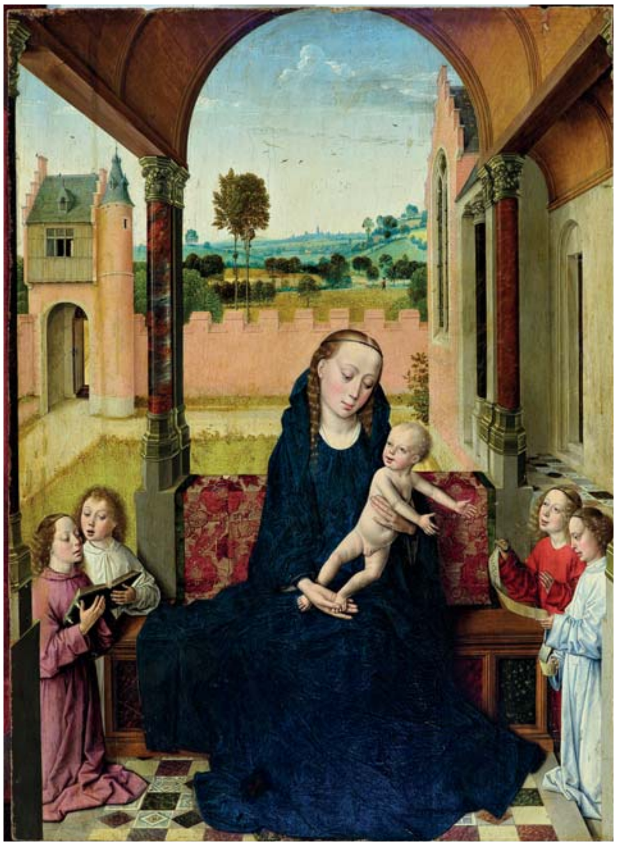
The painting has a smooth thin white ground that extends to the panel's edges, suggesting that it was applied before the panel was framed. The ground was not originally painted at the edges, however, leaving a fairly wide border of exposed ground that was much later covered with a resinous brown paint (fig. 8).

Underlying Drawing

The underdrawing is applied in short "stitches" or dashes, most of which adjoin, but some of which show an occasional gap in the line (fig. 9). The result is a somewhat wavering contour that traces the outline of the central figure group, with hatching in the Virgin's attire to indicate shadows. Faint lines in the infrared reflectogram for the cords holding the canopy are slightly lower on the left than in the painting, and a few lines in the horizon do not correspond exactly to the painted surface. The infrared reflectogram shows dark lines along the curved arms of the throne, but these correspond closely to the dark brown lines in the paint and probably are not underdrawing. A strong diagonal line on the right side of the image registers in the infrared reflectogram but has no clear relationship to either the panel dimensions or the painted image; therefore its purpose is unknown. The underdrawing has the characteristics of a free-hand transfer of an existing design.



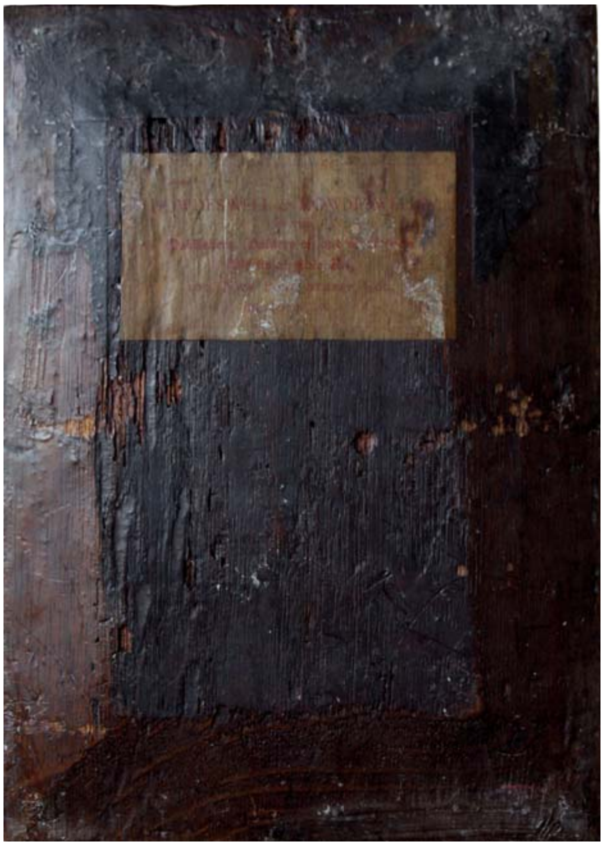
5. Dirk Bouts, workshop, *Virgin and Child with SS. Peter and Paul*, 70.9 × 53.5 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG774



6. Dirk Bouts the Elder, *Madonna and Child with Four Angels*, 53.8 × 38.8 cm., Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real

Paint Layer

The paint is thin, but opaque, and has enough body to cover the ground, with the exception of two areas: the front section of the canopy, where a translucent brown glaze is modeled with thinly-dragged azurite (fig. 10), and the areas of flesh that are in shadow, which are similarly modeled with a translucent brown paint (fig. 11). The paint application is somewhat formulaic. The execution is from back to front, so that the highlights and deepest shadows are laid over blended base colors, with the lightest areas painted last. The underdrawing is visible through the flesh paint, which is applied more thinly than the background elements. Pale pinkish white paint added as a final step picks out highlights in the flesh, with dark brown paint used to define the pupils, separation of the lips, and nostrils. The Virgin's robe is painted with two layers of blue, a darker modeling over a lighter base color, and then final highlights brushed in smoothly. In the marble columns a medium red base color was first applied, then a dark red glaze, and finally swirling strokes of lighter paint were added to simulate veining (fig. 12). The landscape and pillow were prepared with an opaque yellowish green base layer, over which a green glaze was used to color the deepest greens, and the highlights were added last in small dabs of yellow paint. For the brocaded canopy, the painter first applied an opaque brown base layer, and then the black pattern and borders of black with a small admixture of azurite. The final layers to be added were bright yellow and pale pink highlights and a translucent brown halo



7. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* reverse

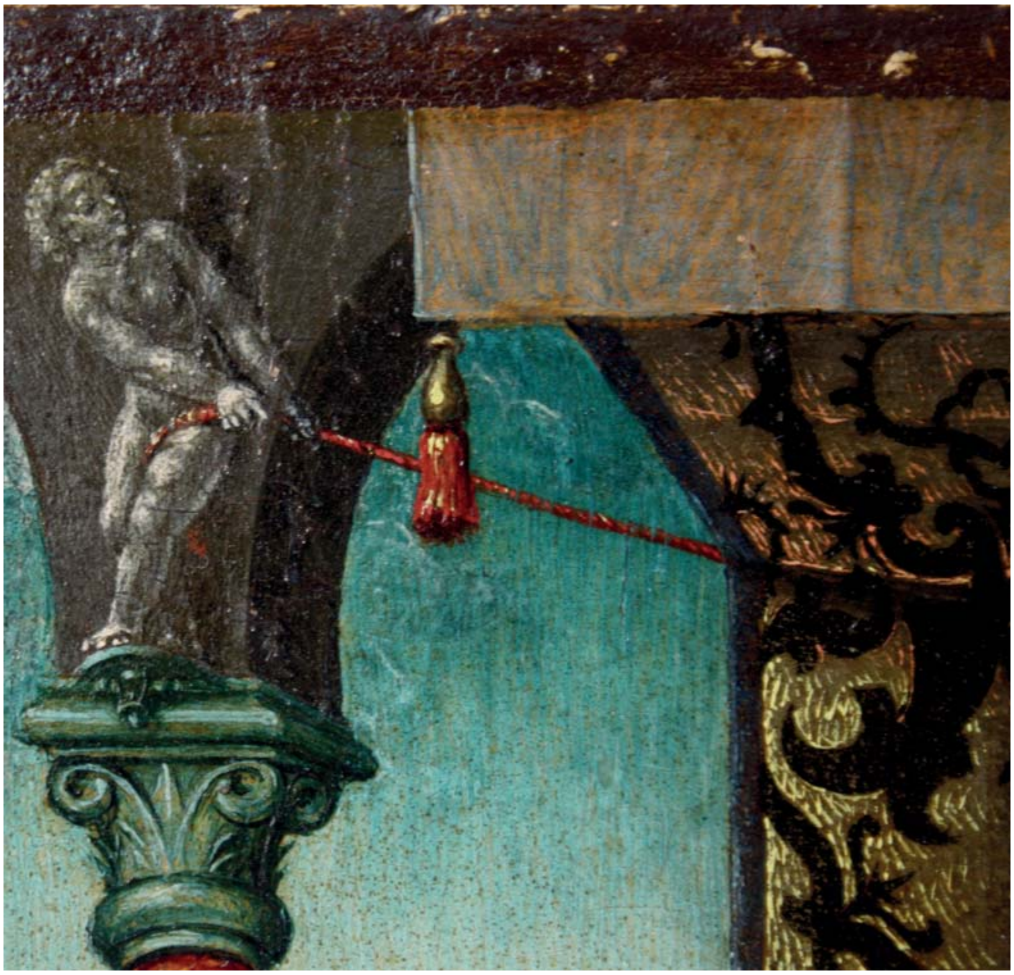
with a bright blue interior that surrounds the Virgin's head. The small background figures were painted over the completed landscape (figs. 13-14), and the lilies, pitcher, and rock crystal column bases were applied over the completed background architecture and floor tiles.

The painting is in fairly good condition, although the surface is pitted with tiny pockmarks that have collected dirt or aged varnish and appear as dark brown speckles. These are most evident in the sky, perhaps the result of a treatment decision to leave more varnish residue there. The X-radiograph clearly shows losses, which have been inpainted, at the bottom center and right, along the right edge, and in the arch of the right column (fig. 15).

5. Pictorial Analysis

This painting shows a Madonna and Child enthroned before a landscape. Wearing a red mantle, a blue robe, and a blue *surcot* trimmed with gold at the hem, Mary offers her exposed breast to her infant with her right hand, while her left supports him as he sits naked on a transparent veil placed over her lap. Seated beneath a brocaded canopy ornamented at the top front corners with red tassels, the Madonna's brown hair is parted at the center, held in place with a black head band, and largely covered

8.



8. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail of top edge left

9. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* infrared reflectogram

by her red mantle and white head cloth (fig. 11). Her haloed head inclines slightly towards the left as her brown eyes gaze down at the Child, who playfully touches her right hand with his. Surrounding the upper part of the Madonna's head is a thin, blue arc that is encircled by a wider halo of resinous brown. The broad, elaborate stone throne, with transparent rock crystal columns, inlaid marble panels, an openwork band across the top of the backrest, and finials atop the armrests, is raised on a platform that is also inlaid with marble. A blue and white ceramic vase filled with a stalk of lilies rests on the multicolored tiled floor (fig. 16). A pink and green pillow on the Virgin's right supports an open manuscript (fig. 17). The scene is set in a loggia whose round arches are supported by marble columns. Two curly-haired nudes, whose short hair indicates that they are male, stand atop the capitals of these columns. Although representing statues they energetically pull a cord that begins between their legs and extends from one marble column to the other (figs. 8, 18).

Behind the loggia is a view of a river landscape. To the far left, beyond a building, is a scene of St. John baptizing Christ (fig. 13). Further in the distance, a boat glides on the river and the grassy landscape, dotted with trees, merges with a blue

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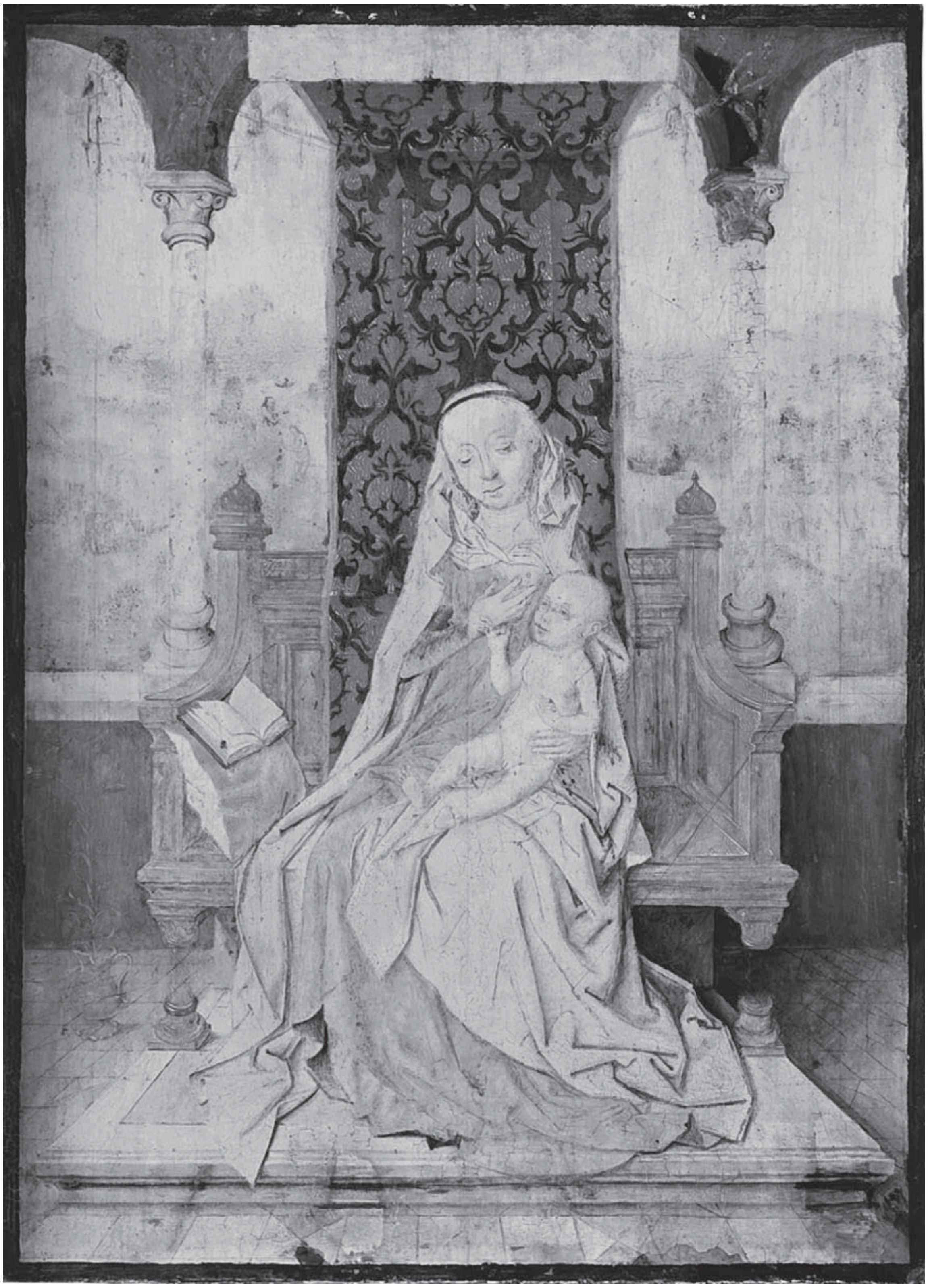

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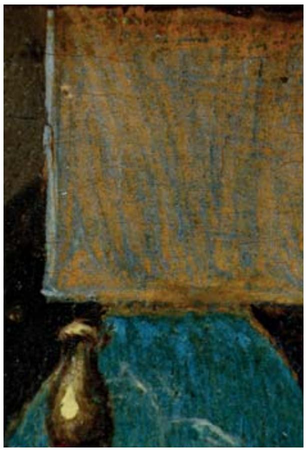

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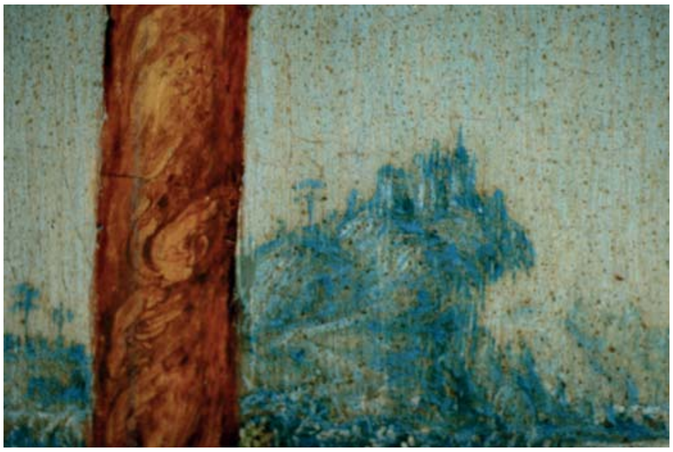
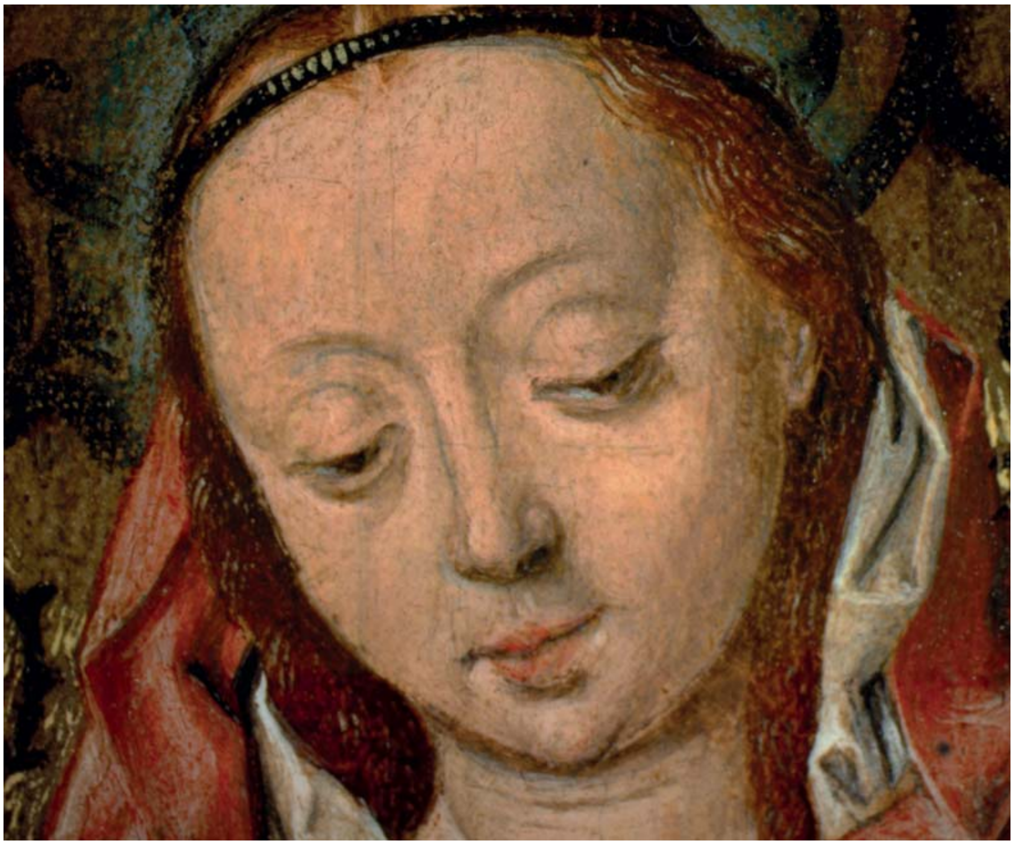




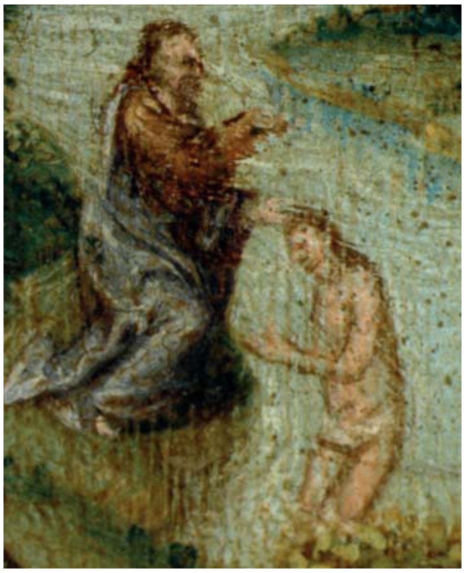
11.

10. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, front hanging of canopy

11. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, modeling of flesh

12. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, left column and landscape

13.



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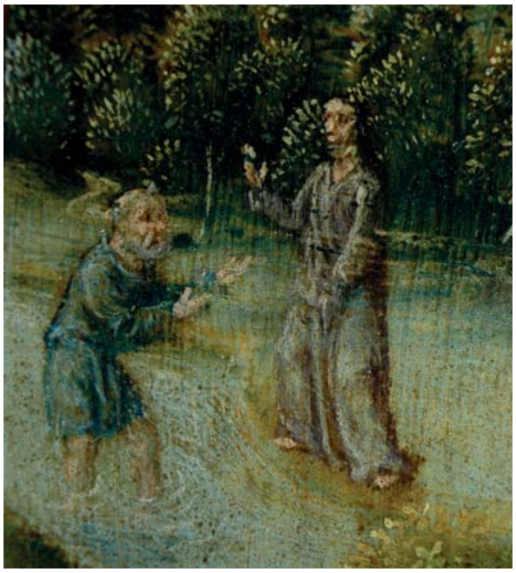

13. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, detail, background figures on the left

14. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, detail, background on the right

15. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, X-radiograph

16. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, detail, vase of lilies

mountainous terrain. To the right of the Virgin this bluish strip is filled with a cityscape. Before that three fishermen sit in a boat; the central figure pulls up a net (fig. 19). Closer to the foreground, Christ stands on the shore calling a gray-haired bearded figure, probably St. Peter, who raises his hands as he stands in the river, ripples of water circling his legs (fig. 14).

This painting shows many common iconographical motifs. The Madonna enthroned before a brocaded canopy may refer to her role as the Queen of Heaven, although her dress is relatively simple and she wears no crown. The seated Virgin holding the Child with a book at her side may be an allusion to Mary as the seat of wisdom, the *sedes sapientiae*. The Madonna offering her breast to her Child probably underlines her role as intercessor. Christ's nudity suggests his human aspect, and may also refer to the ritual of showing the naked new-born king to the populace.[6] The lily in the vase is generally assumed to symbolize the Virgin's purity. As opposed to the infancy scene in the foreground, the background vignettes show Christ's adulthood, his baptism, and his calling of the apostles.

6. Comparative Material

– Dirk Bouts the Elder (?), *Madonna and Child*, 20 × 12.3 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MI 734 (fig. 4)
– Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, formerly in a Spanish art gallery, New York, Parke-Bernet Sale, 20 October 1954, lot no. 26, present location unknown
– Dirk Bouts the Elder, *Madonna and Child with Four Angels*, 53.8 × 38.8 cm., Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real (fig. 6)

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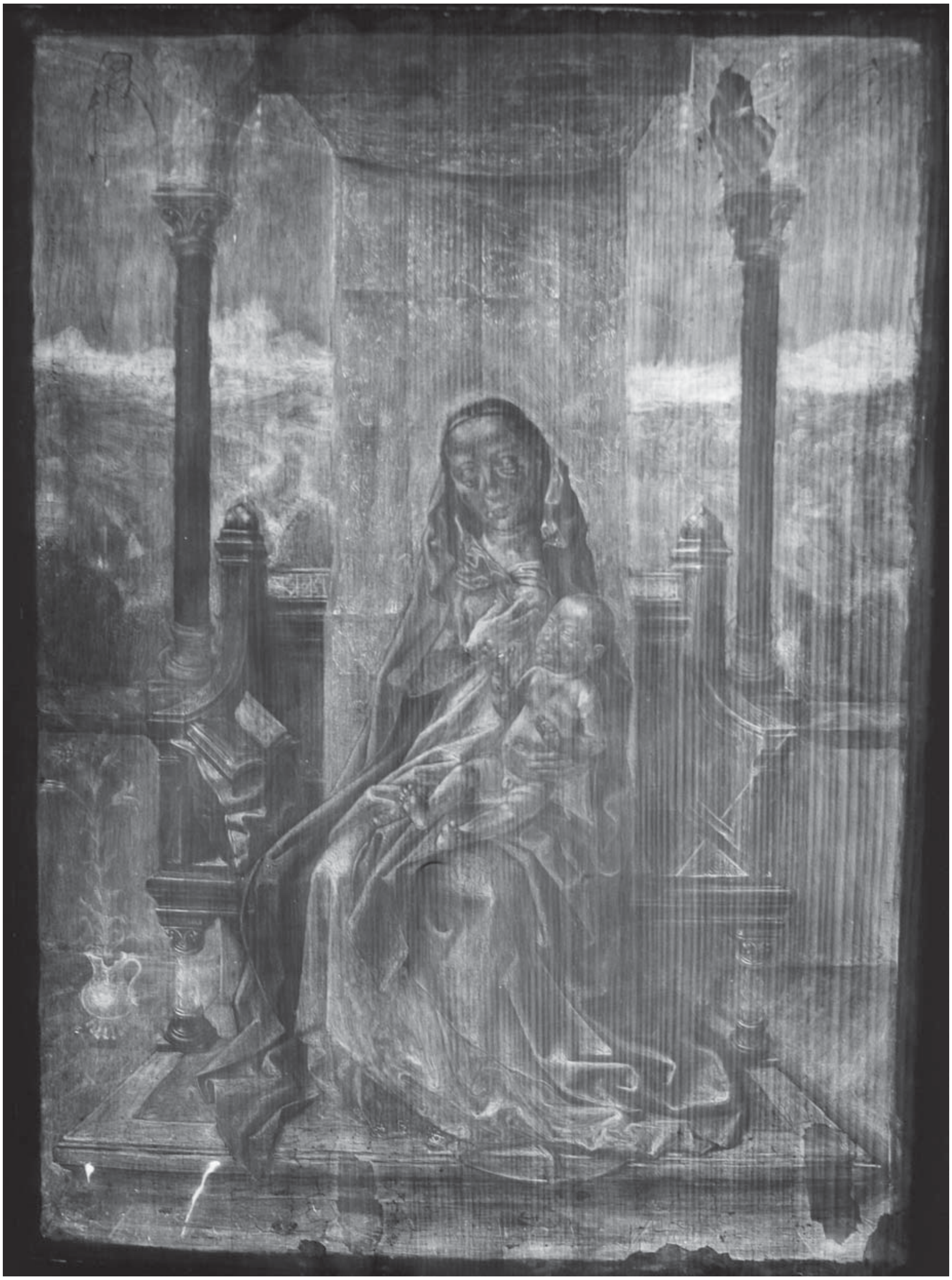

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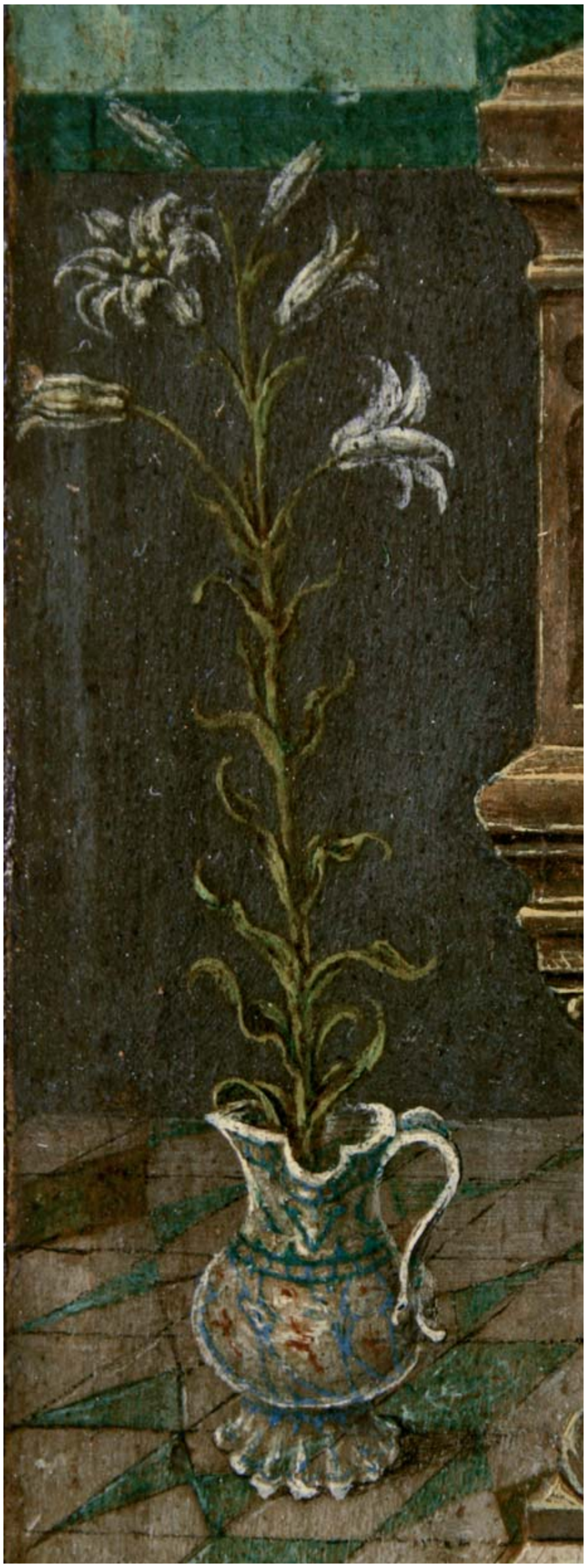

7. Comments

Several studies of the life and work of Albrecht Bouts have recently been published, most notably the comprehensive monograph by Henderiks (2011).[7] Born between 1451 and 1455, Albrecht was the youngest son from the first marriage of Dirk Bouts the Elder, an artist active in Leuven who died in 1475.[8] When Albrecht was in his twenties, he and his older brother, Dirk the Younger, inherited their parents' property, including their father's painting materials and unfinished artwork. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Albrecht and his workshop produced numerous small devotional images, mostly of Christ and the Virgin. Many derive from models by his father, but some show the influence of Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes. Technical studies reveal that some were produced with the help of mechanical means.[9] Albrecht was active in Leuven most of his career and held several important positions there. One work, the triptych of the *Assumption of the Virgin* in Brussels[10], is generally assumed to be the altarpiece that Albrecht donated to the Chapel 'Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-Ginderbuiten' in Leuven.[11] Married twice, Albrecht had no children. He died in 1549.

The *Madonna and Child Enthroned* is a typical product of the early sixteenth-century workshop of Albrecht Bouts. A small devotional image, its underdrawing appears to be a freehand copy of a pre-existing model, perhaps by Dirk Bouts. Also characteristic of Albrecht's workshop is its dependence on several earlier paintings. The position of the Virgin and Child, even the folds of the drapery, Mary's headband, and the gestures of Jesus, derive from the *Madonna and Child* in the Louvre, which was first attributed to Dirk Bouts the Elder, who died in 1475, and then to his son Dirk the Younger, who died in 1491 (fig. 4).[12] The fact that the colors are the same, not only for the Madonna's drapery, but also for the pillow at her side, suggests that the painter had as his model the actual painting or a drawing with colors indicated. The throne supported by short columns at the front and a separate short wall at the back, as well as an arched shape above with figures standing atop capitals suggests that the painter also knew the lost *Madonna and Child on an Arched Throne*, which has been

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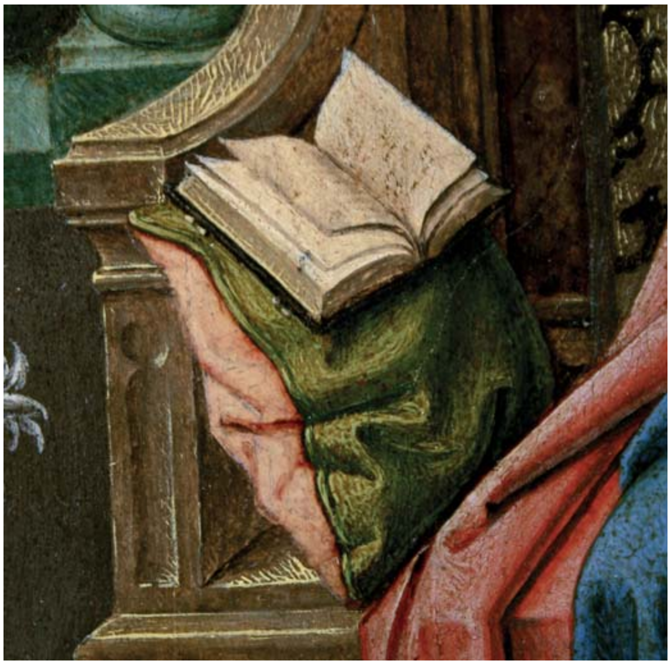

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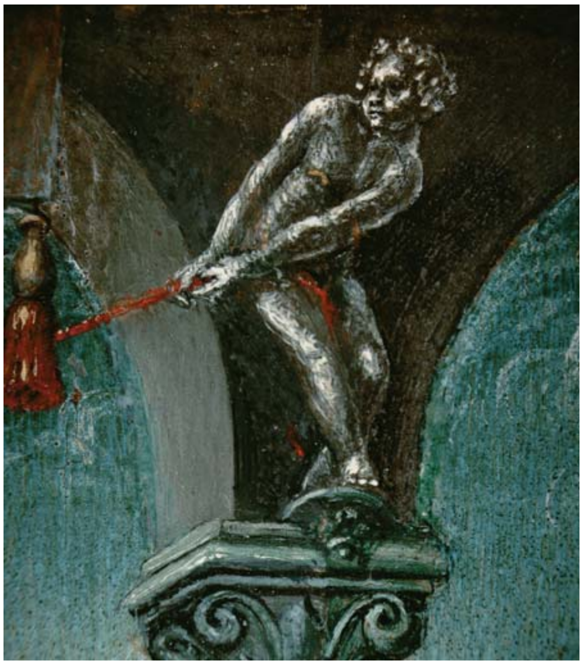

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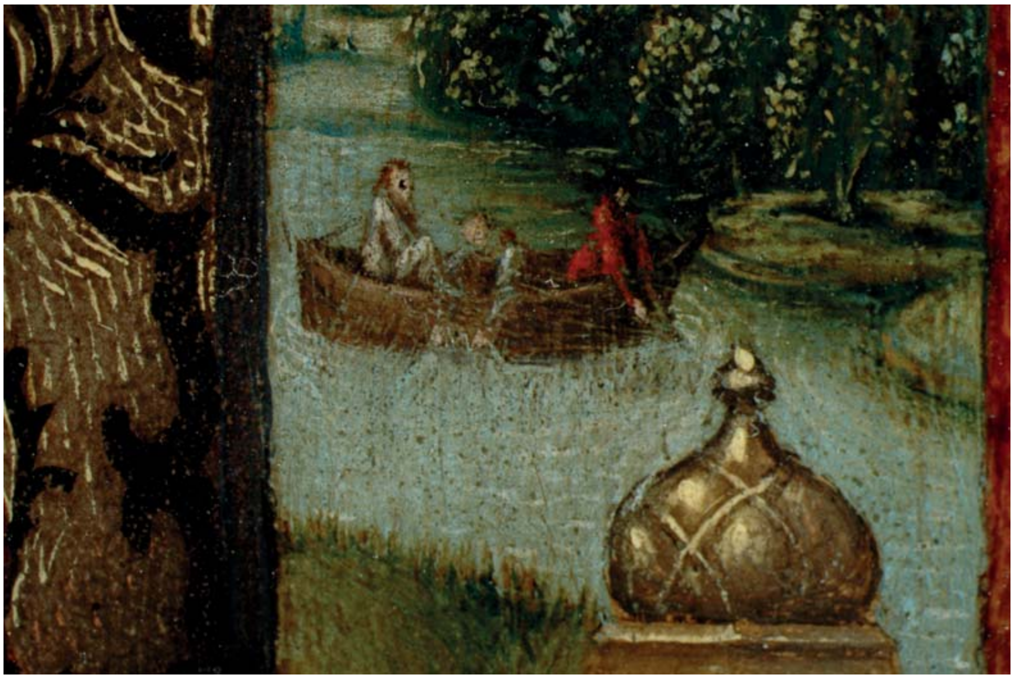
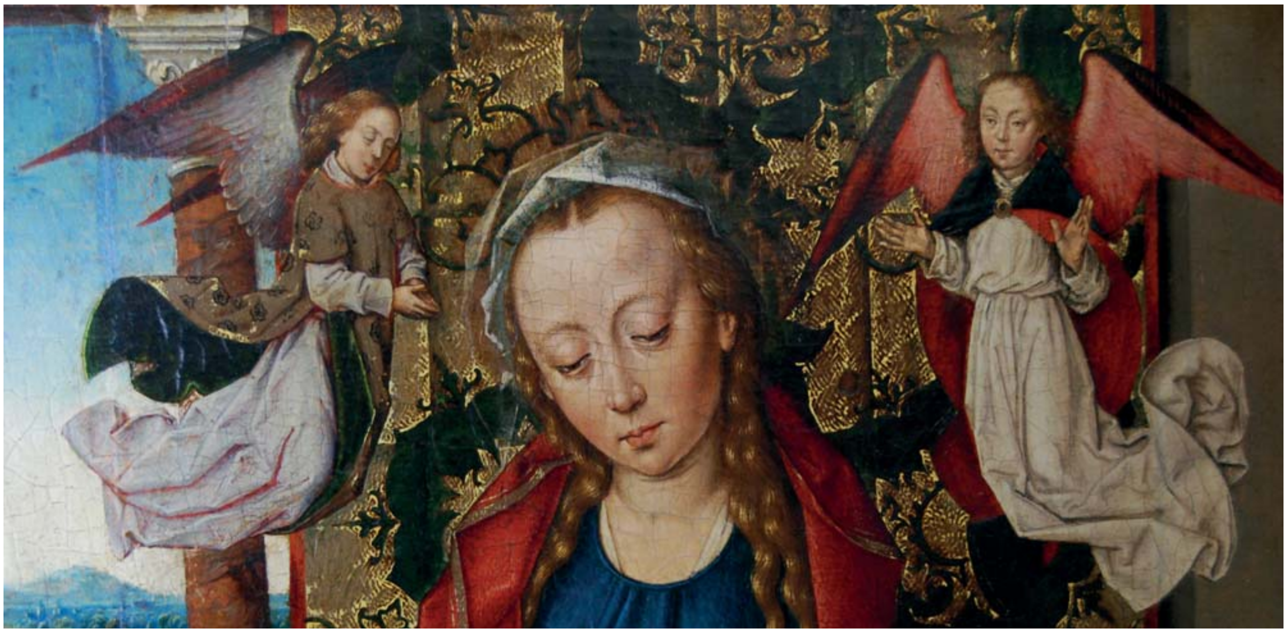


17. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, pillow with manuscript

18. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, grisaille figure on right

19. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, figures in boat

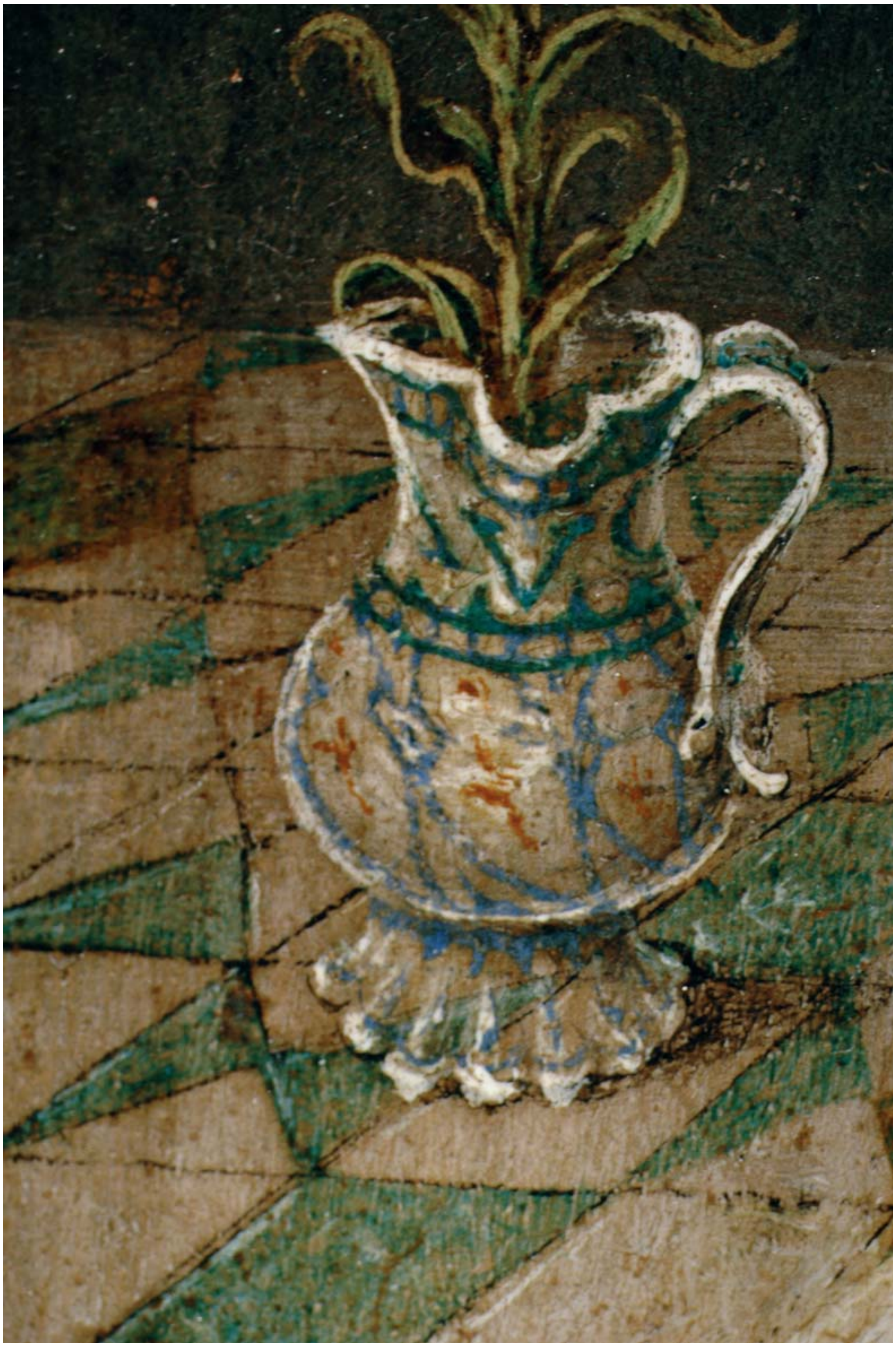


20. Albrecht Bouts, *Virgin Venerated by St. Joseph*, 25 × 41 cm., Paris, Private Collection, detail

convincingly attributed to Dirk Bouts (see fig. 3 in the entry dedicated to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy).[13] The main difference is that here the arch, the upper columns, and sculpted figures are not part of the throne, but rather of a separate loggia. Finally, the brownish halo set against the brocade cloth is similar to Albrecht Bouts' *Virgin Venerated by St. Joseph*, dated ca. 1480-1485, in a private collection in Paris (fig. 20).[14] The small grisaille nudes as well as the rounded arches of the loggia are Renaissance in style, confirming their late date.[15] A detail of the vase shows how loosely the panel is painted (fig. 21). As Henderiks observed, the application of paint is less subtle in this painting than in works attributed to Albrecht Bouts. For these reasons, it should be attributed to his workshop.

8. Bibliography

1912: Bode and Friedländer, p. 11, 31, no. 10.
1925: Friedländer, III, p. 120, no. 67.
1938: Schöne, p. 185, no. 72a and p. 202, no. 110.
1944: *The Balch Collection and Old Master from Los Angeles Collections* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, no. 19.
1944a: McKinney, p. 3.
1944b: McKinney, p. 11.
1948: Feinblatt, p. 32-33.
1954: *A Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch, and English Paintings XV-XVIII Century* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, p. 10, no. 4.
1968: Friedländer, III, p. 68-69, no. 67.
1987: Schaefer, p. 26.
1993: Martens, p. 133-134.
2011: Henderiks, p. 414, no. 279.



21. Albrecht Bouts workshop, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* detail, vase

NOTES

1. W. BODE and M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1912, p. 31.
2. In favor of attribution to Albrecht Bouts: M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1925, III, p. 120; W. SCHÖNE, 1938, p. 202, no. 110; *The Balch Collection and Old Master from Los Angeles Collections* (exhib. cat.), 1944, Los Angeles, cat. no. 19; R. MCKINNEY, 1944a, p. 3; R. MCKINNEY, 1944b, p. 11; *A Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch, and English Paintings XV-XVIII Century* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1954, p. 10; M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1968, III, p. 68-69, no. 67, pl. 79; S. SCHAEFER, 1987, p. 26; D. MARTENS, 1993, p. 134. Henderiks lists the painting without comment in her monograph on Albrecht Bouts among his workshop production; see V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 414, no. 279.
3. Albrecht Bouts workshop, *Triptych with the Erection of the Cross*, 130.9 × 61.5 cm. (central panel) and 111 × 62.2 cm. (wings), Bregenz, Zisterzienserabtei Wettingen-Mehrerau.
4. Veronee-Verhaegen believed that this version was identical to one sold at auction in New York (Parke-Bernet Sale, 20 October 1954, lot no. 26); see: M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1968, III, p. 68-69, no. 67. For this version, see also V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 413, no. 277.
5. See the entry no. 256 on the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy for this lost painting.
6. L. STEINBERG, 1983; B. SIMMICH, 1997, p. 121.
7. For the oeuvre of Albrecht Bouts, see C. STROO *et al.*, 2001, p. 131-237; V. HENDERIKS, 2009, p. 15-28; and especially V. HENDERIKS, 2011.
8. For Albrecht's biography, see V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 20-27.
9. V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 324.
10. Albrecht Bouts, *Triptych of the Assumption of the Virgin,* 186.2 × 108.5 cm. (central panel, painted surface), 205.1 × 67.2 cm. (left wing, painted surface), 205 × 67.6 cm. (right wing, painted surface), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 574.
11. For this altarpiece, see V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 45-71.
12. M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1968, III, p. 62, no. 26, pl. 42 (Dirk the Elder); W. SCHÖNE, 1938, p. 184, no. 72 (Dirk the Younger); C. PÉRIER-D'IETEREN, 2006, p. 155 (Dirk the Younger with the help of his father, dated 1468-1475).
13. For this lost painting, see D. MARTENS, 1993, p. 129-174; D. MARTENS, 1998, p. 45-70; D. MARTENS, 2001b, p. 191-205.
14. V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 88-92.
15. V. HENDERIKS, 2011, p. 180.

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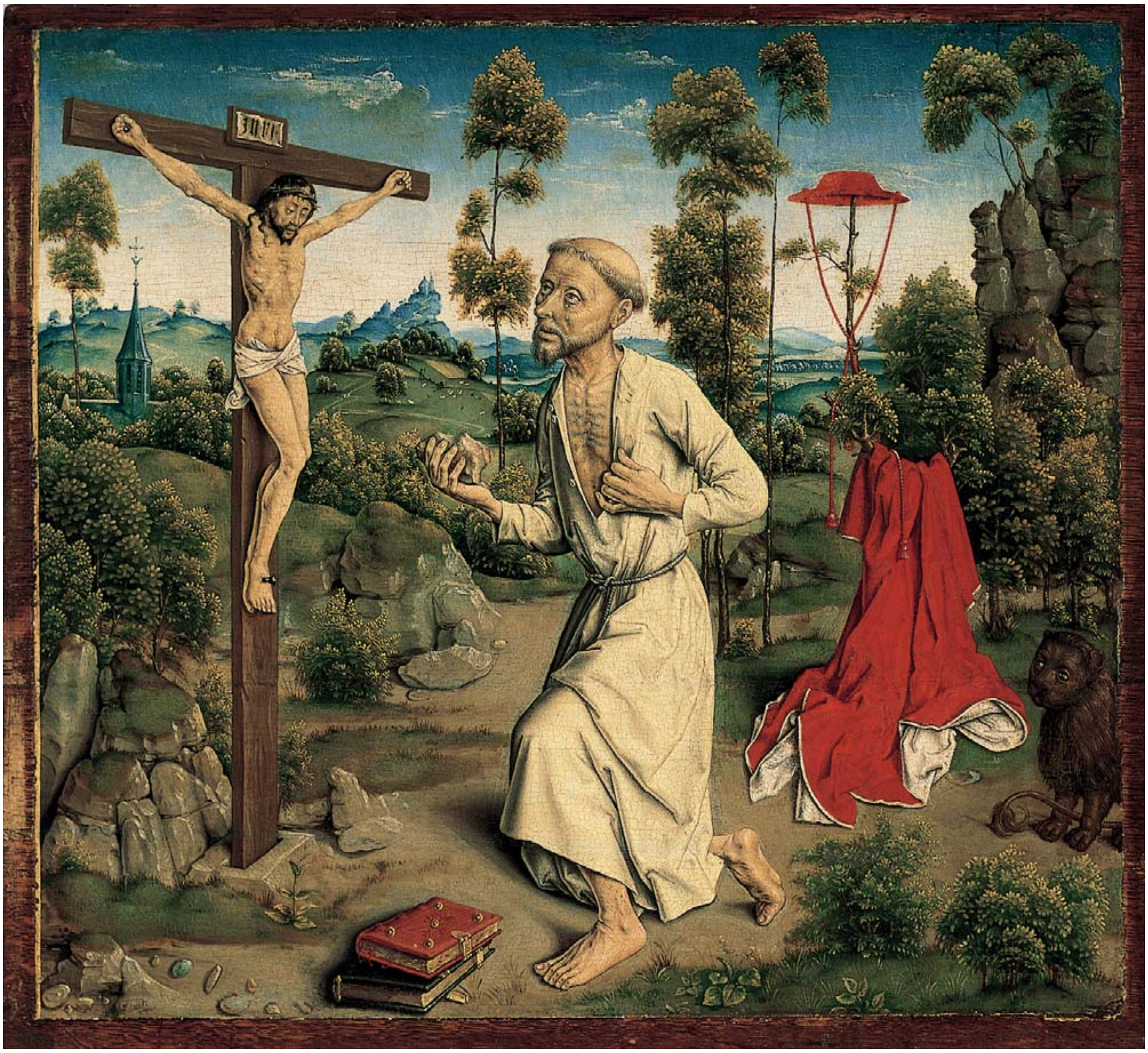


Albrecht Bouts, workshop

St. Jerome in the Wilderness

1. Identification

Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, Norton Simon Art Foundation, inv. no. M.2009.2.P

Group: Albrecht Bouts
No. Corpus: 244

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1891: Reverend E.F. Egan
1964: By descent to his grandniece Mrs. Elizabeth Mepham (London, Sotheby's Sale, 2 December 1964, lot no. 101)
1964: London, Julius Weitzner
London, Hallsborough Gallery
1969: Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation

Material History

1984 - 1984: Getty Conservation Studio removed wax, glue, and canvas from split at mid-calf level on Jerome's leg. Removed fills along split, split readhered with Eoptek 301, an epoxy adhesive. Rabbit skin glue and calcium sulphate fills made and inpainted with Magna colors and Acryloid B-72. Removed brackets screwed on the reverse of the panel along the crack, filled and inpainted damage caused by screws. Surface sprayed with Acryloid B-72 diluted with toluene, brushed with Soluvar. Modified frame and securing method.

1. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* 41 cm. (left side), 40.9 cm. (right side) × 45 cm., Pasadena Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. M.2009.2.P

Exhibitions

1891 London, Royal Academy, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, cat. no. 139
1969 Phoenix, Phoenix Art Museum (on loan)
1974 Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (on loan)

3. History of the Research

This painting was first published in 1891 when it was exhibited in London as a fifteenth-century Flemish work (fig. 1). It was first attributed to Albrecht Bouts in the Sotheby's sales catalogue of 1964, an attribution that was supported by subsequent scholars until 2011, when V. Henderiks, in her comprehensive study of Albrecht Bouts, deemed the painting a workshop production.[1] She rejected an attribution to the master, noting the panel's schematic and dry execution, the clumsiness of its trees, and the rigid linearity of the saint's hair, beard, eyelashes, and wrinkles, which are poorly integrated with his flesh. But she recognized that Albrecht Bouts must have been a formative influence on the painter of the Norton Simon panel, since he borrowed the master's motifs and imitated his style. The *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum* (2003) dated the painting ca. 1500-1510, S. Campbell (2010a) dated it a bit later, ca. 1520, and Henderiks (2011) assigned it more broadly to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

H. Friedmann (1980) discussed the Norton Simon painting in the context of other images of St. Jerome in the Wilderness.[2] He noted the popularity of the theme among northern European artists by the last third of the fifteenth century, as well as the frequency with which it is portrayed, as here, with the saint kneeling before a crucifix and beating his chest with a stone. Friedmann further asserted that Albrecht Bouts treated the subject "repetitiously." By contrast, Henderiks (2011) suggested that Albrecht may have largely ceded the production of images of St. Jerome in a landscape to Joachim Patinir, and concentrated instead on other devotional themes that made his workshop financially successful.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

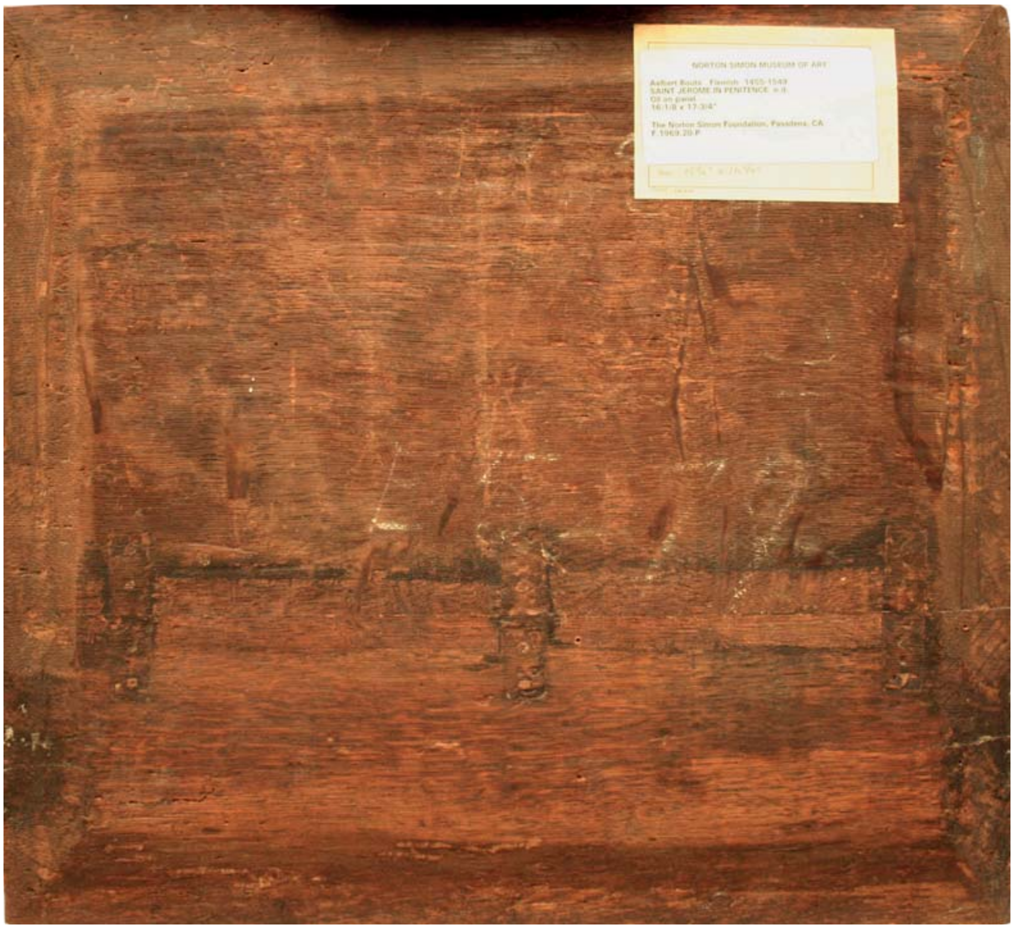
Support: H: 41 cm. left side, 40.9 cm. right side. W: 45 cm. T: 1.25 cm.
Painted Surface: H: 38.6 cm. left side, 38.7 cm. right side. W: 42.2 cm. (original)

Support

The support is comprised of two boards joined horizontally. The lower board measures 14.2 cm. in height. The reverse is original, with a regular, shallow bevel approximately 4 cm. deep (fig. 2). The regularity of the bevel suggests that the panel was fashioned by a practiced woodworker. There are shallow scratches in the reverse, possibly the mark of a panel maker, that are not legible at present. A crack 8.7 cm. from the bottom at the left side and 7 cm. from the bottom at the right was repaired (see Material History) and the join was rejoined in 1984. At present the support is sound.

Frame

Not original.


NORTON SIMON MUSEUM OF ART
Aelbert Bouts Flemish 1455-1549
SAINT JEROME IN PENITENCE n.d.
Oil on panel
16-1/8 x 17-3/4"
The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA
F.1969.20.P

2. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, reverse

Marks

The scratches in the verso of the panel may have been a maker's mark but cannot be resolved at present (fig. 2).

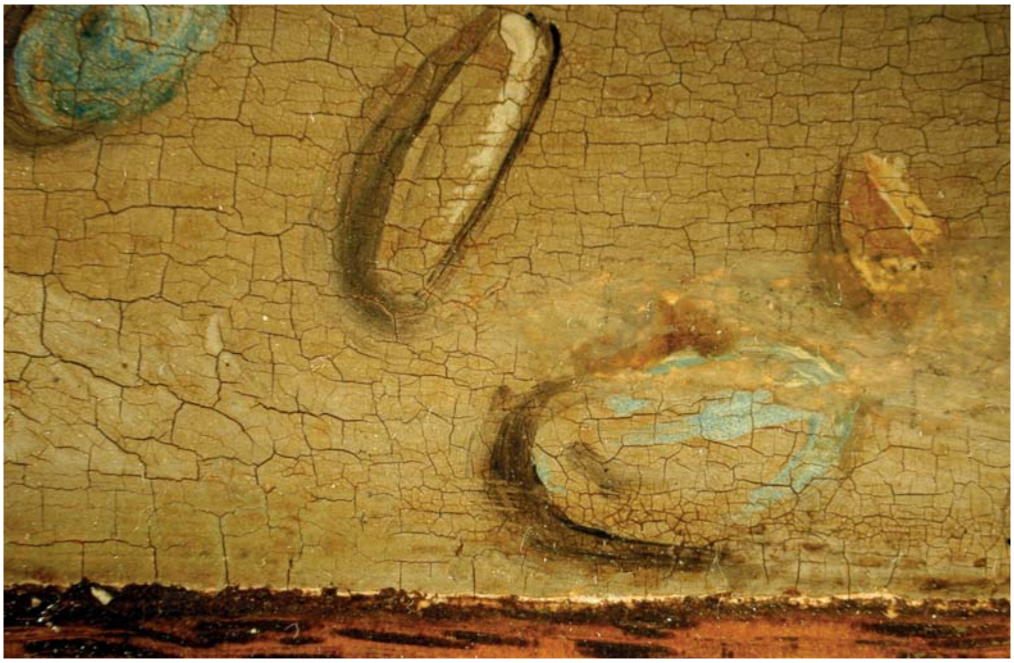
Ground

A porous white ground ending in a barbe at the top and bottom extruded under the frame on the left, leaving only residues of a barbe at the upper and lower corners on the right (fig. 3). An edge of the panel measuring approximately 1 cm. shows unpainted wood on all sides. The ground is a single thin, smooth, and absorbent layer.

Underlying Drawing

St. Jerome and the crucifix have been drawn on the panel with a brush and dark liquid (fig. 4). The drawing marks the contours with a line that varies from very broad on the left side of the saint (and possibly marking the location of the books on the ground in front of him) to a thin line for the folds of his robe on the ground near

3.



3. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, detail, barbe at the bottom left edge

4. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, infrared reflectogram

his feet and the crucifix. Some drawing can be seen for the discarded cloak and a bit for the head of the lion. There may be a line marking the general height of the horizon, but the landscape elements are not drawn.

The underdrawing is made visible with infrared reflectography.[3] In many areas, especially on St. Jerome's left waistline and to the right of his extended foot, recent retouching has been applied that lessens the visibility of the underdrawing through the paint.

Paint Layer

A thin white isolation layer was laid over the entire area to be painted prior to application of color (fig. 5). The paint is thinly applied with careful small strokes, blended for shading but with defining strokes of highlight and deepest shadow. The artist worked from back to front, filling in detail at the end, usually with very liquid paint. In some areas the foliage highlights are beaded up, giving the impression of an aqueous material used on an oleaginous base (fig. 6). In contrast, the definition of pages at the edge of the books appears to have been painted with a very dry brush (fig. 7). A layer of red is laid in beneath St. Jerome's lips, later painted over with a mixture of white and blue (fig. 8). Small detailed contours, such as those of Christ's fingers and St. Jerome's toes, are outlined with brownish-black paint. The thickest paint is in the highlights, especially in the foliage. The rendering is highly detailed, describing the veining on the back of the saint's hand, the toenails on Christ's feet, and highlights in the saint's tears (fig. 9). The cord belt lying over a bush behind the saint is executed using three colors: red lake for shadows, vermilion mixed with white for the main body color, and lead-tin yellow for highlights and individual threads of the tassels.

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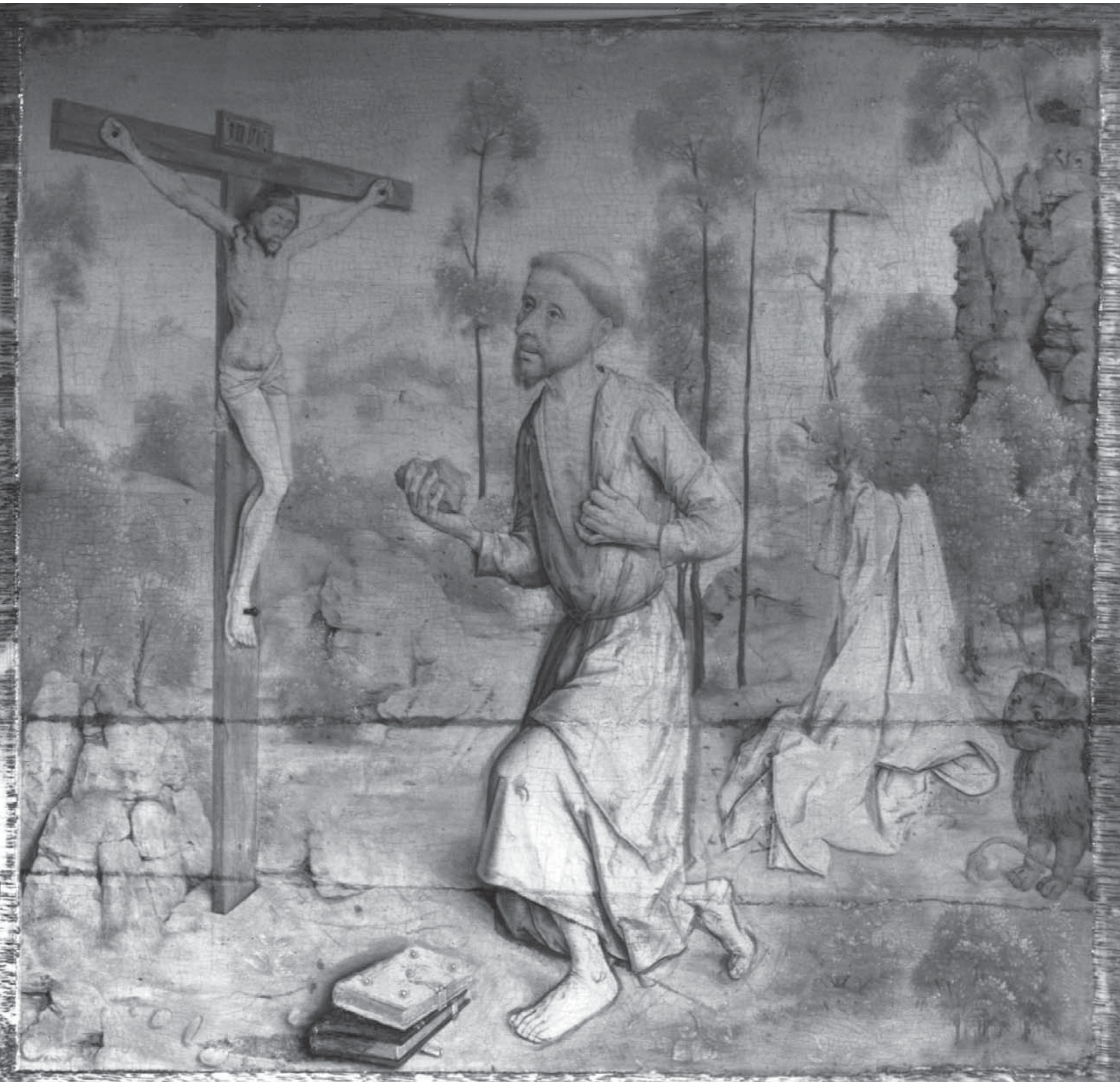

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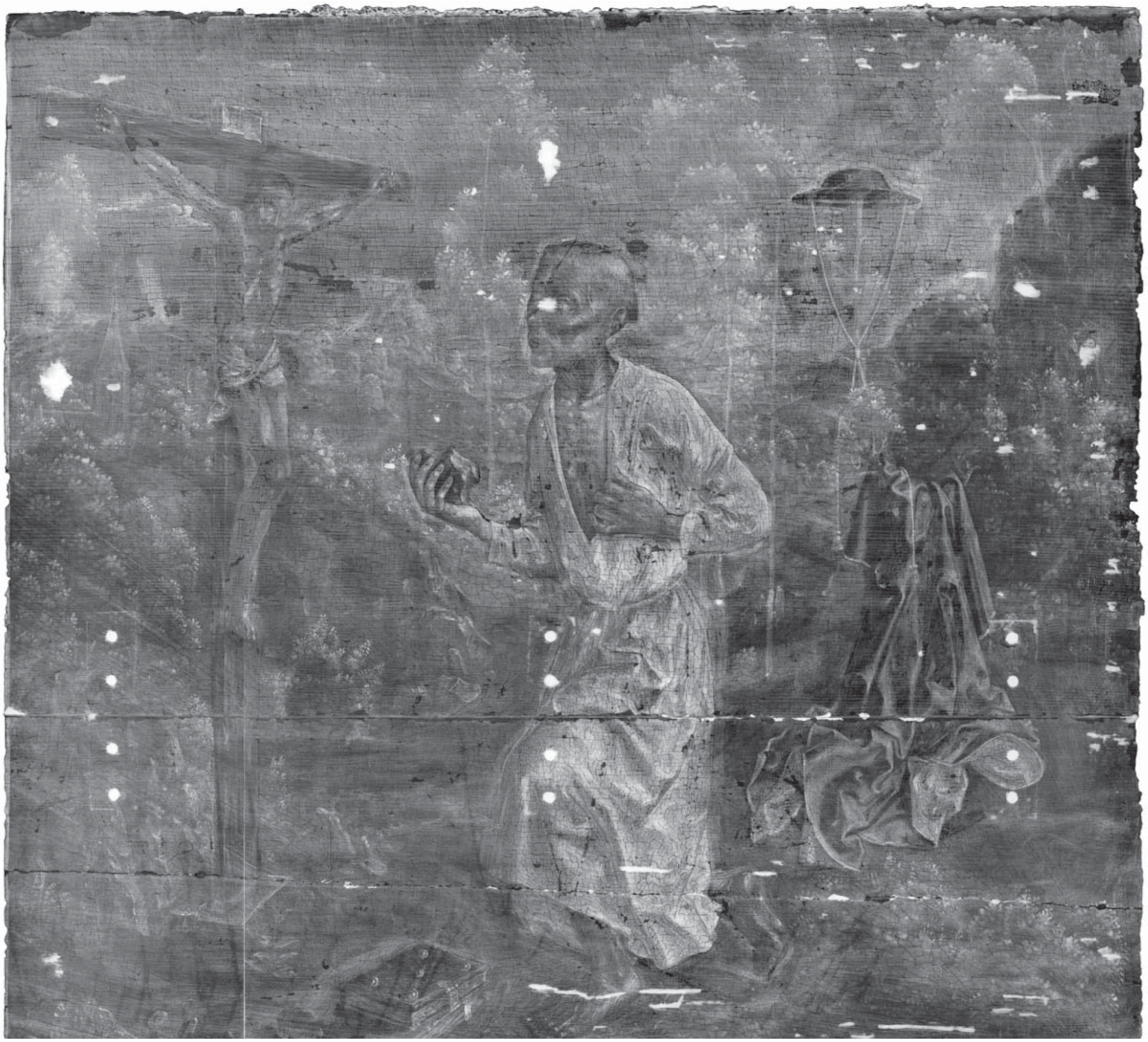

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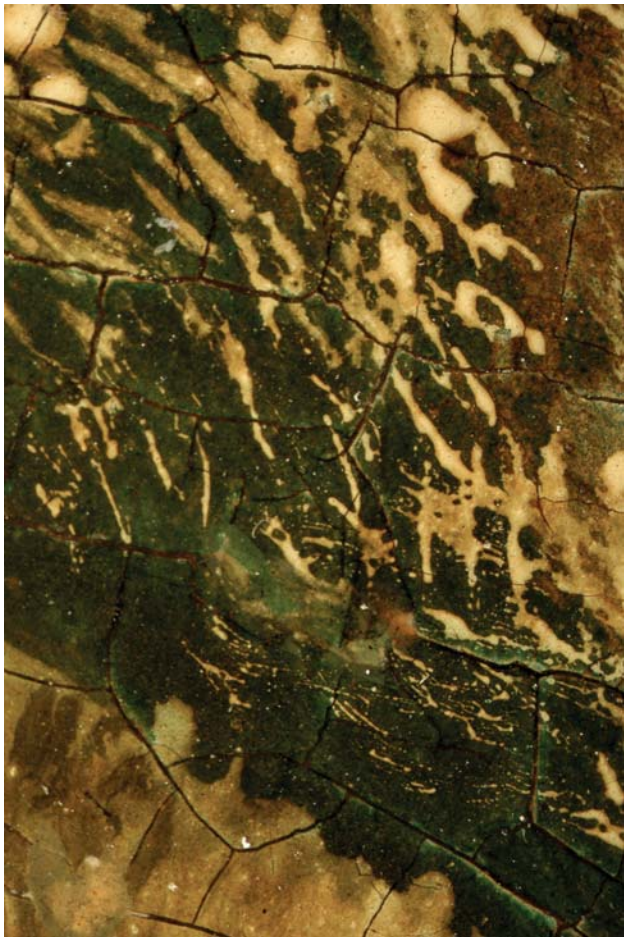

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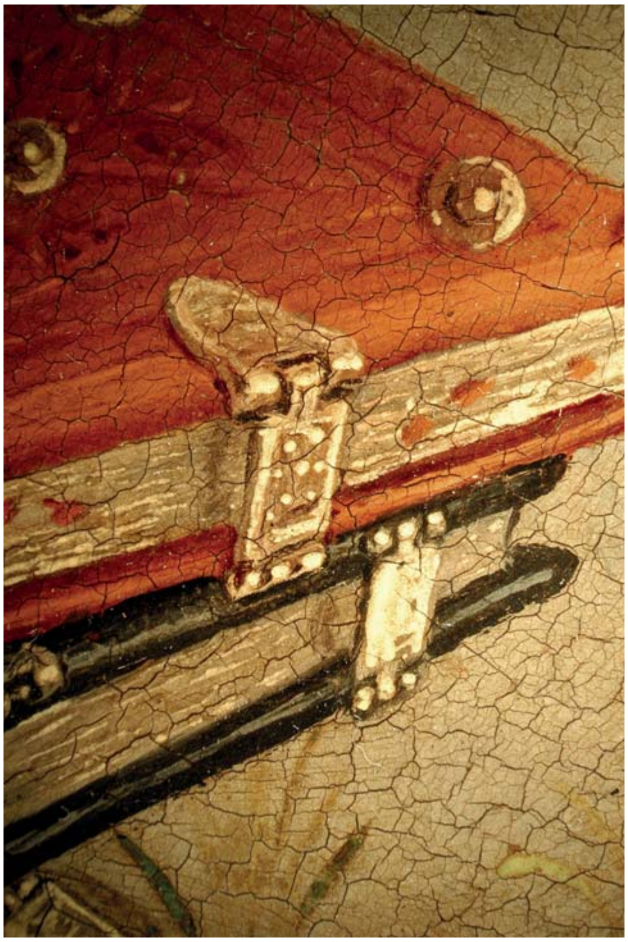


5. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* X-radiograph

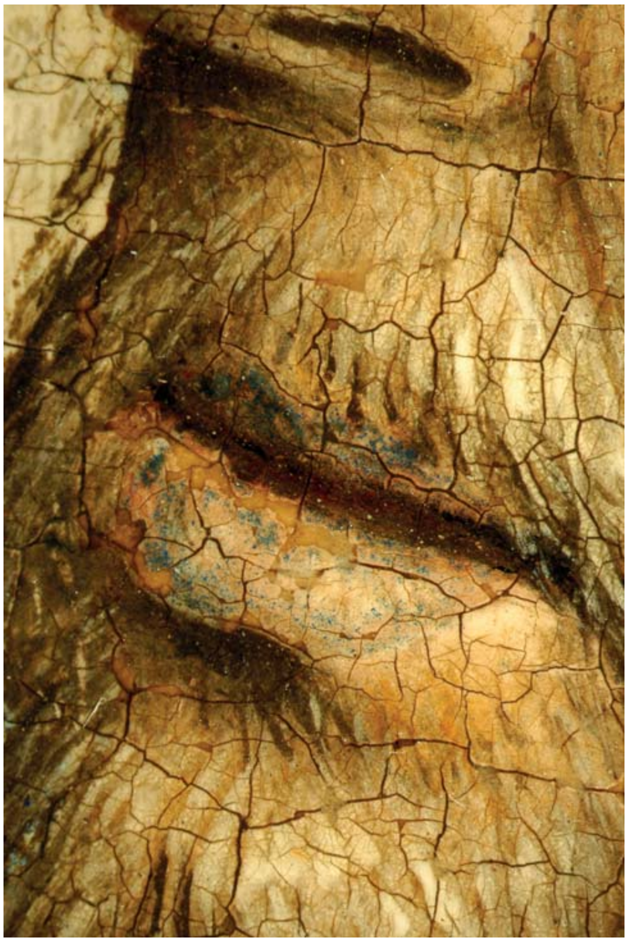
6. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* detail, foliage

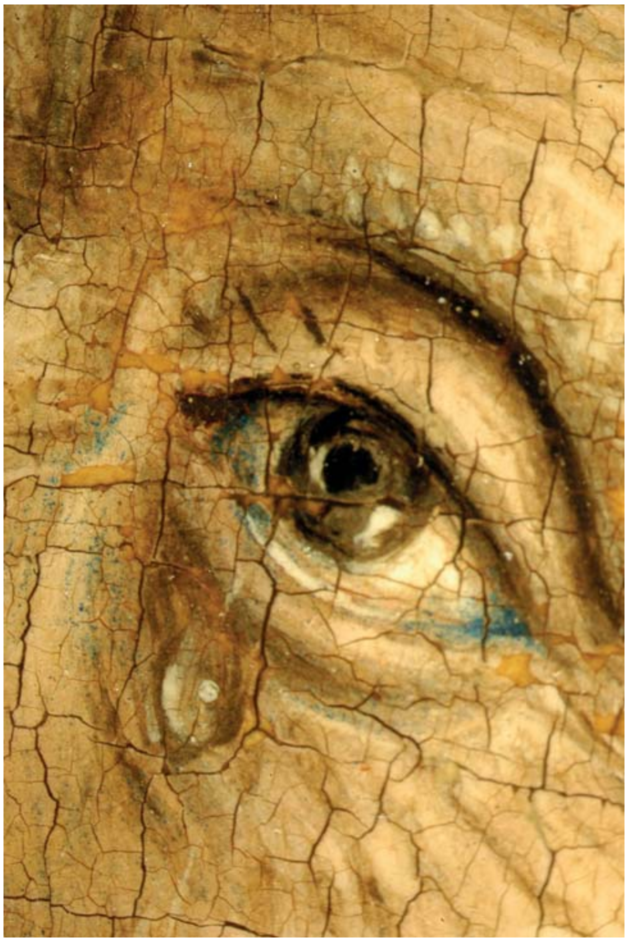
7. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* detail, book

Overall the appearance and condition are satisfactory. Upon microscopic examination it can be seen that the painting has numerous small flake losses. Many of these are in the face of the saint and the figure on the cross. The brilliant red of the cardinal's hat is dimmed by the effect of white ground showing through losses; cracks and darkened areas in the sky reduce the clarity of the receding view.

5. Pictorial Analysis

An emaciated, penitent St. Jerome falls to one knee as he gazes up at the crucified Christ and prepares to beat his breast. Positioned at the center foreground, he dominates the composition. His left hand holds open his unbuttoned tunic to bare his bruised and bloody chest, while his right hand clutches a sharp, blood-stained rock. The tonsured saint with graying hair, moustache, and short beard wears a simple off-white tunic tied with a cord. His discarded cardinal's hat and robe hang from a tree on the right. His head and hands are large in proportion to his body, his brow and the area below his left eye are deeply wrinkled, and large tears stream down



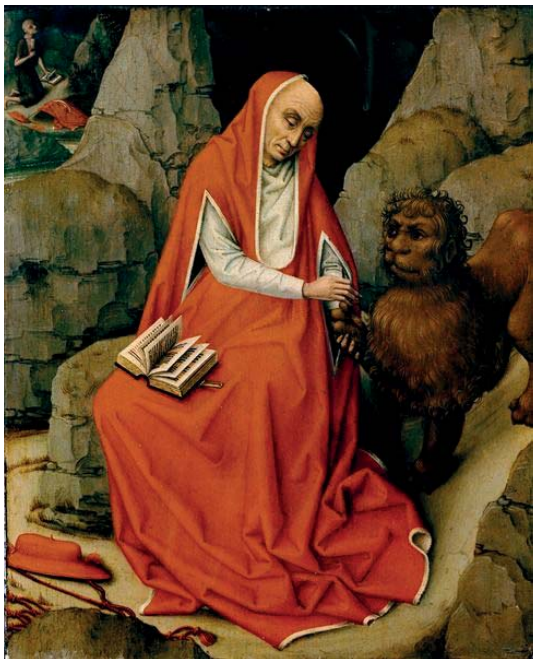


8. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* detail, St. Jerome's lips

9. Albrecht Bouts, workshop, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* detail, St. Jerome's eye

his cheeks from his watery eyes. Partially visible at the right edge of the panel is a small dark lion. Two codices, one unclasped, the other metal-studded, lie at his feet. St. Jerome faces a large crucifix, which is placed at an angle to the picture plane and surmounted with a *titulus* bearing the letters "INRI." The base of the cross is set within a slot carved into a rock and Christ's body is painted as if alive, rather than sculpted.[4] His hands and feet are nailed to the cross, his eyes are partially open, and he wears a short, white loincloth. St. Jerome is surrounded by a springtime landscape filled with trees, bushes, winding roads, rocky outcroppings, and green pastures on which sheep graze. In the left middle ground is a fenestrated turret crowned with what appears to be a combined cross and weather vane. In the far distance buildings, mountains, and trees are painted in shades of blue. A few wispy clouds dot the sky, which gradually changes from white at the horizon to a deep blue above.

Jerome was a fourth-century saint and one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church. He was important throughout the Middle Ages, but his cult became much stronger in the fourteenth century due to the circulation of several apocryphal letters, written by a single author, which were disseminated first in Italy and then north of the Alps.[5]



10. Rogier van der Weyden, follower, *St. Jerome and the Lion,* 30.8 × 25.2 cm. (painted surface), Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 46.359

They describe Jerome as an ascetic, and, in fact, his hermitical existence for several years in the Syrian desert is well documented.[6] Soon, however, many colorful, legendary stories were invented to satisfy the desire to flesh out the bare facts of his life.[7] His cult became institutionalized during the second half of the fourteenth century when five Tuscan monasteries were dedicated to him.[8] The pope officially recognized the Order of the Hermits of St. Jerome in 1406.[9] The saint's cult soon spread to Flanders. Two of Jerome's bones found their way to Tournai, and Erasmus published an edition of Jerome's letters in Antwerp in 1516.[10]

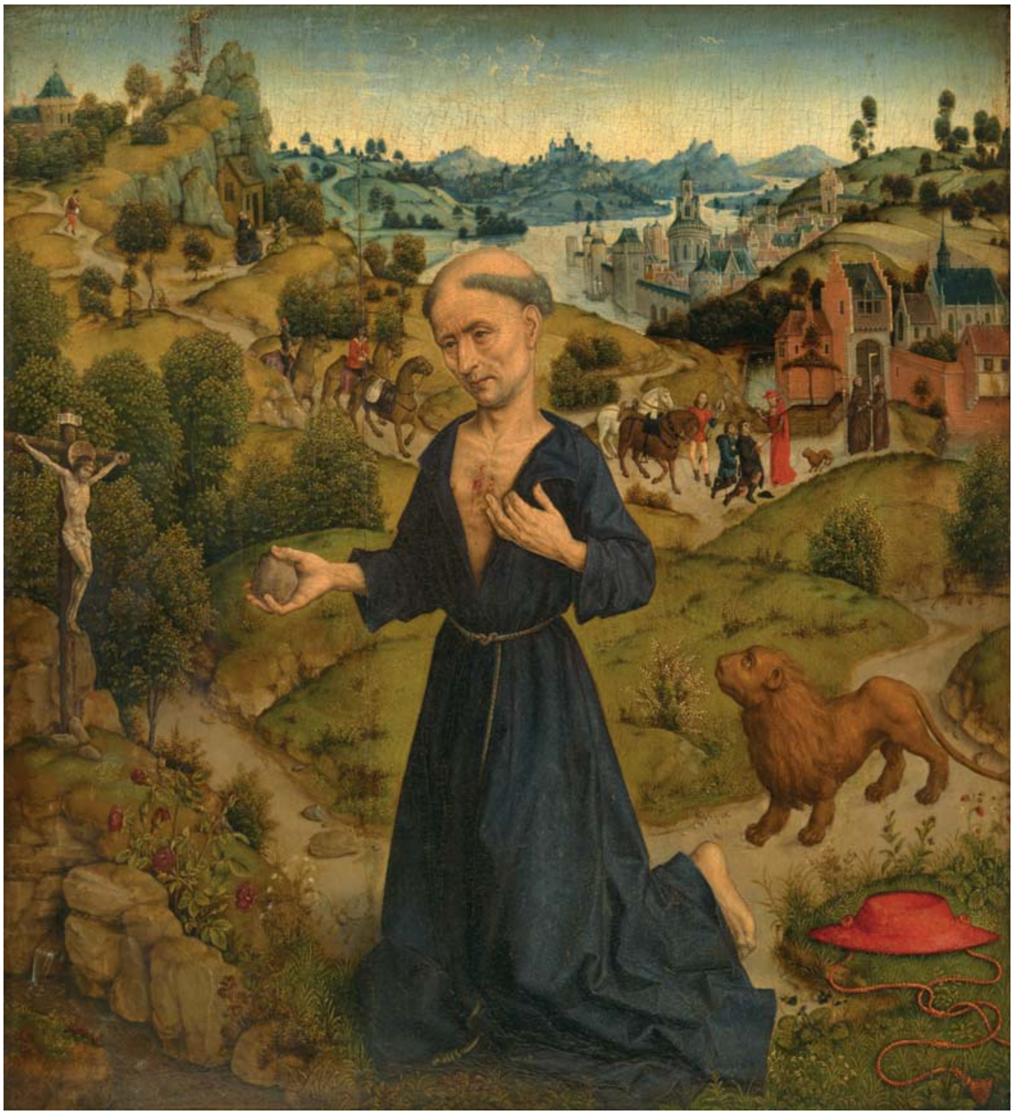
The earliest images of the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness date from around 1400.[11] This theme was probably invented in the environment of the Hieronymite monasteries in Tuscany.[12] It derives from a letter written by St. Jerome in 384, which is addressed to his female disciple Eustochium and describes his stay in the desert of Chalcis from 374-375 to 376-377:

> I used to lay down then at Jesus's feet; I watered them with my tears, and wiped them with my hair […] I remember crying out for days and nights together; and I beat my breast without stopping until the Lord vouchsafed me some tranquility
> […] Angry at myself, hard on myself, I went further out into the desert alone. Wherever I found a deep valley or rough mountainside or rocky precipice, I made it my place of prayer and of torture for my unhappy flesh.[13]

This letter became popularized in such texts as Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend*, a common source for artists.[14]

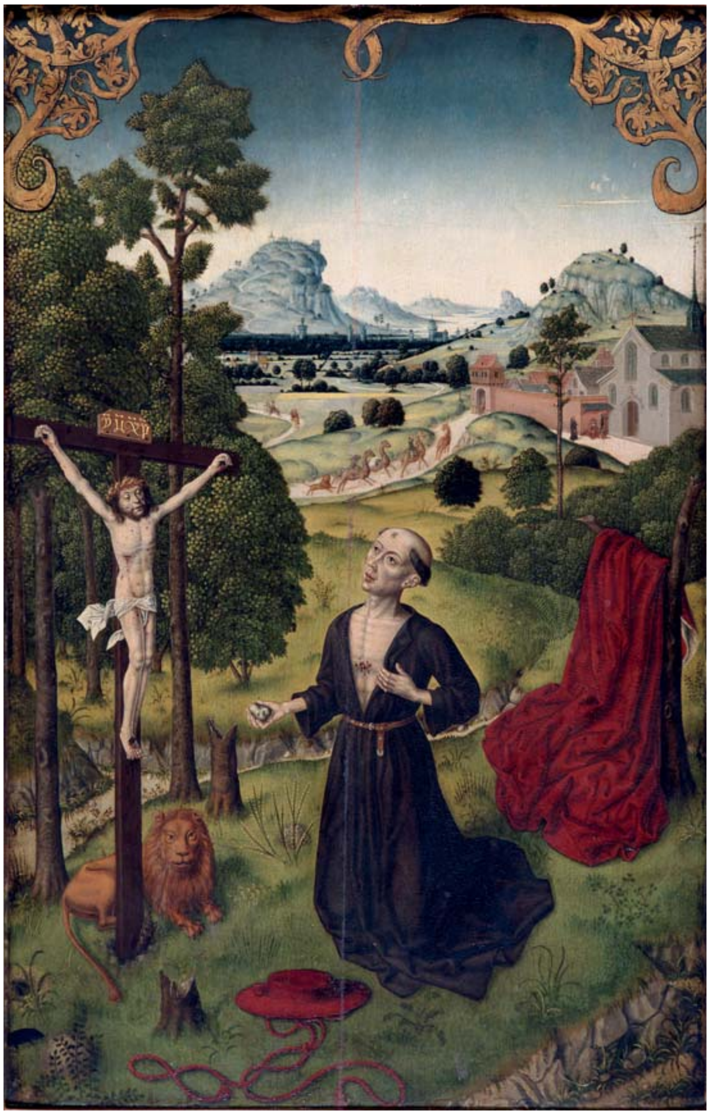
The earliest surviving Flemish painting of this theme may be that in the background of a *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* in Detroit, which is attributed to a close follower of Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 10).[15] The subject became widespread among early Netherlandish painters in the second half of the fifteenth century and continued to be popular in the early sixteenth century. Numerous panel painters, especially those active in Bruges, produced images of the penitent St. Jerome: Hans Memling, Gerard David, the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, Adrian Isenbrandt, and Jan Provoost.[16] The Bruges illuminator Simon Bening also painted this theme several times.[17]

Five images associated with Dirk Bouts the Elder or his sons show the penitent St. Jerome.[18] A drawing in Berlin[19], believed to be after Dirk Bouts the Elder, seems to have had little or no influence on the oeuvre of Albrecht Bouts.[20] Its only motif that is close to the Norton Simon painting is the closed, metal-studded book that lies on the ground near the saint. Two strikingly similar paintings of the subject, one in Brussels and the other formerly in the Richard von Kaufmann collection, have both been attributed to Albrecht Bouts (fig. 11).[21] These versions and another in Dijon by



11. Albrecht Bouts, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness,* 39.7 × 37.3 cm. (painted surface), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/ Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 3134

a late follower (fig. 12), agree in their hand gestures, dark tunic, subsidiary background scene, and pose (kneeling on both knees).[22] They bear little relationship, however, to the Berlin drawing, and the Brussels and von Kaufmann paintings share only general compositional features with the Norton Simon panel.[23] The Dijon and Pasadena versions, however, share several specific similarities: Jerome looks up at the crucifix, which is quite large; his cardinal's robe loops over a horizontal branch of a tree before resting on the ground; the saint's ribs are clearly delineated; the shape of his head is broad at the top and narrow at the chin, and he has a strong jaw line. Although Erasmus preferred to view St. Jerome as a Christian scholar, these paintings envision him primarily as an ascetic hermit.[24]



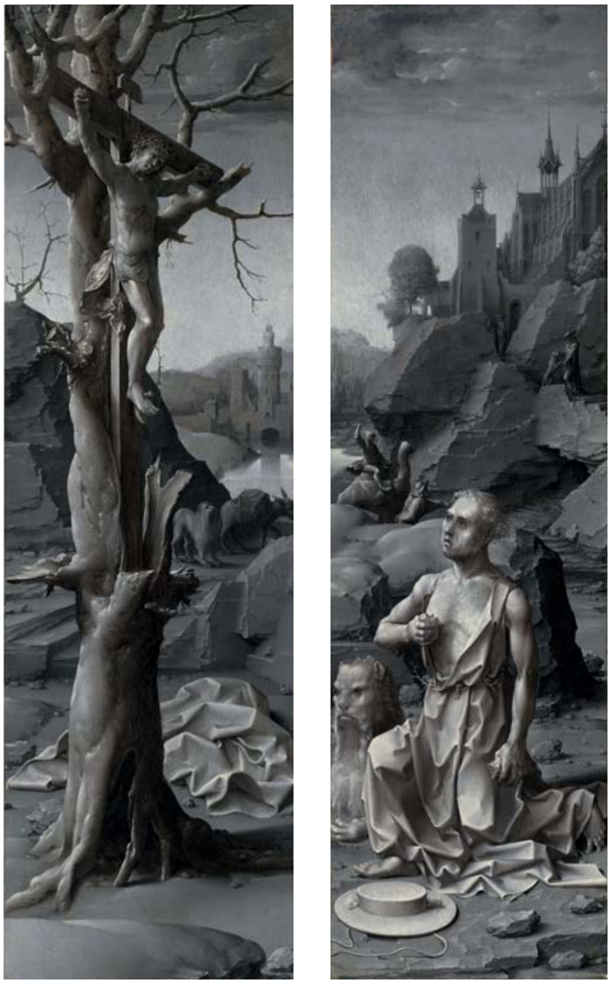
12. Albrecht Bouts, follower, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, 75.5 × 47.8 cm., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. D162

The Norton Simon painting shows the typical iconography of the penitent St. Jerome, a compositional type that became formulaic. Set within a vast, rocky landscape, the saint kneels before a crucifix, mortifying his flesh, while accompanied by a lion, holy books, and cardinal's robe and hat.[25] Although several aspects of this painting ultimately derive from the letter to Eustochium – the tears, the rocky outcroppings, the beating of his breast, the image of Jesus – others have more recent origins. At the right edge is the lion who was believed to have become the saint's companion when, after his fellow monks fled in fear, Jerome removed a thorn from the beast's paw. Behind the saint are his red hat and robe, since by the fourteenth century it was believed that Jerome had served as a cardinal.[26] The books on the ground allude to his scholarly activities, especially his translation of the Bible into Latin (the Vulgate).[27] Note how the upper book shows reddish threads marking five pages as if the saint were comparing several passages (fig. 7). The landscape represents the wilderness to which Jerome withdrew. As H. Friedmann (1980) notes, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the word "wilderness" brought to mind "a remote and wild region, but, in some instances, any area outside the protective walls of the cloister or town."[28] D. Martens observes another aspect that derives from late medieval culture rather than Jerome's fourth-century letter: the image of Christ is transformed from a material object into a living figure, which underlines the process that St. Jerome experiences as he prays. In this way, Martens argues, the saint serves as a model for the viewer.[29]

The paintings that have been associated with Albrecht Bouts, including the Norton Simon panel, show Jerome pulling back his garment to bare his chest (figs. 11-12).[30] Although most depict the saint on both knees, some early Netherlandish painters portray him on only one knee as in the Norton Simon painting (fig. 13).[31] Similarly, although the saint wears a light-colored robe, which is not common in northern images, Jan Gossart and Simon Bening paint him this way.[32]

6. Comments

Since the Norton Simon painting is a small devotional work, it is similar to the type of painting produced in Albrecht's workshop.[33] Furthermore, its style shows some similarities to works attributed to the master himself: the saint's expressiveness, his large head and hands, and the treatment of the distant landscape in shades of blue. It is especially close to the *St. Jerome* in Dijon by a late follower of the master (fig. 12). The application of the paint in the Norton Simon panel has little in common, however, with works attributed to Albrecht Bouts, nor does the underdrawing, which is sparse rather than abundant and free.[34] Furthermore, the ghastly and tortured face of the saint is quite different from the more naturalistic features painted by the master himself.



13. Jan Gossart, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, 86.7 × 25.3 cm., Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1952.5.40.b

8. Bibliography

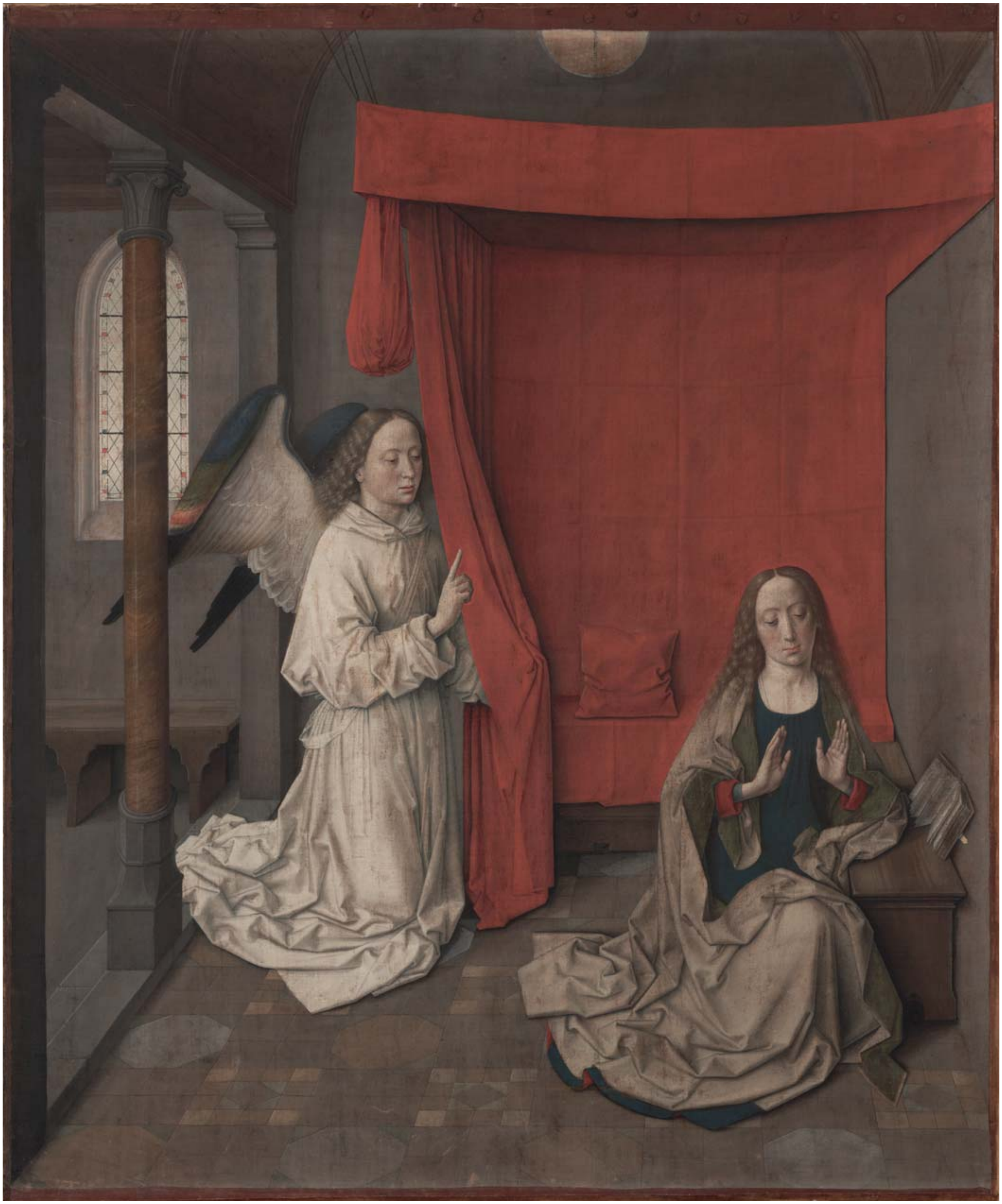
1891: *Exhibition of Works by Old Masters* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 32, no. 139.
1964: *Important Old Master Paintings* (sale cat.), 2 December 1964, London, Sotheby's, p. 45, no. 101.
1980: Friedmann, p. 86-87.
1989: *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum*, Pasadena, p. 23.
2001: Stroo, C. *et al.*, III, p. 162-163.
2003: *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum,* Pasadena, p. 38.
2003: *La pintura gótica hispanoflamenca* (exhib. cat.), Barcelona, p. 348-349.
2007: Stourton, p. 127.
2010a: Campbell, p. 324, cat. no. 658.
2011: Henderiks, p. 321, 323, 413, no. 274.
Forthcoming: Walsh.

Notes

1. Adopting the attribution to Albrecht Bouts: H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 86-87; *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum,* 1989, p. 23; C. Stroo *et al.*, III, 2001, p. 162-163; *La pintura gótica hispanoflamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo y su época* (exhib. cat.), Barcelona, 2003, p. 348-349; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum,* 2003, p. 38; S. Campbell, 2010a, p. 324, cat. no. 658.

2. H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 48-100.
3. The infrared reflectography was operated in a range from 1.5 – 1.8 µ. The underdrawing was less visible when the infrared reflectography was in the wavelength range from 1.1 – 1.4µ.
4. A similar slot for a cross is found in: Rogier van der Weyden, *Miraflores Altarpiece*, 74 × 44.4 cm., 74 × 44.7 cm., 73.8 × 44.5 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 534A and Rogier van der Weyden*, Christ on the Cross with Virgin and St. John*, 329 × 192 cm., Madrid, El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo, inv. no. 10014602.
5. M. Meiss, 1974, p. 134; E. Rice, 1985, p. 49. They were translated into French and Dutch, among other languages.
6. See his letter to Eustochium, discussed below.
7. M. Meiss, 1974, p. 135; E. Rice, 1985, p. 59.
8. E. Rice, 1985, p. 68.
9. H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 65.
10. E. Rice, 1985, p. 57, 199.
11. E. Rice, 1985, p. 76.
12. E. Rice, 1985, p. 76.
13. J. Labourt, I, 1949, p. 117-118 (for original Latin); J. Steinmann, 1958, p. 49 (letter 22, for Dutch); E. Rice, 1985, p. 78-79.
14. J. da Voragine, II, 1993, p. 213.
15. C. Stroo *et al.*, 2001, p. 161-162. The dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein gives 1431 as the estimated felling date; see D. De Vos, 1999, p. 405, no. 3.
16. For Memling, see D. De Vos, 1994, p. 250 (dated ca. 1485-1490). This may be the earliest surviving monumental example in Flemish art of this theme. For the other examples, see H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 48-100, especially p. 86-89; D. De Vos, 1994, p. 250, n. 2; D. Martens, 1995, p. 483-509; I. Falque, 2005, p. 5-28. For the iconography of the penitent St. Jerome, see also D. Martens, 1996.
17. See, for example, Simon Bening, 28 × 19 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF1987-28 and in two Books of Hours, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library: Ms. M. 399, fol. 297v., ca. 1515, and Ms. M. 451, fol. 115v, dated 1531.
18. A fifth shows St. Jerome in the desert in prayer but without mortifying his flesh. See M. J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 73, no. 98, pl. 100.
19. Master of the Drapery Studies (after Dirk Bouts), *Penitence of St. Jerome*, 285 × 203 mm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, cat. no. 11657.
20. C. Stroo, *et al.*, 2001, p. 162.
21. Albrecht Bouts, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, 44 × 41 cm., Berlin, Von Kaufmann Collection, present location unknown. For this version, see its sales catalogue 4 December 1917, P. Cassirer, Berlin, p. 150, no. 75, and C. Stroo, *et al.*, 2001, p. 158; V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 412. For the painting in Brussels, see C. Stroo *et al.*, 2001, p. 157-165; V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 412.
22. For the painting in Dijon, see L. Réau, 1929, p. 343-345; W. Schöne, 1938, p. 207 (from the circle of Albrecht Bouts, not by him); *Dirk Bouts en zijn tijd* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, 1975, p. 341-342; C. Stroo, *et al.*, 2001, p. 162; V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 415 ("copie tardive").
23. For a painting in Liège, which is no longer attributed to Albert Bouts or his followers, see I. Falque, 2005, p. 5-28 (for the reattribution see p. 18); V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 413.
24. E. Rice, 1985, p. 133.
25. For the iconography, see H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 48-100.
26. E. Rice, 1985, p. 65. Actually Jerome was never made a cardinal during his lifetime.
27. Jerome was proficient in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew according to the Golden Legend and contemporary scholarship. See J. da Voragine, 1993, II, p. 212, 215.
28. H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 48.
29. D. Martens, 1996.
30. See also H. Friedmann, 1980, figs. 30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 50, 52, 64, 81; E. Rice, 1985, p. 78, fig. 27.
31. H. Friedmann, 1980, figs. 71-72; *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance. The Complete Works* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2011, p. 189-191. See also H. Friedmann, 1980, figs. 26, 34, 64, and the Hours of Henry VIII (Tours, 1495-1505), New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. H. 8, fol. 170r.
32. Jerome may wear an off-white tunic to refer to the Hieronymite's white habit. See M. Meiss, 1974, p. 135; J.F. O'Callaghan, 2003, 6, p. 822-823. For Bening's and Gossart's paintings, see notes 17 and 31.
33. For this, see the "Comment" section in the entry on the *Madonna and Child* by Albrecht Bouts' workshop.
34. See, for example, V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 54-56, 87.

1.



Dirk Bouts

Annunciation and *Resurrection*

1. Identification

Annunciation (fig. 1)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 85.PA.24

Group: Dirk Bouts
No. Corpus: 245

Resurrection (fig. 2)
Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. F.1980.1.P

Group: Dirk Bouts
No. Corpus: 246

2. History of the Work

Annunciation

Origin and Subsequent History

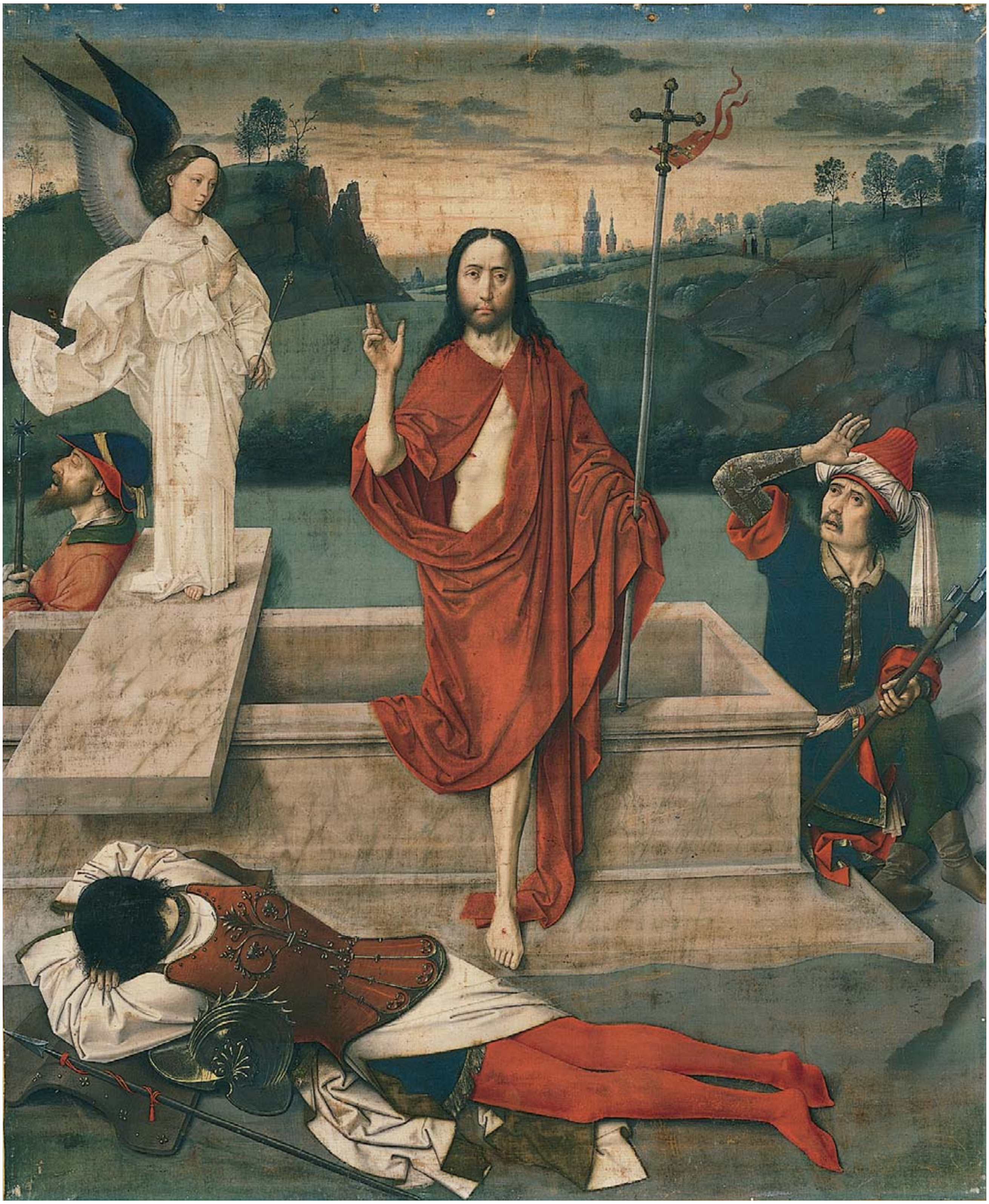
Some time before 1786/1815 (?): Venice, probably owned by the Foscari family
1786/1815-1837 (?): Vienna, probably purchased by Count Diego Guicciardi (d. 1837) some time between 1786 and 1815, and then brought to Venice
1837 (?): Venice, inherited by Paolo Guicciardi
Unknown date: Count Diego Melzi (according to label on back of painting)
1872: Giuseppe Casanova (according to the Brera catalogue) (d. 1888)
1984: Germany or Switzerland, Private Collection
1984-1985: London, Artemis Fine Arts Ltd.
1984-1985: London, Harari and Johns Ltd.
1984-1985: New York, Eugene V. Thaw Co.
1985: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

1. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, 89,7 × 74.5 cm., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 85.PA.24

Exhibitions

1872 Milan, Palazzo di Brera, *Opere d'arte antica esposte nel Palazzo di Brera,* no. 40
1984 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (on loan)

2.



Resurrection

ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Some time before 1786/1815 (?): Venice, probably owned by the Foscari family
1786/1815-1837 (?): Vienna, Probably purchased by Count Diego Guicciardi (d. 1837)
By 1872: Milan, inherited by Vittorio Melzi
1980: Milan, Private Collection (Vittorio Melzi?)
Ca. 1946-1958: London, Matthiesen
1980: London, Private Collection
1980: London, Sotheby's Sale, 16 April 1980, lot no. 114
1980: Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation

EXHIBITIONS

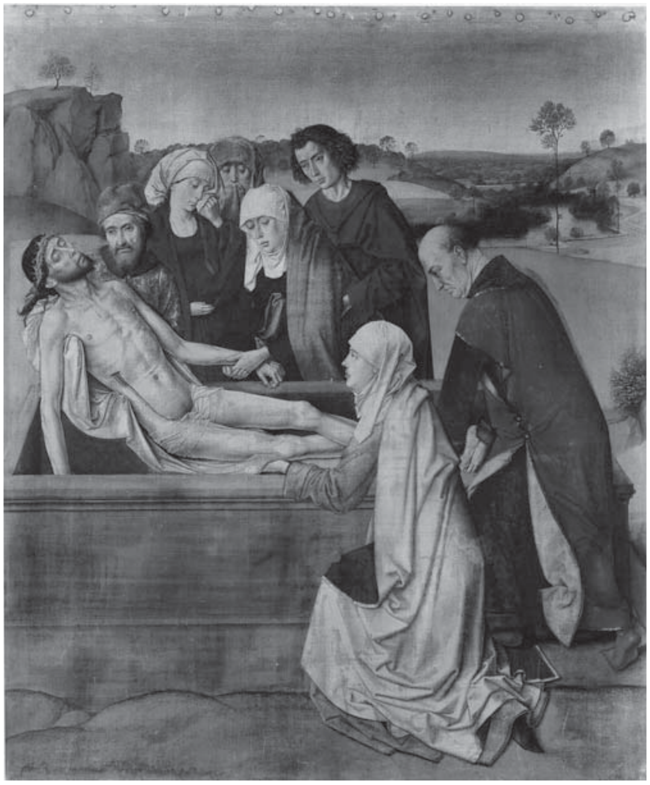
1872 Milan, Palazzo di Brera, *Opere d'arte antica esposte nel Palazzo di Brera,* no. 38
2013-2014 San Marino, The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting,* pl. 14.

3. HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

In 1858 Sir Charles Eastlake, the director of the National Gallery in London, recorded in his notebook the presence in Milan of four "pictures in tempera", which he attributed to Rogier van der Weyden.[1] He reported that these works had been owned by the Foscari family before they were purchased in Vienna early in the nineteenth century by "Guizzardi," an envoy from Milan. M. Davies (1953) subsequently identified this ambassador as Count Diego Guicciardi, who served as Valtelline envoy to the Court of Vienna five times between 1786 and 1815.[2] L. Campbell (1998) noted that members of the Foscari family were in Vienna in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and that one, who squandered his inheritance, may well have sold his art collection while he was there.[3] No firm evidence, however, corroborates the idea that the original fifteenth-century owner of these paintings was a member of the Foscari family. In fact, P. Humfrey (1993) has noted that Flemish paintings were popular among fifteenth-century Venetian collectors, and that a range of Venetian patrons, "perhaps a diplomat at the court of Burgundy, or a traveling merchant" could have commissioned these works.[4] Eastlake identified their subjects as a *Deposition from the Cross*, an *Adoration of the Kings*, a *Presentation*, and an *Annunciation.* The *Deposition*, the only one that was for sale, was at that time attributed to Lucas van Leyden.

2. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, 89.9 × 74.2 cm., Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. F.1980.1.P

In 1860 Eastlake returned to Milan, where he saw in the Casa Guicciardi an *Entombment* in tempera on cloth that was attributed to Lucas van Leyden, but which he assigned to Rogier van der Weyden.[5] This work was presumably identical to the one that he had viewed earlier since it is again described as "under glass", and an *Entombment* could presumably be mistaken for a *Deposition.* Eastlake further noted that he saw "in another house", the pendant of the *Entombment*, an *Adoration of the Kings* that was "not so good (not so well preserved)." He also learned that there were



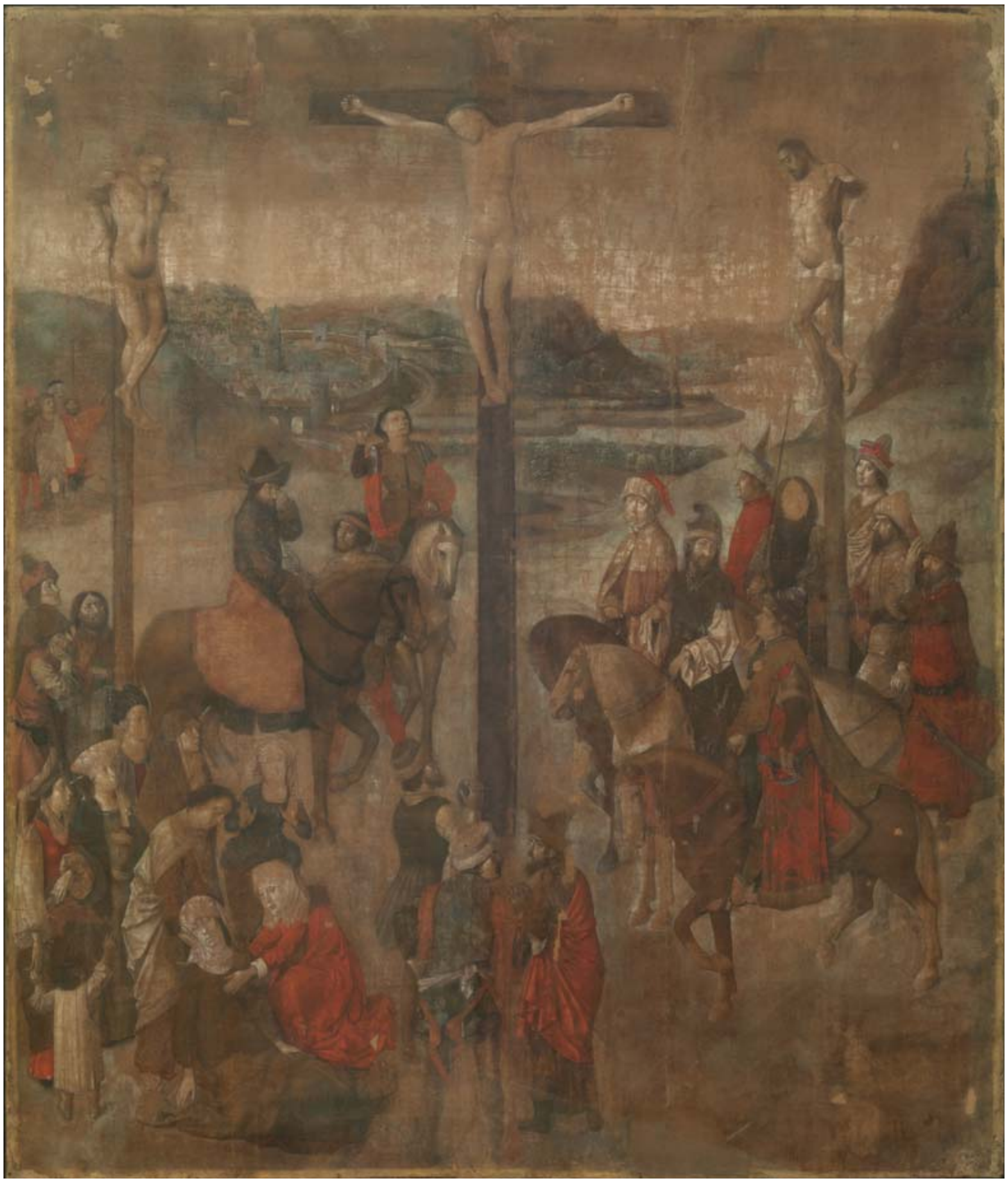
3. Dirk Bouts, *Entombment*, 87.5 × 73.6 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG664

two other related works, which he did not see; he reported their subjects as a *Crucifixion* and an *Annunciation*. Since on his earlier visit he had mentioned a *Presentation*, not a *Crucifixion*, and these two themes are difficult to confuse, either Eastlake was mistaken about the subjects of the paintings, or there were more than four of them. Whereas most scholars identify the *Crucifixion* mentioned by Eastlake as the one in Brussels (fig. 4), Campbell (1998) proposed that Eastlake was instead referring to the *Resurrection* in Pasadena (fig. 2).

Eastlake purchased the *Entombment* for the National Gallery, where it was first assigned to Rogier van der Weyden,[6] and then by W.M. Conway (1887) to Dirk Bouts, an attribution that has gained wide acceptance (fig. 3).[7] The painting is usually dated early, to the 1450s.[8] It was thinly painted in glue colors on a finely woven linen support that was never varnished, in a technique often called *tüchlein* painting.[9]

In 1872, three tempera paintings attributed to "Luca d'Olanda" were exhibited in the Brera Museum in Milan: a *Resurrection* in the Vittorio Melzi collection, an *Annunciation* in the Giuseppe Casanova collection, and an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Paolo Guicciardi collection.[10] Since two of these subjects are those mentioned by Eastlake, these works may well be among the paintings that remained in Milan after he purchased the *Entombment*, especially since all three lenders were descendants of Diego Guicciardi.[11] A label that once adorned the frame of the *Annunciation* in the Getty Museum securely identifies it as having been in the exhibition in Milan.[12]

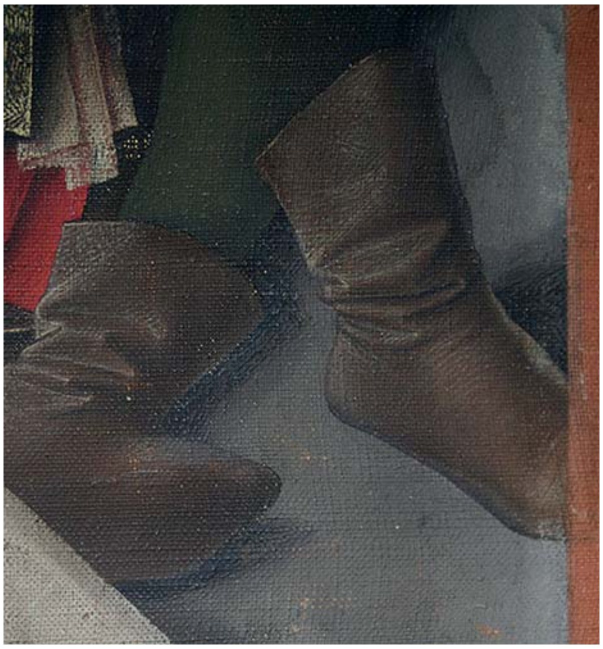
The three paintings that were displayed at the Brera were largely ignored, but in 1947, when a fourth Boutsian canvas, the *Crucifixion* in Brussels, was exhibited for the first time, it attracted much attention (fig. 4). In 1953 E. Panofsky published a theory, first suggested by J.H. van Gelder, that the *Entombment* in London "must have belonged, presumably as the lower portion of the right-hand wing, to a large triptych" whose central image was the *Crucifixion* in Brussels.[13] Two years later Davies disagreed, arguing that the association between the *Crucifixion* and the *Entombment* was "dubious on stylistic grounds."[14] In 1957-1958, when the *Crucifixion* was exhibited in Brussels, it again sparked discussion. F. Winkler (1958) observed that the *Entombment* was roughly half the length and width of the *Crucifixion*, which lent weight to Panofsky's theory. Furthermore, Winkler noted that such an arrangement would have recalled that of Bouts' *Holy Sacrament Altarpiece*, with its central panel flanked on each side by two smaller paintings, displayed one above the other.[15] F. Baudouin (1957) judged the style of the *Crucifixion* to be more archaic than the *Entombment*, but K.G. Boon (1958) justly cautioned that it was difficult to ascertain

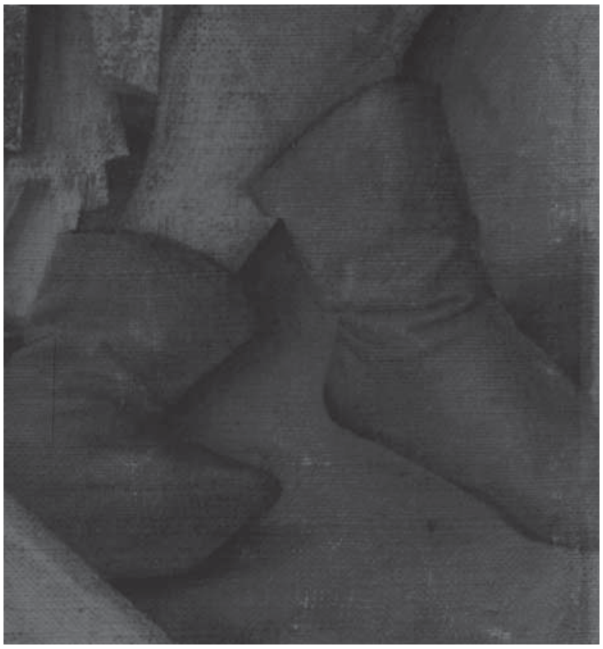


4. Dirk Bouts (?), *Crucifixion*, 181.5 × 153.5 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunst in België, inv. no. 8181

the relationship between the two paintings due to the *Crucifixion*'s poor state of preservation.[16]

In the 1980s two more canvas paintings attributed to Bouts emerged on the art market. In 1980 the Norton Simon Foundation acquired a *Resurrection*, and five years later the J. Paul Getty Museum purchased an *Annunciation* (figs. 1-2). These acquisitions were accompanied by reports of another Boutsian canvas, an *Adoration of the Magi* in a private European collection that conformed to a composition recorded in a drawing in the Uffizi, Florence.[17] Once again the interest of scholars was piqued. During the following years three related issues continued to be debated: Were the *Entombment, Resurrection, Crucifixion, Annunciation*, and *Adoration* originally part of a





5. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail of the guard's foot, right lower side

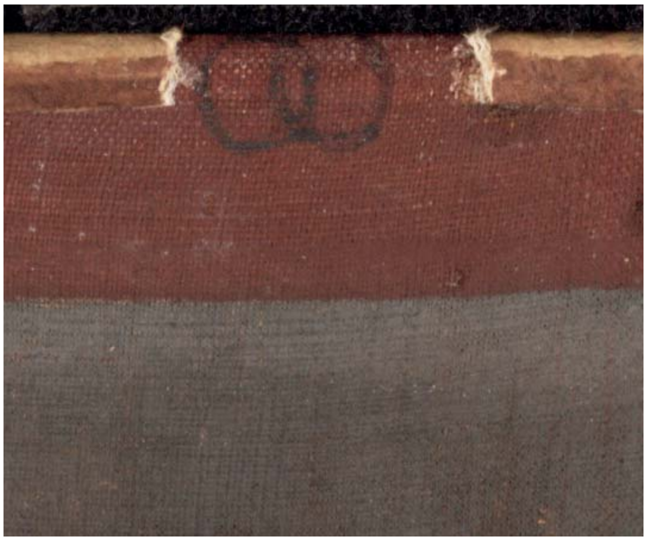
6. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, infrared reflectogram, detail of the guard's foot, right lower side

single altarpiece? If so, did the *Crucifixion* serve as its central image? And how were the smaller paintings arranged on the wings?

The theory that all these paintings originally formed an altarpiece was supported by many later scholars including C. Reynolds (1980) and J.-L. Bordeaux (1986) who, however, proposed different arrangements of the canvases.[18] Some scholars nevertheless remained undecided about whether the smaller Boutsian canvas paintings originally formed an altarpiece with the *Crucifixion*.[19] D. Bomford, A. Roy and A. Smith (1986) raised another critical issue by describing the canvases as a series, and observing that "it is hard to be certain how the series would have been arranged." They judged that the canvas paintings were originally probably destined for a chapel, not a domestic setting, and suggested that they might have been exported to Italy "as separate units, their eventual arrangement being left to the client."[20] This was echoed by C. Stroo, P. Syfer-d'Olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders (1999) who rightly cautioned, after summarizing the inconsistencies in Eastlake's notes, that "all these 'mistakes' provide a very shaky foundation for a firmly based reconstruction. Depending on the starting assumption, several other reconstruction schemes are also conceivable."[21]

D. Wolfthal (1989) and Stroo, Syfer-d'Olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders (1999) noted the strong links among the *Entombment*, *Resurrection*, and *Annunciation*. All are well preserved, show the same type of relining and stretchers, and, along the edges, a series of nail holes and a strip of brighter colors, protected for years by frames (fig. 25), which indicate that these paintings had for centuries shared a common provenance. By contrast, the *Crucifixion* has suffered severe damage and does not share the same type of relining, stretchers, and brighter edges. Other discrepancies cannot be explained by a difference in provenance. Unlike the other three canvas paintings, the

7.



7. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation,* top border with interlocked circles

8. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, infrared reflectogram

9. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, infrared reflectogram

Crucifixion was produced on coarser linen, lacks a relatively wide, reddish-brown painted border, and differs somewhat in style. Due to such inconsistencies, Wolfthal (1989) suggested that if the *Entombment*, *Resurrection*, and *Annunciation* served on the wings of an altarpiece, its center might have been a work other than the *Crucifixion*, perhaps a panel painting or sculpted relief, an idea supported by C. Brown (1989). Stroo, Syfer-d'Olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders (1990) amassed evidence for attributing the *Crucifixion* to Bouts, and judged it to be an early work, probably dating before 1464.[22] Nonetheless two years later P. Eeckhout attributed the *Crucifixion* to Hugo van der Goes.[23]

Several scholars suggested that these works were painted on canvas because they were produced to be sent abroad. Noting that linen is lightweight and easily folded or rolled, Wolfthal (1989) observed that it was ideal for export. She also determined that Italy was the provenance of one quarter of all surviving early Netherlandish canvases.[24] P. Nuttall (2004) similarly ascertained that of the forty two Flemish paintings listed in a Medici inventory dated 1492, all but four were executed on cloth.[25]

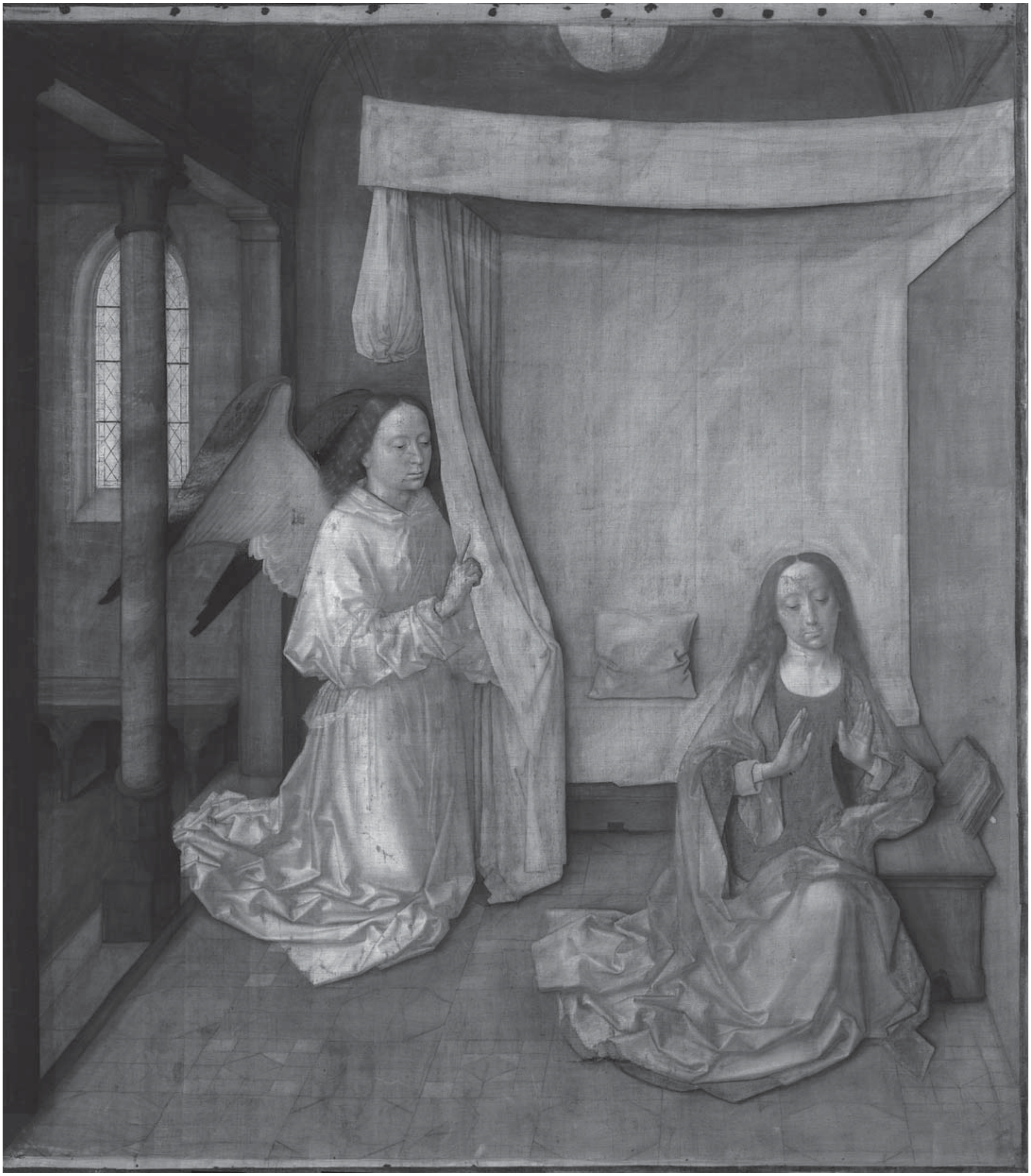
After the Getty Museum acquired the *Annunciation*, A. Tarica (1990, 1991) sparked a controversy in the press when he charged that the painting was a forgery. Scholarly opinion, however, has generally disagreed with this assessment and supported an attribution to Bouts.[26] Furthermore, the underdrawing shows the shrinkage of contours that J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer (1998) has described as characteristic of Bouts. This is visible in the *Annunciation* in the Virgin's head and robe and the angel's shoulder and collar, and in the *Resurrection* in the prone soldier and Christ's drapery (figs. 8-9-11-17). But C. Eisler (1988) was more cautious, attributing the *Annunciation* to the early Bouts or "some equally talented, as yet unidentified master of his period."[27] Similarly C. Périer-D'Ieteren (2006) saw stylistic differences among the canvas paintings, terming the figures in the *Annunciation* stockier and with larger hands than those in the *Entombment* and *Resurrection.* She attributed this discrepancy to a slightly earlier date. Most scholars date the *Annunciation* and *Resurrection* ca. 1450-1460.[28] All attribute the *Resurrection* to Dirk Bouts.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Annunciation
Support: 89.7 × 74.5 (± 0.1) cm.
Dimensions: 85.7 × 73 (± 0.5) cm. (inside reddish-brown border)
Resurrection
Support: 89.9 × 74.2 (± 0.1) cm.
Dimensions: 88.5 × 73 cm. (inside reddish-brown border)

8.



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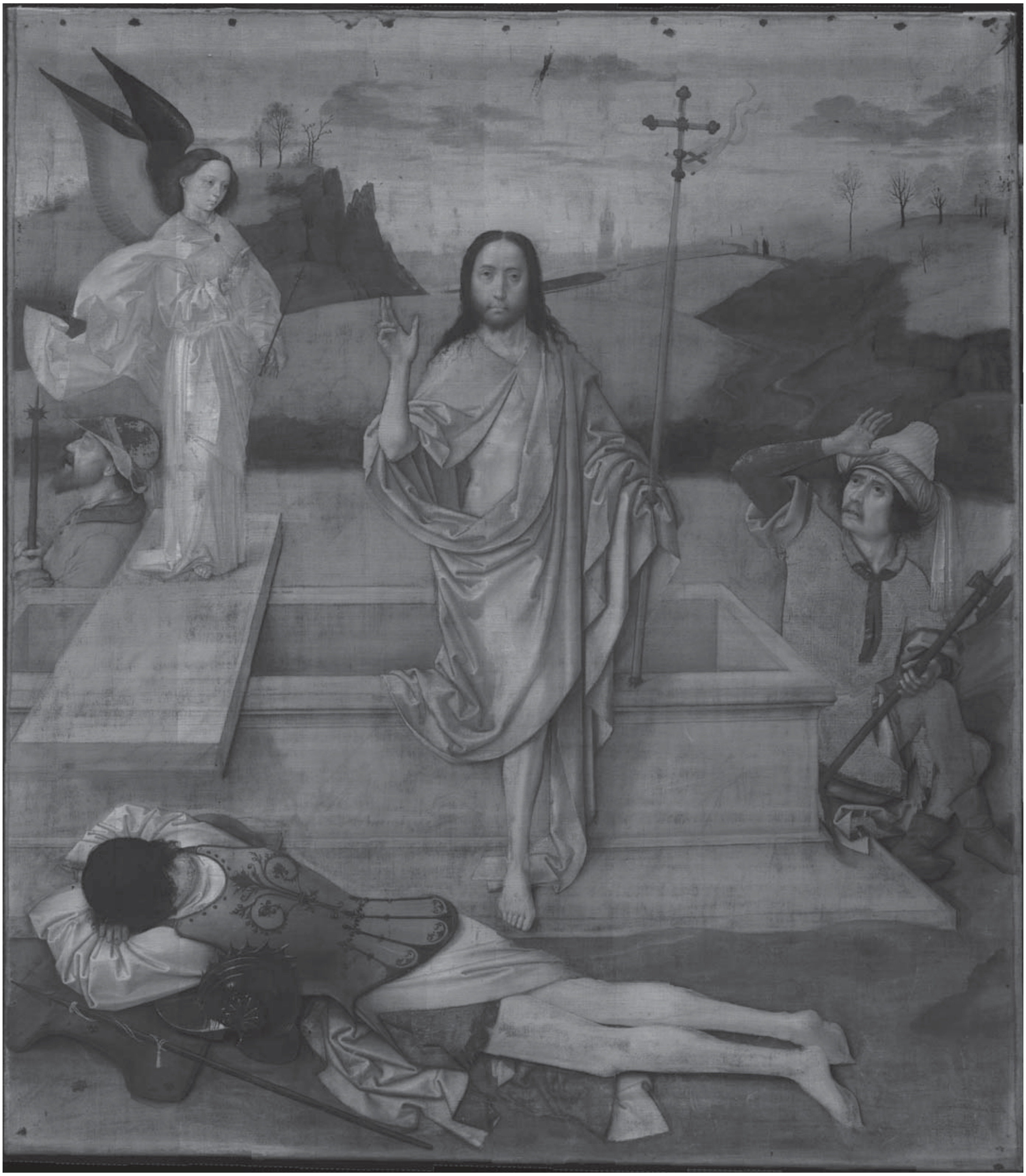

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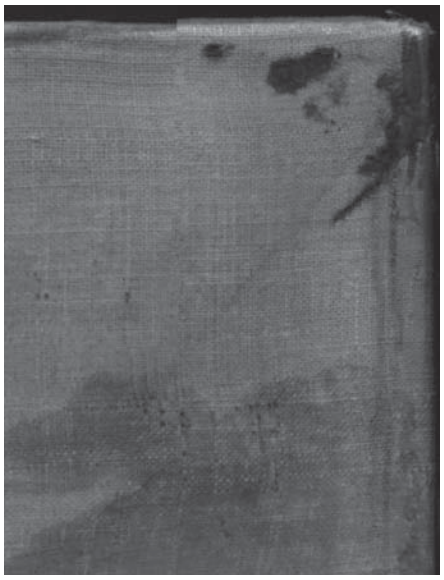

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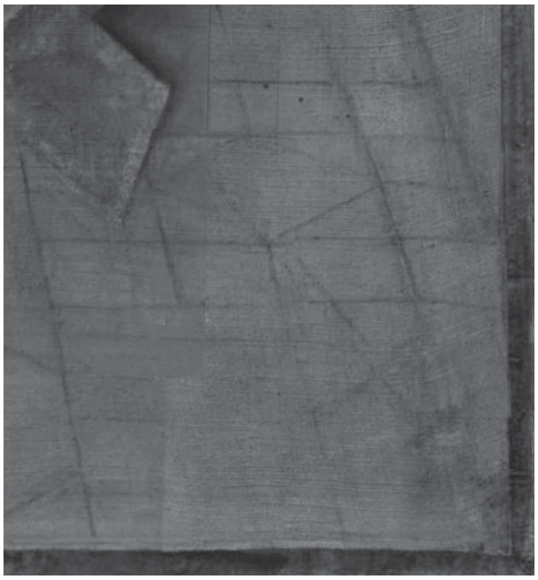
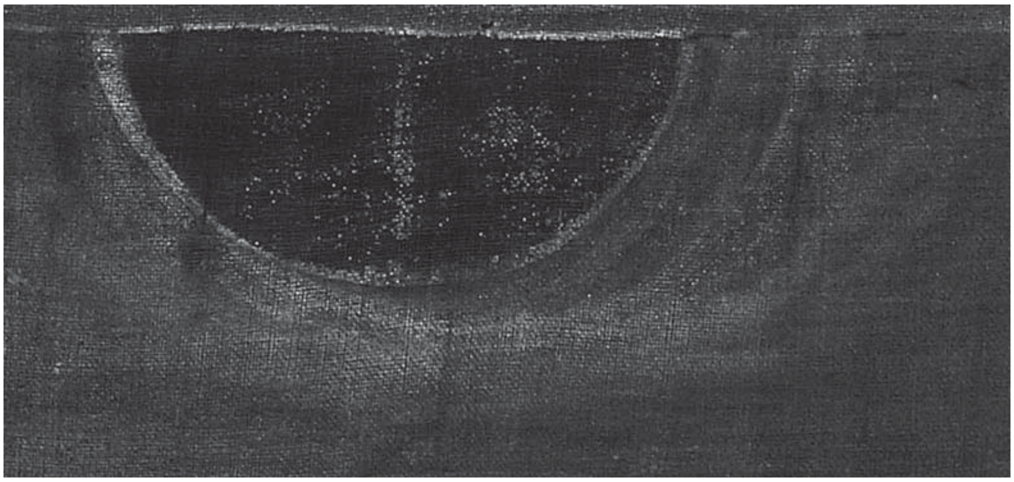




12.

10. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, infrared reflectogram, detail, upper right corner

11. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, infrared reflectogram, detail, lower right corner

12. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection,* X-radiograph, detail, window on back wall

Support

Both works are painted on a finely-woven linen that lacks seams, joins, or selvedges.[29] The approximate thread count of the *Annunciation* is 20.7 threads/cm. for the warp, 17 for the weft.[30] That for the *Resurrection* is 18.9 threads/cm. for the warp, 17.6 for the weft. Research suggests that fabric may have been bleached prior to use, and indeed it is lighter in color at the perimeter of each painting than in the central area that has been exposed to light (fig. 25).[31] The cusping visible along the edges does not correspond to the large nail holes in the reddish-brown borders, which indicates that these holes were not the result of the original stretching. Both paintings are lined with glue to an auxiliary canvas, and tacked to five-member mortise-and-tenon keyable stretchers of like manufacture. The edges were covered

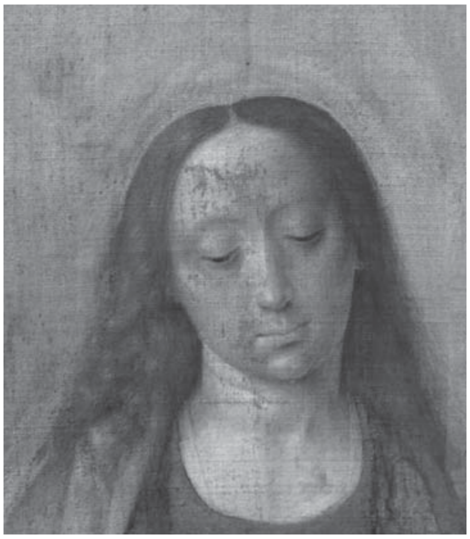
13. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, infrared reflectogram, detail, Virgin

14. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, infrared reflectogram, detail, small head beneath Gabriel

15. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, infrared reflectogram, detail, Virgin's robe

16. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation,* detail, Virgin's robe

13.



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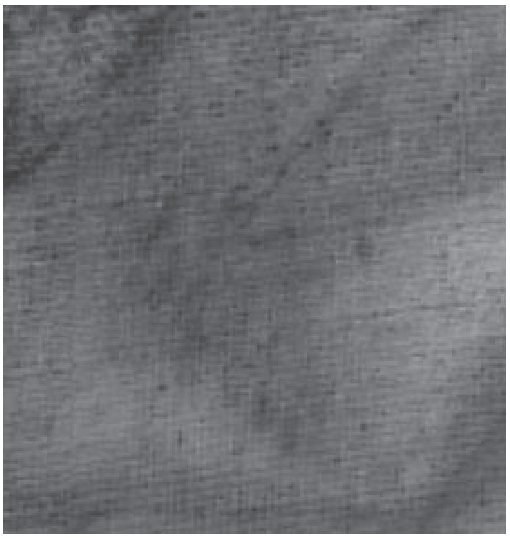

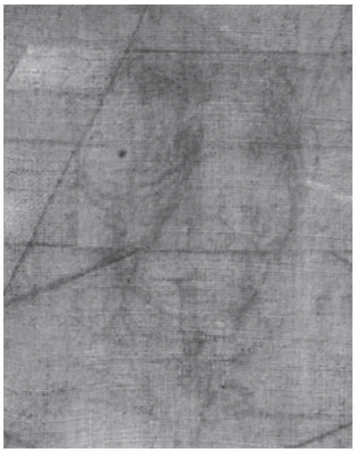

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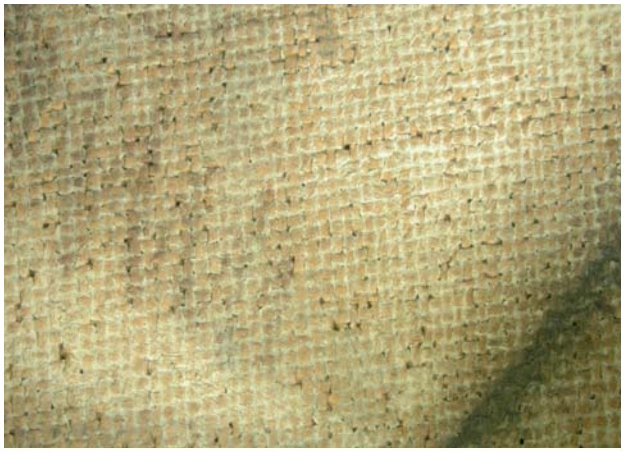
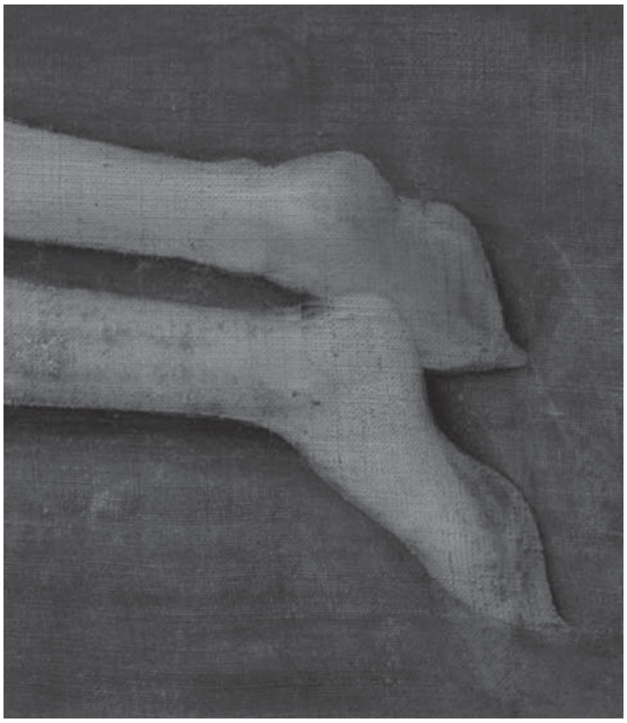
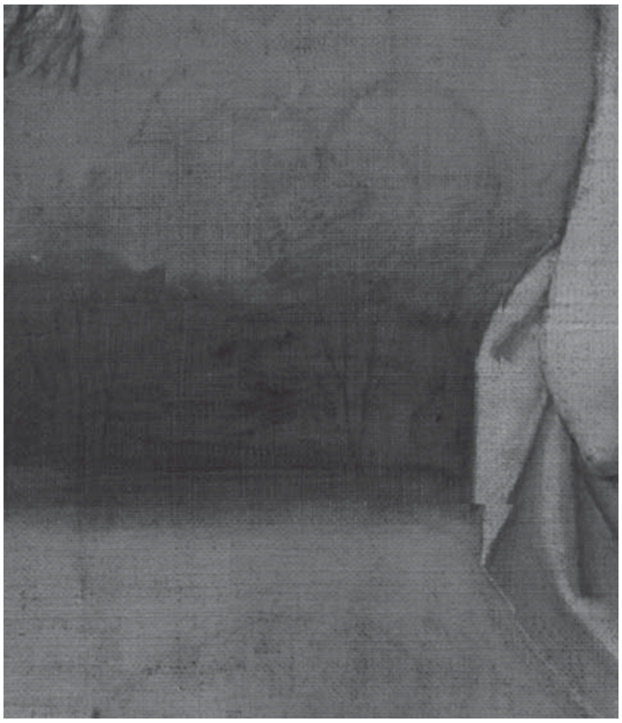


16.

with brown paper tape, although at present the *Resurrection* has lost most of its tape and the *Annunciation* has lost some of it. The stretchers are identical and the linings similar.

Each support has a reddish-brown border approximately 3-3.5 cm. wide. That on the *Annunciation* is unevenly distributed on the present stretcher, with 2 cm. wrapped around the stretcher on the right and left sides, 1-1.5 cm. around the bottom, and only 1 cm. around the top. The *Resurrection* is fairly evenly placed on the stretcher, with approximately 1 cm. of the 3-3.5 cm. reddish-brown border visible on the front on all sides except the top, where only 0.5 cm. is visible on the face of the painting. It is notable that although the exposed, darkened (light-struck) areas of the two paintings share the same dimensions, the reddish-brown borders delimit a taller format for the *Resurrection.* The size that is delimited by the reddish-brown border of the *Entombment* in London is the same as that of the *Resurrection.* Similarly, the red of the borders on those two paintings is warmer and lighter in color than the red of





17. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, infrared reflectogram, detail, legs of recumbent guard

18. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection,* infrared reflectogram, detail, trees

the *Annunciation,* which is deeper in tone. X-ray fluorescence analysis[32] of the pigment on the reddish-brown border of the *Annunciation* and the *Resurrection* shows that the composition of the borders is generally quite similar: iron oxide earth is the dominant pigment. The finding of manganese in trace amounts in the *Resurrection* might suggest the presence of an umber-type earth in this border. The borders were applied last, following all other paint application, and passing over design elements such as the booted toe of the guard on the right of the *Resurrection* (figs. 5-6).

Four canvases that scholars have grouped together and attributed to Bouts and his circle – the *Annunciation, Entombment, Resurrection,* and *Crucifixion* – have been studied by C.R. Johnson and D. H. Johnson, the directors of the Thread Count Automation Project.[33] They discovered that only two of these canvases match in weave, the *Entombment* and *Resurrection*. These paintings show a horizontal weave match, lining up exactly side-by-side (figs. 28-29). The canvas support of the *Annunciation* is similar, but not a match (fig. 30). That of the *Crucifixion* is much more coarsely woven and therefore certainly not a weave match, perhaps indicating that it was not made in concert with the others (fig. 31).

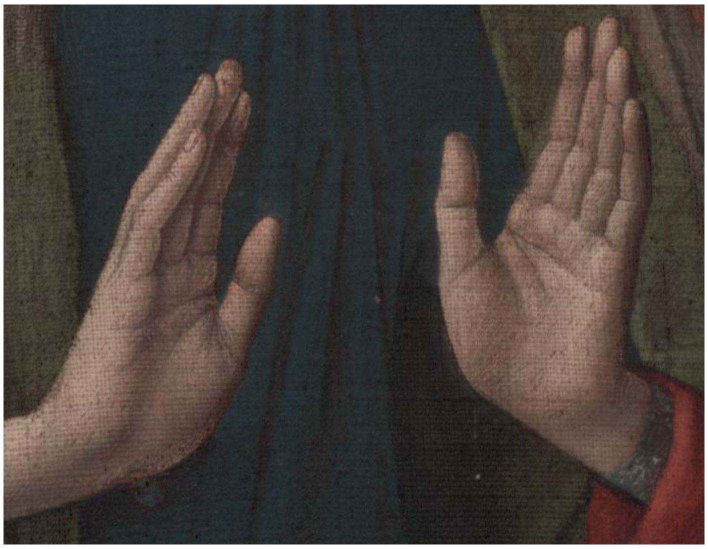
Frame

Not original.

Marks

There are two black interlocked circles painted in the top reddish-brown border of the *Annunciation* (fig. 7). Their function is unknown.

19.



19. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, detail, Virgin's robe, mantle and hands

20. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection,* X-radiograph

21. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, X-radiograph

Ground

As is typical of the *tüchlein* technique, no ground was applied. A layer of glue is detectable on the linen fibers.

Underlying Drawing

Although M. Leonard *et al.* (1988) report that infrared reflectography failed to make visible any underdrawing for the *Annunciation*,[34] an unpublished report dated July 1991, which was cited by Van Asperen de Boer (1998), noted that that painting's underdrawing showed several instances of the shrinkage of painted contours characteristic of Dirk Bouts. Improved equipment now reveals full underdrawing in both the *Annunciation* and the *Resurrection* (figs. 8-9).[35] The recent infrared examination of the *Resurrection* disclosed a previously unnoticed aspect of the artist's working technique: he began the composition with soft, somewhat blurry diagonal lines commencing very slightly below the top corners and also above the lower ones that would have intersected at the center to form a large "X" if continued (fig. 10). The lines fade away, however, toward the center of the canvas. The tape has been largely removed from the *Resurrection,* exposing parallel lines marking the lateral edges of the composition. Paper tape covers the edges of the *Annunciation*, which shows diagonals drawn from the corners on the right, but none visible from the left corners. The marks begin slightly below the upper right corner and above the lower right corner (fig. 11). These "X" and framing lines may have been preliminary markers that served to indicate the center of the composition and its eventual dimensions, and thereby helped Bouts to place his forms.[36]

The underdrawing of the vault on the right side of the *Annunciation* extends into the area now occupied by the canopy. The semi-circular window was initially envisioned larger than it was finally painted (fig. 12). The Virgin, too, was sketched with her head and left arm larger than it currently appears in the paint layer (fig. 13). This is in keeping with Dirk Bouts' usual "shrinkage" of forms.[37] A few contour lines for the drapery folds can be seen, such as those just in front of Gabriel's knees. What appears to be a head looking downward and wearing a headdress was sketched at the lower edge of the canvas, below Gabriel (fig. 14). This head is close in appearance and size to that of the angel who stands on the tomb lid in the *Resurrection*. Loose vertical loops drawn in the area of the painted curtain beneath the window are difficult to interpret. Linear elements, which had previously been revealed through ultraviolet fluorescence and interpreted as underdrawing,[38] were closely examined with binocular microscopy, and understood instead as the modeling of the folds of the drapery with dark paint (figs. 15-16).

The infrared examination of the *Resurrection* revealed that the torso and proper right leg of the recumbent guard of the *Resurrection* had been drawn higher than they were painted (fig. 17), and the lid of the sarcophagus was sketched at a different, more

20.

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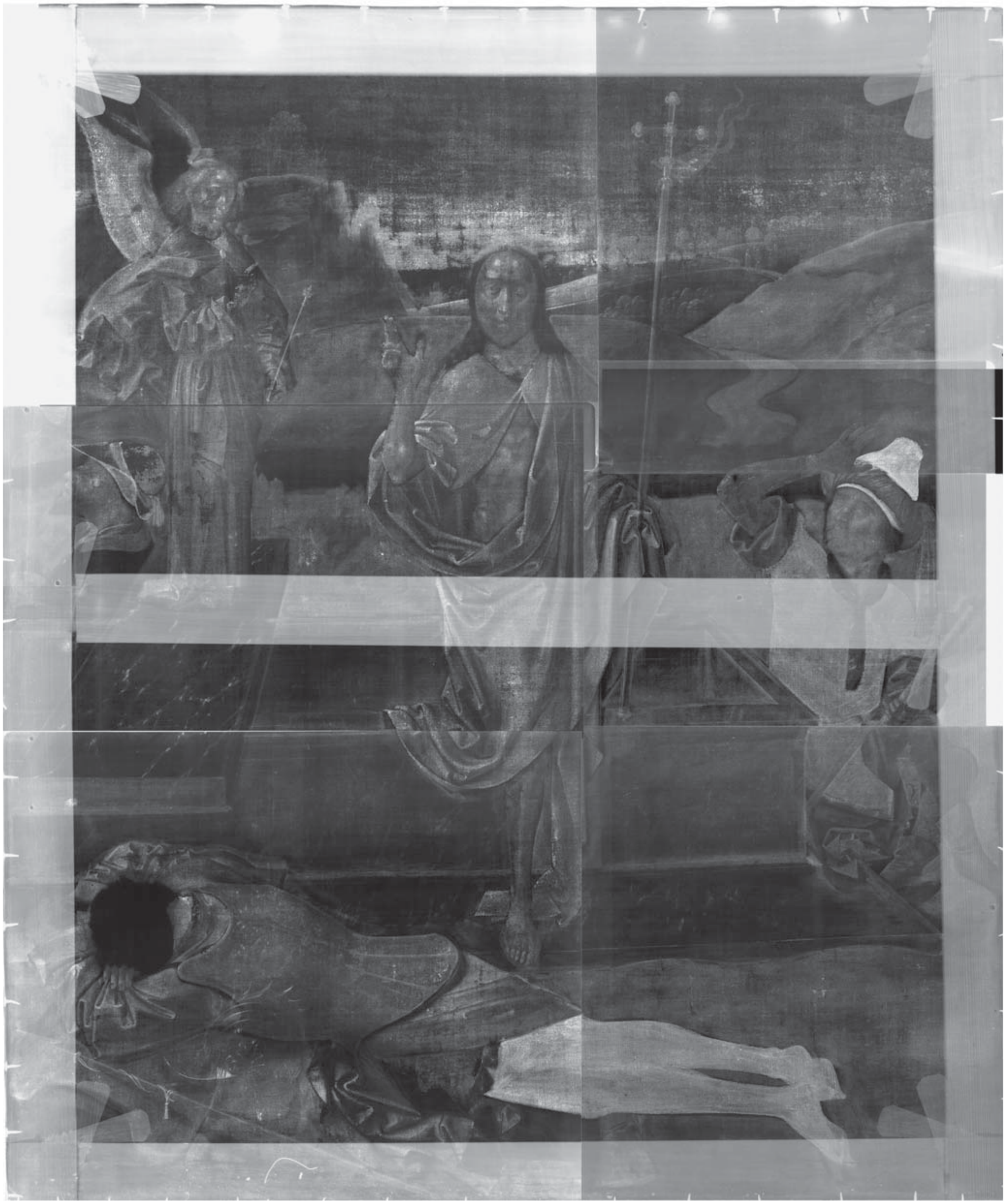
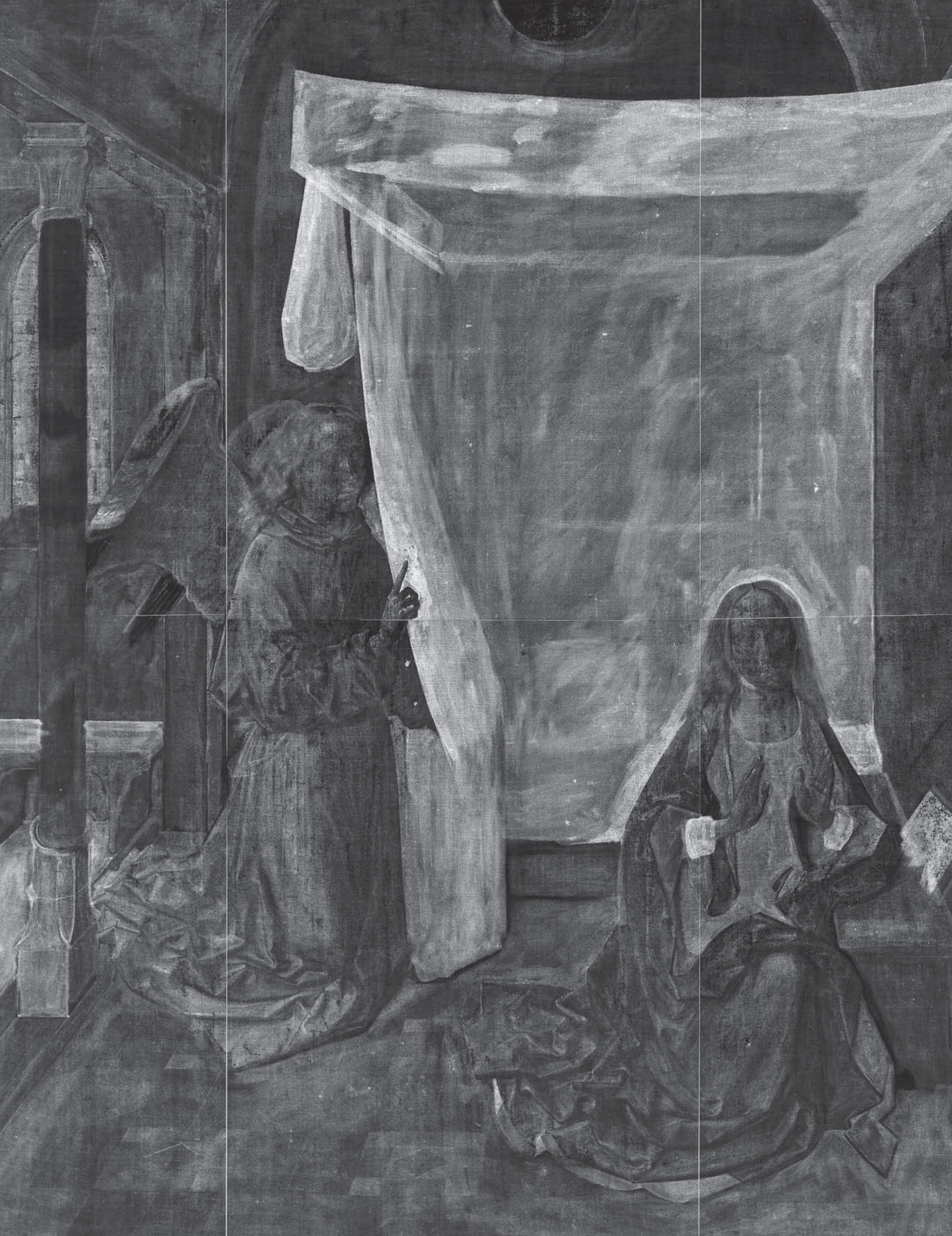
21.





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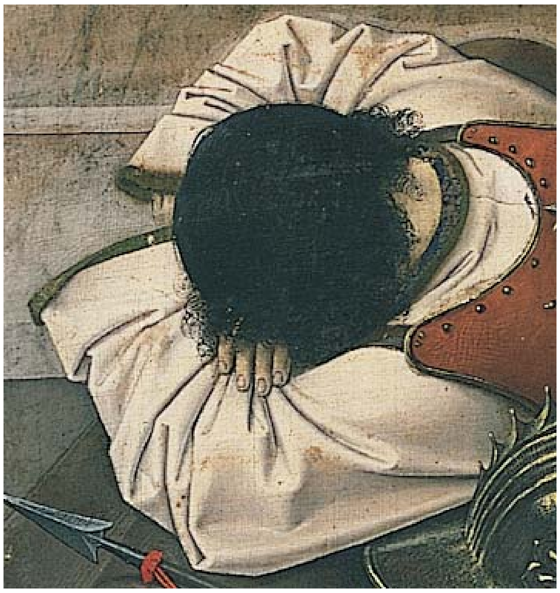

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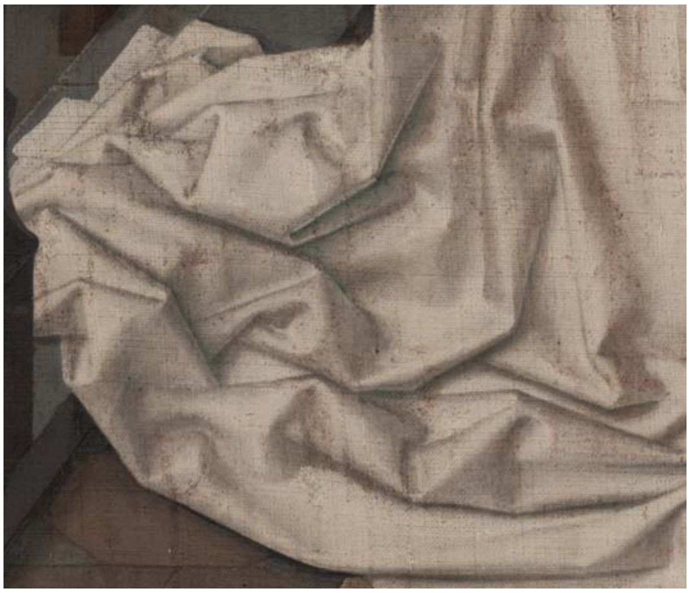

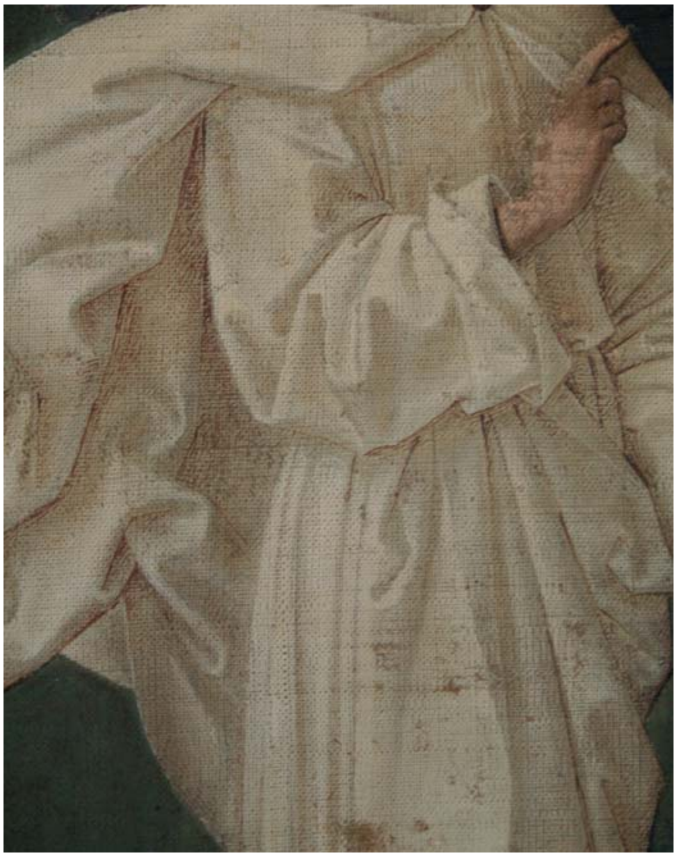

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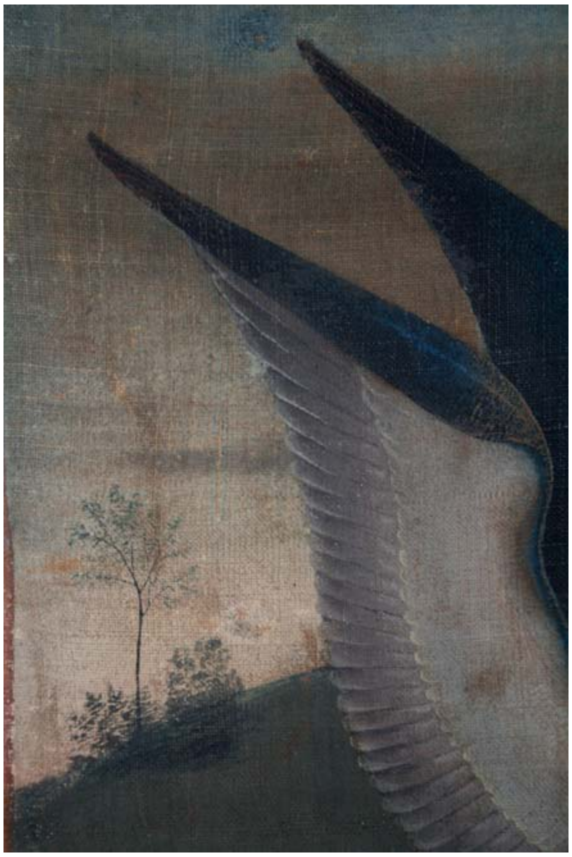


25.

22. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection,* detail, recumbent guard

23. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation,* detail, angel's robe

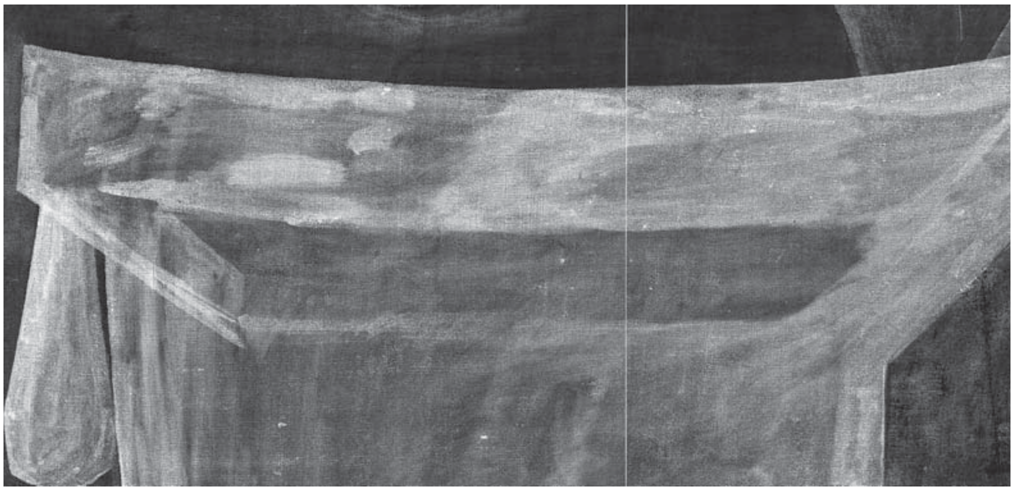
24. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail, angel's robe

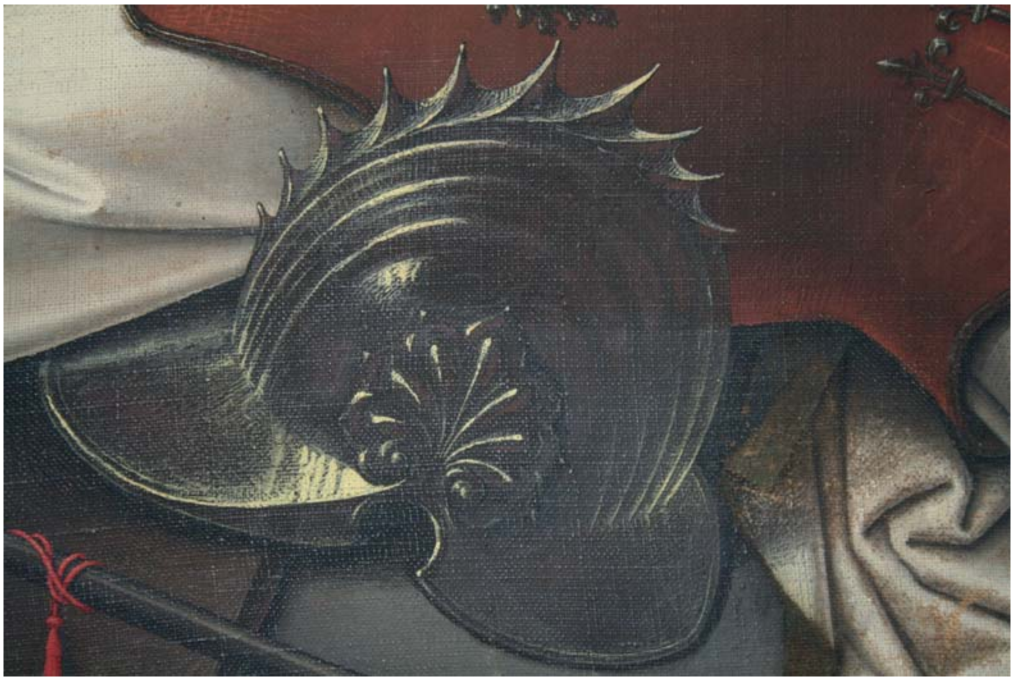
25. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail, light-struck blue sky, nail hole, and angel's wing

26. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation,* X-radiograph detail, canopy over bench

27. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail, helmet painted over guard and landscape

26.

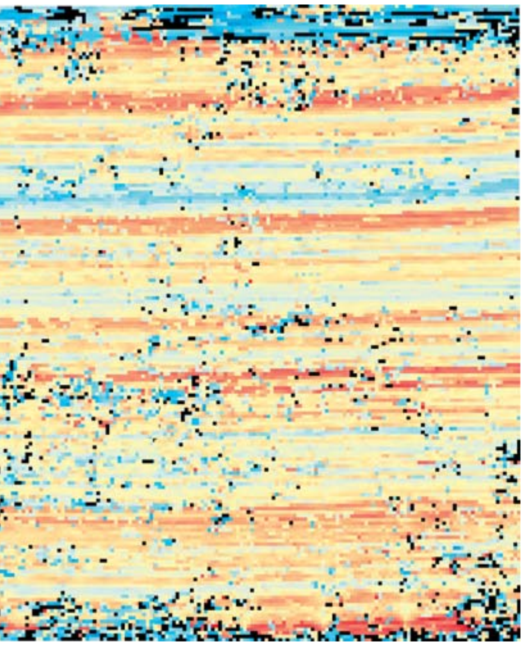




27.

vertical angle than it was painted. The guard's left toes were drawn pointing downward but painted higher. Furthermore, the drawing of Christ's drapery swirls to the left and below its painted form, while his blessing fingers were shortened in the paint layer compared to their underdrawn position. Trees that are visible in the underdrawing to the left of Christ's elbow in the middle ground of the landscape were never painted (fig. 18). Finally, a cluster of underdrawn lines on the face of the sarcophagus to the right of Christ's drapery was never painted, and it is unclear what it might have indicated.

28.



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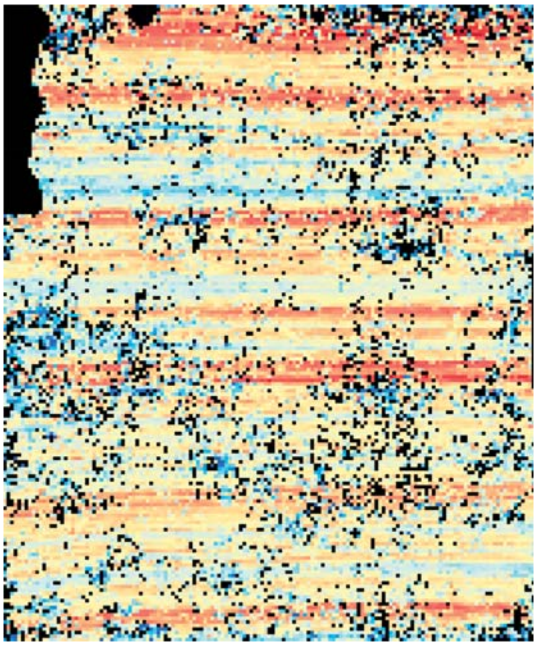

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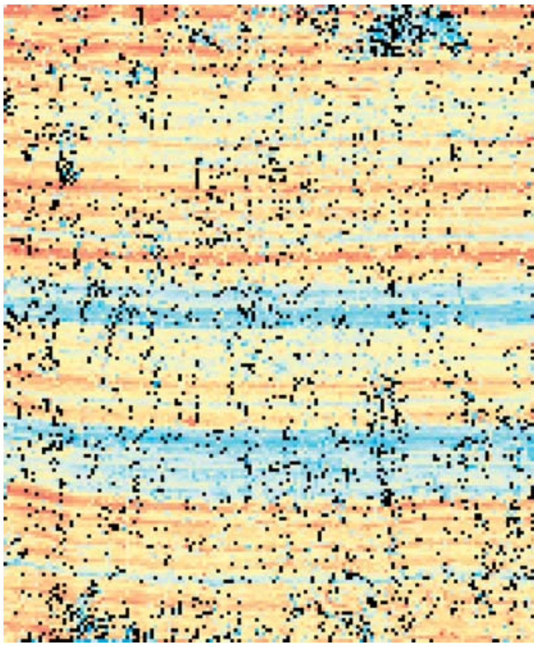
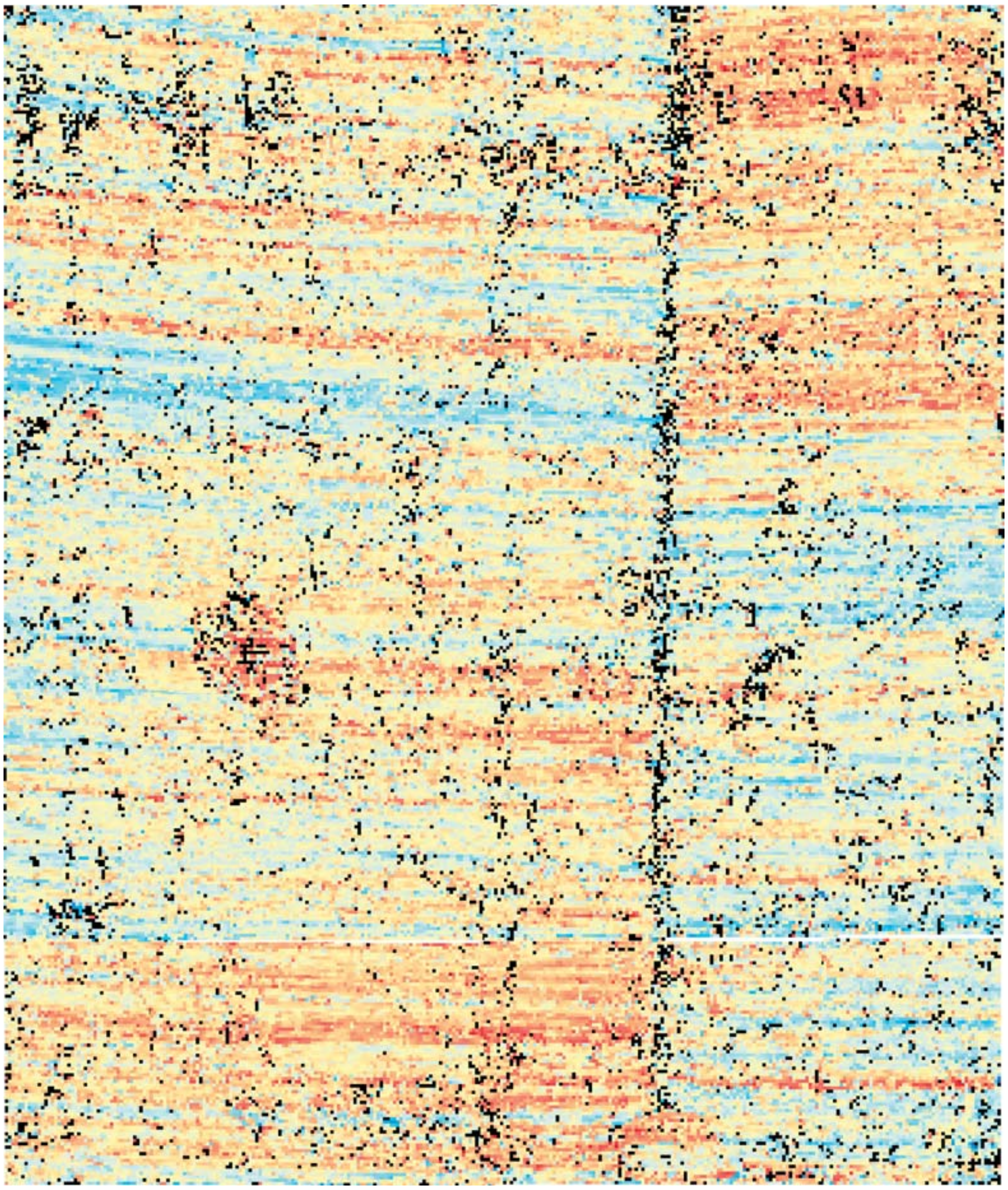


28. Dirk Bouts,
Resurrection,
thread density map

29. Dirk Bouts,
Entombment,
thread density map

30. Dirk Bouts,
Annunciation,
thread density map

31.

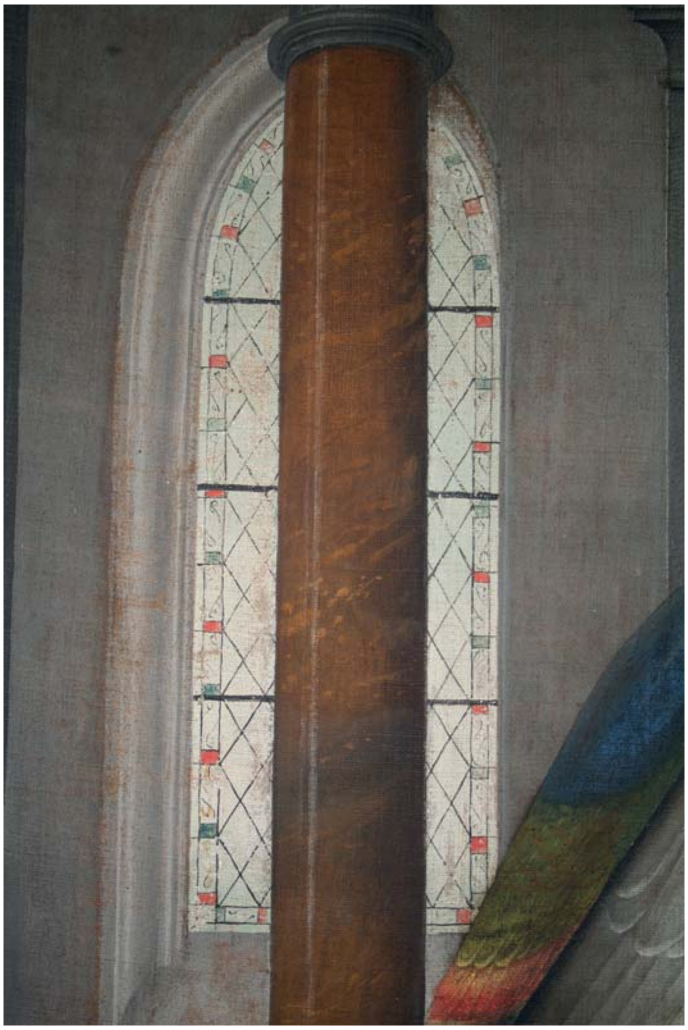


31. Dirk Bouts, *Crucifixion*, thread density map

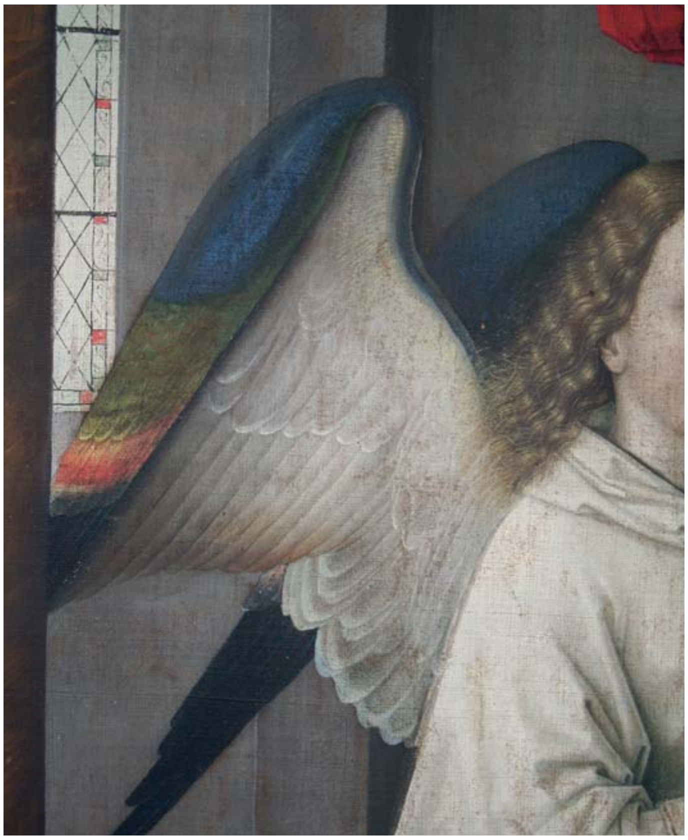
It is difficult to determine what material was employed for the underdrawings, as the marks are indistinct. No metal was identified with X-ray fluorescence, ruling out the possibility of metalpoint and iron-gall ink. The soft, broad appearance of the lines suggests a carbonized material in a dilute aqueous solution.

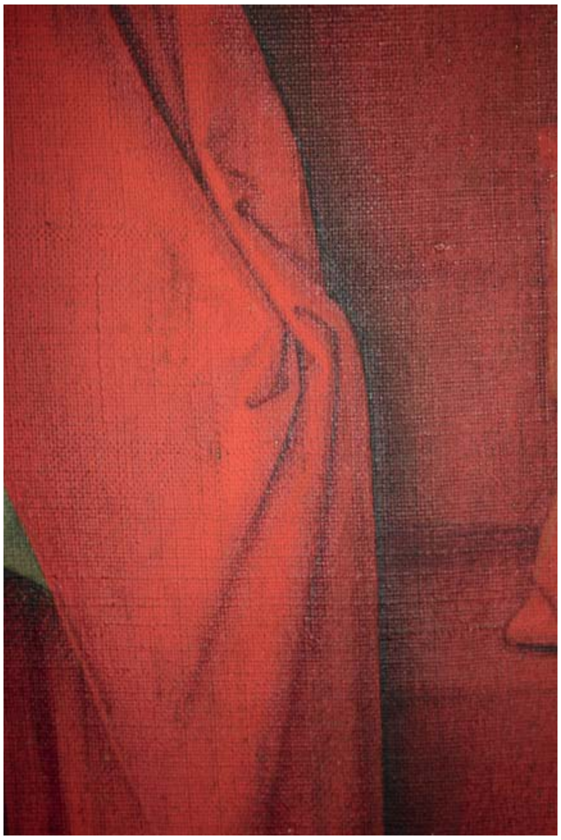
Paint Layer

The paint was prepared from pigments mixed in a glue medium. It was applied thinly with remarkable precision and subtlety. In most areas the paint is a single layer that often does not cover the fabric threads, with details and modeling added over the base color. The window at the left of the *Annunciation* was painted with two layers, a pure white beneath the pale colors of the stained glass. The darker, deeper blues of the two canvas paintings in California seem to have two layers as well, and analysis of the *Entombment* shows the use of ultramarine, which may have prompted a two-layer technique to allow this expensive pigment to be applied sparingly as a top layer (fig. 19). The blue pigments were not analyzed, but it is probable that the underlayer contains azurite, smalt, and possibly even indigo, as these pigments are present in the *Entombment* in London.[39] The thinness of the paint notwithstanding, x-radiography clearly registers the application and distinguishes the location of various pigments (figs. 20-21). X-ray fluorescence analysis gives evidence for the presence of lead white, lead-tin yellow, vermilion, azurite, one or more discolored copper green(s) and at least a red iron oxide earth with associated minerals. Calcium carbonate and/or sulfate are probably also present. These pigments would retain their opacity in glue, unlike in oil, and would be useful additions to the palette of whites. The abundance of calcium detected in the pale red tunic of the seated sleeping soldier may indicate red lake on a calcium-based substrate.


32. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, detail, column

Bouts' mastery of color is evident in his depiction of three distinct white fabrics: the tunic of the recumbent soldier, the robe of the Annunciate angel, and that of the angel in the *Resurrection* (figs. 22-24). Bouts accomplished this by adding azurite to the first garment, reddish brown to the second, and translucent gray washes to the third. The unusual color of the Virgin's mantle in the *Annunciation* may have been originally pale lavender. Close examination with binocular microscopy reveals occasional admixture of red lake, primarily in the folds of the Virgin's mantle. It is





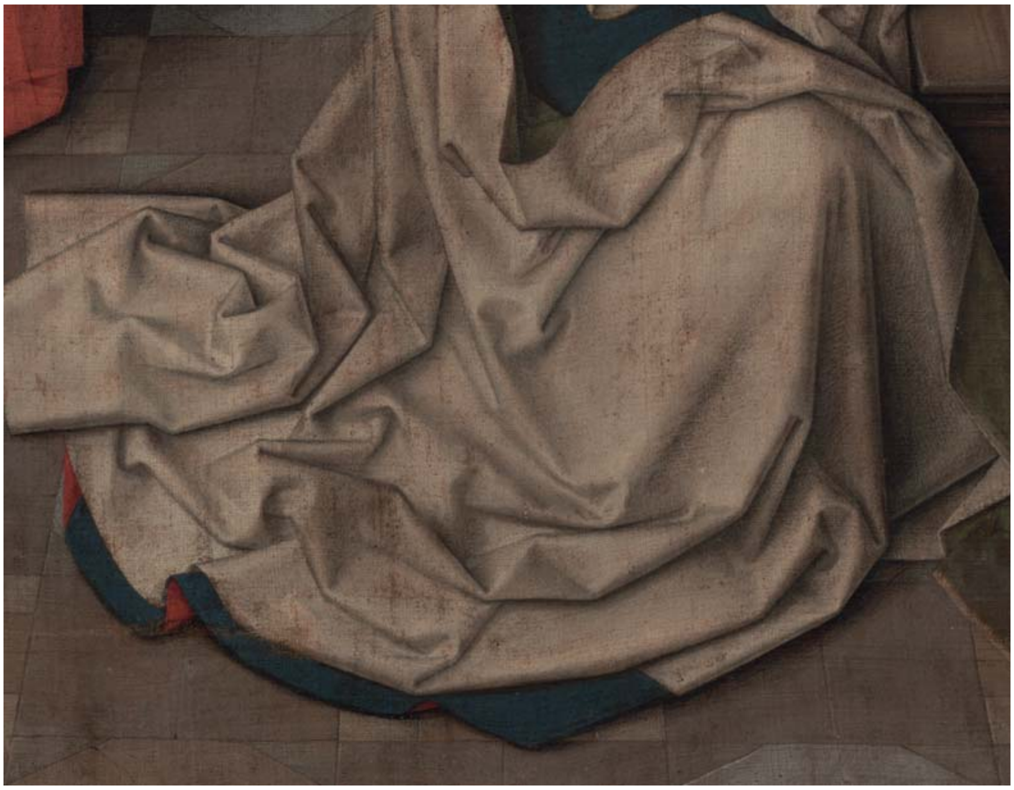
33. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation,* detail, angel's wings

34. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, detail, red curtain

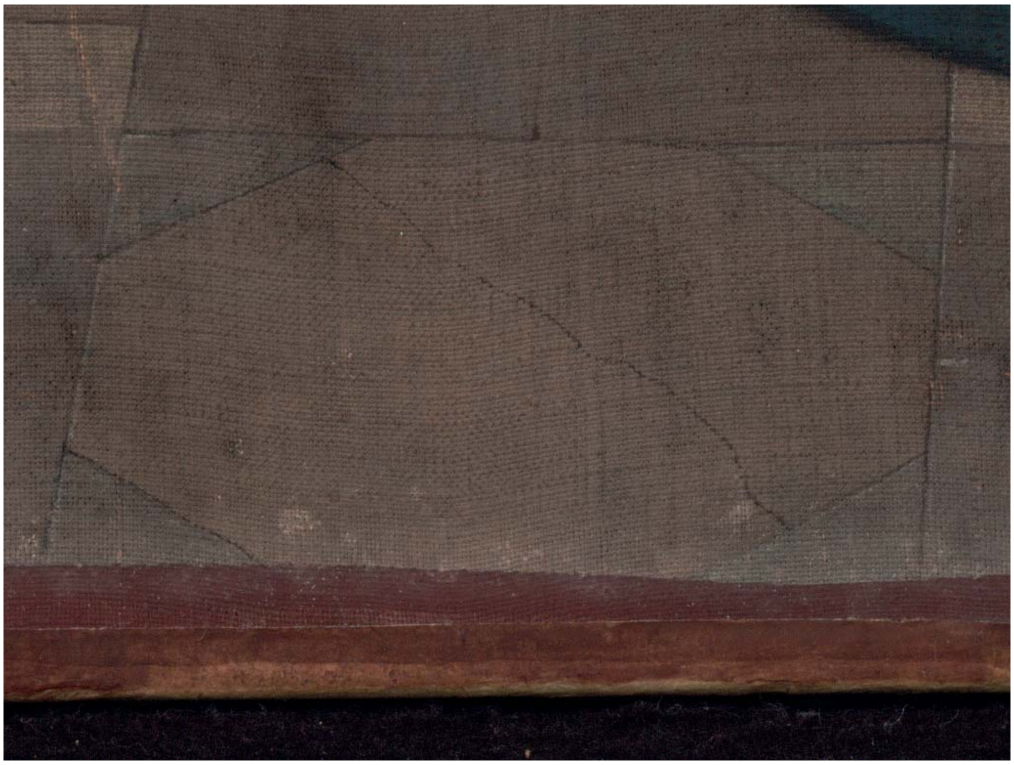
possible that the red lake, which is present in very small amounts mixed with azurite in the shading and very selectively with the white pigment, has faded. Due to the visibility of the threads of the darkened fabric support, the color now appears light greenish brown. Analysis of adjacent areas of blue sky from the discolored and the brighter areas (fig. 25) gives essentially the same X-ray fluorescence results, proving that the difference in the colors of these areas does not appear to be due to differing inorganic pigment composition, but is rather caused by the discoloration of the underlying support, which can be seen through the overlying paint.

The paint layers of the *Annunciation* show several adjustments. The semi-circular window was first painted wider to the right, and then reduced in a later stage (fig. 12). On the left side the canopy was first painted short – the length of the front and right sides – and later modified to show the long curtain that was added at the left. A shaft of light from an unseen window was drawn on the front of the canopy. The X-radiograph indicates a painted layer that seems to show the same light shaft at the front center of the canopy both on the hanging portion and on the curtain at the rear (fig. 26). This shaft of light is not discernible in the uppermost paint layer.

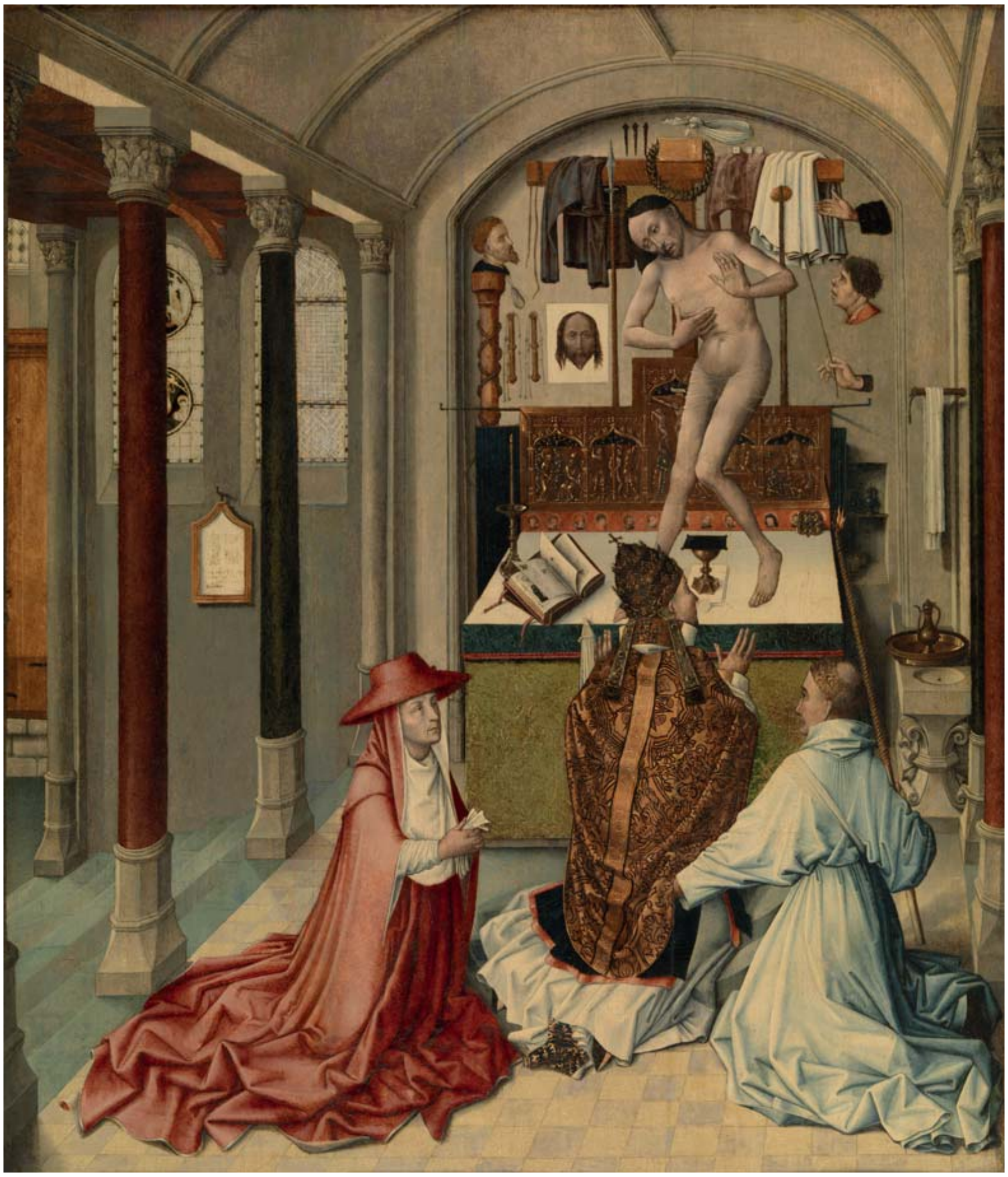
In the *Resurrection* the helmet of the recumbent guard is painted over the completed shield, torso, and landscape in a second paint layer (fig. 27). His body was originally painted following the underdrawing, later reduced. A reserve in the



35. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, detail, Virgin's mantle



36. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation*, detail, crack in floor tiles



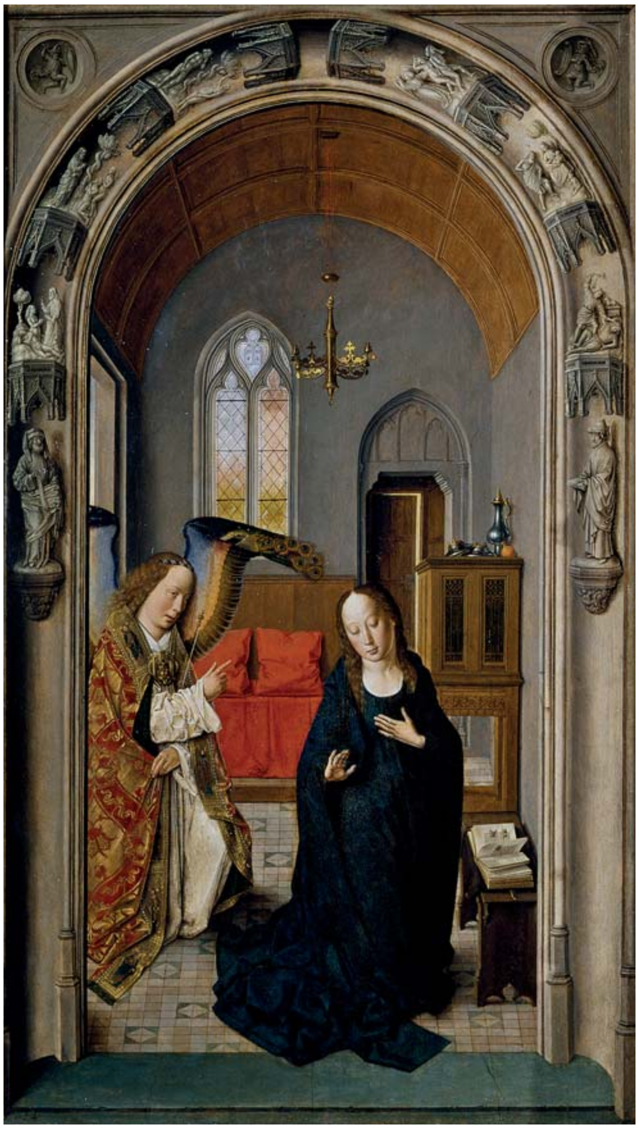
37. Copy of the Master of Flémalle (?), *Mass of St. Gregory*, 82.6 × 71 cm. (painted surface), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/ Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunst in België, inv. no. 6298

landscape paint follows the underdrawn downward pointing, proper left foot, then the foot position was changed, angled to the right. The proper right leg was lowered from its underdrawn position.

The *Annunciation* and *Resurrection* are in remarkably good condition, especially given the fragility of the technique and the fact that both paintings have been lined. Despite the lack of a pigment-containing ground layer, the lining adhesive has not permeated and darkened the support fabric, and the very thin layer of paint retains its reflective qualities. In the *Annunciation* the losses are primarily in the form of small flakes missing at the crossover points of the underlying weave. White and light-hued areas have sustained greater losses, while the red (vermilion) paint is in especially good condition. Losses are concentrated in the flesh of the faces of the Virgin and Gabriel, in Gabriel's robe and wings, at the left side of the window recess, and in the Virgin's opened book. There is a diagonal rub in the wall above this book. The light-hued areas of the *Resurrection* also show the greatest amount of flake loss, for example in the white sleeves and protruding tail of the recumbent guard's attire and the grouping of vertically oriented areas of loss in the sky just above the horizon. In the *Resurrection* whitened points, occurring at the crossover of canvas threads, are distracting in dark-hued areas, for example the helmet beside the recumbent guard. Christ's hair, where it lies over his robe, has damage that may have resulted from aggressive cleaning.

5. Pictorial Analysis

The *Annunciation* (fig. 2) shows, at the far left, a vestibule lit by a stained glass window that pierces the back wall and is glazed with a simple lozenge pattern. A wooden bench appears below it. Two steps lead to the main architectural space. This threshold is bisected by a richly-colored marble column, which helps support a wooden barrel vault (fig. 32). The floor of this larger space is decorated with multicolored flagstones, and the room is lit by a small circular window, which is truncated at the top. The angel Gabriel kneels just left of center, wearing a white alb, amice, and stole. His wings are light-colored inside and darker, rainbow-colored outside (fig. 33). The index finger of his right hand points upward. His left hand is enveloped by the red curtain that hangs from a canopy that is suspended over a long bench (fig. 34), which is set against the back wall. Curtains surmount only three sides of the bench. Those at the back and side hang down, but the curtain at the front is tied into a sack. A red pillow rests on the bench. The Virgin wears a white chemise, visible at her neck, and a blue dress with red cuffs. Her mantle, which is lined in green, was probably originally painted lilac,[40] but has now taken on the tone of the discolored linen (figs. 16-35). The Virgin sits on the floor, before another small wooden bench on which she rests her left elbow and open book. Her hands separate as Gabriel interrupts her devotions.



38. Dirk Bouts, *Annunciation* (*Triptych of the Virgin's Life*), 80 × 217 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01461

The *Annunciation* is a work of the highest quality. It is painted with attention to fine detail, for example, the minute lettering on the pages of the Virgin's book or the

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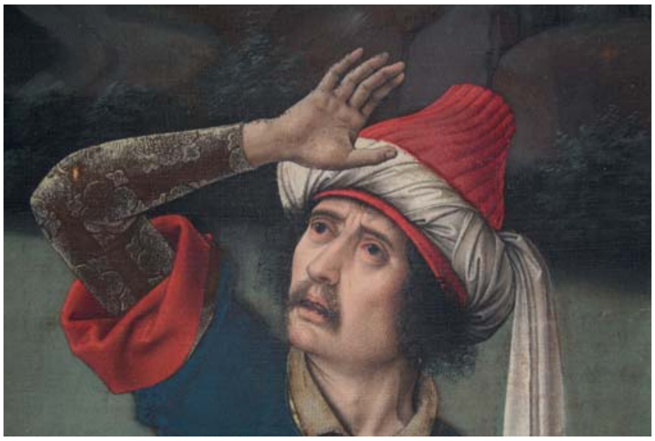

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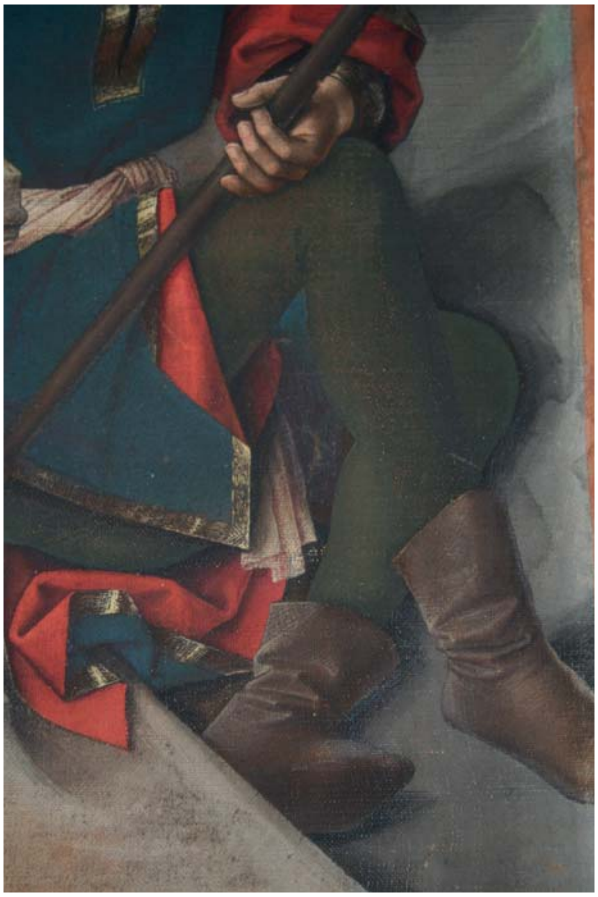
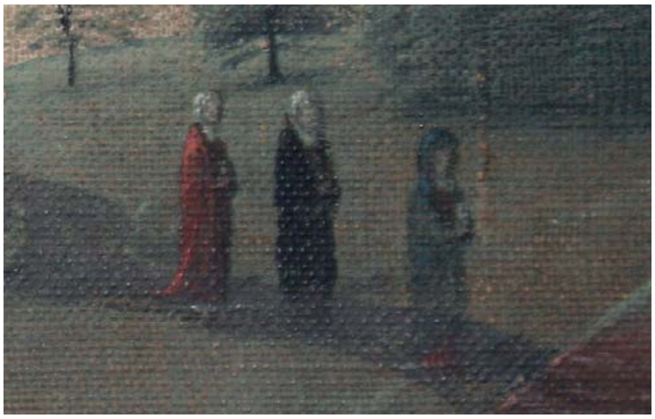




41.

39. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail with upraised arm of surprised guard

40. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail, legs, halberd and boots of surprised guard

41. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, detail, landscape with three Marys

crack in the floor tiling (fig. 36). Furthermore, a variety of textures are convincingly rendered, including the Virgin's long, thick hair; the multicolored flagstones; the marble veining of the column; and the wooden grain of the benches. The technique is masterful; Bouts employs both washes and delicate hatching. Except for the well-preserved red curtains and canopy, subtle and subdued colors define the forms today.

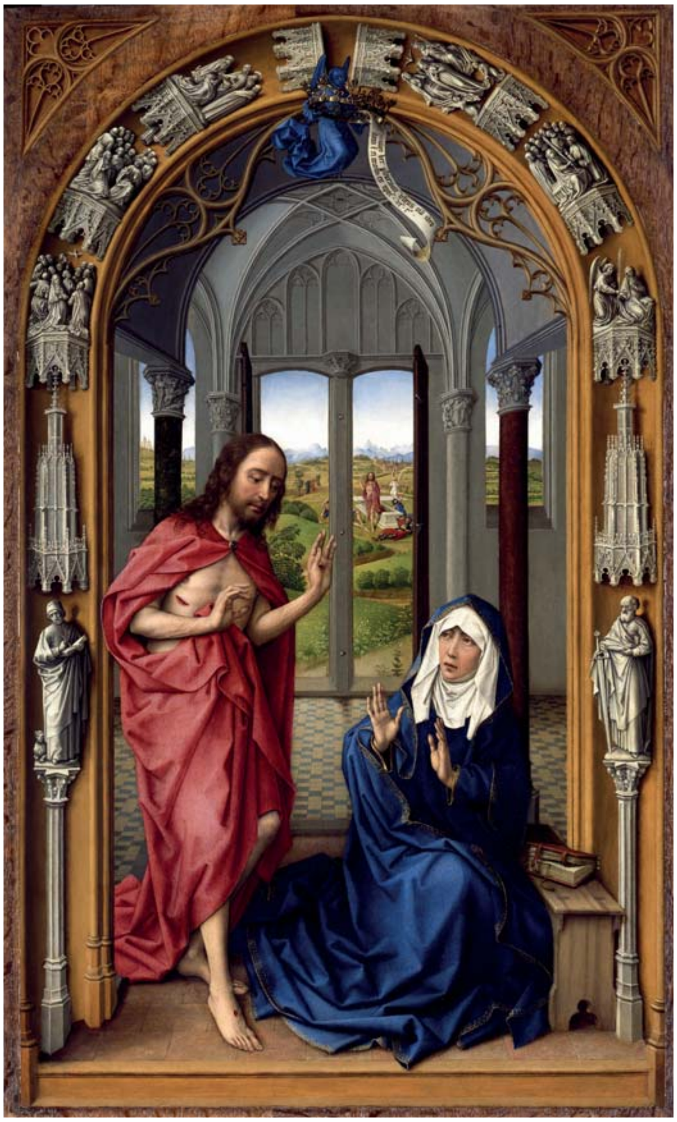
Some aspects of the *Annunciation* are conventional. The Virgin who sits on or close to the floor and casts her eyes down modestly is typical of the Madonna of Humility.[41] Her gesture with both hands raised and separated appears in other images of the Annunciation.[42] According to R. Koch (1988), the gesture "indicates her acknowledgement of the miracle and acceptance of God's will."[43] He points to a repetition of this gesture in Bouts' *Justice of Emperor Otto III*[44] and in several later examples, including an *Annunciation* by the Westphalian Master of 1473.[45] By contrast, Eisler (1988) interprets the Virgin's gesture as one of surprise.[46] The angel's vestments – the alb, amice, and stole – are standard in early Netherlandish images of the Annunciation. M.B. McNamee (1972) notes that the vested angel in such scenes refers to the idea that Christ offered himself as a sacrifice at the moment of the Incarnation. McNamee points as a source for this new iconography to Latin dramas, which were performed by assistant priests wearing liturgical vestments. The column in the *Annunciation* also often appears in scenes of the Infancy cycle. Eisler suggests that it was the one that Mary leaned on for support during the birth of Christ, and that it also served as a prefiguration of the Flagellation.

Although these aspects are traditional, other elements of the composition show great originality. This should not be surprising, since Annunciations were often designed with inventiveness and creativity, as Eisler (1988) justly observes. He further notes that although Bouts' *Annunciation* is quite bare, so are other examples of the subject, such as that by Konrad Witz, dated ca. 1440.[47] Indeed Bouts may have omitted the lilies and the angel's scepter out of a desire to produce a more austere Annunciation.

Eisler (1988) interprets the gesture of the angel's right hand as revealing the Coronation, as in a Boutsian work in Vienna.[48] Koch (1988) instead proposes that Gabriel is pointing upwards towards Heaven. He further believes that the "angel's action in drawing back a drape of a canopy, surprising Mary at her devotions, seems to be an innovation by Bouts, unprecedented [...] even in manuscripts." [49] By contrast, S. Koslow (1986) suggests that the angel is not pulling back the curtain but rather forming a curtain sack, which she contends is a symbol of the Incarnation. Van Miegroet (1992) claims that the angel's covered hand derives from the *Aurea Missa*, which was performed in Flanders and Holland, and calls for the actor playing the angel, who is situated in a curtained box, to draw his curtain.

Canopies, according to Eisler (1988), are tied to both the sacred and the royal, from the Holy of Holies in Exodus to the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He points to images of draped thrones, some of which show angels pulling the curtain aside, such as in an *Annunciation* painted by the Bedford Master,[50] ca. 1430, and a French *Coronation*,[51] ca. 1400-1410. As Eisler observes, the former shows a bundled curtain, as in the Getty *Annunciation*. Eisler further suggests that the canopied bench refers to kingship. Koch (1988), by contrast, suggests that the curtain functions to provide a private space for the Virgin. He interprets the angel's covered hand as "deference to royalty," and states that "the motif is so used in art as far back as the ancient Near East." [52] C. Andersson (1985), in turn, views the gesture as "reverence in the presence of the divine."

Eisler (1988) interprets the setting for the *Annunciation* as the *thalamus virginis* where the divine groom meets Mary, his bride. Koch (1988) proposes instead that it represents a modest chapel in "the corner of a barely defined church." [53] As several scholars have observed, the space is similar to that depicted in some versions of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, which may reflect a lost original by the Master of Flémalle (fig. 37). Van Miegroet summarizes the similarities: "Both pictures show a side chapel with a sharply slanting perspective directed towards the right, a barrel vault, ...stone used for capitals and column bases [...], and a window at the back that is similarly bisected."[54] K.M. Woods (2007), by contrast, terms the setting an "odd interior that appears at once to be both domestic space and church."[55] H. Belting and C. Kruse (1994), in turn, point to similarities with Bouts' *Annunciation* in Madrid, in particular the wooden barrel vault, the abruptly cut off space, and the flagstone floor (fig. 38).[56] Eisler (1988) further notes that the circular window cut off at the top and adorned with a cross-like design may refer to the Trinity; he points to a similar form of the window and a similar gesture of the angel in Jan Provoost's *Annunciation* in



42. Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Appearing to His Mother* (*Miraflores Altarpiece*), 73.8 × 44.5 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 534A

Rotterdam.[57] He also observes that many of Bouts' Annunciations include a bench. Koch (1988) also points to later Annunciations that show a canopied bench within a church setting.

Eisler (1988) further suggests that Bouts' painting reflects an urban ethos, and despite its red drapery, "retains an austere quality recalling Bouts' Haarlem origins and the severe, proto-Protestant pictorial values so close to much of the north Netherlandish tradition."[58] Belting and Kruse (1994) note that the austerity is reminiscent of Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* in the monk's cell at San Marco, which was completed several years earlier.

The *Resurrection* shows a more traditional iconography than the *Annunciation*, but is also a work of the finest quality. It shows Christ at the center of the composition (fig. 2). Facing frontally and wearing a long red mantle, he steps out of his stone tomb with only one leg visible. He raises his right hand in a blessing gesture, while holding a cross with his left hand, which is covered by his mantle. From this cross flutters a small red swallow-tailed pennant adorned with a cross. To the right a mustachioed soldier raises his right hand, perhaps in a gesture of surprise or fear (fig. 39). He wears green hose, tan boots, brocade sleeves, a conical crimson hat encircled with a white fringed cloth, and a dark blue jacket, lined in red, tied with a sash, and trimmed around the neck and hem in gold (fig. 40). Seated on the ground, he holds a halberd in his left hand.

In the foreground a sleeping soldier lies prone, his head on his shield, which in turn rests on the base of Christ's tomb (fig. 22). This guard wears crimson hose, a white fur-lined tunic, a red leather cuirass with a metallic gold design, and a short black-skirted garment with a gold fringe. Beside him lie his golden helmet (fig. 27) and his spear, around which wraps a red string. Above him, an angel dressed in white, with a wind-blown mantle (fig. 24), stands on the lid of the tomb and points to Christ with the index finger of his right hand, while his left hand holds a golden scepter. A third guard, bearded and asleep, leans against the lid of the tomb. He holds a mace and wears a red garment with three golden buttons and a leather collar and cuff, and a blue felt hat, which is lined in red and encircled with a golden band. A magnificent, poetic landscape lies beyond. The early springtime countryside includes a winding road on which the three Marys walk (fig. 41). Dramatically silhouetted against the cloud-streaked sky are church spires and slender, delicate trees. Hedges and rolling hills gently emerge in the early morning sun.

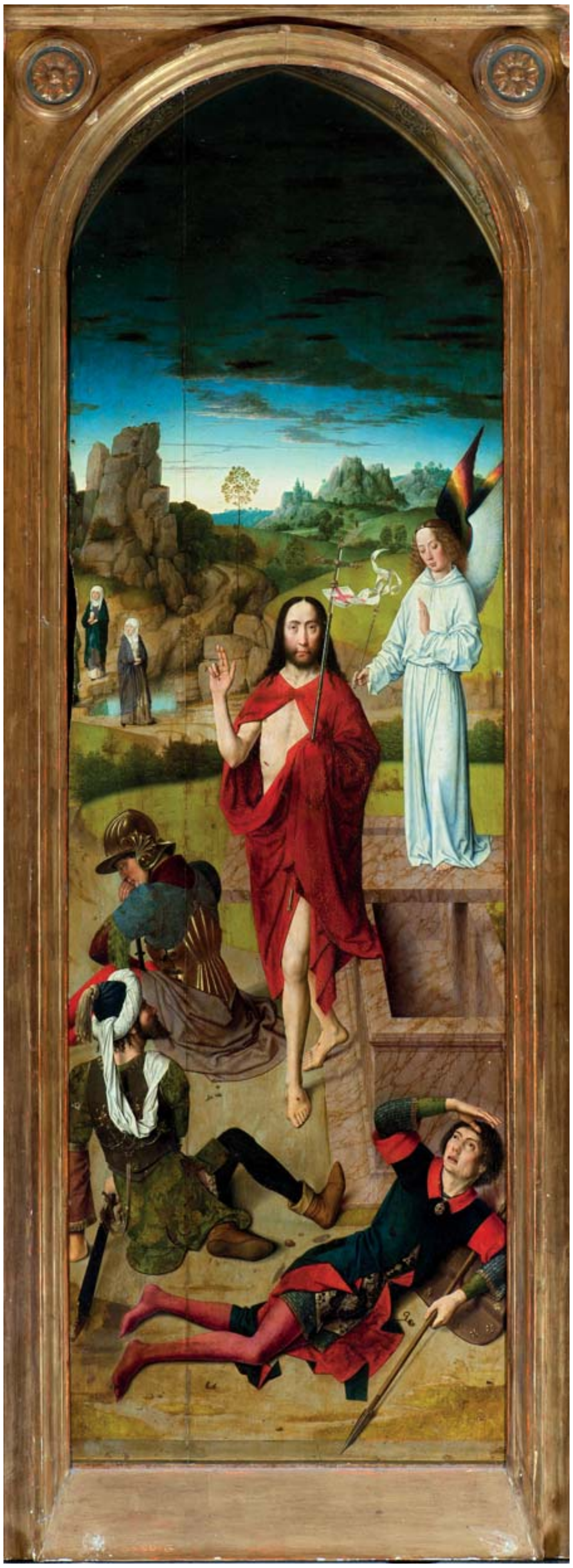
A variety of textures, including brocade, stone, and metal, are skillfully rendered through both fine hatching and a wash technique. Especially masterful is the portrayal of the seated sleeping soldier, which is enlivened with a wealth of freshly observed detail. His mouth falls open, his eyelids only partially close, his Adam's apple is crisply rendered, and his head drops back in deep slumber, wrinkling the skin at the back of his neck.

Reynolds (1980) believes that the composition derives from the background scene in Rogier van der Weyden's Christ Appearing to his Mother from the *Miraflores Altarpiece*, which is dated ca. 1442-1445 (fig. 42). Indeed, in both cases, the angel stands on the tomb lid and a soldier lies prone across the foreground. Another traditional aspect of the *Resurrection* is that the soldiers are colorfully dressed in ornate costumes that contrast with the simple garb of Christ and the angel. The dress of the holy figures is similarly distinguished in other early Netherlandish works, such as Albert van Ouwater's *Raising of Lazarus* in Berlin.[59] For C. Harbison (1995) the rising sun refers to the new day "ushered in by the rising Saviour" for M. Smeyers (1998) it announces Easter morning.[60]

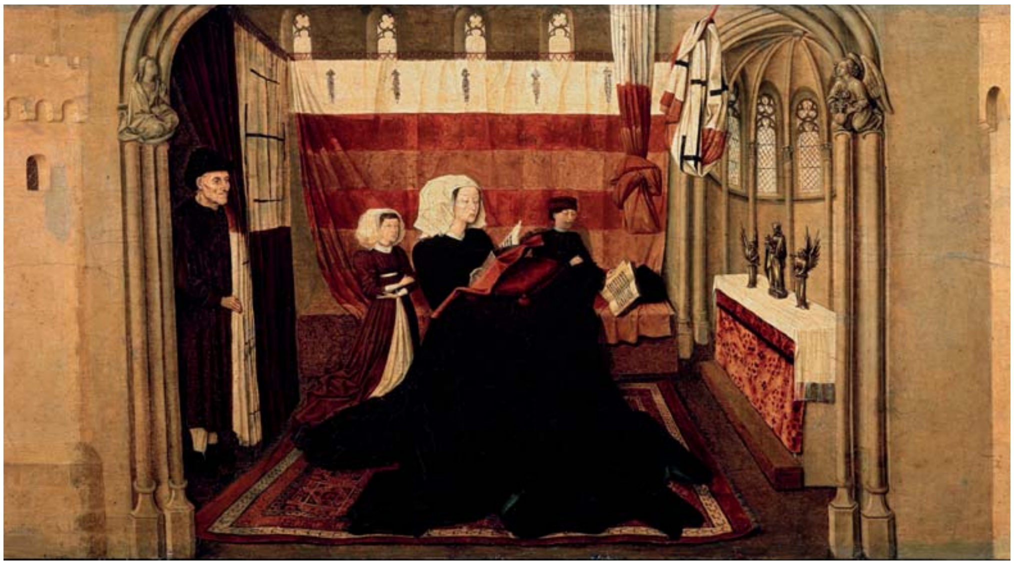
Both canvas paintings seem to have influenced subsequent works. P. Humfrey (1993) proposes that Bouts' *Annunciation* may have suggested the idea of the angel Gabriel approaching the Virgin from behind to Titian, who invokes it in his painting of ca. 1520-1530 in the Duomo of Treviso. Humfrey and Campbell, among others, also detect the influence of Bouts' *tüchlein* paintings on Bellini and Mantegna.[61] In particular, K. Christiansen (2004) notes that Bouts' ability to arouse devotion deeply affected Bellini.

J.M. Massing (1991) observes the similarity between a *Resurrection* by the Master of the View of Saint-Gudule,[62] dated to the 1480s, and the Norton Simon canvas.[63] D. Martens (2001) suggests that a wing from a triptych in Burgos painted by the Castilian artist Diego de la Cruz may have been influenced by the Getty *Annunciation*.[64] Two Boutsian Resurrections are similar to the version in Pasadena. A triptych in the Capilla Real in Granada and its copy in the Museo del Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia both show a *Resurrection* on the right wing

43.



44.



43. Dirk Bouts, *Resurrection*, 188 × 38 cm. (measurements inside frame), Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real

44. Niccolò Colantonio, *Queen Isabelle and her Children in Prayer*, predella panel from the *St. Vincent Ferrer Altarpiece*, 125 × 150 cm., Naples, Museo di Capodimonte

(fig. 43). Dating from around the same years as the Norton Simon painting, the panel in Granada is quite similar in composition, costume, and physiognomies, especially the figure of Christ and the angel standing on the tomb lid. A later variant in Munich by a follower of Bouts, dated ca. 1485, also bears a close resemblance.[65]

Border

Scholars have long debated the function of the painted border of fifteenth-century canvases. E. and V. Bosshard-Van der Bruggen (1974) suggested that they functioned like the borders of tapestries, and that canvas paintings hung unframed. Wolfthal (1987) agreed that flags, banners, and some canvases of large size were not framed, and posited that even simple borders may have had an aesthetic function, noting that black, their most common tone, deepens and enriches other colors, which would be particularly useful in the case of glue paint, which lacks the richness of oils. H. Verougstraete-Marcq and R. van Schoute (1989) proposed instead that these borders served to indicate the size of the image and were generally hidden by their frame. They further noted that several sixteenth-century canvases were mounted on contemporary panels.

Reynolds (2000) was more cautious. Noting that panel supports would have raised the cost of canvas paintings, she observed that documents rarely specify whether such paintings were mounted on a stretcher or panel.[66] C. Villers (1991) was similarly guarded, noting that most examples of canvases glued on panels date later than 1530.[67] H. Dubois *et al.* (1997) suggested that although most canvas paintings have painted black borders, some show more elaborate borders, which may have substituted for a frame.[68]

Two scholars have addressed the specific case of the canvases under discussion. Campbell (1998) concluded that the painter of the *Entombment*:

> […] may have intended that it should hang unframed; more probably he wanted to have a frame larger than the one that it received when it was first laid down on panel. The visible tacking holes may have been made when it was first laid down and framed, perhaps soon after it was painted. When it was relined, probably in the mid-nineteenth century, the restorer responsible uncovered the strip of sky which had been concealed by the previous frame.[69]

Périer-D'Ieteren (2006), also following Verougstraete-Marcq and Van Schoute, believed that the red borders of the Boutsian canvases served as guides for placing the canvas on a rigid support."[70]

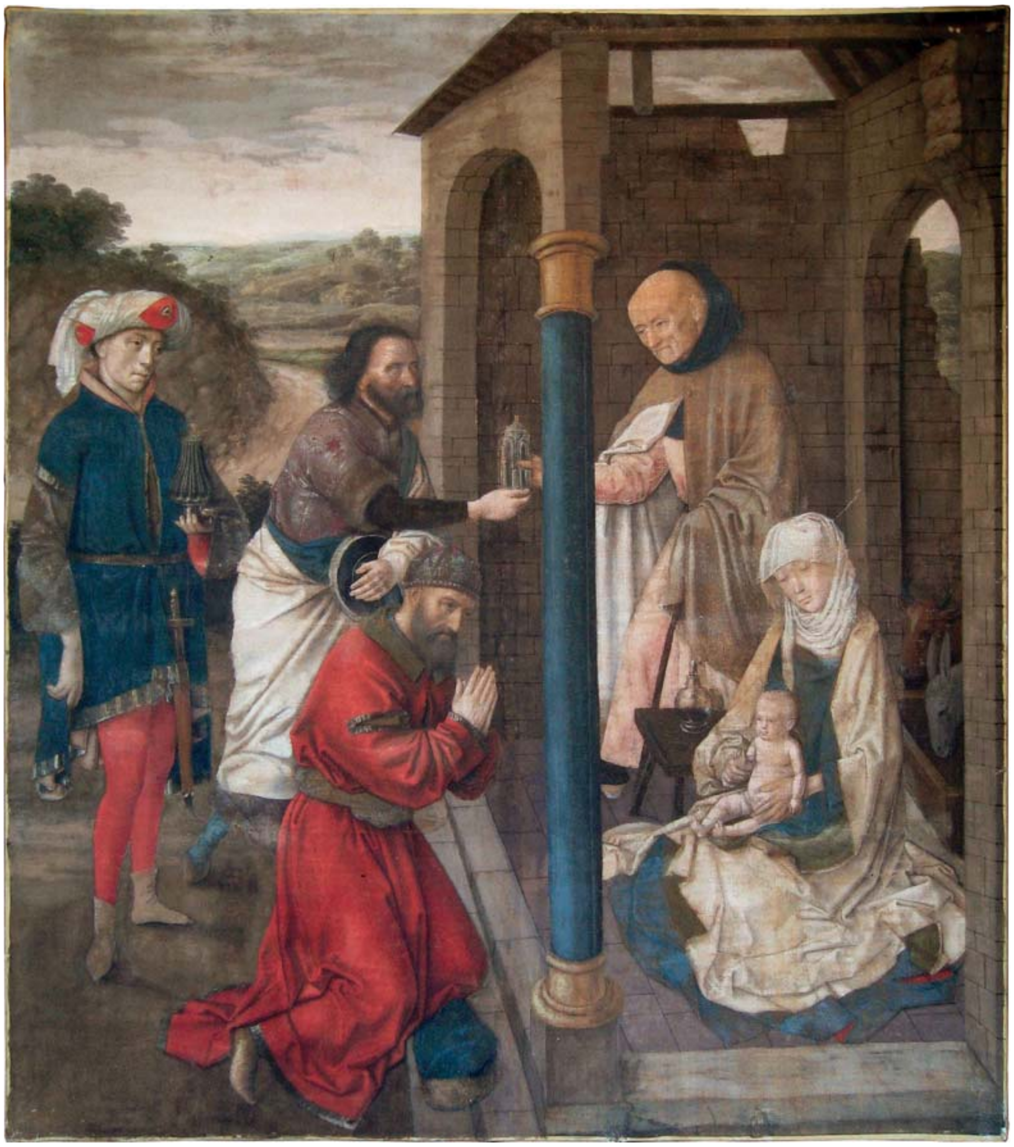
In the *Entombment, Resurrection,* and *Annunciation*, the borders were painted after the images. Furthermore, the light-damaged areas of the supports as well as the large nail holes at their perimeters make clear that all three paintings were framed for a long time in a similar format. The large nail holes, which fall inside the reddish-brown border at the top of the *Entombment* and *Resurrection* and penetrate the painted border on all other sides of the perimeters, indicate that the maker of these two paintings intended them to be framed in a larger format, but a later owner instead placed them in smaller frames to match the maximum size of the *Annunciation*. Likewise, the fact that the light-struck areas of all three paintings fall within the painted borders, and that the nail holes penetrate the borders or fall within the image area, strongly suggests that this owner intended that the painted borders should be hidden from view.

6. Comparative Material

- Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, Switzerland, Private Collection (figs. 45-49)

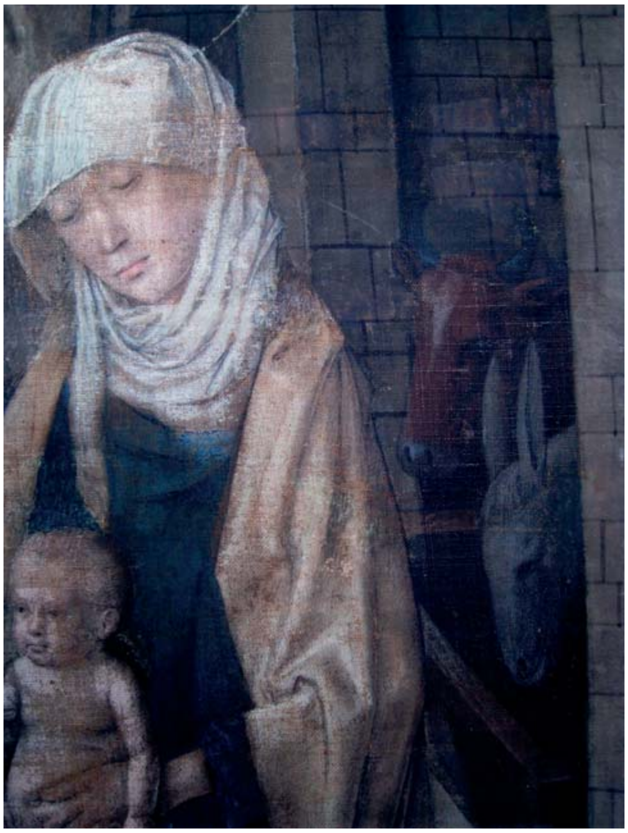
7. Comments

The extremely high quality of the *Annunciation* and *Resurrection*, their restrained and somber mood, their sensitive treatment of light and shadow, and the nature of their underdrawing, compositions, and physiognomies leave no doubt that they are works by Dirk Bouts. The style of the *Annunciation* seems close to that of the *Triptych of the Virgin's Life* in the Prado, which has been dated by dendrochronology ca. 1448-1454 (fig. 38).[71] The *Resurrection* strongly resembles the panel of the same subject in the triptych in Granada, dated 1450-1455 (fig. 43). The individual iconographical elements of the *Annunciation*, though unusual in their combination, all have parallels in other works. Perhaps the closest analogy to the curtained bench in the Getty *Annunciation* appears in Niccolò Colantonio's predella panel, dated ca. 1455-1465, which depicts Queen Isabella and her children praying in her royal chapel (fig. 44). This artist, who was deeply affected by Flemish painting, here shows a standing male figure on the left who hides his arm behind a curtain that surrounds a bench. One side of the curtain is tied in a sack while another drapes over the seat of the bench, much like in the Getty *Annunciation*.



45. Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, Switzerland, Private Collection

Were the five Boutsian canvas paintings – the *Annunciation, Resurrection*, *Entombment, Crucifixion,* and *Adoration of the Magi* – designed as part of the same ensemble? In particular, did the *Crucifixion* in Brussels once serve as the central part of an altarpiece whose wings were formed by the other Boutsian canvas paintings? Although the *Crucifixion* is linked to the other *tüchlein* paintings in technique and size, it lacks the nail holes, relining, stretcher type, and brighter colors along the edges found in the *Annunciation, Resurrection*, and *Entombment.* This could simply suggest that the *Crucifixion* did not belong to the same later collection, but other factors are not so easily explained away. The support of the *Crucifixion* is more coarsely woven and it lacks a reddish-brown border. Furthermore, although Eastlake termed the fourth

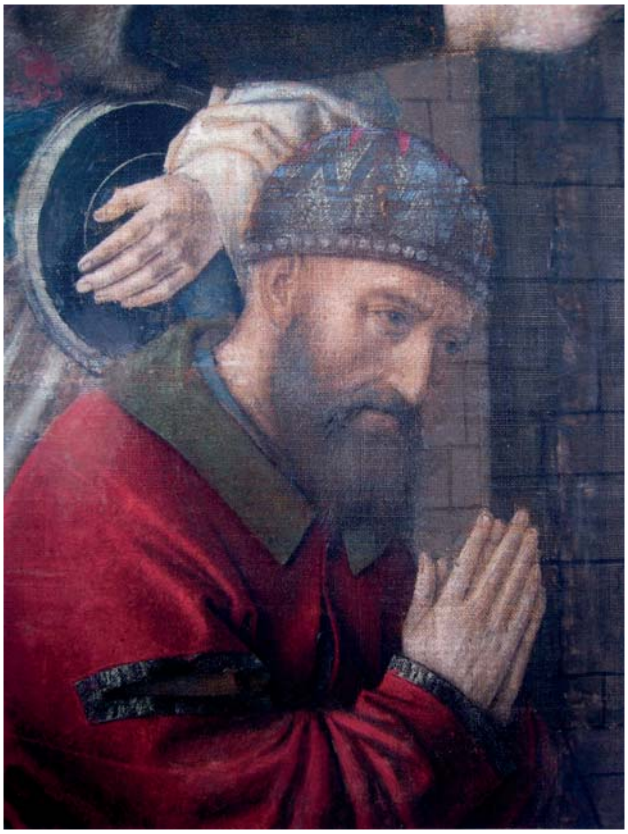


46. Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, detail of Virgin and Child

canvas a *Crucifixion*, his notes are imprecise and incomplete. For example, he fails to list a *Resurrection*. Considering the popularity of Netherlandish canvas paintings in Italy and the large number of losses, there is no reason to assume that all Boutsian canvas paintings there belonged to a single ensemble.[72] Although the state of preservation of the *Crucifixion* makes a judgment difficult, it seems inferior in quality to the other canvases. In short, the evidence for grouping the *Crucifixion* together with the other Boutsian canvases is unconvincing.

An *Adoration of the Magi* is mentioned first by Eastlake, then in a catalogue of the Brera Museum, and finally by more recent scholars.[73] Are all these references to the same painting, and, if so, is it identical to an *Adoration* in a Swiss private collection, which is here published for the first time (fig. 45)? In 1858, while in Milan, Eastlake cited an *Adoration of the Magi* as part of a group of four paintings that were linked by technique (“pictures in tempera”), provenance (Foscari family), and style (assigned by the owner to Lucas van Leyden but reattributed by Eastlake to Rogier van der Weyden). When Eastlake returned to Milan two years later, he saw an *Adoration*, presumably the same painting, which he now described as the “pendant” of the *Entombment* (fig. 3), but “not so good (not so well preserved).” In 1872, an *Adoration of the Magi* was exhibited at the Brera. It was probably the same painting that Eastlake had seen, since it was still attributed to Lucas van Leyden and was in the collection of Paolo Guicciardi, a relative of the owners of the *Annunciation, Entombment,* and *Resurrection*. Koch (1988), who had seen a photograph of the *Adoration*, reported that it resembled the Boutsian drawing today in the Uffizi.

Indeed the composition of these two works is strikingly similar. At the right, inside an open porch, both show a Madonna seated on the floor holding her child on her lap (figs. 45-46). At her right side is a low table on which rests a vessel, perhaps the gift of the oldest king. Visible in both works behind the Virgin is an ass eating from a trough within an archway, while an ox stands nearby. Both drawing and painting show Joseph standing in the porch beside the table, reaching through an archway to accept the gift offered by the middle-aged king, who gazes at him with an intense glance. In the foreground the oldest king kneels before the Virgin, his hands clasped in prayer (fig. 47). His expression is introspective as he bows his head. In both works the youngest king stands at the far left (fig. 48). He wears a turban adorned with a large jewel, holds a vessel, is armed with a sword, and wears a short tunic and boots. The painting and drawing agree down to such details as the zigzag decoration of the oldest king’s cap and the unusual relationship of the right hands of the Virgin and Child.



47. Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, detail of oldest king

Despite these striking similarities in composition, differences are noticeable. The crack below the opening in the rear wall of the porch that is visible in the drawing does not appear in the painting. The landscape through the archway beyond the trough and the pattern of the shed's floor stones also differ. The youngest king's legs are more severely telescoped in the painting. Perhaps both works derive from the same lost model.

Judging from photographs, the *Adoration* looks like a fifteenth-century Flemish *tüchlein,* and it is linked in several ways to the *Entombment, Resurrection*, and *Annunciation*.[74] Koch (1988) observes a prominent column in both the *Annunciation* (figs. 1, 45) and the drawing of the *Adoration,* and he also notes that a hidden or covered hand appears in these works as well as in the *Entombment* and *Resurrection*. Furthermore, the misty rolling hills with soft trees, which appear in the background of the *Adoration,* seem close to those in Bouts' *Entombment* and *Resurrection*.

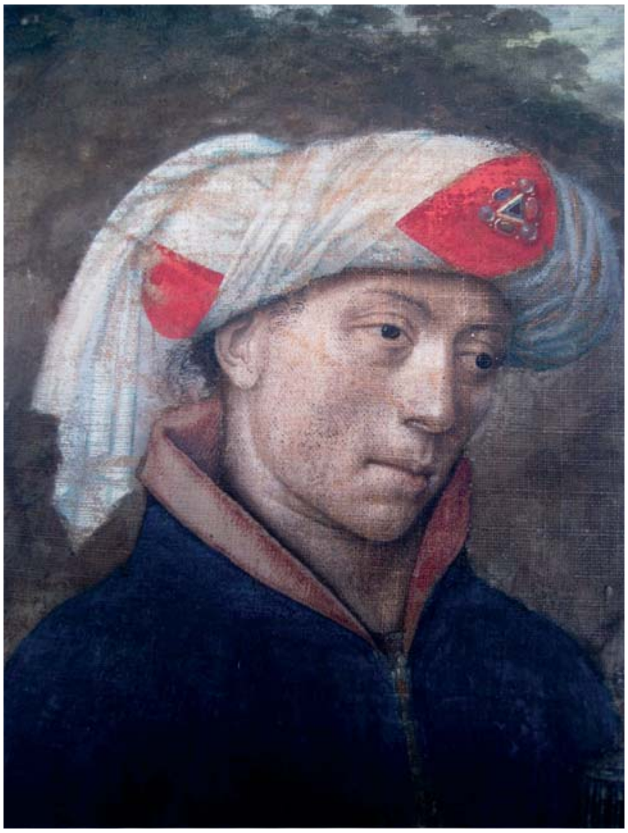
But the *Adoration* does not seem to be painted by Bouts. It lacks the high quality of the three other canvases. For example, the praying hands of the kneeling king are stiffer, the folds in the white turban of the youngest king less plastic, and the heads of the ox and ass flatter and less convincing than comparable details in the other canvases. The Virgin's face lacks the sensitive modeling of the cheekbones, line of the chin, and bottom of the nose visible in the exquisitely painted face in the *Annunciation* (figs. 1, 46). Moreover the introspective expression of the kneeling king in the *Adoration* seems closer to Hugo van der Goes (fig. 47).

The *Adoration* also differs from the other canvases in technique. Unlike the *Annunciation, Resurrection,* and *Entombment,* it does not currently show a painted border, but rather the uneven ends of paint strokes that terminate near the edge of the strainer (fig. 49). Similarly photographs do not show a distinctly darker light-damaged interior, large nail holes visible in the perimeter, or paper tape around the edges (although this might well have been removed at a recent date) that are found in the *Annunciation, Resurrection,* and *Entombment*.

If there is insufficient evidence to link the *Crucifixion* and *Adoration* to the *Entombment, Resurrection,* and *Annunciation,* many factors connect the last three. They are all painted in the same technique, and all share the same type of relining, on pine stretchers of the same date, with papered edges.[75] All three show nail holes and brighter colors, protected for years by their frames, and they are also close in size.[76] Furthermore, all three are edged with a relatively wide, reddish-brown border. They also share the same approximate date and the same high level of quality. Indeed, strong evidence suggests that the *Entombment, Resurrection*, and *Annunciation* were produced in Bouts' workshop at around the same time and very probably were once in the same collection where they were displayed in a similar format.

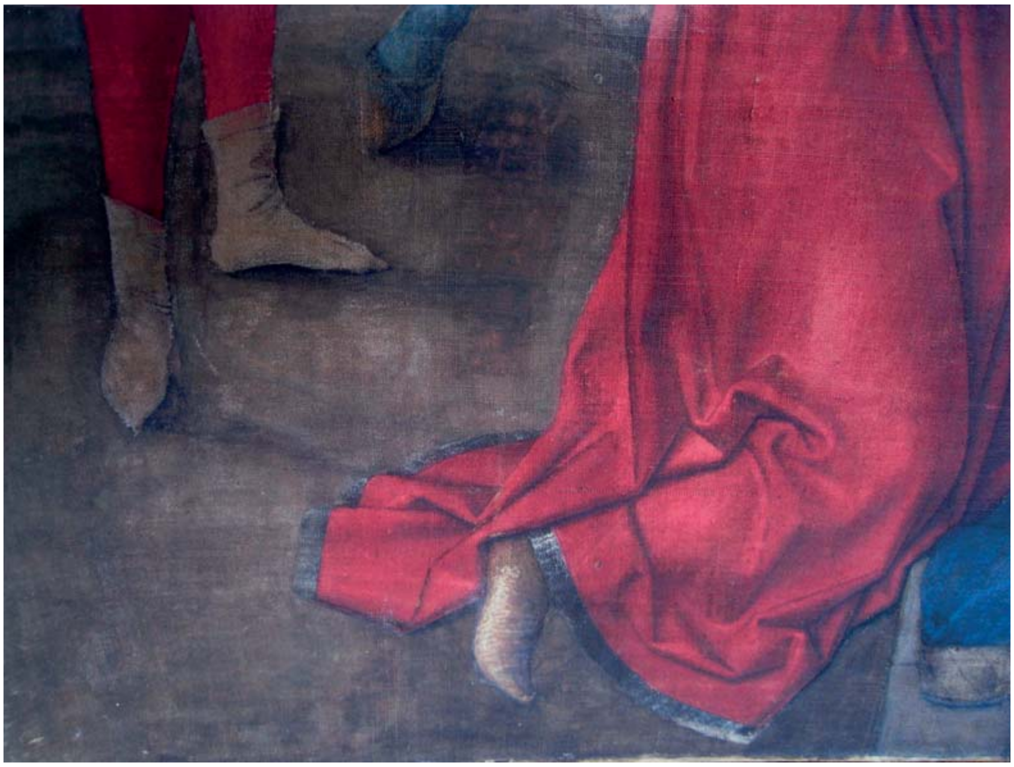
But were they originally part of the same ensemble? A series of factors tie the *Entombment* to the *Resurrection,* but separate them from the *Annunciation*. The first two are Passion scenes, whereas the latter is part of the Infancy cycle. In addition, the *Entombment* and *Resurrection* are similar in composition, since both show foreground figures grouped around a tomb that is placed parallel to the picture plane before an extensive landscape; the *Annunciation*'s composition shows no such links. The first two share the same size within the border and the same color for that border, but the *Annunciation* is slightly smaller and its border cooler and darker in tone. Finally, the *Entombment* and *Resurrection* were cut from the same bolt of cloth. They share a weave match, but the *Annunciation* does not (figs. 28-31).

In short, although the *Entombment* and *Resurrection* are intimately linked in style and technique, and the *Annunciation* is closely related, the *Adoration* and *Crucifixion* are more loosely connected. But there are additional reasons why it is highly unlikely that the five canvases formed a winged altarpiece. It is unusual for an early Netherlandish altarpiece to show a large central image and two smaller ones on the wings unless it was commissioned by a Spanish patron.[77] This arrangement is found, however, in Bouts' *Holy Sacrament Altarpiece* (1464-1467).[78] It is even rarer for an early Netherlandish altarpiece to mix Infancy and Passion scenes on the interior. One example, the *Affligem Altarpiece*[79], painted by the Master of the Joseph Sequence ca. 1495, consists of two sets of wings. It shows Passion scenes in the center panels and on the interior right wings, and Infancy scenes on the interior left wings and both exterior wings. Juan de Flandes, too, combined scenes of the Infancy and Passion in an altarpiece made for consumption south of the Pyrénée mountains. In addition, no documents or surviving examples attest to any fifteenth-century Netherlandish altarpiece that was painted entirely on linen.



48. Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, detail of youngest king

The *Resurrection* and *Annunciation* as well as the other Boutsian canvases may well have been made for export. Certainly their earliest proposed provenance is Venice. If they were made for an Italian client, it would have been the purchaser, rather than the painter, who decided the way that they would be displayed. For this reason, north Italian cultural practices must be considered when trying to determine the original appearance of the canvases. We know little about how canvas paintings were displayed in northern Italy. J. Dunkerton (1993) observed that a *tüchlein* by Mantegna[80] has a painted border that serves as an illusionistic frame, which was, in turn, enclosed within a wooden frame. She also suggested that even simpler and



49. Bouts group, *Adoration of the Magi*, detail of bottom edge

more crudely painted borders were "probably partially visible when the painting was framed."[81] A. Rothe (1992) has shown that Mantegna's *Presentation in the Temple*[82] was displayed in its original strainer, with an engaged frame, measuring no more than 4.5 cm., nailed and glued on top of the canvas.

Eastlake's notes suggest that the paintings may have once been in the Foscari collection. Francesco Foscari was doge of Venice for thirty-four years, from 1423-1457, that is, during the period that the canvases would have been painted. Furthermore, Eastlake relates that the canvases were once in Vienna, and Campbell (1998) notes that two of the Doge's descendants were there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that one, Ferigo Foscari (1732-1811) "squandered a fortune and could well have sold family pictures in Vienna."[83] Campbell concludes that it is "probable" that the canvases came from the Foscari collection in Venice and "possible" that they were made for a Venetian patron. Reynolds (1980) asserts that "little appears to be known about their [the Foscari family's] patronage of art."[84]

In fact, in 1452 Francesco Foscari bought at auction a palace on a conspicuous bend in the Grand Canal, at its intersection with the Rio di San Pantalon. The property already had a history of esteemed owners, including the Republic of Venice and the Marquis of Mantua. Foscari renovated the palace, which contained more rooms than any other *casa* in Venice, according to Francesco Sansovini, and when the Doge was forced to abdicate in 1457, he retired there, although he lived only one more week.[85] The palace was "taller, more massive, and more visible than its neighbors," and one function of the refurbishing project was to make clear Foscari's wealth and power and to serve as a lasting monument to his family.[86] It is possible that the Doge purchased the canvases by Bouts in order to decorate the Ca' Foscari.

How were these canvases displayed? Venetian altarpieces do occasionally mix infancy and passion scenes on the wings that surround a large central image. It is also conceivable that some or all of the smaller canvases were displayed in a row like Bouts' *Triptych of the Virgin's Life* (fig. 38).[87] Considering the large numbers of paintings on linen that were exported to Italy and their poor survival rate, it is also possible that only part of the ensemble survives or that these paintings did not form a single ensemble, but rather hung separately in different rooms of Foscari's palace. The question must remain open.

8. Documents and Literary Sources

Doc. 1:

Eastlake, Diary, 1858 (i), NG22/1, fol.19r (Milan):

"Four drawings or pictures in tempera by Roger Van der Weyden – one ^[[under glass]] only offered for sale – the Deposition from the Cross (for about £200) – other subjects – The Adoration – of the Kings – Presentation – Annunciation – Those drawings, originally in the possession of the Foscari family, found their way to Vienna, where Guizzardi, Envoy from Milan, purchased them early in the present century – Ct. Poldi was (in 1858) in treaty for the drawing in question (called, as usual, Lucas van Leyden) – Q.^{y} ~~are~~ [[will]] the other three be hereafter saleable?"[88]

Doc. 2:

Eastlake, Diary, 1860 (iii) NG22/26, fol. 2r (Milan):

"Casa Guicciardi – ~~Via~~ [[Contrada]] della Cerva – Casa Visconte – No 366 – The drawing or tempera painting by Roger V. der Weyde – (called as usual "Luca di Leida") – 2- 10¼ h. 2 – 4 w. cloth – under glass. Entombment – C. supported by Jos. of Arim. female more in front supporting feet with Nicod. behind the tomb three Maries & St John – landscape (the landscape being in tempera wants tone in the green)".

Saw the pendant (in another house) Adoration of Kings not so good (not so well preserved) – The other two are said to be the Crucifixion & the Annunciation – There is a Crucifixion possibly by the same hand in the Castel Barco collection but it is smaller & not in good state.[89]

Doc. 3:

Labels appear on the reverse of the *Annunciation*, which reportedly were attached to an old frame or stretcher. They read: "Bolletta N 21/ Sigr Conte Diego Melzi" [handwritten], and "Comitato Esecutivo/ Espozione arte antica [printed]/ 427 III/1 [handwritten]."

9. Bibliography

Annunciation

1872: *Catalogo delle opere d'arte antica esposte nel Palazzo di Brera* (exhib. cat.), Milan, p. 11, no. 40.
1872: *Guida all'Esposizione d'arte antica nel Palazzo di Brera 26 Agosto al 8 Ottobre 1872* (exhib. cat.), Milan, p. 8, no. 40.
1980: *Important Old Master Paintings* (sale cat.), Sotheby's, Parke Bernet, London, no. 114.
1980: *World Collectors Annuary*, p. 91-92.
1986: Walsh, p. 214-215.
1985: Andersson, p. 134.
1985: Brooks, p. 19-20.
1986: Bomford, Roy and Smith, p. 39-41, 43-44, 46, 57, n. 8.
1986: Bordeaux, p. 36-38, 40.
1986: Duret-Robert, p. 86-91.
1986: Freifeld, p. 69-70.
1986: Koslow, p. 32.
1986: *La Chronique des arts. Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts,* p. 25, no. 155.
1987: *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, II, p. 591-592.
1987: Sox, p. 153.
1987: Wolfthal, p. 83, 87.
1988: Eisler, p. 193-202.
1988: Fredericksen, cat. no. 16.
1988: Koch, p. 509-516.
1988: Leonard, Preusser, Rothe and Schilling, p. 517-522.
1988: Marijnissen, p. 107-114.
1988b: Van Miegroet, p. 95-106.
1989: Brown, p. 1247.
1989: Verougstraete-Marcq and Van Schoute, p. 55.
1989: Wolfthal, p. 25, 34, 39, 40, 41, 200 n. 8, 201 n. 52, 204.
1990: Leonard, Preusser, Rothe and Schilling, p. 877.
1990: Tarica, p. 875-876.
1991: Dunkerton, Foister, Gordon and Penny, p. 296.
1991: Tarica and Lévy.
1991: *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Handbook of the Collections*, p. 103.
1991: Villers, p. 258, 259, n. 1.
1992: Carr and Leonard, p. 14-15.
1992: Sander, p. 147 (no. 21), 150 (no. 30), 152 (no. 31-32), 160 (no. 16), 162 (no. 17), 163 (no. 19), 188 (no. 49).
1992: Van Miegroet, p. 63-66.
1992-1993: Eeckhout, p. 31.
1993: Humfrey, p. 159-160, 313, 330, n. 95.
1994: Belting and Kruse, p. 208-211, 218.
1995: Fredericksen and Jaffé, cat. no. 16.
1997: Fredericksen, p. 42-43, no. 21.
1997b: Jaffé, p. 15.
1997: Lucco, p. 199, 202.
1997: Walsh and Gribbon, p. 107-108, 117.
1998: Campbell, p. 41-42, 44, 45.
1998: Fahy, p. 73-74.
1998: Smeyers, p. 96, 100, 102.
1998: Van Asperen de Boer, p. 259.
1999: Aikema and Brown, p. 83-85, 177-178.
1999: Dunkerton, p. 94.
1999: Rohlmann, p. 41.
1999: Stroo, Syfer-D'Olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders, II, p. 112-115, 118, 119.
2000: Kirsh and Levenson, p. 112, 114-115.
2000: Morphet, p. 319.
2001: Martens, p. 217, 221.
2001: *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Handbook of the Collections,* p. 109.
2003: Allen, p. 40-41.
2003: *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 37.
2004: Christiansen, p. 38-39.
2005: Dunbar *et al.*, p. 139.
2005: Snyder, Silver and Luttikhuizen, p. 147-148, 270.
2006: Périer-D'ieteren, p. 162-63, 166-168, 173-174, 176-177, 238.
2007: Krug, p. 180.
2007: *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Handbook of the Collections,* p. 93.
2007: Woods, p. 93-94, 295, n. 78.
2008: Gibbs, p. 27-28.
2008: Zirpolo, fig. 15.
2009: Doherty and Woollett, p. 80.
2009: Eisler, p. 39.
2009: Lane, p. 74-75.
2010a: Campbell, p. 92.

Resurrection

1872: *Catalogo delle Opere d'arte antica esposte nel Palazzo di Brera* (exhib. cat.), Milan, p. 11, no. 38.
1872: *Guida all'Esposizione d'arte antica nel Palazzo di Brera 26 Agosto al 8 Ottobre 1872* (exhib. cat.), Milan, p. 8, no. 38.
1957-1958: *Dieric Bouts* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, p. 20.
1968: Friedländer, III, p. 89, n. 81 and p. 76, Add. 116, pl. 122.
1980: *La Chronique des arts. Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts,* p. 164, no. 161.

1980: Reynolds, p. 19-21.
1980: *Important Old Master Paintings* (sale cat.), Sotheby's Parke Bernet, London, no. 114.
1982: Vandenbroeck, p. 42, no. 24.
1985: Brooks, p. 19-20.
1986: Walsh, p. 214-215.
1986: Bomford, Roy and Smith, p. 39-41, 43-46, 51.
1986: Bordeaux, p. 37-38.
1986: Duret-Robert, p. 87.
1987: *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, II, p. 591-592.
1987: Wolfthal, p. 86-87.
1988: Eisler, p. 193, 195, 201, n. 3.
1988: Fredericksen, cat. no. 16.
1988: Koch, p. 513-516.
1988: Leonard, Preusser, Rothe and Schilling, p. 517, 520.
1988: Marijnissen, p. 112-113.
1988b: Van Miegroet, p. 95-96, 102, 105-106.
1989: Brown, p. 1247.
1989: *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum,* p. 22-23.
1989: Wolfthal, p. 39-41, 44, 201, n. 52.
1991: Dunkerton, Foister, Gordon and Penny, p. 296.
1991: Massing, p. 693.
1991: Villers, p. 258.
1992: Bauman and Liedtke, 63, p. 319, no. 127.
1992: Sander, p. 152-153, no. 32.
1992: Van Miegroet, p. 63.
1992-93: Eeckhout, p. 31.
1993: Humfrey, p. 159-160, 184, 330, n. 95.
1994: Belting and Kruse, p. 204, 208-211.
1995: Fredericksen and Jaffé, cat. no. 16.
1995: Harbison, p. 62-63, 65.
1997: Fredericksen, p. 42.
1997: Lucco, p. 199-200, 202.
1998: Campbell, p. 41-42, 44-45.
1998: Fahy, p. 73-74.
1998: Muchnic, p. 186-187, 242.
1998: Smeyers, p. 96, 100, 102.
1999: Aikema and Brown, p. 83, 177.
1999: Dunkerton, p. 94.
1999: Rohlmann, p. 41.
1999: Stroo, Syfer-D'olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders, II, p. 113-115, 118-119, 122.
2000: Kirsh and Levenson, p. 115.
2001: *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Handbook of the Collections,* p. 109.
2003: Allen, p. 40.
2004: Christiansen, p. 37-39.
2004: Lucco, p. 82, 83.
2004: Nutall, p. 188-190.
2005: Snyder, Silver and Luttikhuizen, p. 147-148.
2006: Périer-D'ieteren, p. 162-63, 167, 173-174, 176-177, 239.
2007: Stourton, p. 127.
2007: *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Handbook of the Collections,* p. 93.
2007: Woods, p. 93, 295, n. 78.
2008: Badstübner, p. 368.
2008: Nash, p. 101-102.
2008: Zirpolo, fig. 15.
2009: Iacono, p. 14.
2009: Lane, p. 74-75.
2010a: Campbell, p. 92-93.
2011: Silver, p. 250, 252.
2011: Fajt, Franzen, and Knüvener, Abb. 322.
2013-2014: *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, p. 24-25, 109.

Notes

1. See 8: Documents and Literary Sources, Doc. 1. For Eastlake, also see D. Robertson, 1978, p. 311, 313; S. Avery-Quash, 2011, p. 416, 539.
2. M. Davies, 1953, 1, p. 13.
3. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 44.
4. P. Humfrey, 1993, p. 159.
5. See 8. Documents and Literary Sources, Doc. 2; S. Avery-Quash, 2011, p. 539.
6. C. Eastlake, 1861, p. 255. The size he cites for the work is considerably smaller than its actual size. A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, 1872, p. 225 (by a German imitator of Rogier van der Weyden). For the purchase, see D. Robertson, 1978, p. 311.
7. W.M. Conway, 1887, p. 281; M.J. Friedländer, 1903, p. 9; *Descriptive Catalogue. 1. Ancient Masters* (exhib. cat.), Antwerp, 1911, p. 33; M.J. Friedländer, 1934, III, p. 38, 59, no. 3, pl. 7; M. Davies, 1953, p. 24; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 41-44.
8. See M. Davies, 1953, p. 26 for early sources; C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 239 (ca. 1450-1455); L. Campbell, 1998, p. 44 (1440-1464 possible, 1450s likely).
9. For *tüchlein* painting, see D. Wolfthal, 1989; *The Fabric of Images*, 2000; E. Bosshard, 1982, p. 31-42.

10. *Catalogo delle Opere d'arte antica esposte nel Palazzo di Brera* (exhib. cat.), Milan, 1872, p. 11; *Guida all'Esposizione d'arte antica nel Palazzo di Brera 26 Agosto al 8 Ottobre 1872* (exhib. cat.), Milan, p. 8.
11. idem; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 42. R. Koch, 1988, p. 509 n. 1, notes that, according to the Brera catalogue, both Casanova and Melzi lived at the same address.
12. See 8. Documents and Literary Sources, Doc. 3.
13. E. Panofsky, 1953, p. 536 no. 316. For the involvement of van Gelder, see M. Davies, 1955, p. 13.
14. IDEM. Davies maintained this view in M. Davies, 1968, p. 15 and M. Davies, 1987, p. 15.
15. Dirk Bouts, *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament*, 183 × 152.7 cm. (central panel) and 88.5 × 71.5 cm. (wings), Louvain, Saint Peter Church. F. Winkler, 1958, p. 6.
16. F. Baudouin, 1957, p. 20. He also added the *Resurrection*, today in the Norton Simon Museum, to the series. K.G. Boon, 1958, p. 11. For a summary of the early opinions, see M.J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 89, n. 81.
17. After Dirk Bouts, *Adoration of the Magi*, 345 × 280 mm., Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. no.1070E. See R. Koch, 1988, fig. 10; W. Schöne, 1938, p. 47, 187; A. Petrioli Tofani, 2, 1987, p. 448.
18. F. Winkler, 1958, p. 6; A. Gagliano Candela, in *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, II, 1987, p. 591; R. Koch, 1988, p. 509, 513, 514; C. Villers, 1991, p. 258; J. Sander, 1992, p. 152-153, no. 32; J. Dunkerton, 1999, p. 94; H. Belting and C. Kruse, 1994, p. 208; B.B. Fredericksen and D. Jaffé, 1995, cat. no. 16; M. Smeyers, 1998, p. 86, 96; C. Reynolds, 1980, p. 18-21; H.J. Van Miegroet, 1992, p. 63, terms it a "tempting" idea. J.-L. Bordeaux, 1986, p. 38. R. Koch, 1988, p. 513, published a mock-up following Bordeaux's proposal.
19. F. Baudouin first linked the *Crucifixion* to other paintings and then questioned this opinion (1957, p. 20; 1958, p. 121-23). See also K.G. Boon, 1958, p. 11 ("could have belonged to same group"). C. Reynolds, 1980, p. 18-21, judges that the shared history "can be strongly supported for the *Resurrection* and *Entombment* and not contradicted for the *Crucifixion.*" She reports the idea of the altarpiece as well as Davies' objections, but remains neutral on the debate. D. Bomford, A. Roy and A. Smith, 1986, p. 44 (*Crucifixion* "may have been part of the same work"); J. Dunkerton, J. Foister, D. Gordon and N. Penny, 1991, p. 296, conclude that the paintings "were perhaps" part of a large altarpiece, but should be "less plausibly" associated with the Brussels *Crucifixion*; H.J. Van Miegroet, 1992, p. 63 ("cautious judgment on the authorship … is warranted");
    M. Smeyers, 1998, p. 96, believes that the canvases probably formed a triptych with the *Crucifixion* in the center. B. Aikema and B.L. Brown, 1999, p. 177, conclude that the theory of a polyptych is "by no means certain." C. Périer-D'Ieteren, 2006, p. 163-177, believes that the *Annunciation, Entombment*, and *Resurrection* might have formed an altarpiece, but remains unsure whether the *Crucifixion* formed the central section, terming it different in style and canvas support. K.M. Woods, 2007, p. 93, 295 no. 78, asserts that the *Annunciation* was "probably" part of an altarpiece that showed a central Crucifixion, "perhaps" that in Brussels, but she also concludes that Wolfthal "with some reason points out differences in style." L. Campbell, 1998, p. 42, declares that it is "possible" that the *Crucifixion* was the center of a polyptych with the other Boutsian canvases. He also notes that although contemporary altarpieces on linen were unusual – none are known according to Wolfthal – perhaps cloth was favored for export. M. Rohlmann, 1991, p. 41; C. Harbison, 1995, p. 63; B. Fredericksen, 1997, p. 42; B. Aikema and B.L. Brown, 1999, p. 83; and M. Iacono, 2009, p. 14, support the idea of a polyptych.

20 D. Bomford, A. Roy and A. Smith, 1986, p. 41. See also B. Aikema and B.L. Brown, 1999, p. 83, 177.

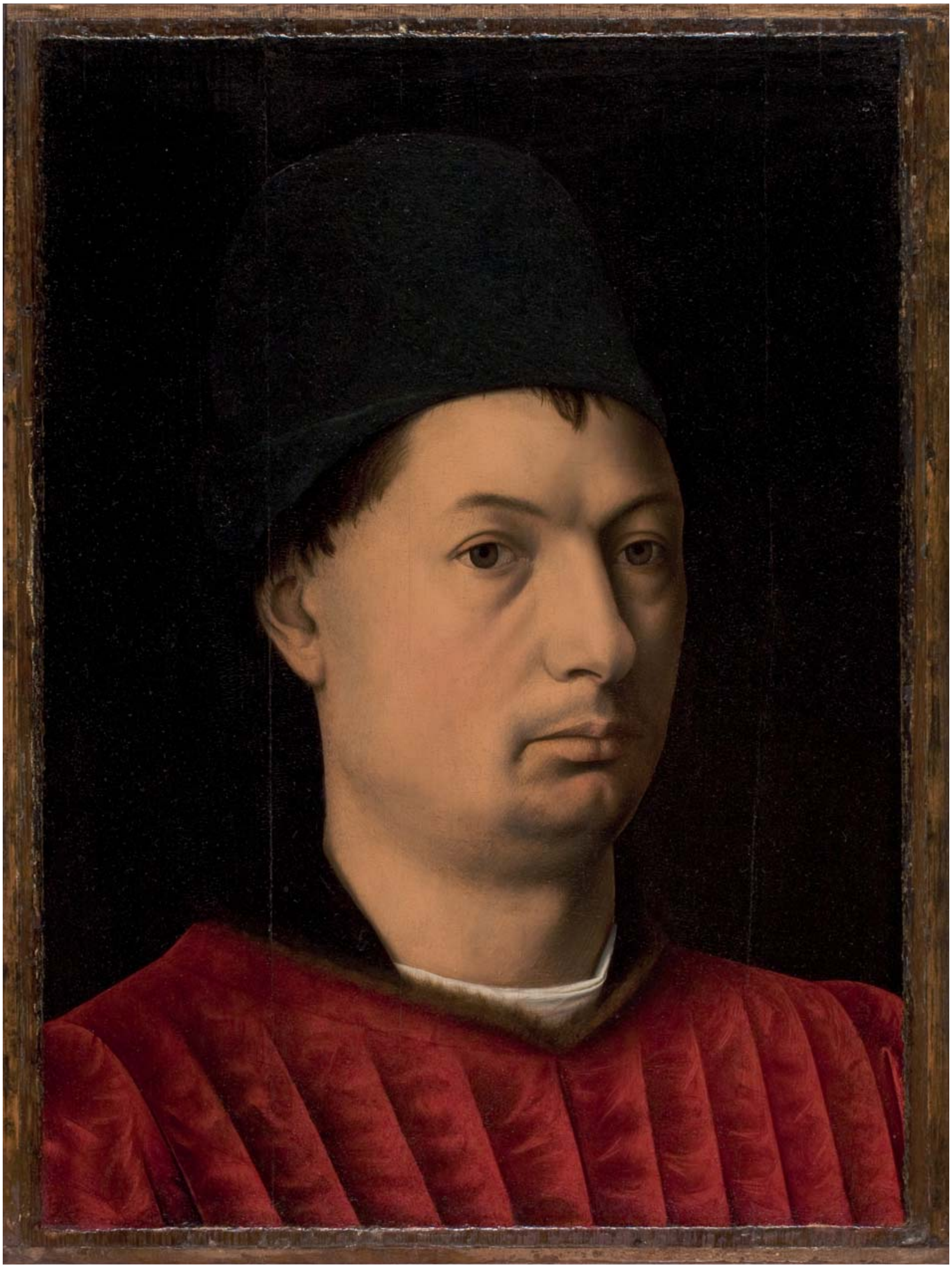
21. C. Stroo, P. Syfer-D'Olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders, 1999, p. 118.
22. C. Stroo, P. Syfer-D'Olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders, 1999, p. 119.
23. P. Eeckhout, 1992-1993, p. 33.
24. D. Wolfthal, 1989, p. 18-20, 34. D. Bomford, A. Roy and A. Smith, 1986, p. 41, suggests that the works were painted on linen to facilitate export to Italy. J. Dunkerton, J. Foister, D. Gordon and N. Penny, 1991, p. 296, agree that they may have been intended for export, and that linen would have facilitated this.
25. P. Nutall, 2004, p. 106.
26. C. Andersson, 1985, p. 134; R. Marijnissen, 1988, p. 110; B.B. Fredericksen, 1988, cat. no. 16; R. Koch, 1988, p. 509-16; D. Wolfthal,

1989, p. 38-41; H. Belting and C. Kruse, 1994, p. 220; M. Smeyers, 1998, p. 96 ("probablement"); C. Stroo, P. Syfer-D'Olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders, 1999, p. 114; A. Kirsh and R.S. Levenson, 2000, p. 115; C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 238; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 38-44; D. Jaffé, 1997b, p. 15.

27. C. Eisler, 1988, p. 201.
28. 1450-1460: D. Wolfthal, 1989, p. 40-41; M. Smeyers, 1998, p. 96; C. Stroo, P. Syfer-D'Olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders, 1999, p. 107, 118; H. Belting and C. Kruse, 1994, p. 208. 1450-55: R. Koch, 1988, p. 509; B.B. Fredericksen, 1988, cat. no. 16; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 44 (1440-1464, but probably 1450s); A. Kirsh and R.S. Levenson, 2000, p. 115; C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 238-239; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, 2003, p. 37 (ca. 1455); E. Badstübner, 2011, p. 368 (ca. 1455).
29. M. Leonard, F. Preusser, A. Rothe and M. Schilling, 1988, p. 517 and Schussler, in Condition Report-Paintings by McKee 14 December 1983.
30. October 2010 study by C.R. Johnson and D.H. Johnson.
31. G. Heydenreich, 2008a, p. 30-41 and G. Heydenreich, 2008b, p. 609-618. When exposed to light over centuries, supports composed of cellulosic material, such as fabric and paper, will break down and darken.
32. A. Phenix, (Draft) Analytical Report, Getty Conservation Institute Museum Research Laboratory, March 2008. X-ray fluorescence is a non-destructive technique that provides information regarding the elemental composition of each area studied. For paintings and painted surfaces, XRF analysis offers limited depth penetration. Spectra obtained may include contributions from sub-surface layers (ground, under-painting). The results reported here should be considered as qualitative as far as indications of proportion are concerned.
33. This study was performed in 2010.
34. M. Leonard, F. Preusser, A. Rothe and M. Schilling, 1988, p. 520.
35. The infrared equipment used was an Inframetrics Infracam with a PtSi detector operating in the range of 1.0-2.5 microns.
36. Bouts's use of the "X" may be related to Joachim Beuckelaer's use of a small "x," visible in the underdrawing of several of his paintings to mark the vanishing point. See M. Wolters, 2006, p. 179-171 and figs. 4a-b. Another practice that may be related to Bouts' use of a large "X" is the vertical line that appears in several drawings of the school of Rogier van der Weyden. See D. De Vos, 1999, p. 388. For Rogier's use of a vertical line to determine the vanishing point, see F. Koreny, 2002, p. 110.
37. J.R.J. Van Asperen de Boer, 1998, p. 259.
38. M. Leonard, F. Preusser, A. Rothe and M. Schilling, 1988, p. 520-521.
39. D. Bomford, A. Roy and A. Smith, 1986, p. 49-51.
40. See discussion of pigments above.
41. R. Koch, 1988, p. 513; C. Eisler, 1988, p. 195.
42. H. Van Miegroet (1988) offered what is perhaps the closest analogy, a relief by an artist active in the Salzburg-Bavaria area ca. 1520-1530, p. 102 and fig. 8.
43. R. Koch, 1988, p. 512.
44. Dirk Bouts, *Justice of Emperor Otto III*, 323,5 × 181,5 cm. (*Beheading of the Innocent Count*) and 324,5 × 182 cm. (*Ordeal by Fire*), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunst in België, inv. no. 1444-1448.
45. For the Westphalian Master of 1473's *Annunciation* see A. Stange, 1954, 6, p. 33 ff., fig. 33.
46. C. Purtle, 1982, p. 48, especially n. 30, notes that actors in mystery plays as well as by priests during Mass employed the *expansis manibus* gesture, with hands set apart.
47. Konrad Witz, *Annunciation*, 157 × 120 cm., Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. Gm878.
48. Dirk Bouts, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 83 × 85.5 cm., Vienna, Akademie der bildende Kunst, inv. no. 558.
49. R. Koch, 1988, p. 512.
50. Atelier of The Bedford Master, *The Annunciation*, Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Ms. N. 2614, f. 27r.
51. The Boucicaut Master, *Annunciation of Dormition of Virgin*, in *Book of Hours for the use of Paris*, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 469, fol. 77.
52. R. Koch, 1988, p. 516.
53. R. Koch, 1988, p. 509.
54. R. Koch, 1988, p. 510, 512; H. Van Miegroet, 1992, p. 63; D. Martens, 2001, p. 217; C. Stroo and P. Syfer-D'Olne, 1996, p. 64-75, especially p. 72.
55. K.M. Woods, 2007, p. 93.
56. H. Belting and C. Kruse, 1994, p. 210.
57. Jan Provoost, *Annunciation*, 34 × 19 cm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 2642.
58. C. Eisler, 1988, p. 195.

59. Albert van Ouwater, *Raising of Lazarus*, 124 × 92.7 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 532A.
60. See C. Harbison, 1985, p. 63, for the quote.
61. P. Humfrey, 1993, p. 330 n. 95; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 44. See also M. Lucco, 1997, p. 201 and M. Lucco, 2004, p. 82 for the influence of the Norton Simon *Resurrection* on Bellini's work.
62. Master of the View of Saint-Gudule, *Resurrection*, 154.9 × 61.2 cm., Cambridge, Chapel of Queen's College.
63. J.M. Massing, 1991, p. 693.
64. Diego de la Cruz, *Triptych of the Adoration of the Magi*, 157 × 165 cm. (central panel) and 159 × 78 cm. (wings), Burgos, Cathedral. D. Martens, 2001, p. 217, 221.
65. M. Schawe, 2006, p. 303.
66. C. Reynolds, 2000, p. 914.
67. C. Villers, 1991, p. 259.
68. G. Dubois, H. Khanjian, M. Schilling and A. Wallert, 1997, p. 232.
69. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 40.
70. C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 238.
71. C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 304.
72. Sometimes several canvas representations of a single subject belonged to the same collection. For example, an inventory of a collection at Saint-Omer lists four "toiles peintes" showing the Crucifixion, three showing the Annunciation, and one showing the Resurrection. See L. Nys and M. Gil, 2004, p. 449-450. Even more strikingly, between 1429 and 1481 Antwerp exported to England 2500 painted cloths. See C. Reynolds, 2000, p. 91.
73. For the *Adoration* see, among others, R. Koch, 1988, p. 513-514; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 41-42; C. Stroo, P. Syfer-D'olne, A. Dubois and R. Slachmuylders, 1999, p. 112, 144; C. Périer-D'ieteren, 2006, p. 162-163; A. Petrioli Tofani, 1987, 2, p. 448, no. 1070E.
74. The *Adoration* measures 82.5 by 72 cm., which would make it slightly smaller in height than the others canvases. But it is unclear whether part of the painted canvas is wrapped around the strainer or whether the border has been abraded, so the actual measurements may be larger.
75. Since the *Entombment* entered the National Gallery in 1860, the relinings must date earlier.
76. Measurements comprise the present face surface area, not including the border that bends over the stretcher. In fact, the interior space marked out by the borders is taller by approximately 1.2 cm in the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection*, both of which were framed with nails in the image, at the top edge, rather than in the red border, as is the case on all other edges.
77. For such Spanish examples, see D. Martens, 2010.
78. See H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur, 2003, p. 37-38, fig. 21, 41, n. 46; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIb, pl. 242, 254.
79. Master of the Joseph Sequence, *Affligem Altarpiece*, 142.8 × 85.1 cm. (painted surface of the central panels), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. nos. 344-345, 347-354.
80. Andrea Mantegna, *Samson and Delilah*, 47 × 36.8 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG1145.
81. J. Dunkerton, 1993, p. 32.
82. Andrea Mantegna, *Presentation at the Temple*, 68.9 × 86.3 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 29.
83. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 44.
84. C. Reynolds, 1980, p. 20.
85. W.C. Hazlitt, 1915, II, p. 358; D. Howard, 2002, p. 106, 108; *Foscari, Francesco*, 2000, p. 57-71.
86. P. Fortini Brown, 2004, p. 27.
87. K. Von Baum, 2008, has recently shown the diversity of functions in fifteenth-century tüchlein paintings produced in Cologne, including sets of canvases.
88. S. Avery-Quash, 2011, p. 416.
89. S. Avery-Quash, 2011, p. 539.

1.



Petrus Christus

Portrait of a Man

1. Identification

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, inv. no. M.44.2.3

Group: Petrus Christus
No. Corpus: 247

2. History of the work

Origin and Subsequent History

Robert Stayner Holford (1808-1892)
1892-1926: London and Westonbirt, Gloucestershire, Sir George Lindsay Holford (1860-1926), by inheritance from his father Robert Stayner Holford
1927: Executors of Sir George Lindsay Holford
17 May 1928: London, Sir George Lindsay Holford Collection Sale, Christie Manson and Woods, no. 9
1928: New York and London, Knoedler, (no. A 211), London, Matthiesen Gallery, and London, Colnaghi's, (no. A 1523) owned jointly
31 July 1929: Los Angeles, Sold by Knoedler to Allan C. Balch Collection
1929-1944: Los Angeles, Allan C. Balch Collection
1944: Los Angeles, Gift to the Los Angeles County Museum

Material History

1980-1981: Bill Leisher, cleaned (fig. 2) and made infrared reflectography photograph montage
1994: Joe Fronek, cleaned, inpainted, and revarnished

Exhibitions

1921-1922 London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Pictures and Other Objects of Art, selected from the Collections of Mr. Robert Holford* [*1808-1892*] *mainly from Westonbirt in Gloucestershire*, no. 4
1927 London, Royal Academy, *Flemish and Belgian Art,* no. 15

1. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man,* 44.7 × 32.5 cm., Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, inv. no. M.44.2.3

1934 Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, *Century of Progress, Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture,* no. 116

1944 Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, *The Balch Collection and Old Masters from Los Angeles Collections Assembled in Memory of Mr. and Mrs. Allan Balch*, no. 17

1946 New York, Knoedler Gallery, *24 Masterpieces to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Knoedler Gallery and the 75th anniversary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* no. 1

1960 Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization,* no. 15

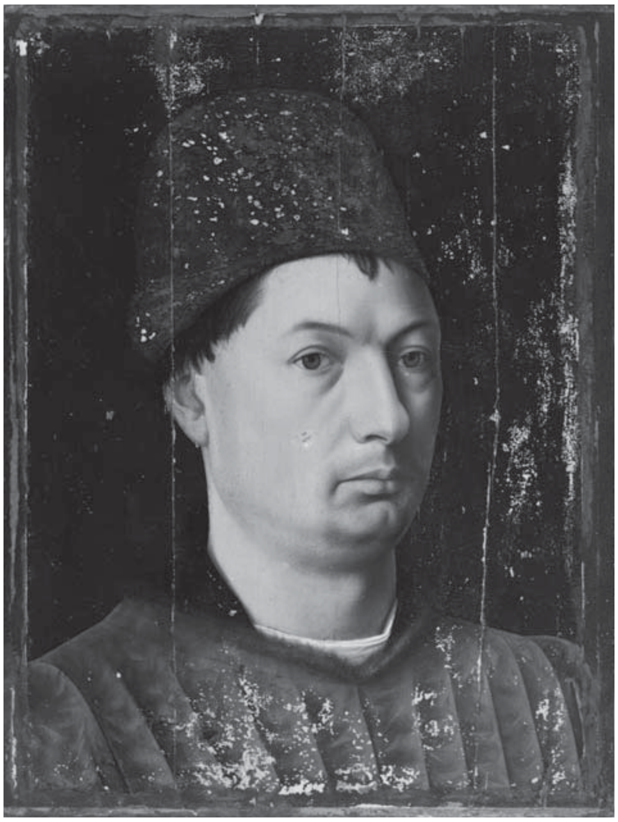
1960 Bruges, Musée Groeninge, *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands,* no. 6

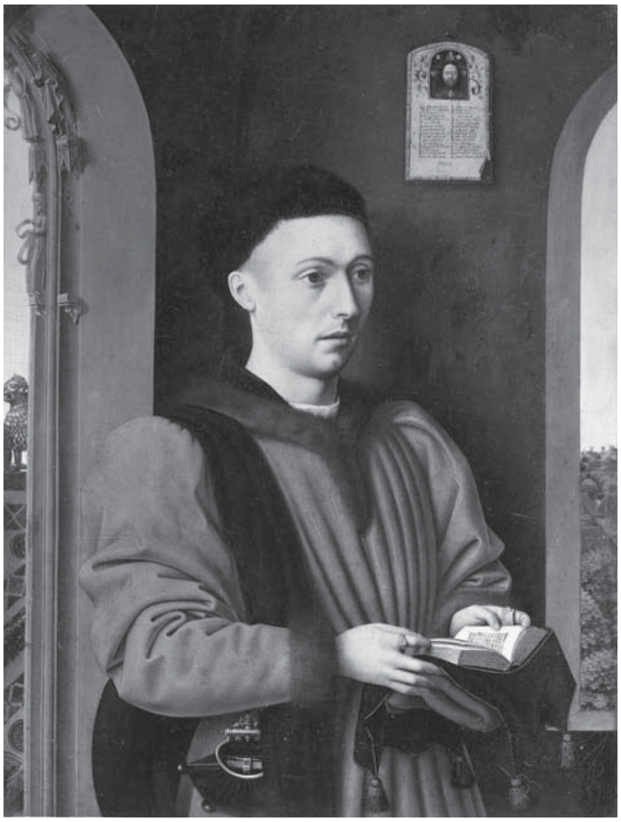
2013-2014 San Marino, The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting,* pl. 20.

3. History of the Research

This portrait was first attributed to Petrus Christus in a catalogue of 1921, and most subsequent scholars have supported this attribution (fig. 1).[1] M.J. Friedländer (1937) classified the painting among the works by Christus, but reserved final judgment since he had not seen the work in a long time. E. Panofsky (1953), J. Bruyn (1957), L. Gellman (1970), and B. Richter (1974) rejected the attribution, although three out of the four had never seen the painting.[2] The strongest dissenter, P. Schabacker (1974), cited features that he deemed foreign to Christus: the plain background, the sitter's averted glance, and the subtle shading of the face, especially in the area of the right eye. He assigned the work instead to a Northern contemporary of Christus.[3] Several scholars have remarked on the high quality of the portrait. Friedländer (1937) termed it *ausgezeichnete*, and H. Pauwels judged it among the first rank of Christus's œuvre.[4]

R. Fry (1927) was the first to point to similarities between the portrait and works by Antonello da Messina. He argued that there must have been a direct and close connection between the two artists, perhaps in Milan. This thesis won considerable support.[5] L. Baldass (1927) was the first to denote the date for the supposed meeting, 1457, citing an unspecified "alte Nachricht" (old report) of such a meeting. G. Bazin (1952) agreed, observing the resemblance between Christus's portrait in Los Angeles and Antonello's in London. J.M. Collier (1975) listed a series of features that these two paintings share: their type of garments, the volumetric quality of their heads, the reduction of the faces into individual planes, and the great attention to the individual hairs on the head and in the beard. Recently M. Ainsworth (1994) agreed that Christus and Antonello may have had "limited, but profound, encounters."[6] She cited as a prime example the Los Angeles painting, pointing to its many resemblances to Antonello's portrait in London: their similar size, dark background, pose, garments, the closely cropped view of the sitter, and the subtle modeling of his face. She further suggested that the meeting between the two artists occurred in northern Europe and later than had previously been proposed, around 1465-71. In 1999 Ainsworth suggested that in the Los Angeles portrait Christus intentionally "diverged from his typical style" in order to imitate Antonello.



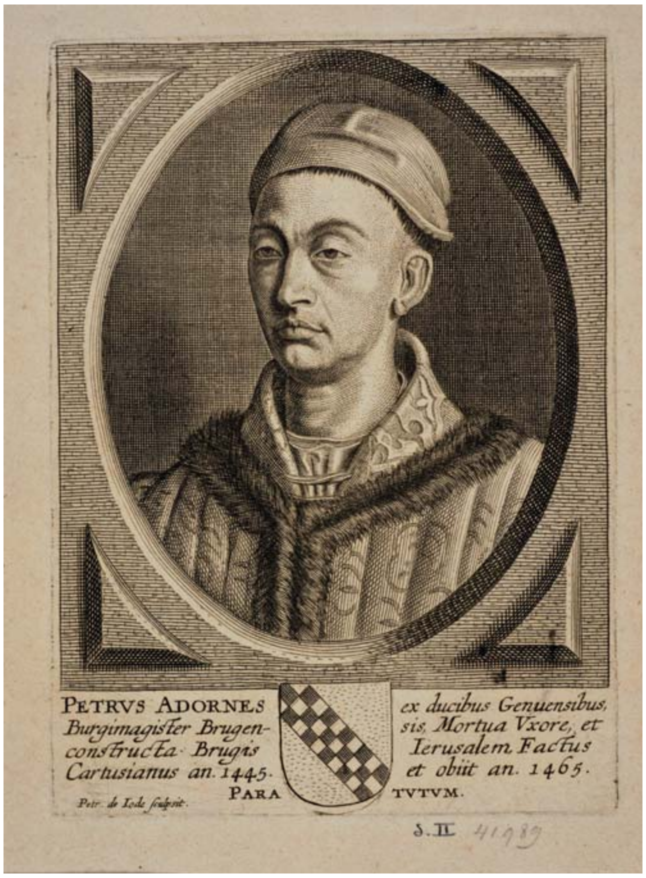


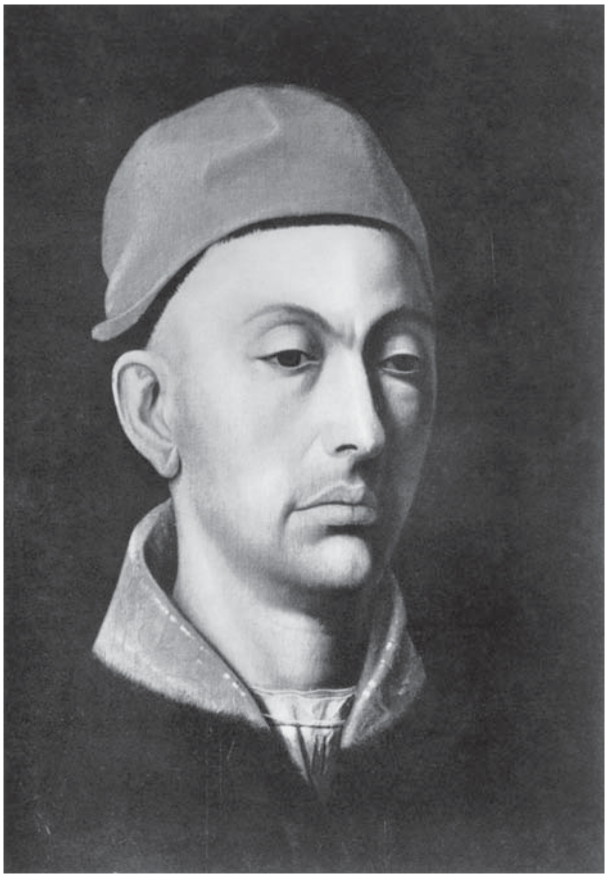
2. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man*, during treatment

3. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man,* 35.4 × 26 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG2593

W.H.J. Weale (1903) was the first to note similarities between Christus's portraits in Los Angeles and London (fig. 3). He proposed that the two paintings portrayed the same sitter, but at different ages.[7] Ainsworth (1994) countered that the apparent resemblance between the two portraits was due to a similar technical approach, not a shared sitter. Earlier M. Comblen-Sonkes (1970) had observed striking similarities in the underdrawing of the two panels. Ainsworth concurred, noting their "summary indications of the main contours of the head and the interior folds of the costume; abbreviated notation in quick, broad, strokes for the ear; and fully worked-up modeling for the face, done with an extremely thin brush."[8] In both cases, Ainsworth noted, the underdrawing was used primarily to establish lights and darks, but she judged the Los Angeles example more refined in execution.[9] For these reasons, she attributed both portraits to Christus, but dated the Los Angeles painting later.

In 1994, noting a similarity to Pieter I de Jode's engraving of Pieter Adornes (fig. 4), Ainsworth suggested that he might be the sitter in the Los Angeles portrait. The next year, L. Gellman attributed a painting of Adornes, now lost, to Christus (fig. 5).[10] S. de Ricci (1925) had earlier proposed that the Los Angeles portrait had once formed a diptych with a painting of the Madonna. T.-H. Borchert countered that it was more probably joined with a portrait of the sitter's wife, like the painting of Adornes (figs. 5-6).[11] He further concluded that although the portrait of Adornes "offers the closest parallel" to the Los Angeles painting, the identity of that sitter cannot be determined at this time.


PETRVS ADORNES
Burgimagister Brugen-
constructa Brugis
Cartusianus an. 1445.
PARA
ex ducibus Genuensibus,
sis, Mortua Vxore, et
Ierusalem Factus
et obiit an. 1465.
TVTVM.
Petr. de Iode sculpsit.
S.II 41989

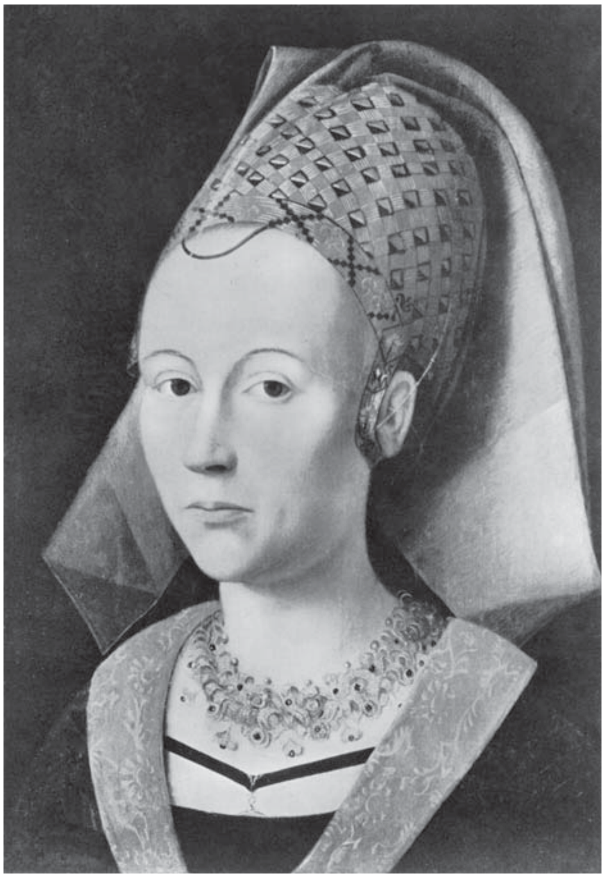


Initially several scholars dated the Los Angeles portrait around 1457 on the basis of the presumed meeting with Antonello da Messina that year.[12] W. Schöne (1938), however, dated it prior to the *Goldsmith's Shop* of 1449 (fig. 7), and J. M. Upton (1972) dated it around 1452. On the basis of costume, J. Folie (Detroit, 1960) judged its production after the middle of the fifteenth century, and Pauwels around 1475-1500.[13] Pointing to the sitter's costume, the volumetric treatment of the forms, the great subtlety in modeling, the refined brushwork, and the close cropping of the head, Ainsworth (1994) dated the painting around 1465. Borchert agreed that a date in the 1460s seems reasonable.[14]

J. Fronek (1995) discovered two forms that appear only in the underdrawing: a shape that suggested to him either an indentation or "a tassel" on the side of the hat, and a design, perhaps a two-color damask pattern, on the collar (fig. 8). He also suggested, and H. von Sonnenburg (1995) agreed, that the underdrawing of the face would have always "played a role" in the final painting. Fronek further observed that the hat was originally purple and that the panel in Los Angeles was "a good deal larger" than Christus's other portraits.[15]

4. Pieter I de Jode, *Pieter Adornes,* 15.6 × 11.5 cm, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, inv. no. S. II 41989

5. Petrus Christus (?), *Portrait of Pieter Adornes*, 47 × 34 cm., formerly Suresnes, Leo Nardus Collection, present location unknown (RKD, The Hague)



6. Petrus Christus (?), *Portrait of Elisabeth Braderyck*, 45 × 31 cm., formerly Suresnes, Leo Nardus collection, present location unknown (photo, British Library, shelf mark 7807.5.10)

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 46.2/46.4 × 32.6/34.7 cm.

Painted Surface: 44.5/44.7 × 32.2/32.5 cm. (Slightly larger at present due to added strips all edges)

Support

The painting is on a single oak panel. It has been thinned and attached to a slightly larger secondary panel, which is fitted with a cradle (fig. 9). There are strips of wood appended around the edges of the original panel and glued onto the secondary support.

Frame

Not original.

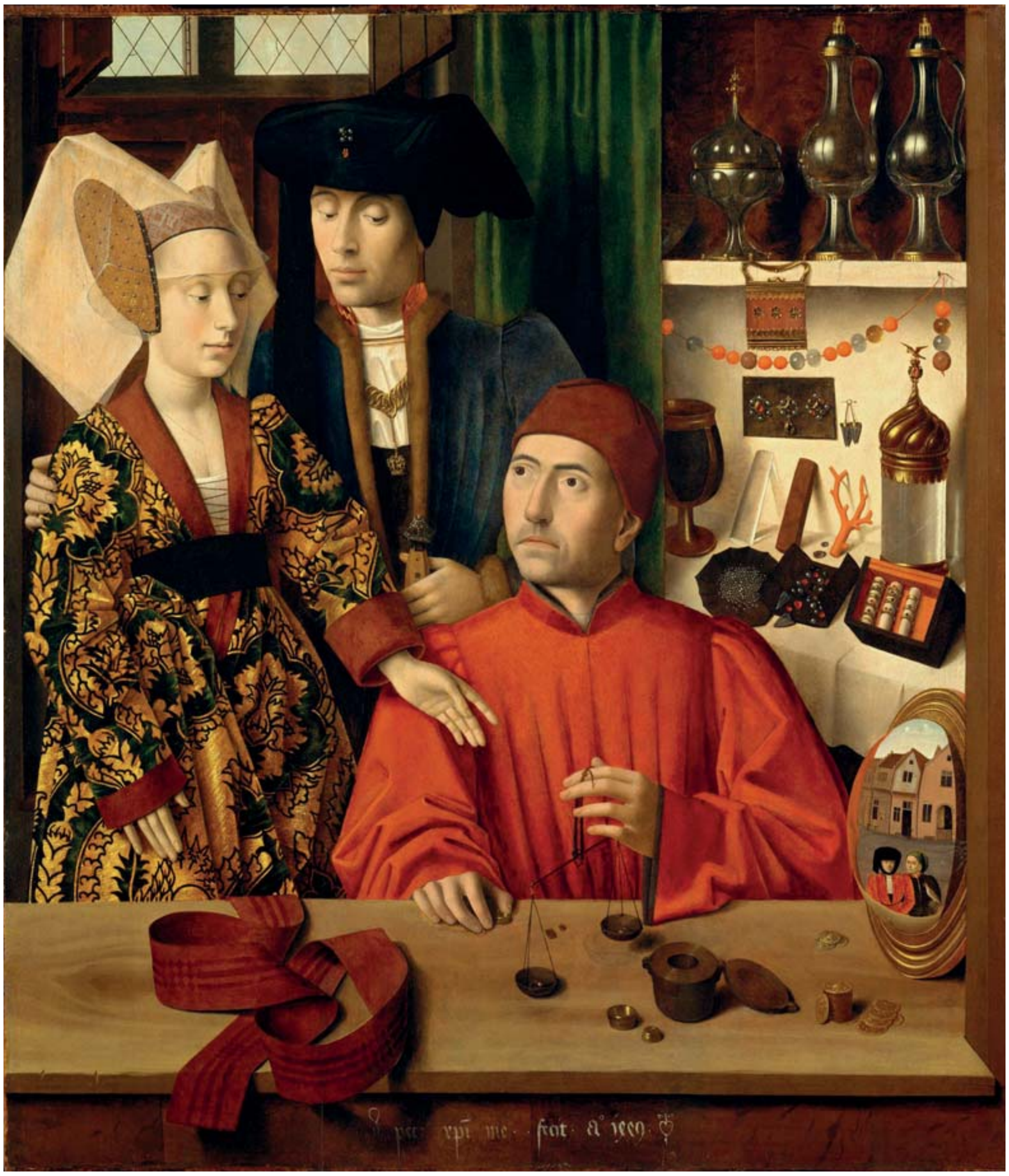
Ground

The ground is comprised of two very thin layers of calcium carbonate suspended in glue.[16] The lower layer is coarser than the upper one. A lip at the edges of the picture in the ground provides evidence that the frame was attached when the ground was applied, causing a ridge at the frame edge (fig. 10). There is a creamy, slightly brown imprimatura over the pure white underlayer, analyzed as charcoal, with a bit of red and white pigment mixed in. The medium of the imprimatura layer may be linseed oil.

Underlying Drawing

The underdrawing is executed with a brush and paint, and is partially visible to the unaided eye (fig. 11). It is readily imaged with infrared reflectography (fig. 8).[17] The transparency of the underdrawing increases at the longer wavelengths, leading to a suggestion that the underdrawing material consists of an incompletely carbonized material.[18] A sample of the underdrawing was taken for analysis, resulting in the finding that the material contained a large proportion of matter typified by such soft coals known today as "Cassel earth," "Cologne earth," and "Van Dyck Brown." The underdrawing is very completely finished in the face, with shading on the right side worked up to a fine degree with hatching and cross-hatching, while the lit left side has more widely spaced hatching and less cross hatching. The eyes are fully drawn with irises, and fairly closely followed in the paint (fig. 11). The doublet and bonnet are less explicitly drawn than the face, with indications of folds and recesses but no hatching or cross-hatching.

7.



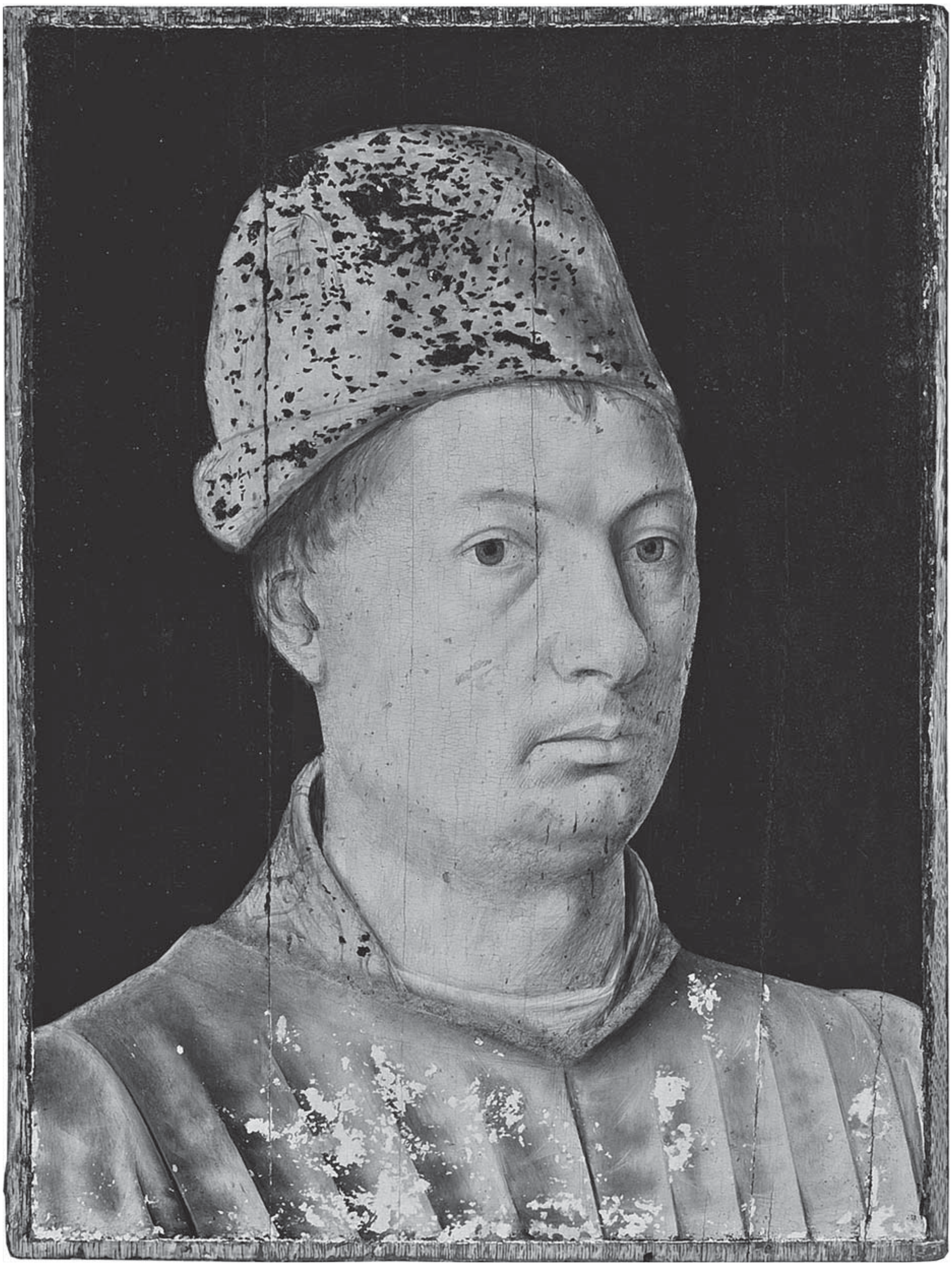
7. Petrus Christus, *Goldsmith's Shop,* 98 × 85 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.110.

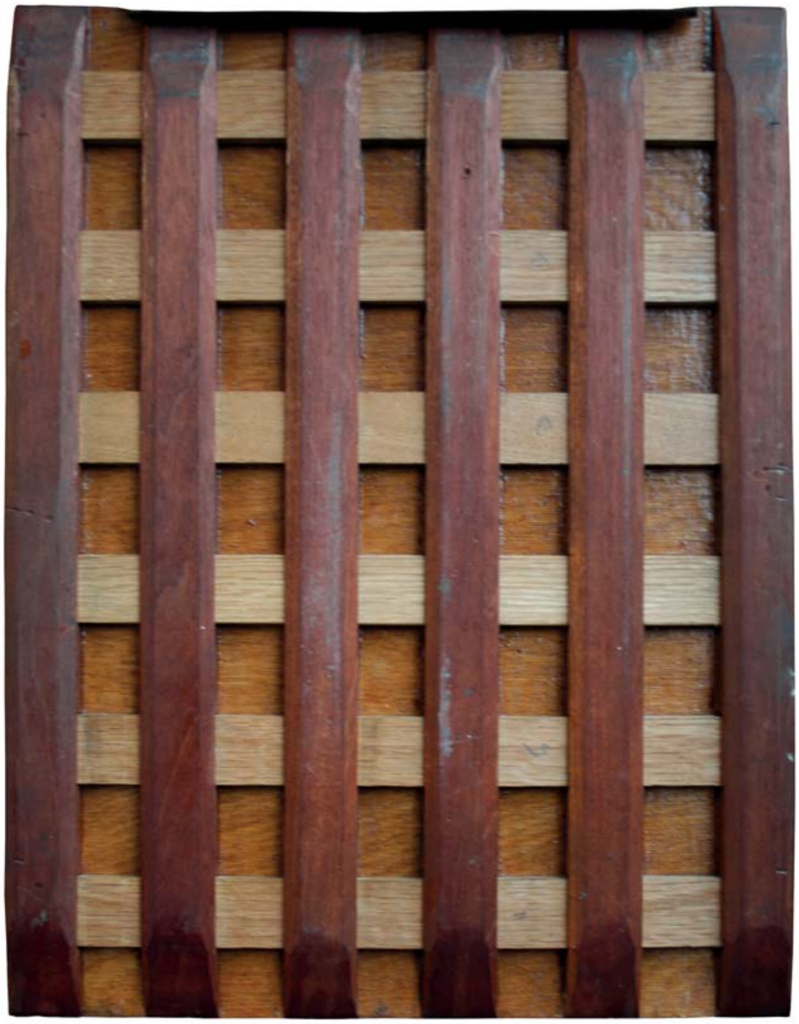
8. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man,* infrared reflectograph

Paint Layer

All forms and the background were first laid in with flat color beginning with the flesh, followed by the background, then the doublet and bonnet. Each color area was then worked up to the next stage, filling in the major light and shadow areas. Strokes for hair and fur, and glazes for the deepest shadows finished the painting.[19] For the doublet, a flat layer of a midtone vermilion, possibly with an iron oxide admixture in egg tempera medium, was put in first. Over this highlights of a similar pigment mixture with more lead white were added, and finally darker layers of iron oxide and red lake, possibly with vermilion as well, in oil glazes, were applied incrementally to build shadows.[20] The flesh tones were likewise begun with a flat underlayer, but here

8.



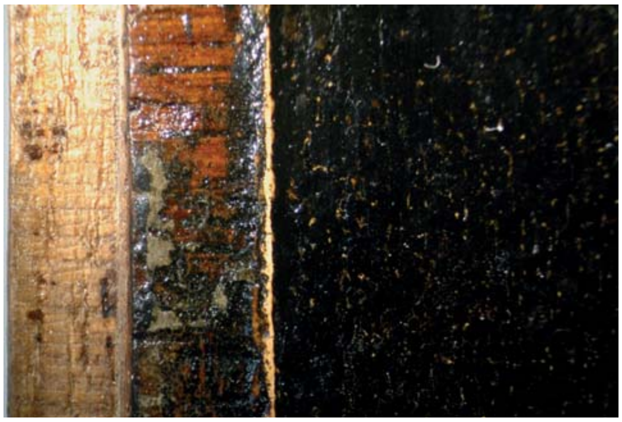


9. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man,* verso with cradle

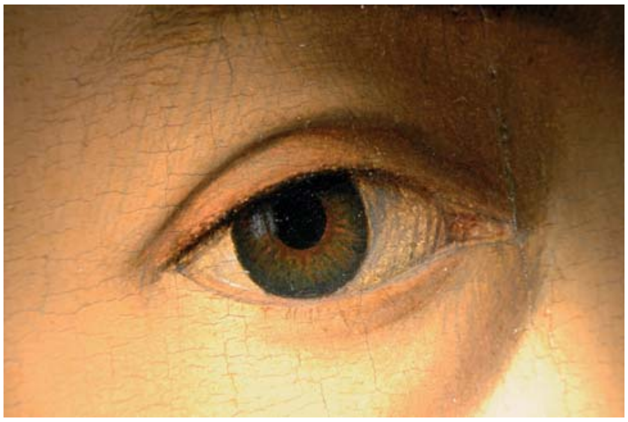
the shadows were put in using very thin layers of paint that allowed the underlayer to show through to a greater or lesser degree. Deeper shadows were expressed with a second layer of paint, and some were enriched with a glaze containing red lake. The highlights were put in first on the more brightly lit side of the face. It can be seen in the X-radiograph that the lips and eyes were left in reserve when the flat midtone was laid on, as these areas are less opaque (fig. 12). Analysis of the flesh paint suggests an absence of protein (egg or glue) medium, but rather points to walnut oil. The bonnet is painted with azurite, also most likely in oil.

The face is in excellent condition, and the doublet has retained its original glazing and form, with only some flake losses. The bonnet, however, is in rather poor condition (fig. 13). It has lost its original color and the modeling is muted; it now has a rough, cracked surface with only a suggestion of the effect of light on the form. The azurite background, originally blue, is now very dark, nearly black, in appearance.

10.



11.



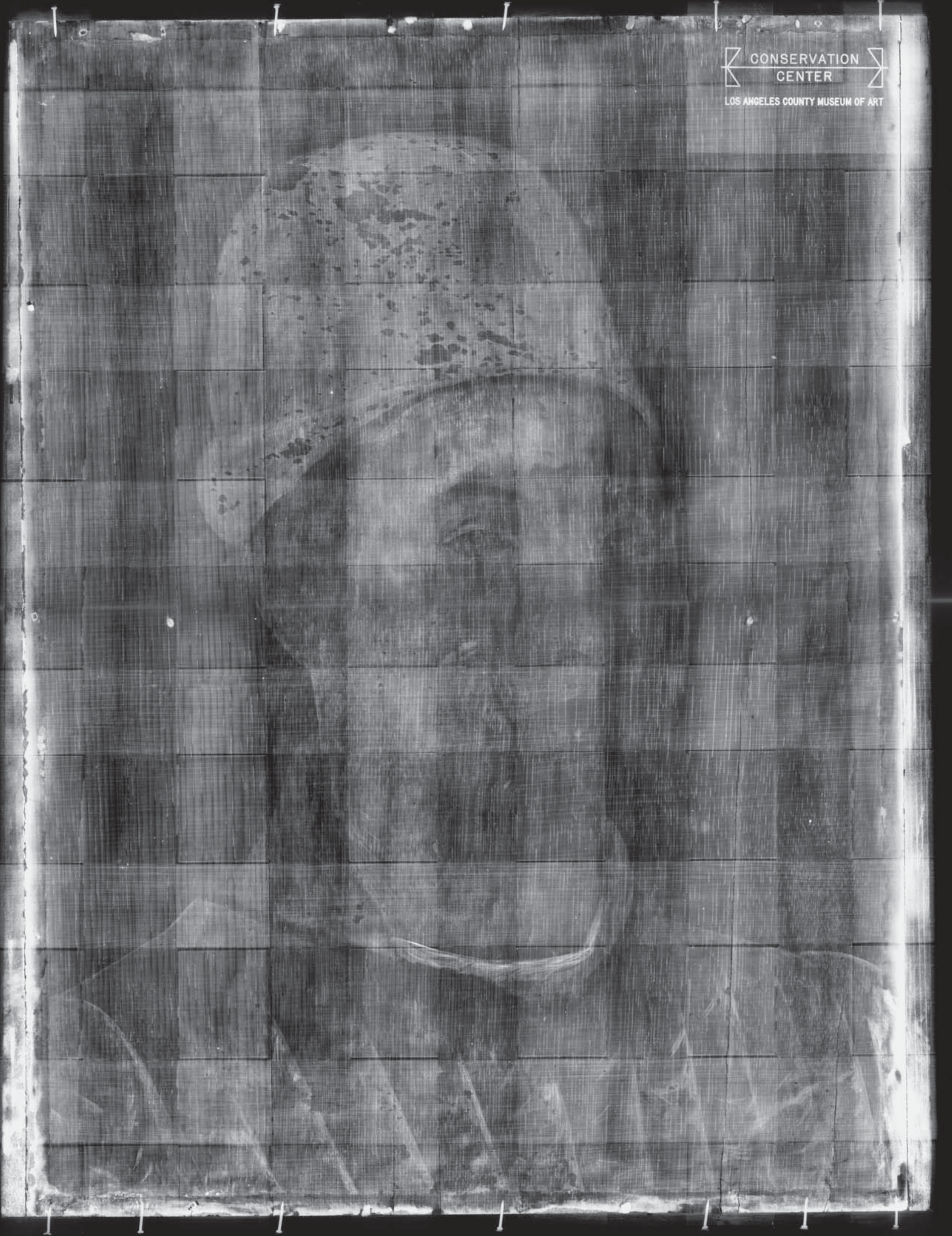
10. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man*, detail, barbe and modern added wood

11. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man,* underdrawing in left eye seen through paint

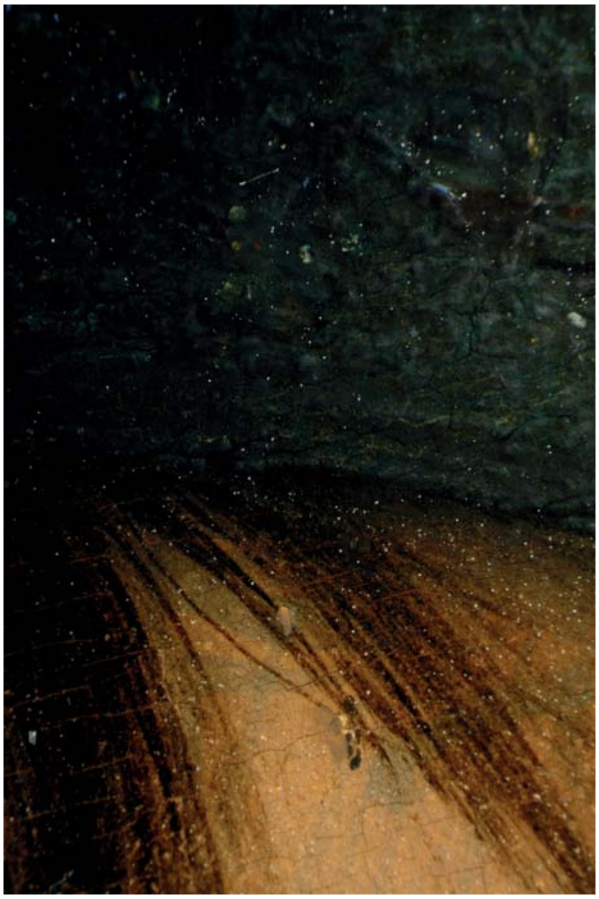
5. Pictorial Analysis

The panel shows the head-and-shoulders portrait of an unidentified man, who is perhaps in his thirties. Turned to the right in a three-quarter view, he is set against a solid, dark background. Light strikes his face from the left, emphasizing its fleshiness and making visible the hint of a double chin, bags under the eyes, a frown line at the corner of the mouth, a cleft chin, and puckered brow. The sitter wears a pleated crimson doublet, a black standing collar, and a white shirt, visible at the neck. The doublet is lined with fur, which is turned out to trim the collar. The sitter's eyes are hazel, and over his dark brown hair he wears a soft bonnet of the type that was worn indoors, which now appears black but was originally purple.[21] In shape it resembles that worn by a prophet by the Master of the Aix Annunciation (Brussels)[22] or Christus's goldsmith, except that its earflap is folded up to create a brim. This sort of closely-cropped head set against a plain background was common in Flemish art of the early fifteenth century, such as Jan van Eyck's portraits of *A Man with a Red Turban* in London[23] and *Niccolò Albergati* in Vienna,[24] but another work attributed to Christus, the lost portrait of Pieter Adornes, also shares these features (fig. 5). The sitter in the Los Angeles panel wears the Burgundian fashion of the well-to-do-bourgeoisie; his fur-lined doublet suggests a certain degree of wealth.

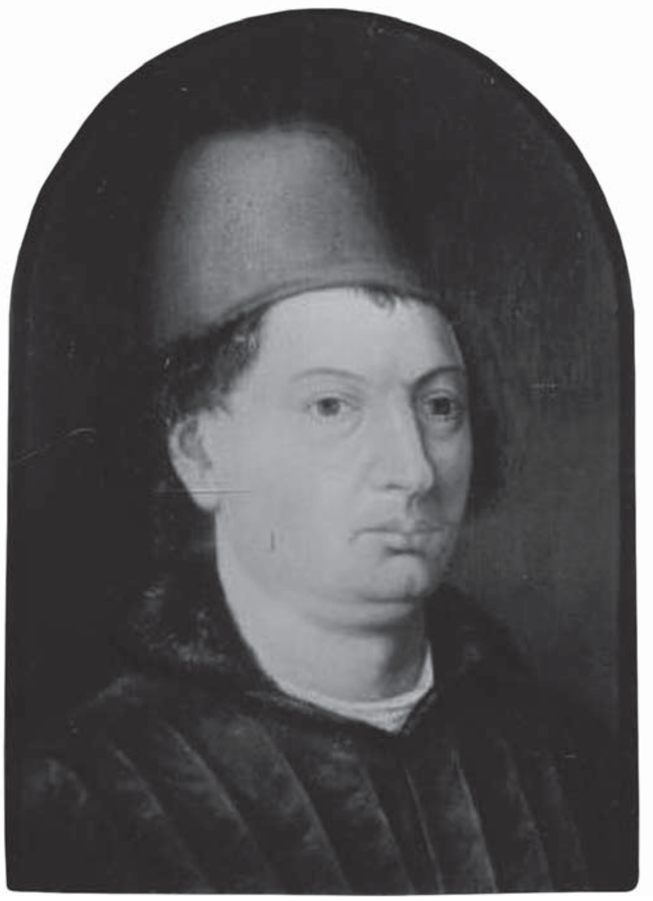
The closest stylistic analogy is the lost portrait of Pieter Adornes, which has recently been attributed to Christus (fig. 5).[25] The features of the sitter in Los Angeles do not agree with those of Adornes. However, the solid, dark background, the closely-cropped view of the sitter, the hint of a slight growth of beard and moustache, and the clearly marked bags under the eyes, puckered brow, and frown line are all similar. The two paintings are also close in size, yet considerably larger than Christus's other portraits.[26] Most strikingly similar is the shape of the stand-up collar as it turns around the neck. Since the collar of the Los Angeles portrait shows a pattern, probably brocade, in the underdrawing, Christus's initial sketch would have agreed even more with the painted portrait of Adornes. The identity of the distinctive-looking sitter in Los Angeles remains unknown.


CONSERVATION
CENTER
LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART

13.



14.



12. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man*, X-radiograph

13. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man*, detail of the hat

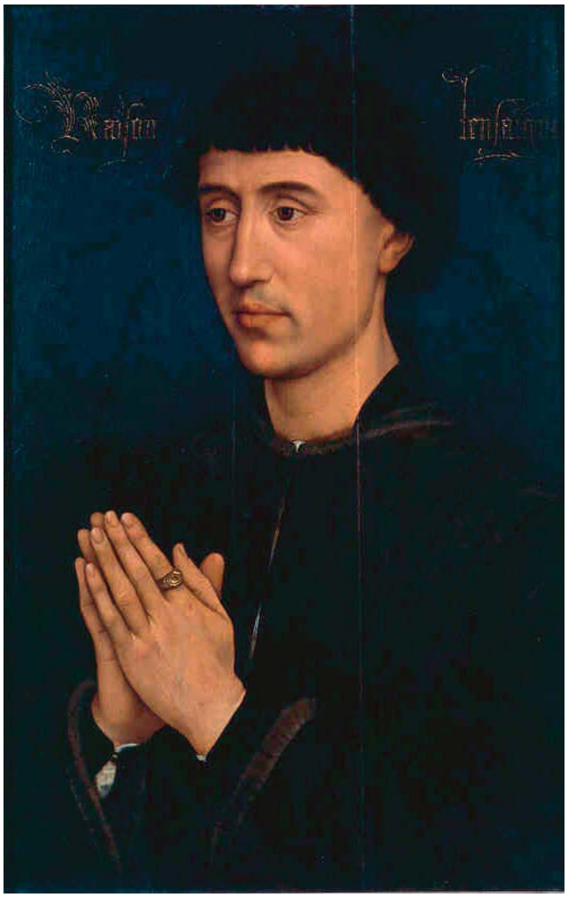
14. Netherlandish Master, *Portrait of a Man*, copy after Petrus Christus, 28 × 20 cm., Amsterdam, Sale Mak van Way, 13-19 June 1944, no. 16

The position of the man, facing right, suggests that this painting may have served originally as a left wing. The lack of hands makes it unlikely that it was part of a devotional diptych or triptych. Rather it was probably joined with a portrait of the sitter's wife on the right wing. Such paired portraits have been attributed to the Master of Flémalle, Hans Memling, and Petrus Christus himself (figs. 5-6, and entry no. 258).[27] In all cases the male sitter, like the one in Los Angeles, is set against a plain background and faces to the right. G. Bauman (1986) suggested that such diptychs may have been commissioned to commemorate a marriage or, more generally, family lineage. No portrait has ever been paired with the painting in Los Angeles.

6. Comparative Material

- Netherlandish Master, *Portrait of a Man*, 15th or 16th century, free copy sold at Mak van Way, Amsterdam, 13-19 June 1944, no. 16 (fig. 14)

7. Comments



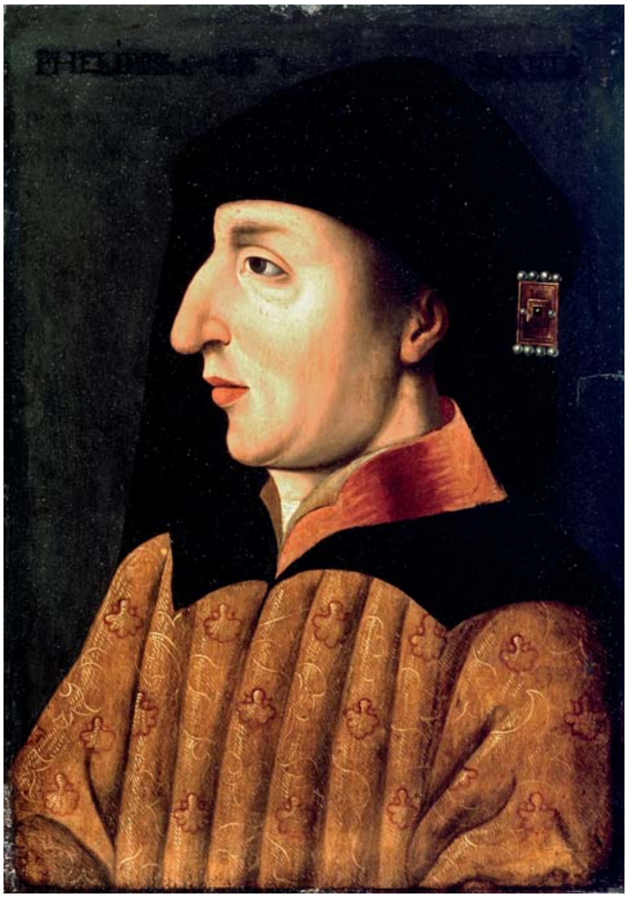
15. Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Jean de Froimont,* 51.1 × 33.2 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/ Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 4279

The attribution of the portrait to Petrus Christus is perfectly justified. Both the underdrawing and the application of paint are consistent with other works by this artist.

The portrait is difficult to date. The stand-up collar, narrow fur trim at the neckline, and hair cut are close to a *Portrait of Jean de Froimont*, dated shortly before 1464 (fig. 15).[28] The cut of the bonnet is found in illuminations and panel paintings dating from the late 1430s to the 1470s (figs. 5, 7).[29] The bonnet and pleated crimson jacket resemble those of Christus's goldsmith (fig. 7), although in the portrait in Los Angeles the pleats lie flatter and rise to the top of the shoulders. The similar portrait of Adornes probably dates to ca. 1450 (fig. 5). M. Ainsworth (1994), however, has dated the portrait in Los Angeles on the basis of style to around 1465. For these reasons, the panel probably should be dated between 1450 and the painter's death sometime between 2 September 1475 and 13 March 1476.[30]

Unresolved is the nature and function of the form attached to the side of the sitter's bonnet in the underdrawing (fig. 8). Manuscript illuminations and panel paintings show men wearing hats that are decorated with badges, feathers, ribbons, cords, chains, and jewels (fig. 16).[31] Often these objects are pinned to the brim, but sometimes they appear on the main body of the hat, as in the portrait by Christus.[32] The shape of the ornament in Christus's underdrawing does not look like a tassel, the object Fronek (1995) believed it most closely resembled. Furthermore, tassels were generally attached to the very top of a tall hat.[33] The size and rectangular shape of the form instead most closely resemble a large jewel, such as those that appear on hats worn by the Burgundian nobility (fig. 16).

Bonnets are rarely adorned in portraits painted on panel. One exception is the *Man with an Arrow,* ca. 1470-1480 in Washington,[34] which shows on the upturned brim of the sitter's hat a small badge of the Virgin and Child, possibly the insignia of a religious confraternity or an object of personal devotion.[35] However panel portraits of the wealthiest class of Burgundian society, namely the dukes and their immediate family members, are shown with large jewels decorating their hats, which are generally not simple bonnets (fig. 16).[36] The wealthy are distinguished from the poor in part by such jewels, as is clearly shown in a miniature, illuminated in Bruges ca. 1475-1480,[37] that contrasts members of the temperate elite with those of the intemperate lower class.[38] In addition to aristocrats, young dandies also seemed to prefer jeweled hats, to judge by illuminations, but sober, middle-aged merchants and artisans avoided portraying themselves with such ornaments (figs. 5, 7). Perhaps



16. Flemish Master, *Portrait of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip II the Bold*, copy of a fifteenth-century painting, 41 × 30 cm., Lille, Musée de l'Hospice Comtesse, inv. no. P.1514

Christus or his sitter decided to omit the jewel on his hat and to transform his brocaded collar into a black one so that, like so many others of his class, he might appear more staid and somber and therefore more suited to his role as a middle-aged merchant.

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1925: De Ricci, p. 38-39.
1927: Baldass, p. 82-83, fig. 3.
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2013-2014: *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, p. 107, 108.

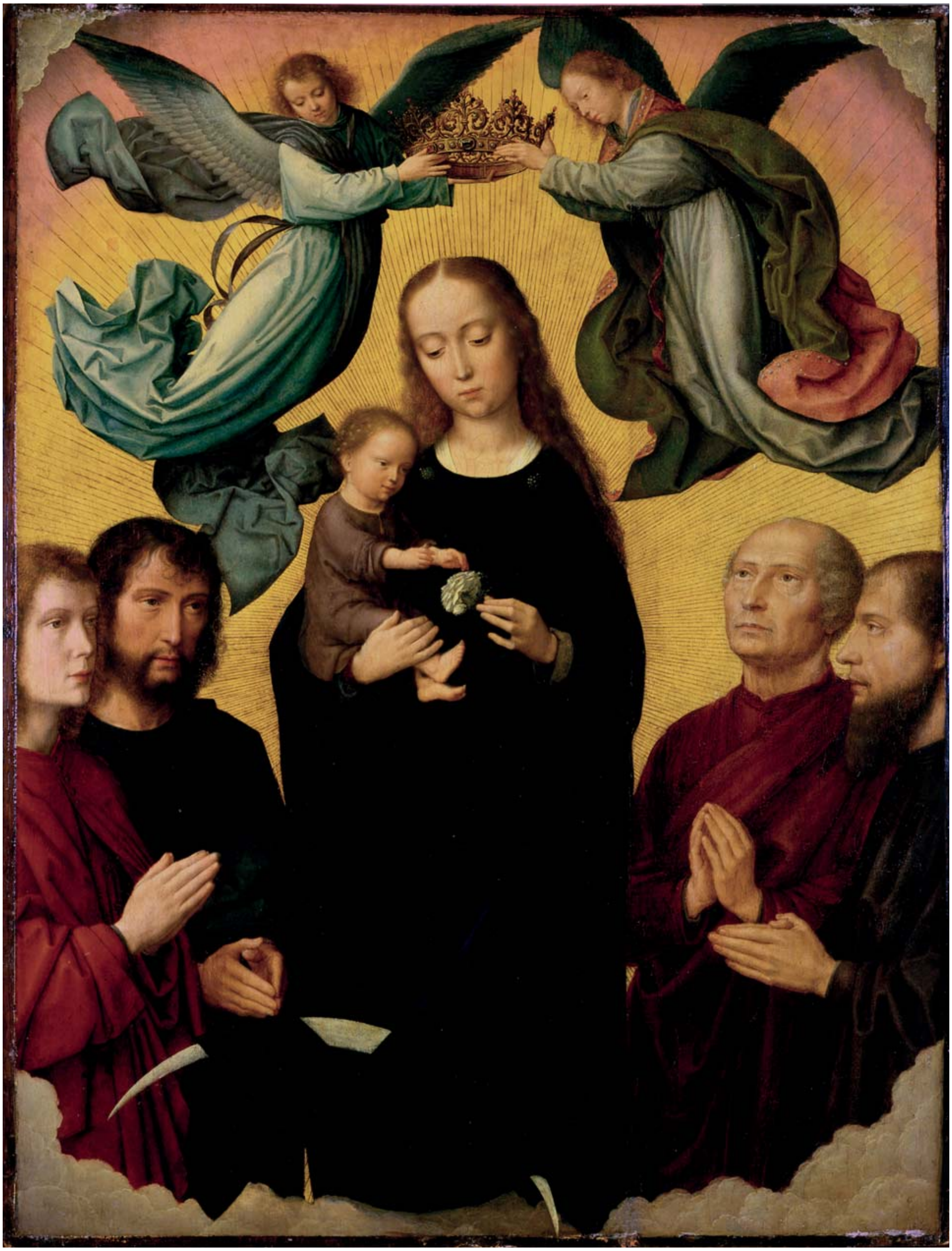
Notes

1. W.H.J. Weale, 1903, p. 51, had earlier compared the portrait to another painting by Christus without attributing this one to him. The catalogue of 1921 ascribes the attribution to Christus to C. Holmes. Those who support the attribution to Christus include *Catalogue of Pictures and other Objects of Art selected from the Collections of Mr. Robert Holford* (exhib. cat), London, 1921, p. 14; R.H. Benson, 1924, p. 43; S. De Ricci, 1925, p. 38; L. Baldass, 1927, p. 82; *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. Burlington House. A Memorial Volume* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927b, p. 10, no. 15; *Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927, cat. no. 15; R. Fry, 1927, p. 62; *Catalogue of the final portion of the collection of important pictures* (sale cat.), Christie's, Manson & Woods, 1928, p. 11; W. Gibson, 1928, p. 197-98; *Catalogue of a Century of progress exhibition of painting and sculpture* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 1934, p. 20-21 ; W. Schöne, 1938, p. 56, no. 8; R. McKinney, 1944a, p. 3; *The Balch Collection and Old Masters from Los Angeles Collections Assembled in Memory of Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1944, cat. no. 17; R. McKinney, 1944b, p. 11; E. Feinblatt, 1948, p. 31; G. Bazin, 1952, p. 200; *A Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch, and English Paintings, XV-XVIII Century* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1954, cat. no. 1; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 98; *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1960, p. 48; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1965, p. 64; M. Comblen-Sonkes, 1970, p. 202; J. Upton, 1972, p. 335-37; 110; J.M. Collier, 1975, p. 131; M. Ainsworth, 1994, p. 154-57; J. Fronek, 1995, p. 175-80; T.-H. Borchert, in *The Age of Van Eyck: the Mediterranean world and early Netherlandish painting, 1430-1530* (exhib. cat.), Ghent and Amsterdam, 2002, p. 231; *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, 2013-2014, p. 107, 108.
2. See M. Ainsworth, 1994, p. 154, for Friedländer and Gellman. B. Richter, 1974, p. 451, also did not see the work, since he relied for his identification of colors on Faggin's publication.
3. S. Schaefer, 1987, p. 103, and J. Lauts, 1988, p. 296, following Panofsky and Shabacker, rejected the attribution of the painting to Christus. B. Aikema, in *Renaissance Venice and the North. Crosscurrents*

in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian (exhib. cat.), Venice, 1999, p. 186, terms the attribution unresolved.

4. For H. Pauwels, see *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1960, p. 48.
5. Those who note similarities with Antonella include L. Baldass, 1927, p. 83; R. McKinney, 1944a, p. 3, E. Feinblatt, 1948, p. 32; G. Bazin, 1952, p. 200; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 99; *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1960, p. 49; L. Castelfranchi Vegas, 1984, p. 86, 121.
6. M. Ainsworth, 1994, p. 61.
7. A. von Wurzbach, 1, 1974, p. 276, and L. Baldass, 1927, p. 82, agreed.
8. M. Ainsworth, 1994, p. 154.
9. M. Ainsworth, 1994, p. 51, 154.
10. L. Gellman, 1995.
11. For Borchert's catalogue entry, see *The Age of Van Eyck: the Mediterranean world and early Netherlandish painting, 1430-1530,* Ghent and Amsterdam, 2002, p. 231.
12. See L. Gellman, 1970, p. 478, for a summary of opinions concerning dating.
13. For H. Pauwels, see note 4.
14. See note 11. *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, 2013-2014 dated the painting ca. 1465.
15. J. Fronek, 1995, p. 176, 179.
16. D. Stulik and M.R. Shilling 1994, unpublished Scientific Program Memorandum of 2 November 1994.
17. The drawing is imaged better using a bandpass filter at 1.3 microns than with bandpass filters at 1.6 and 1.8 microns.
18. D. Stulik and M.R. Shilling, 1994.
19. J. Fronek, 1995, p. 175-179.
20. D. Stulik and M.R. Shilling, 1994.
21. A.H. Van Buren and R.S. Wieck, 2011, p. 178.
22. Master of the Aix Annunciation, *Prophet Jeremy*, 152 × 86 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/ Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 4494.
23. Jan van Eyck, *A Man with a Red Turban*, 26 × 19 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG222.
24. Jan van Eyck, *Niccolò Albergati*, 32.5 × 25.5 cm., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. GG_975.
25. See above.
26. His *Carthusian* measures 29.2 × 20.3 cm, his *Lady* 28 × 21 cm., but the portrait of Adornes and that of his wife 47 × 32.2 cm.
27. See also the portraits of Bathélemy Alatruye and Marie Pace, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, which may be copies of early fifteenth-century paintings by the Master of Flémalle.
28. For this identification and date, see D. Vanwijnsberghe, 2003, p. 21-36.
29. See also A.H. Van Buren, 2011, p. 160, 163, 178-179, 182-183.
30. M.P.J. Martens, 1994, p. 19.
31. For fig. 23, see M. Scott, 2011, p. 113.
32. For slightly later examples, see Y. Hackenbroch, 1996, figs. 1-2, 9-10, 12-13, 19-20, 34-35, 41, 58-59, 71, 78-79 and C. Wilhelmi, 2011, figs. 2, 3, 5, 7-8, 13-14, 21, 25-28, 31-36, 40, 86, 110-118, 120-121, 125-134, 140-142, 167-168, 170, 177-179, 187, 196-199. 202, 205-206, 208-211, 215, 218-219, 221, 225, 230-235, 237-240, 243-245, 237-251, 262-263, 268, 270-273, 275-276, 278-279, 291-293, 295-301, 317, 319-322, 332, 35-342. For the portraits of Philip the Handsome and Margaret of Austria, see A.H. Van Buren, 2011, p. 240-241.
33. For such tassels, see A.H. Van Buren, 2011, p. 20-21; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 49.
34. Hans Memling, *Man with an Arrow*, 31.3 × 25.1 cm., Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1937.1.42.
35. O. Hand and M. Wolff, 1986, p. 190.
36. See also A.H. Van Buren, 2011, p. 240-242 for examples dated ca. 1483.
37. Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, *The Temperate and the Intemperate*, Cutting from Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings of the Romans*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. Ms. 43, recto.
38. M. Scott, 2011, p. 48-49.

1.



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Gerard David

Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints

1. Identification

Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. F.1965.1.17.P

Group: Gerard David
No. Corpus: 248

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

1822-1887: Madrid, Prince Juan de Bourbon
Madrid, Count Santa Maria
17 January 1936: New York, Sold by Count Santa Maria of Madrid through Allen Loebl to Duveen Brothers
1965: Pasadena, Sold to The Norton Simon Foundation

Material History

1935-1936: Helmut Ruhemann, treatment
1984: Bernard Rabin and Jeanne McKee, consolidation of cleaving paint

Exhibitions

1941 Detroit, Institute of Arts, *Masterpieces of art from European and American collections*, no. 15
1942 New York, M. Knoedler & Co., *Flemish Primitives*, no. 19
1946 New York, Duveen Art Galleries, *An exhibition of Flemish Paintings of the 15th and early 16th Centuries*, no. 3
1949 Bruges, Stedelijk Museum, *Gerard David*, no. 19
1950 Indianapolis, John Herron Art Museum, *Holbein and his contemporaries*, no. 20
1953-1954 London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Flemish Art 1300-1700*, no. 125
1954 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Flandres, Espagne, Portugal du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, no. 24
1957 London, University of Western Ontario, McIntosh Memorial Gallery, *15th- 16th- 17th Century Flemish Masters*, no. cat. no.

1. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, 70 × 52.2 cm., Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. F.1965.1.17.P

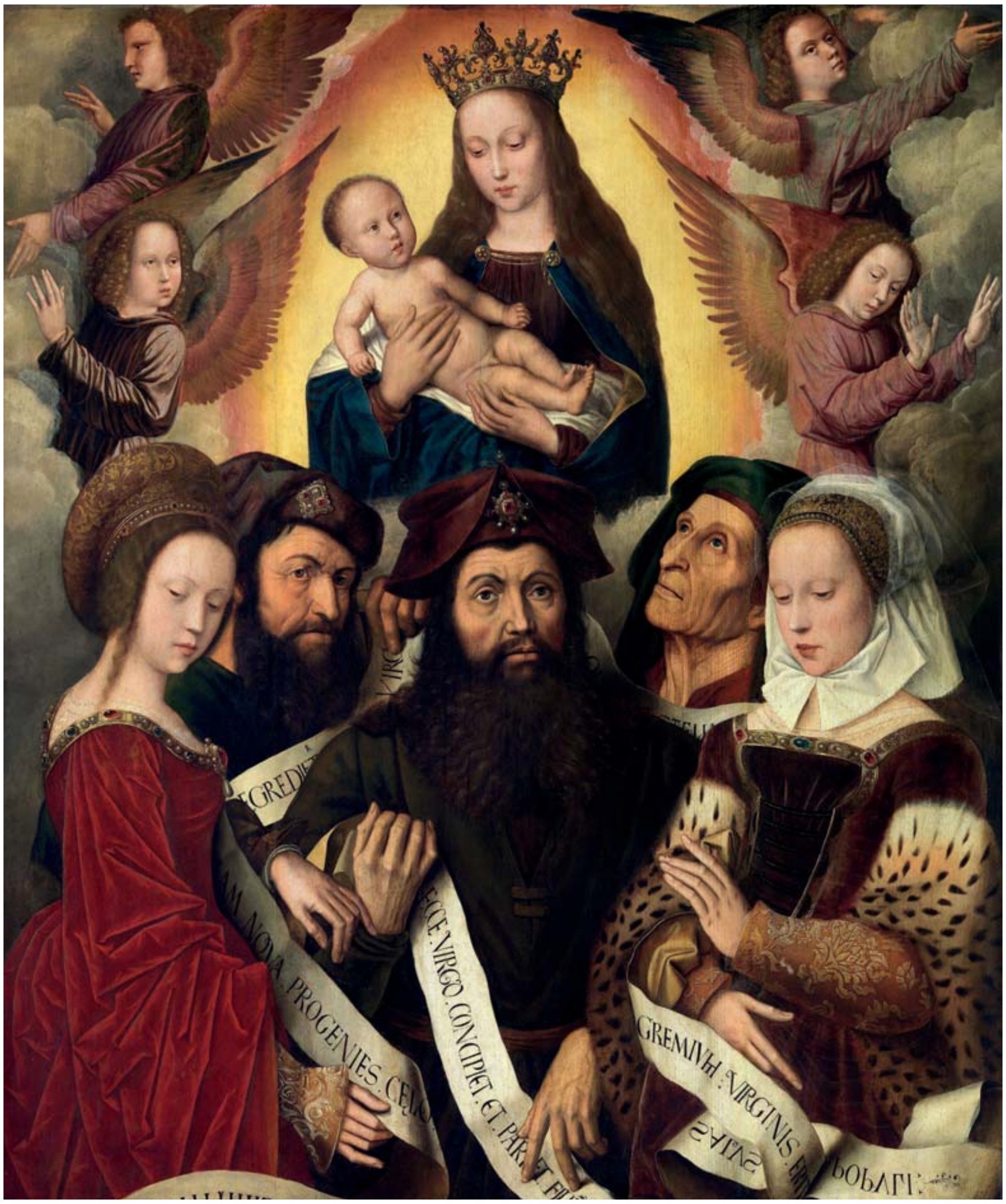
1960 Bruges, Groeningemuseum, *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands*, no. 60
1960 Detroit, Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization*, no. 48
1964 New York, Duveen Brothers, *Masterpieces of Flemish and Related Art*, no. 4
2001 Pasadena, Armory Center for the Arts, *The Universe: A Convergence of Art, Music, and Science*, no cat. no.

3. History of the Research

The first scholar to publish this painting, M.J. Friedländer (1937), attributed it to Gerard David (fig. 1). The first to date it was R. L. Douglas (1946), who placed it within David's "last Bruges period." Both conclusions have been universally supported.[1] By contrast, considerable disagreement has characterized discussions of its subject matter.

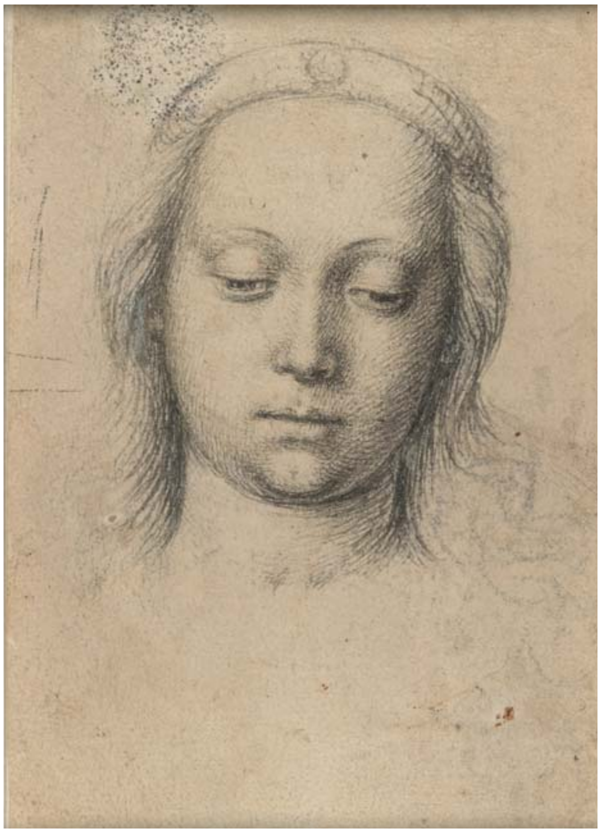
Although Friedländer (1937) identified the four male figures as saints, Douglas (1946) termed them Fathers of the Church, an idea supported by M.W. Brockwell in *Flemish Art 1300-1700* (exhib. cat.), London, 1953-1354. J. Folie (Detroit, 1960) observed, however, that they lack the ecclesiastical vestments traditionally worn by the Fathers and instead wear the simple robes and mantles of Christ's immediate followers. Their clothing and physiognomies led Folie to propose that they represent the four Evangelists. In particular, she identified the figure on the extreme left as St. John and the one on the right as St. Luke, noting the latter's resemblance to the saint in Rogier van der Weyden's Boston panel.[2] M. Ainsworth (1990, 1998) viewed the two on the left as SS. John the Evangelist and John the Baptist. By contrast, the four male figures were identified by E. Fahy (1969) as apostles and by H.J. Van Miegroet (1989) as Old Testament prophets. M. Ainsworth (1990) rejected the latter theory since the figures lack the prophets' traditional attribute of a banderole. In 1992 Van Miegroet proposed a second theory, that the figure on the extreme left was St. John the Evangelist, the two bearded men were the prophets Balaam and Isaiah, and the man on the Madonna's immediate right was a donor. He followed Douglas, who as early as 1946 characterized all four men as portraits, a possibility not excluded by H. Pauwels (Bruges, 1960). Ainsworth (1999) observed that Van Miegroet's theory is unconvincing, since a donor would never appear on the same scale and level as a saint.[3] J. Sander (1997) tentatively identified the four men as saints and prophets.

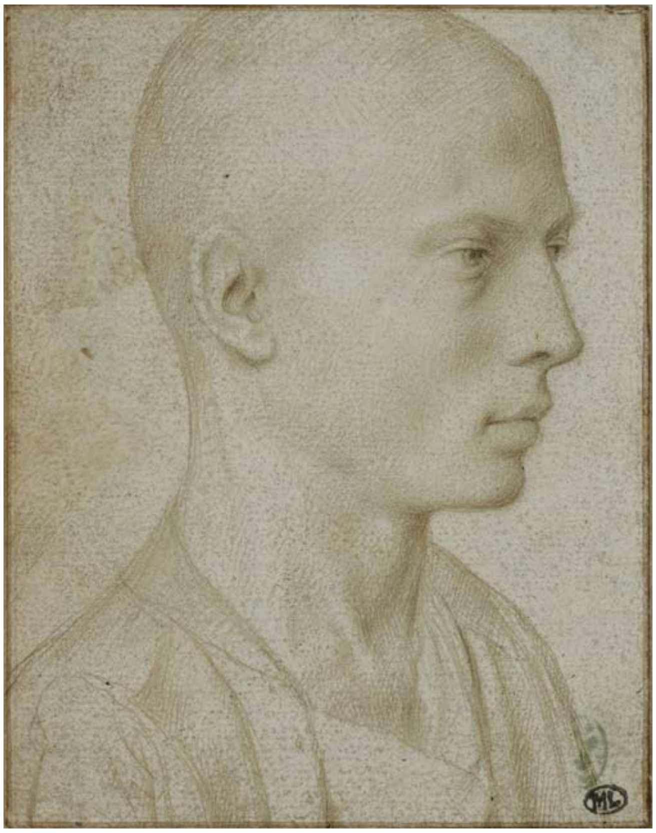
G. Hulin de Loo (1902) observed that a compositional formula showing two zones, with the Virgin and angels above and a group of figures, often prophets and sybils, below, was popular in Bruges. G. Marlier (1957) added David's painting to this group. J. Destrée (1923, 1926) had earlier noted that the humanist Jeroen van Busleyden (1479-1517) described a triptych, now lost, that he kept in his residence in Mechelen, a triptych by Hugo van der Goes of the *Deipara Virgin Foretold by the Prophets and Sibyls*, whose composition is best suggested by an illumination in a book of hours in Munich and a panel by Ambrosius Benson in Antwerp (fig. 2).[4] Folie (Detroit, 1960) and Pauwels (Bruges, 1960) linked David's painting to Hugo's lost triptych, and Van Miegroet (1989) and Martens and Van Miegroet (1998) agreed.



2. Ambrosius Benson (after Hugo van der Goes), *Deipara Virgo*, 131 × 108 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 262

Martens and Van Miegroet saw in this association not simply a compositional influence, but also a religious one. They viewed David's panel, like that of Van der Goes, not simply as an expression of Marian devotion, but also of the Immaculate Conception. They noted that this doctrine became popular in the 1470s after Pope Sixtus IV created a feast day dedicated to it and granted indulgences to those who recited a prayer that referred to it while gazing at an image showing the Virgin in the sun.[5] They further identified the male figures as prophets, based on the panel's similarity to Van der Goes' *Deipara Virgin.* Ainsworth (1990) countered that David's borrowing was only compositional, not religious. A. Walsh further noted that by the





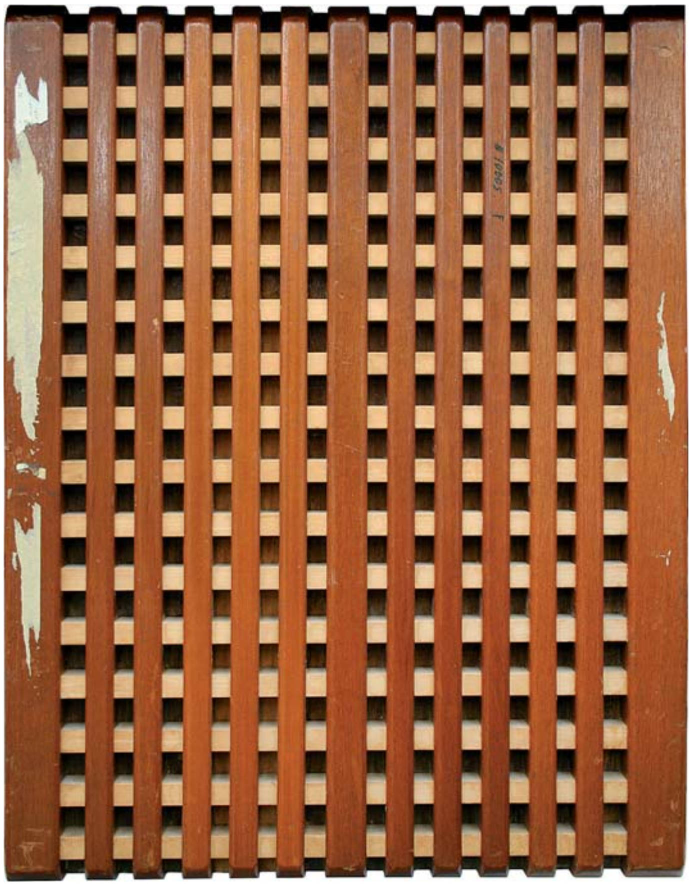
3. Gerard David, *Head of a Young Woman*, 14.2 × 10.2 cm., Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. no. 21575.

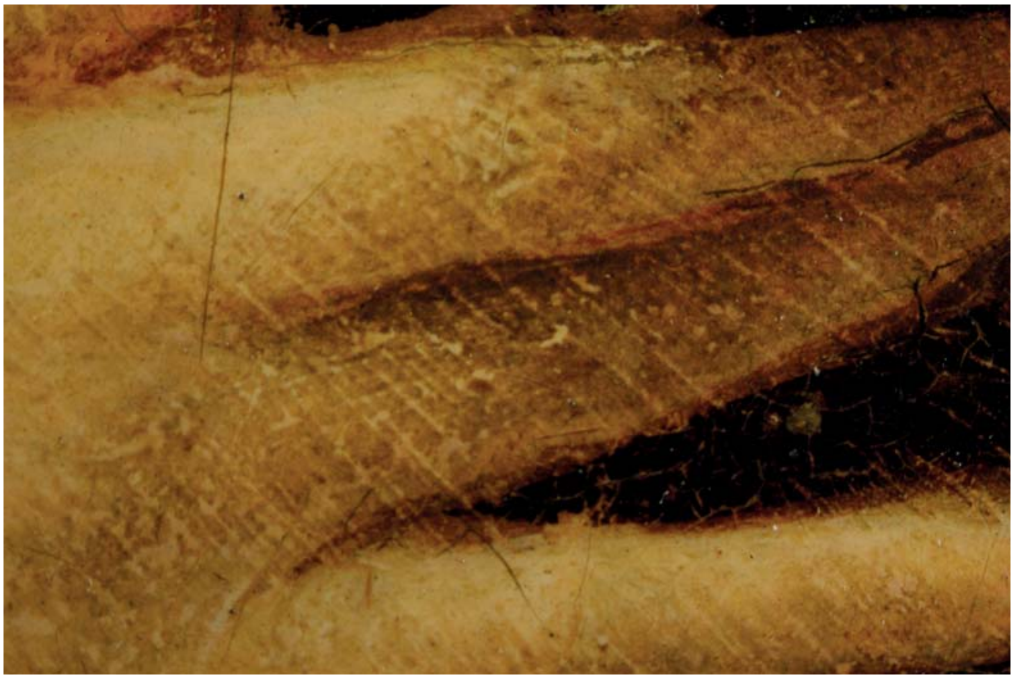
4. Gerard David, *Head of a Young Man,* 11 × 8.5 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, cat. no. 82

time David painted his work, the compositional type was so widespread that he need not have borrowed directly from Van der Goes.[6]

Scholars agree that the Virgin crowned by angels refers to her role as the Queen of Heaven, and that the presence of a crescent moon characterizes her as the Woman of the Apocalypse, but they disagree as to the identity of the flower she holds. Pauwels (Bruges, 1960) declared it to be a carnation, whereas Folie (Detroit, 1960) deemed it a rose, pointing to its similarity to that flower in David's *Virgin and Child* in Granada (fig. 15).

Ainsworth (1989, 1993, 1998) published several technical studies of the painting. She observed that two different media were used for its underdrawing, and proposed that each performed a different function. She believed that a preliminary rough sketch was executed in a crumbly material, probably chalk, for the Virgin's drapery, and a much finer, polished, and more meticulous drawing, executed in brush with parallel hatching, was used for the two figures at the left. The parts drawn in chalk, she argued, were in a state of flux up till the point of painting. She noted the numerous changes in the placement of the moon, which were necessitated by repositionings of the Virgin's drapery. She also observed that David created parallel hatching with the point of the brush to indicate modeling and volume. According to Ainsworth, David accomplished this by modulating "the length and curve of his stroke."[7]





5. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, verso with cradle

6. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, striations of the underlayer showing through the paint of the fingers

She further noted that these strokes closely resemble those in the artist's drawing of a female saint in Hamburg (fig. 3), which may have served as a workshop pattern, an ideal example of how to model a face. Similarly, Ainsworth pointed to the striking similarities between a drawing of a head of a young man in Paris and the man on the far left of the Norton Simon painting (fig. 4). In this figure, too, the lines in the underdrawing follow those in the drawing: "the arrangement of obliquely placed, long parallel strokes across the forehead, at the inside of the right eye and upper cheek, and at the nostril and shorter hatching along the bridge of the nose, beneath the lower lip, and along the contour of the chin."[8] Ainsworth concluded that the "even parallel hatching along the side of the face of the Virgin [...] in curved strokes that at once suggest the volume and shading of the side of the face is a feature common to David's later works," including the Norton Simon painting.[9] Finally Ainsworth asserted that in this painting, David uses shadows in the underdrawing as undermodeling in order to achieve a more pronounced chiaroscuro.

Walsh proposed that the patron might have been a Spaniard, either living in Bruges or Spain, and that the panel may have been commissioned for Charles V. She observed that the earliest known provenance for the panel is the collection of Prince Juan de Bourbon, one copy appears to be Spanish, relations between Bruges and Spain were close, and that Charles was an "ardent promoter" of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: H: 71 cm. left side,
71.1 cm. right side. W: 54.3 cm. top, 54.1 cm. bottom.
Painted Surface: H: 69.8 cm.
left side, 70 cm. right side.
W: 52 cm. top, 52.2 cm. bottom.

Support

The painting was executed on a panel comprised of two vertically grained boards; the join is located 18.4 cm. from the right edge. The panel was probably thinned prior to the attachment of the heavy cradle (fig. 5).

Frame

Not original.

Ground

Unpainted borders and the presence of a barbe indicate that the panel was prepared while in a frame. The moderately thick white ground masks the wood's texture, providing a smooth surface. Over this a thin white isolation layer was applied, which is visible in some places on the surface through the paint layer as striations (fig. 6). The isolation layer is not visible in the X-radiograph (fig. 7).

Underlying Drawing

There are three campaigns of drawing on this panel. The primary layout was executed with a liquid material, marking the contours and laying in shading with hatching along contour lines (fig. 8). This drawing is typified by the style revealed in the saints at the lower left and in the Infant. The hatching and cross-hatching is regular and controlled, the contours placed with confidence. In the attire of the Virgin, the underdrawing was reworked, especially in the zone beneath her hands. Here the drawing sequence is difficult to follow. It appears that a graphite or charcoal material was used with haste, marking tonal variations with zigzag lines, restruck contours, and cross-hatching for shadowed portions to re-define the folds of the Virgin's drapery. In this redrawing her outer cape was open, revealing simple vertical folds in the robe below. The crescent moon is only drawn in the original drapery layout, and the underdrawing with a dry material extends to the first position of the moon. The clouds at the lower right were also loosely sketched using this dry material. The lower portion of the Virgin's mantle was later redrawn again, using a heavy liquid line, so that it would sweep across from right to left, under the painted crescent moon. The lines of the restruck liquid contours are heavier and darker than the original drawing lines. The robe of the saint on the left was at least partially painted before the position of the moon was shifted, as the folds appear under the present moon. Indeed, the last drawing appears to have a paint-like quality, and is very broadly applied; it may have been done with paint after the picture was partially complete.

Paint Layer

The paint is thinly layered in a highly refined technique. Flesh tones are smoothly blended with subtle shading and delicate highlights (fig. 9). Transitions in draperies are fluently modeled, and detail finely depicted. Very thin strokes describe individual hairs on the Christ Child, angels, and saints. The rays of the Virgin's aureole were depicted with mordant gilding applied over the gold of the background, but only traces of the gilding remain, so that the red mordant now defines the rays (fig. 10). A thin veil of pink paint is smoothly drawn down over the gold-leafed background at the top and in the upper corners, with clouds painted in each corner of the panel.

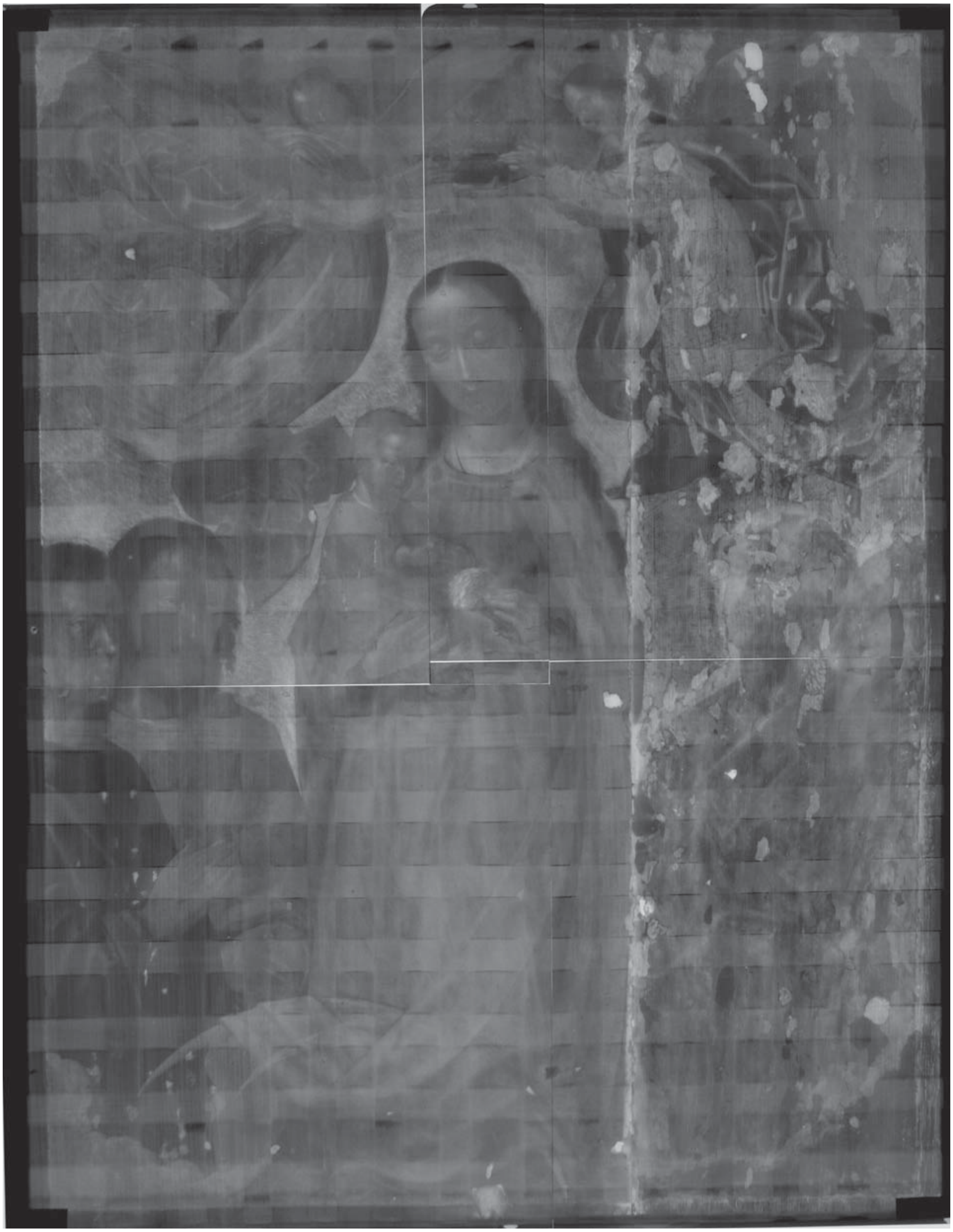
Few changes from the underdrawing are revealed other than the position of the crescent moon at the bottom of the painting, which was moved slightly higher at the left side, without redrawing. A significant amount of damage in the right third of the panel is revealed by both infrared reflectography and X-radiography (figs. 7-8). The damaged area corresponds to the right board of the underlying structure. A slight amount of abrasion has occurred throughout the rest of the painting. The restoration on the right side was carefully executed with extensive retouching and glazing.

The rightmost plank of the panel has suffered greatly in the past, and is presently profoundly retouched. This board has numerous large flake losses not seen in the other two planks that comprise the work. There is also loss along the join of this panel to the adjoining one, more prolific on the right than on the left. As a result, although the retouching is very well done, the right side of the panel imparts a less refined appearance than the remainder. At the time of examination the painting had a deeply discolored yellow varnish coating.

7. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, X-radiograph

8. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, infrared reflectogram

7.



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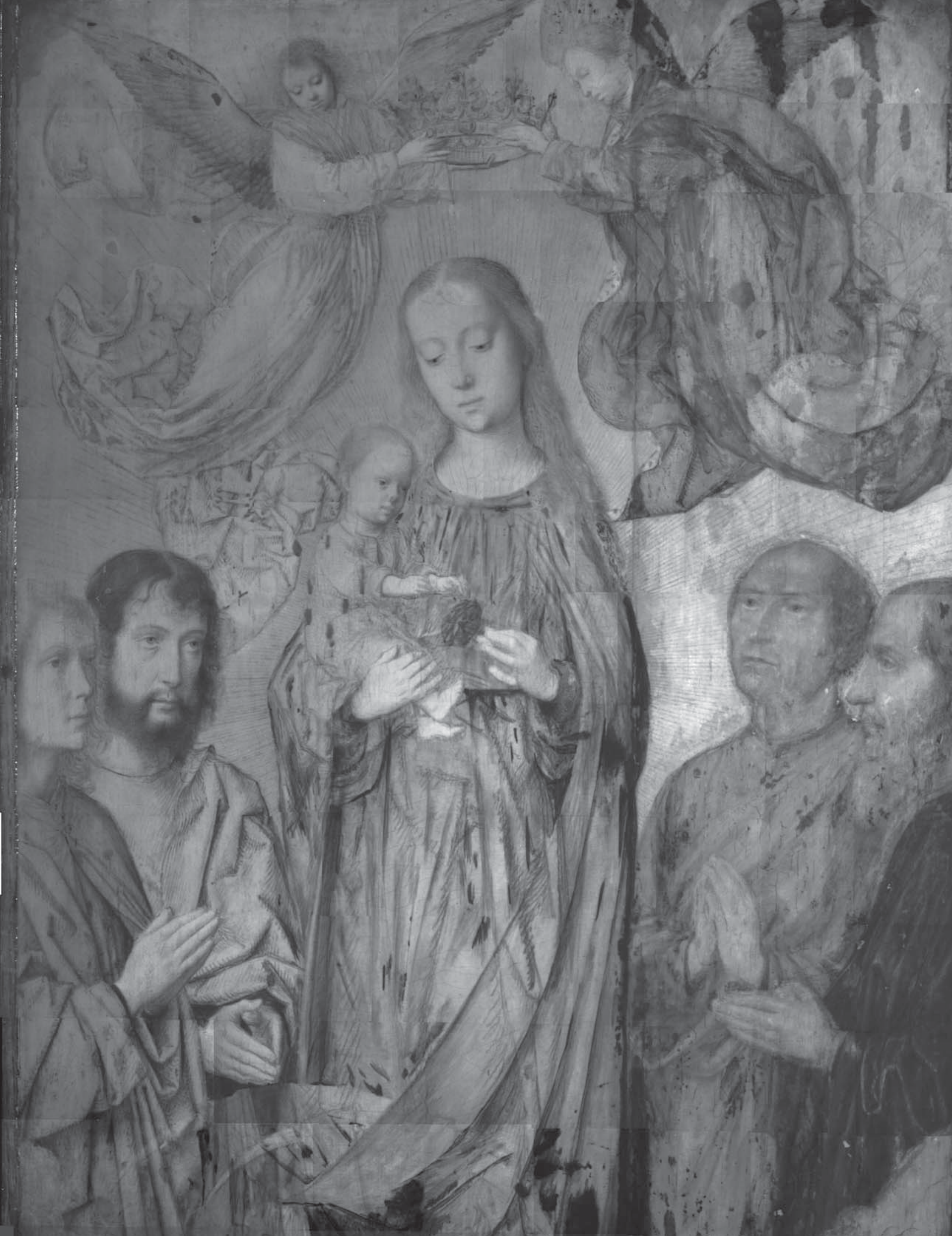
8.



5. Pictorial Analysis

This panel depicts the Virgin and Child crowned by two angels and accompanied by four male saints. The gold background and the clouds at the four corners make clear that this scene takes place in heaven. The angels float above the Virgin, gazing downwards while holding her golden crown, which is adorned with pearls and gems. They wear white albs and amices tinged with grayish blue-green. The angel on the left has a green stole and grey wings. That on the right wears a green-lined red cope, whose border is studded with pearls.

The Madonna wears a white chemise, visible at the neck, a blue robe, grayish cuffs over red sleeves, and a blue mantle fastened at the neck by a largely abraded red ribbon that loops round two buttons. Her loose, uncovered hair is auburn, her cheeks rosy, and her expression sweet but somber. Her "melancholic tenderness," as Walsh terms it, expresses her knowledge of the Passion to come. Her right arm cradles the curly-haired Christ child who wears a lavender tunic. His right leg kicks as his arms stretch out to reach the white rose held in the Madonna's left hand. Rays issue from her entire body, and the bottom of her mantle drapes over a crescent moon.

Below stand four men, two to either side. Each folds his hands in prayer and has a far-off look as if absorbed in prayer. Each wears a simple robe and mantle, with sleeves of an undergarment slightly visible at the wrist. The youngest, fairest figure at the left wears red, the bearded one beside him blue. On the other side the balding man in red is clean-shaven, the other is bearded and in brownish purple.

Two angels crown the Madonna, which refers to her role as the Queen of Heaven. She is also depicted as the Woman of the Apocalypse, since she is accompanied by a crescent moon and rays issue from her body, filling the background of the painting with a golden light. These motifs originate in Rev. 12:1-2, which describes a woman who is "clothed in the sun, with the moon under her feet."[10] This woman became identified not only with the Madonna, but, from the late fourteenth century on, with the controversial doctrine of her Immaculate Conception.[11] In 1438, the Council at Basel established that the belief that Mary was born without original sin was consonant with the Catholic faith. In 1476 Pope Sixtus IV authorized the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.[12] The next year he probably also granted indulgences of 11,000 years to those who recited a prayer referring to this doctrine while contemplating an image of the Virgin in the Sun.[13] For this reason, beginning in the 1470s images of the *Virgo in Sole* became increasingly popular.

M. Levi D'Ancona (1957) discussed the many connections between the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin and doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. She suggested that the earliest visual example to show this link may be an illumination in a Flemish thirteenth-century Psalter (London, The British Library).[14] An illumination in a Diurnal, that is, a book containing all the offices for the daily canonical hours of prayer except matins, which was commissioned in 1455 for Isabella of Bourbon, wife of Charles the Bold, also associates the Coronation of the Virgin with the Immaculate Conception (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum).[15] Levi D'Ancona observed that the connection between the two themes grew at the end of the fifteenth century, and that it was not unusual by the early sixteenth century to show the Virgin being crowned while she holds the Christ Child.[16] Levi D'Ancona also explained the meaning of the rose without thorns, which the Virgin holds. Since the thorn is a symbol of sin, this motif suggests that the Virgin is immaculate.

The costumes of the four men agree with those of the apostles in David's *Transfiguration* in Bruges (fig. 12), which suggests that they represent early followers of Christ. Since the young age, costume, and physiognomy of the praying figure at the extreme left is consistent with David's other representations of St. John the Evangelist, the youngest of the twelve apostles, this figure should be identified with that saint (fig. 11). The three other apostles, since they lack any specific attribute, cannot be identified.

6. Comparative Material

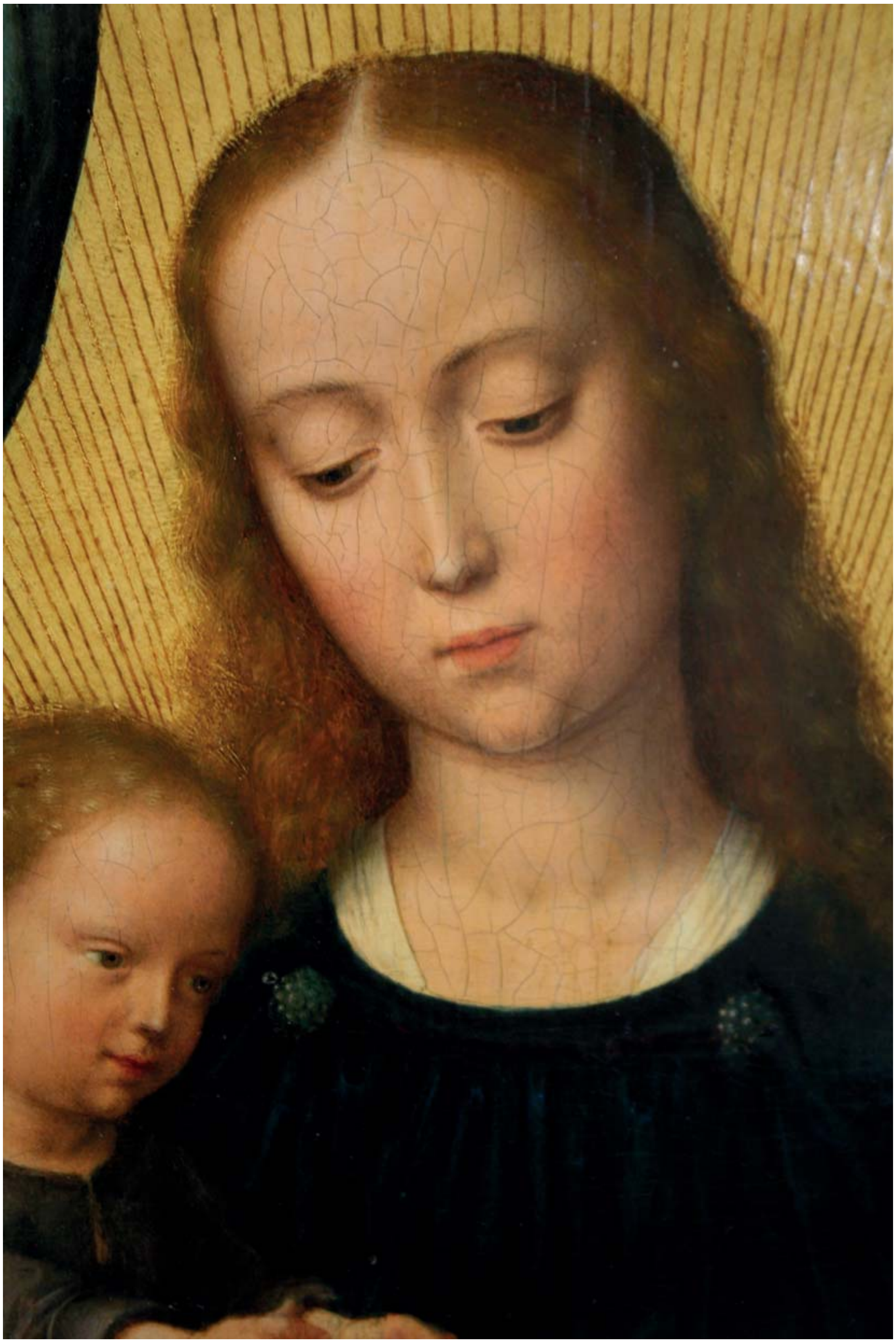
Copies:

- J. Folie reported that "a late, exact copy" was sold at Sotheby's, London, at the Count Greffuhle sale on 22 July 1937 (no. 58) and that a photograph of it exists in the RKD.[17] The sales catalogue, which does not illustrate the painting, attributes it to Gerard David and describes it as a "Madonna and Child, crowned by two Angels and adored by four Saints." This panel measures 69 × 54 cm. (RKD no. B191415)
- A. Walsh proposed that the painting in the Geffuhle Sale is probably the copy formerly in the collection of Mrs. Perls, Paris, RKD neg. no. L772266, IRPA no. 20053706, B191415. This painting was sold at Drouot, Paris, on 26 April 1993, no. 4. However, since this panel only shows two saints and its size (72 × 49 cm.) does not match the Count Geffuhle painting, it is doubtful that it is identical with that copy.
- A. Walsh mentions another copy with variations, whose present location is unknown. Its photograph, stamped "Foto Gasparini, Genova," is currently in the photo archives of the Getty Research Institute and came from the files of Julius Weitzner. Measuring 21 × 28 cm., its style seems Spanish or Latin American. The copyist has changed some of the facial types, especially for the two men at the left, and elaborated the background with clouds and two additional angels.

Other related paintings :

- Gerard David, *Madonna and Child with Four Angels*, 63.2 × 39.1 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1977.1.1 (fig. 14)
- Gerard David, *Virgin and Child*, 43 × 34 cm., Granada, Iglesia del Sacro Monte (fig. 15)[18]
- Gerard David, *Virgin and Child with two Angels,* 15.7 × 11.8 cm., Banbury, National Trust, Upton House, Bearsted Collection (fig. 16)[19]

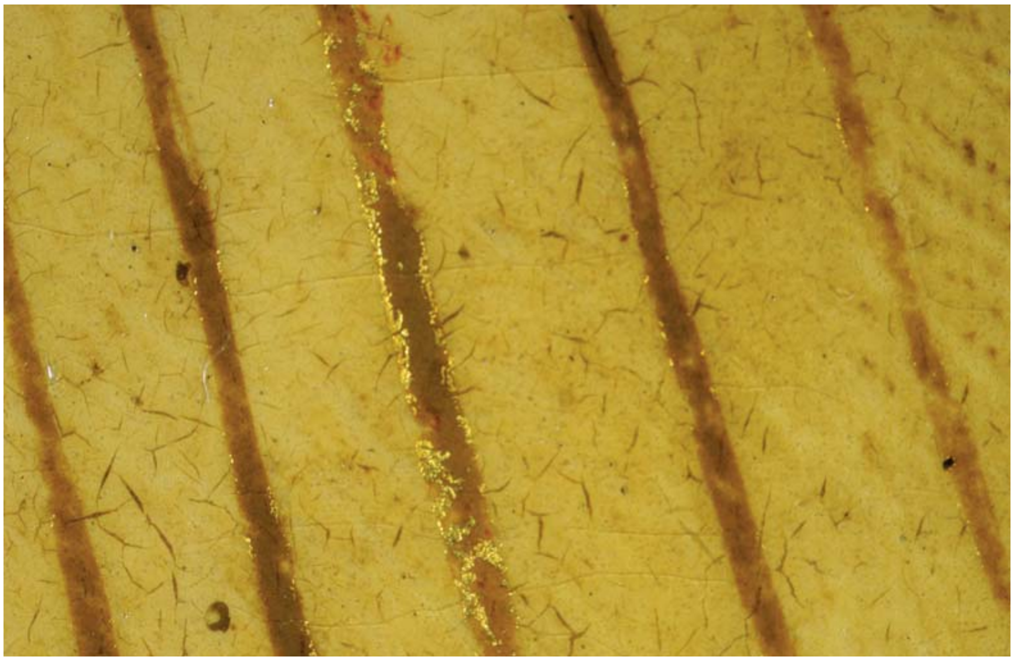
9.



9. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, detail of the faces of the Virgin and Child

10. Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, rays of the Virgin's aureole, close-up of the mordant gilding

10.



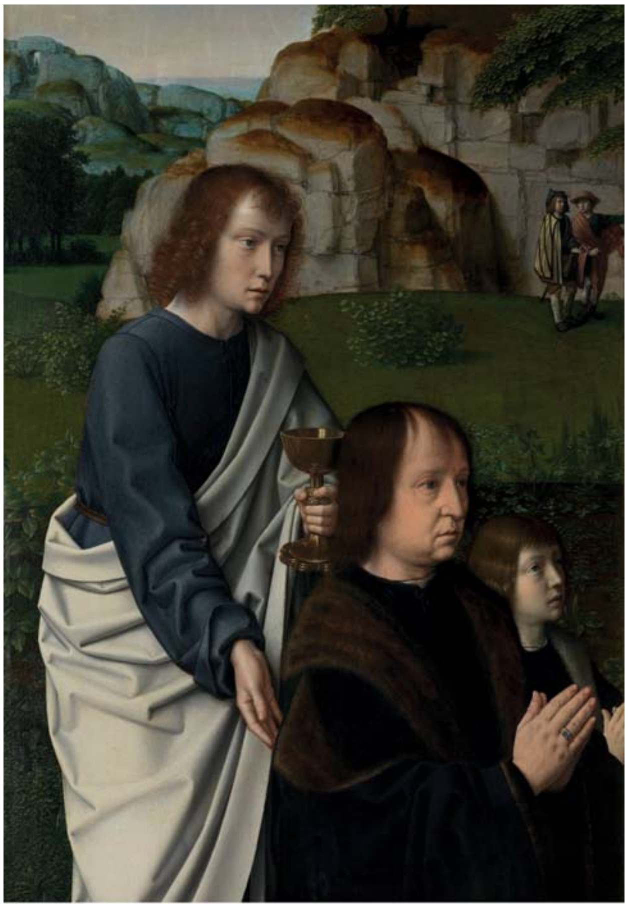
7. Comments

Ainsworth's assertion that the underdrawing was executed in two materials is correct, but the present authors disagree with her concerning the sequence and purpose of their employment. Rather than beginning with the chalk sketch, the fine liquid drawing can be seen throughout the painting, including the top of the Virgin's robe, her head and hair, the angels, and the Christ child. This was presumably the initial plan. The chalk was evidently used to rework the lower portion of the composition, redrawing the robe and placing the clouds in the lower corners. Finally, in conjunction with the repositioning of the crescent moon during the process of painting, the robe folds were cursorily redrawn yet again.

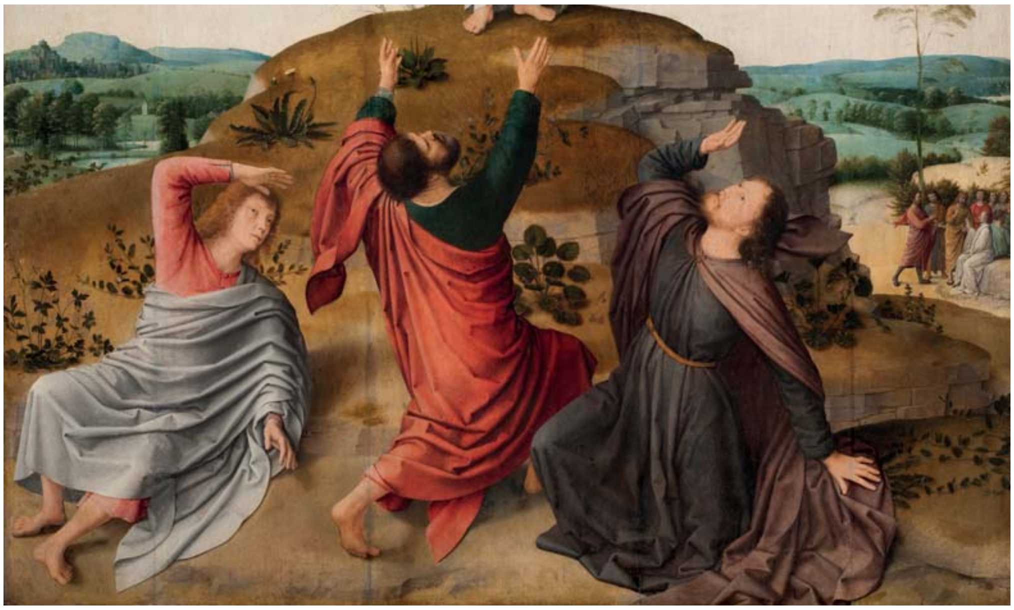
A small-scale devotional painting, the Norton Simon *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints* is justly attributed to Gerard David and dated to his last period. Its atmospheric veil, which softens the forms, is typical of David's late works. The Norton Simon painting shows an unusual combination of elements. Its composition derives from the two-part formula that may have appeared first in Hugo van der Goes's lost *Deipara Virgin* and then became popular in Bruges, but David's work lacks a clear division between its upper and lower parts. Instead, the Virgin, though rising higher than the figures that surround her, protrudes into the lower half of the painting. The floating angels holding a crown resemble their counterparts in David's *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* in New York, also a late work, generally dated 1510-1515 (fig. 14). The rose is quite close to that in his *Virgin and Child* in Granada (fig. 15). The pose of the Child resembles that in the *Virgin and Child with Angels* in Upton House, generally dated late, ca. 1500-1505 (fig. 16). The youngest praying figure must be St. John the Evangelist, which perfectly suits the subject, since this saint was believed to be the author of the Book of Revelations. Although the individual parts of this composition are familiar from other works by David, their combination is unusual for this artist in particular and for early Netherlandish painting in general.

Walsh proposed that this work may have been commissioned for Charles V. Although, according to S. Stratton (1994), Charles was devoted to the Immaculate Conception, so were many other Catholics. J. González Garcia (2010) and F. Checa Cremades (2010), in their studies of Charles V's inventories, concluded that this Habsburg prince was much more interested in luxury objects, such as jewels, metalwork, and tapestry than in panel painting, and no archival evidence confirms that Charles commissioned David's *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*.[20] Technical evidence does suggest, however, that the patron was wealthy since this is an expensive work. The background is gold ground, the rays were produced with mordant gilding, and the Virgin's robe was painted with exceptionally large particle azurite, all costly techniques and materials.[21]

11.

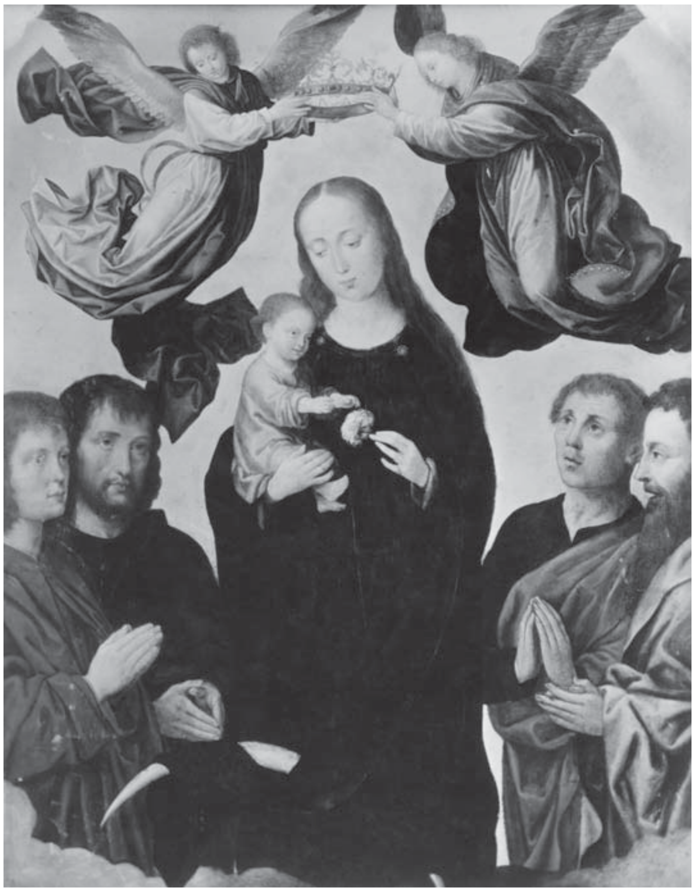


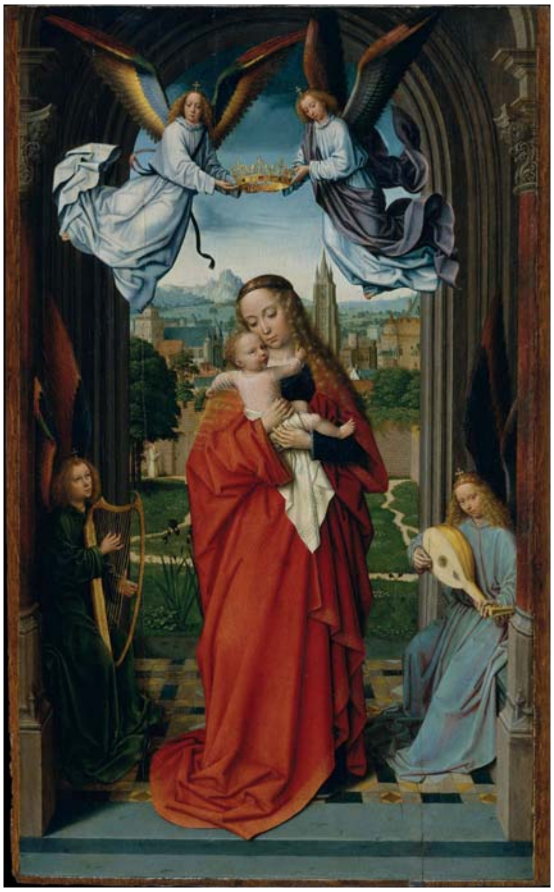
12.



11. Gerard David, *Baptism Triptych, Jan de Trompes with Son and St. John the Evangelist* (left interior wing), 132 × 43 cm. (each wing), Bruges, Groeningemuseum, detail of face of John the Evangelist, inv. no. 0000.GR00035.I

12. Gerard David, *Transfiguration,* 174 × 120 cm., Bruges, Our Lady Church, detail



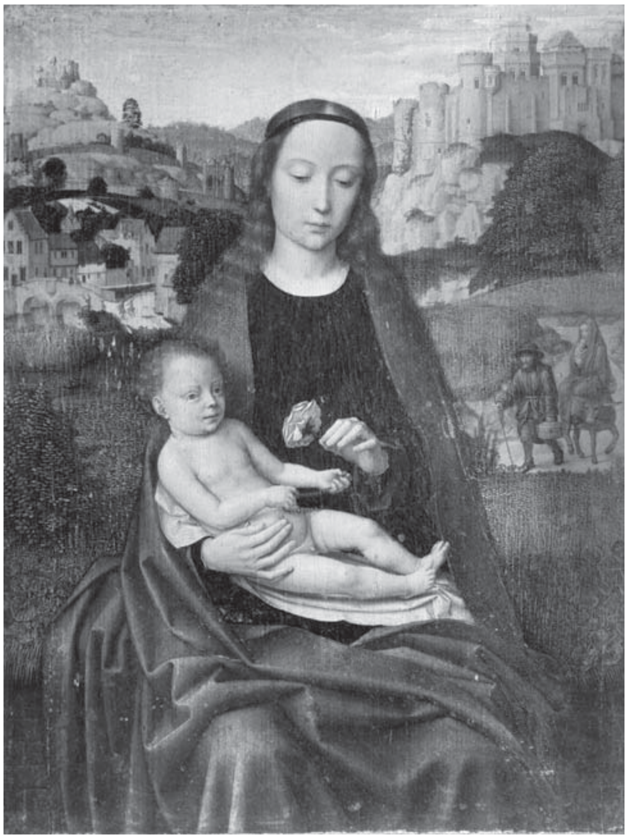


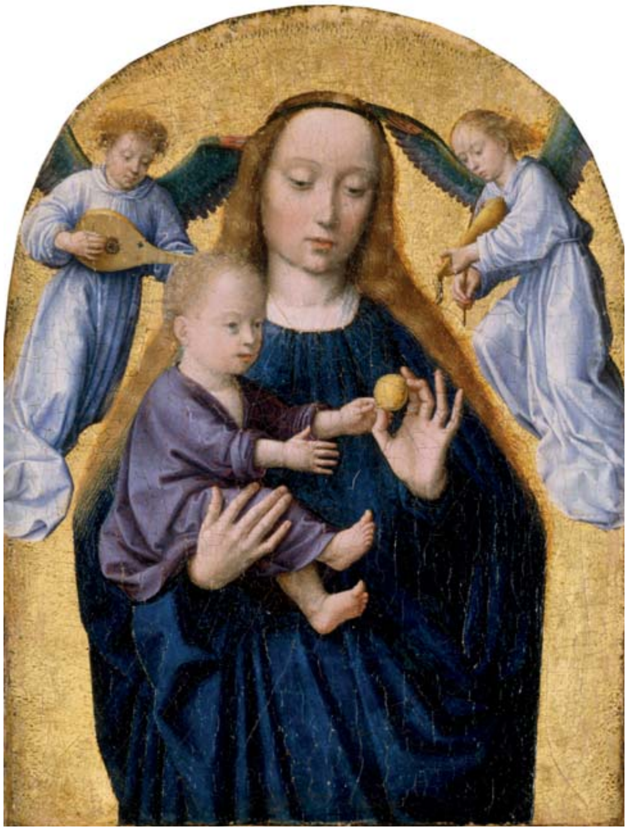
13. Spanish or Latin American copy of Gerard David, *Virgin Crowned by Angels with Four Saints*, 21 × 28 cm., present location unknown (photo Getty Museum archives)

14. Gerard David, *Madonna and Child with Four Angels*, 63.2 × 39.1 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1977.1.1

8. Bibliography

1937: Friedländer, XIV, p. 106.
1941: *Masterpieces of art from European and American collections* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, p. 6, no. 15.
1941: Richardson, p. 18.
1942: *Flemish Primitives. An Exhibition Organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 62.
1946: Douglas, p. 161-163.
1946: *An Exhibition of Flemish Paintings of the 15th and early 16th Centuries held at the Duveen Art Galleries* (exhib. cat.), New York, cat. no. 3.
1949: *Gerard David* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, p. 20, no. 19.
1949: Van Gelder, p. 254.
1950: *Holbein and his Contemporaries.* (exhib. cat.), Indianapolis, cat. no. 20.
1953-1954: *Flemish Art 1300-1700* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 40, no. 125.
1954: *Flandres, Espagne, Portugal du XVIe au XVIIe siècle* (exhib. cat.), Bordeaux, p. 48, no. 24.
1957: *15th - 16th- 17th Century Flemish Masters* (exhib. cat.), London, Canada, n.p.
1957: Marlier, p. 181.
1960: *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, p. 189 (no. 48), 191.
1960: *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, p. 154-155, no. 60.
1964: *Masterworks of Flemish and Related Art* (exhib. cat.), New York, cat. no. 4.
1969: Fahy, p. 192.
1971: Friedländer, VIb, p. 112, Supp. 254, pl. 252.
1979: Morse, p. 91.
1979: Sutton, p. 40.
1980: Mundy, p. 38.
1980: *Selected Paintings at the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 33.





15. Gerard David, *Madonna and Child,* 43 × 34 cm., Granada, Iglesia del Sacro Monte

16. Gerard David, *Virgin and Child with Angels,* 15.7 × 11.8 cm., Banbury, National Trust, Upton House, Bearsted Collection

1988: Ainsworth, p. 529, no. 5.
1989: Ainsworth, p. 21-25.
1989: *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 24.
1989: Van Miegroet, p. 256-259, 265, 306-307, no. 41.
1990: Ainsworth, p. 652.
1992: Van Miegroet, p. 94.
1993: Ainsworth, p. 20, pls. 5-7.
1997: Sander, p. 167-169.
1998: Ainsworth, p. 20, 22, 24-25, 29-30, 45, 47-48, 96, 275, 320.
1998: Martens and Van Miegroet, p. 49.
1998: Muchnic, p. 79.
2001: Deziel and Knoke, p. 53, 56, 58.
2003: *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 39.
2010a: Campbell, p. 442, cat. D13.
Forthcoming: Walsh, cat. no. 19.

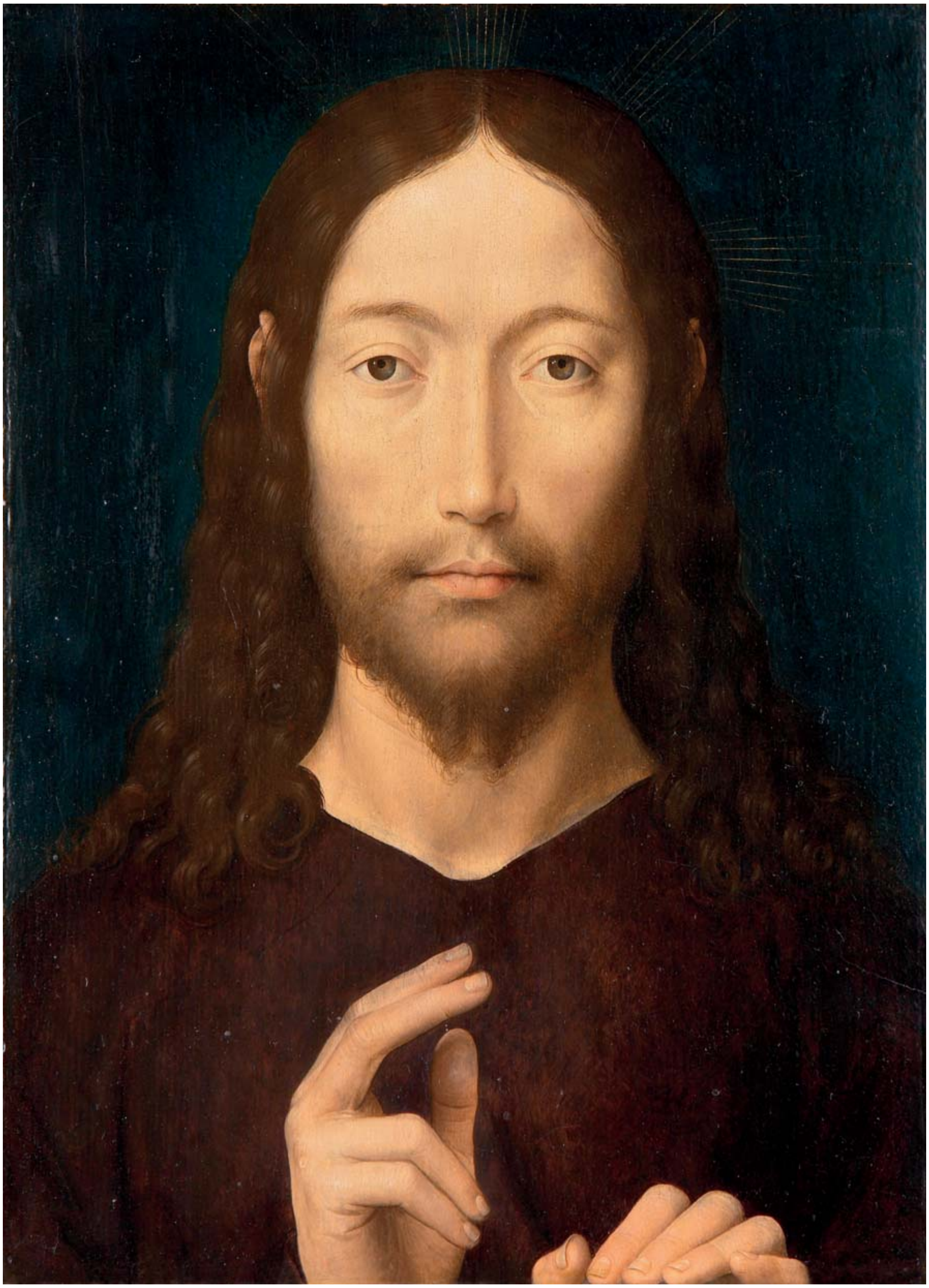
Notes

1. Those who support the attribution are E.P. Richardson, 1941, p. 18; *Masterpieces of Art from European and American Collections* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1941, p. 6; R.L. Douglas, 1946, p. 161; *An Exhibition of Flemish Paintings of the 15th and early 16th Centuries* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1946, no. 3; *Gerard David*, Bruges, 1949, p. 20; J.G. Van Gelder, 1949, p. 254; *Holbein and his Contemporaries* (exhib. cat.), Indianapolis, 1950, cat. no. 20; *Exhibition of Flemish Art 1300-1700* (exhib. cat.), London, 1953-54, p. 40, no. 125; *Flandres, Espagne, Portugal du XVIe au XVIIe siècle* (exhib. cat.), Bordeaux, p. 48; G. Marlier, 1957, p. 181; *15th - 16th - 17th Century Flemish Masters* (exhib. cat.), London-Canada, n.p.; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 189; *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1960, p. 154; *Masterworks of Flemish*

and Related Art (exhib. cat.), New York, 1964, n. p.; E. Fahy, 1969, p. 92; J.D. Morse, 1979, p. 91; D. Sutton, 1979, p. 38; *Selected Paintings at the Norton Simon Museum,* Los Angeles, 1980, p. 33; E.J. Mundy, 1980, p. 38; M. Ainsworth, 1998, p. 529; M. Ainsworth, 1989, p. 21-25; *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum*, Los Angeles, 1989, p. 24; H.J. Van Miegroet, 1989, p. 256-59, 306-307; H.J. Van Miegroet, 1992, p. 94; J. Sander, 1997, p. 167; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, Los Angeles, 2003, p. 39; S. Campbell, 2010a, p. 442; A. Walsh, *Nothern European Paintings in the Norton Simon Collections* (forthcoming). Those who support the late dating include *An Exhibition of Flemish Paintings of the 15th and early 16th Centuries* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1946, cat. no. 3; J.G. Van Gelder, 1949, p. 254; *Holbein and his Contemporaries* (exhib. cat.), Indianapolis, 1950, cat. no. 20; J. Sander, 1997, p. 167; A. Walsh (forthcoming). While *Masterpieces of Art from European and American Collections,* Detroit, 1942, p. 6, and an early catalogue of the Norton Simon Museum, 1989, p. 24, dates it "after 1500" and H.J. Van Miegroet, 1992, p. 94, "around 1520," M. Ainsworth, 1998, p. 320, dates it between 1515 and 1520, among the very last works that he painted. A more recent catalogue of the museum (S. Campbell, 2010a, p. 442) concurs, dating it ca. 1520.

2. Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, 137.5 × 110.8 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson, in. no. 93.153.
3. Personal communication with the Norton Simon Museum.
4. For Simon Bening's illumination, see the Flowers Book of Hours, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 23637, fol. 118v, late fifteenth century.
5. For the *Madonna of the Sun*, see S. Ringbom, 1962, p. 326.
6. This volume is forthcoming.
7. M. Ainsworth, 1998, p. 23.
8. M. Ainsworth, 1998, p. 24.
9. M. Ainsworth, 1998, p. 29
10. G. Schiller, 1980, 4, pt.2, p. 198-199.
11. S. Ringbom, 1962, p. 327.
12. G. Schiller, 1980, 4, pt. 2, p. 156.
13. S. Ringbom, 1962, p. 326; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 246-247.
14. Beguine workshop in Liege, *The Dormition of the Virgin* and *the Coronation of the Virgin with SS. Francis and Clare*, London, The British Library, Ms. Add. 21114, fol. 10v, ca. 1255-1265. The Psalter is sometimes – but not always – called the Psalter of Lambert de Bègue.
15. French Master, *Coronation of the Virgin, in the Diurnal of Isabelle of Bourbon*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M. 221, fol. 227, ca. 1250-1260.
16. The original theme, when it included Christ, generally showed him as an adult.
17. *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 191.
18. M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIb, p. 107, no. 207, pl. 213.
19. M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIb, p. 102, no. 170, pl. 185.
20. F. Checa Cremades, 2010, p. 133-134, 153, 310, 369, notes several panels showing the Coronation of the Virgin in the inventory of Charles V. The entries are not specific enough, however, to conclude that these refer to the Norton Simon painting.
21. Azurite was less expensive than lapis lazuli, but large-particle azurite was more expensive than the common grade, and than azurite ash. It was also more expensive than other available blues.

1.



Hans Memling

Christ Blessing

1. Identification

Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. M.1974.17

Group: Hans Memling
No. Corpus: 249

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

Lisbon, Don Manuel II (1889-1932), King of Portugal, Palácio das Necessidades
1910: London and New York, Duveen Brothers
1927-at least 1940: New York, Dr. and Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice
1942-1957: Lord Duveen of Millbank[1]
By 1960-1961: New York, M. Knoedler & Co. and New York, Pinakos, Ltd., acc. no. A-6680
1964: Los Angeles, Norton Simon
1974: Pasadena, Norton Simon Art Foundation

Material History

1957 and 1961: William Suhr cleaned, touched up crack at top left; opened and glued, filled and retouched; revarnished (fig. 2)
1994: Reframed in engaged wood Frame

Exhibitions

1927 London, Burlington House, *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900*, no. 62
1929 New York, F. Kleinberger Galleries, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in Aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies*, no. 23
1939 New York, New York World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art. New York World's Fair, May to October 1939*, no. 252
1942 New York, M. Koedler & Co., *Flemish Primitives. An Exhibition organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center*

1. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 36.5 × 26.5 cm., Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, inv. no. M.1974.17

1960 Bruges, Groeningemuseum, *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands,* no. 37
1960 Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization*, no. 34
1994 Bruges, Groeningemuseum, *Hans Memling*, no. 10

3. History of the Research

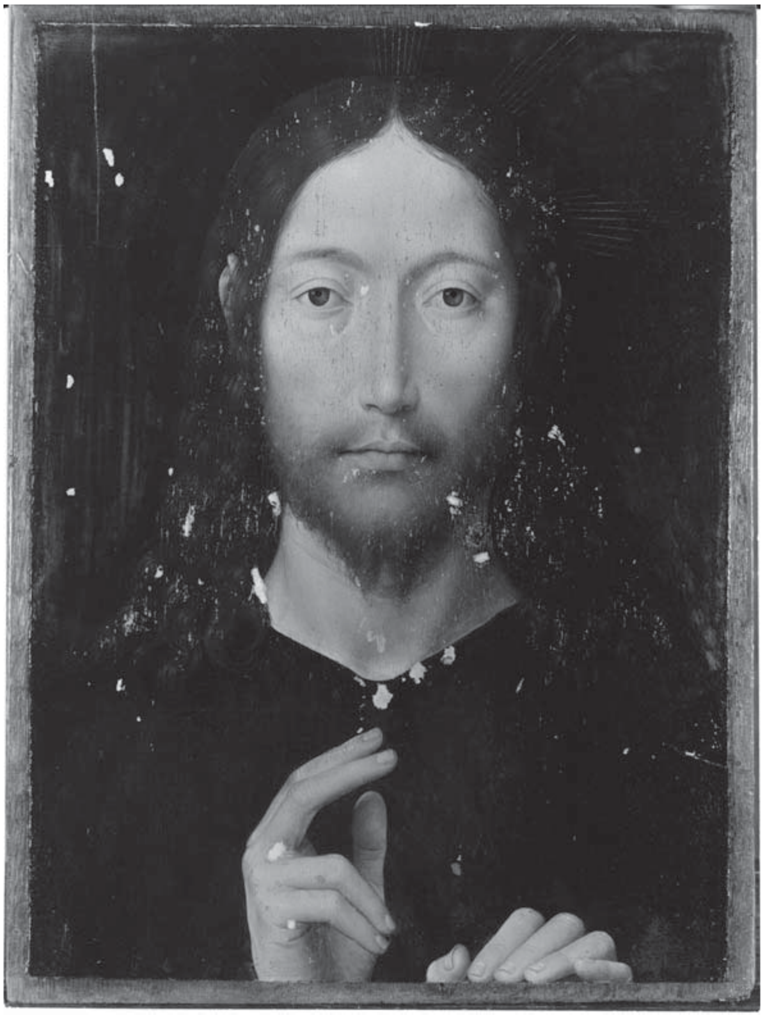
This painting was first published by J.O. Kronig (1910), who ascribed it to Memling, an attribution that has been universally accepted (fig. 1).[2] Kronig also judged it to be of high quality, a conclusion supported by most scholars. F. Winkler (1960), however, termed it a somewhat vapid work and L. Campbell (1995) characterized it as a standard subject "mass-produced for ready sale in a busy workshop."

M.J. Friedländer (1927) related that the original frame, now lost, was inscribed with the year 1478, a date that he viewed as important and credible. All subsequent scholars have supported this dating.[3] According to M. Corti and G.T. Faggin (1969) the original frame also bore a Latin inscription, which was copied onto a later frame, perhaps dating to the eighteenth century, which appears in a photograph that Friedländer donated to the RKD (The Hague) (fig. 3). It reads: I am the way, the truth, the life [John 14:6]/ I am the Alpha and the O[mega], the beginning and the end 1478 [Rev. 1:8, 21:6, 22:13]."[4]

J. Folie (Detroit, 1960), followed by D. De Vos (1994), thought that the type of Christ that Memling depicts corresponds to that described in the Lentulus Letter, an apocryphal document purportedly written by Publius Lentulus to the Roman Senate.[5] Folie further observed that this type was rare in fifteenth-century Flemish art when, starting with Dirk Bouts, the suffering Christ crowned by thorns and displaying his wounds became more popular.

S. Ringbom (1965) linked Memling's painting to Byzantine icons of the Pantokrator, which were derived from images of the emperor, and for this reason emphasized Christ's regal majesty. They often showed him at half-length and with a blessing gesture, but, as Ringbom observed, this type was sometimes transformed in western Europe to show Christ standing in a window, much as rulers appeared to their subjects. Ringbom also noted that the window could be interpreted as referring to Cant. 2:2 ("Behold …he looketh forth at the windows"), and that the absence of a definable setting would have enhanced "quiet prayer and inward meditation."[6]

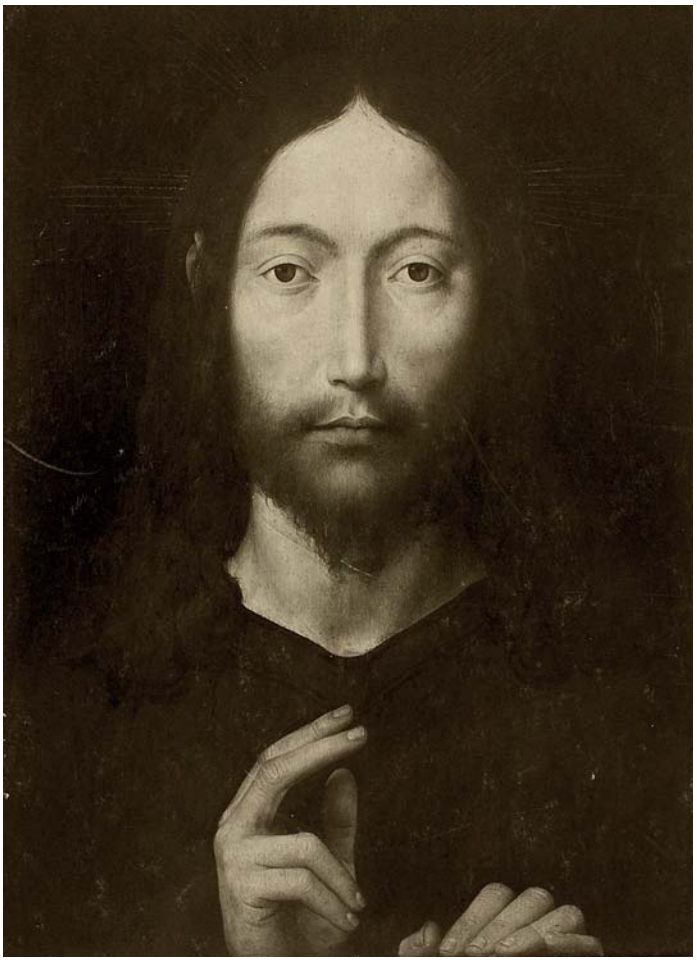
H.J. Van Miegroet (1989) suggested that Memling's composition was a version of the *Vera Icon*, the image miraculously produced on cloth when St. Veronica wiped Christ's face on his way to the cross. By contrast, De Vos (1994) viewed it as a merging of the *Vera Effigies* and *Salvator Mundi,* which shows Christ blessing with one hand and holding the orb with his other. Noting that the painting lacks Christ's attributes of power, his orb and coronet, De Vos proposed that the composition is also based in part on portraits showing a sitter in a window who rests his left hand on a sill. M. Ainsworth (New York, 2004) concluded that in his *Christ Blessing* Memling "effectively adapted the Byzantine prototype to the religious needs of his day."[7] B. Lane (2009) concurred that the roots of Memling's *Christ Blessing* lay in Byzantine art; others suggested Early Christian sources as well.[8]



2. Memling, *Christ Blessing*, during treatment, 1961 (?)

Scholars have also linked the *Christ Blessing* to the work of the previous generation of Flemish painters. Folie (Detroit, 1960) proposed that the composition derives ultimately from Rogier van der Weyden's *Braque Triptych* in the Louvre or from a work by the Master of Flémalle, who, she felt, probably introduced the image of Christ Blessing into Flemish painting.[9] Corti and Faggin (1969) concurred that the source was a painting by Van der Weyden, perhaps the *Braque Triptych.* Ainsworth (New York, 2004) agreed, pointing to the fact that Memling was a member of Van der Weyden's shop and so could easily have assimilated that artist's type. De Vos (1994) thought that the form of Christ's robe, the type of Christ, and his blessing hand derived from the *Braque Triptych*, but he viewed the immediate typological precursor as the Master of Flémalle's *Christ Blessing* in Philadelphia, pointing to the similar position of the left hand.

Memling's *Christ Blessing* has also been linked to his other paintings. Kronig (1910) compared it to a tondo of the same subject in New York (fig. 4), noting the closeness in the form of the ear, which resembles that of a faun and protrudes through the hair. He judged the New York version sketchier, however. Folie (Detroit, 1960) suggested that another version of the subject, today in Boston, is similar to the Pasadena panel, but shows more influence from Bouts (fig. 5).[10] H. Pauwels (Bruges, 1960) saw striking resemblances in the type of Christ and the position of his hands in Memling's paintings in Antwerp and Pasadena.[11] He also linked the New York *Christ Blessing* to the Pasadena panel, which he judged the latest of the three. De Vos (1994) considered the *Christ Blessing* in Boston closer to Van der Weyden's *Braque Triptych*, with its more elongated fingers and thinner, more ascetic Savior, and judged its finish as rougher and less thorough than the Pasadena version. He also compared this painting to the Antwerp version, which he judged later in date and more robust and less transparent in execution. De Vos concluded, however, that "The rounded, almost sculptural features, the softly flowing hair of the beard and moustache, the fingers with their round tips in almost the same position of blessing, are all very similar." In fact, De Vos surmised that Memling based Christ's hand in Antwerp on the Pasadena painting.

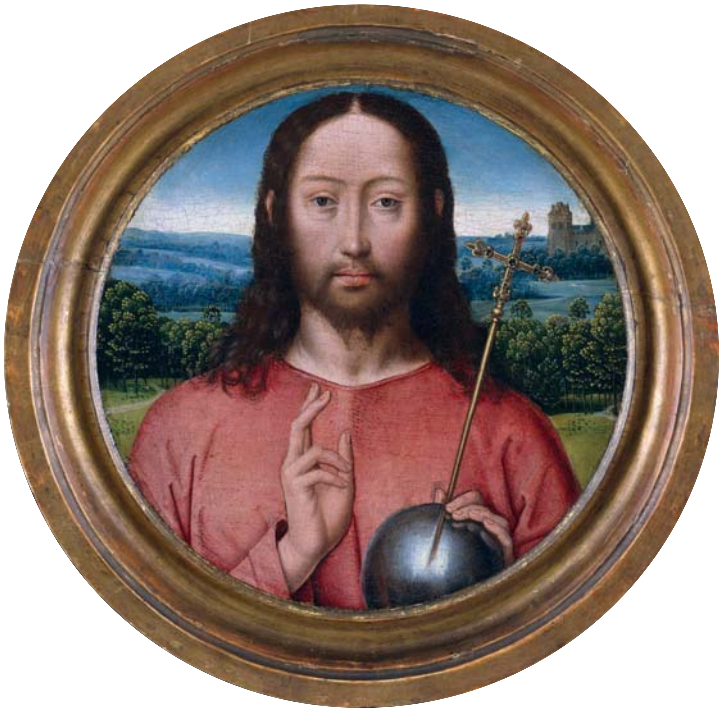


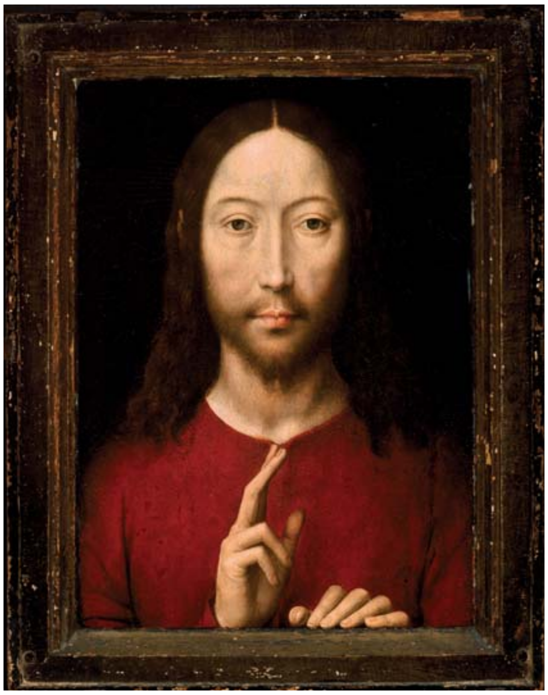
3. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing,* Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, in frame, coming from the archives of M.J. Friedländer in 1958 (RKD III foto: 0000337047)

Corti and Faggin (1969) remarked how close this painting is to one in Greenville, by a follower of Memling, noting especially the resemblance in the position of the left hand (fig. 6). J. Bialostocki (1976) expanded to seven the group of small-scale paintings that show the composition of the Greenville *Christ Blessing,* including Memling's version in Boston. He, too, sought sources for this composition in paintings by the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden, and noted that it was also close to Memling's painting in Pasadena. He observed that golden rays surround Christ's head in most of the images in this group, unlike other types of Holy Faces.

Several scholars have also linked the Pasadena *Christ Blessing* to those by such diverse Italian artists as Antonello da Messina, Perugino, and Fra Bartolomeo, either citing compositional similarities or such shared features as clarity, order, and monumentality.[12] Folie (Detroit, 1960) suggested that another classical feature, Christ's serene expression, better suited Memling's temperament than the image of the suffering Man of Sorrows.[13] She also proposed that the Pasadena *Christ Blessing* may have formed a diptych with a *Virgin in Prayer.* De Vos (1994) countered that no trace of such a work has survived by Memling or his circle. P.C. Sutton (1995) noted that the very close variant in Boston still has its original frame, which shows no evidence of having once been joined to another panel.

E. Buijsen (1996) described the underdrawing of Christ's hands in the Pasadena painting as a "nervous play of lines, the contours corrected innumerable times" (fig. 9).[14] For De Vos (1994) the underdrawing indicates that the blessing hand was "designed on the panel itself" and that "the ring and little finger were originally drawn closer together, and the forefinger and index finger were more bent." He observed that Memling also corrected the hand several times in the paint layer, even modifying its position after the robe was painted around the hand.





4. Hans Memling workshop, *Christ Blessing*, diameter 27.3 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, inv. no. 32.100.54

5. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 35.1 × 25.1 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William A. Coolidge Collection, inv. no. 1993.40

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: H: 38.3 cm., W: 28.3 cm., T: 0.4 cm. (current dimensions)
Painted Surface: H: 36.5 cm., W: 26.2 cm. top, 26.5 cm. bottom (including restoration).

Support

The painting is on a single plank of oak with shallow bevels on the left and at the top as viewed on the verso. Two original horizontal battens traverse the reverse (fig. 7). A short vertical strip was added to the reverse at the top left to mend a small crack. The panel back is painted greenish gray covered by a reddish brown paint; both paint layers are damaged and have flake losses. Residues of a white material applied directly on the wood are visible beneath the gray paint.

Frame

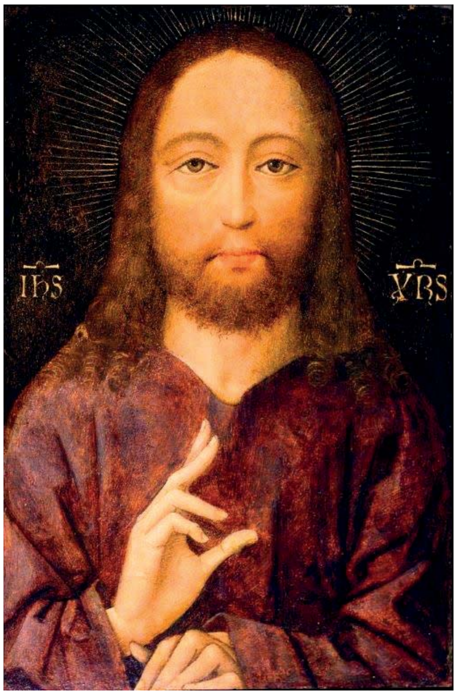
Not original.

Marks

The remains of several labels on the verso lie over coatings of ground, green paint, and reddish-brown paint:

1. A rectangular label with pinked edges at the top and right (viewed verso), reads "No. 55627/PICTURE."

2. Below and to the left is the bottom portion of a rectangular label printed “A 6680,” the painting’s accession number at Knoedler’s.
3. The top crossbar also reads “A 6680” in black paint applied directly over the reddish-brown overall layer.
4. Between the crossbars are six complete or partial labels. At top center is a blue-edged oval that reads “No. 444.”
5. To the right a fragment of a rectangle with a partial circular stamp reads “ETIF PARI(S?)” on the upper edge, and “D---NNE” across the center.
6. On the left is a largely rectangular label with irregular borders and a circular stamp with “[G]ARE ST. LAZARE …BECE…” around the outer ring, and “DOUANNE DU PARIS” across the center.
7. The largest label, which has blue edges on the top and sides, reads “Masterpieces of Art/ EXHIBITION AT THE NEW YORK WORLD’S FAIR 1939/ Name of Artist: Memling/ Name of Painting: The Blessing Christ/Owner: Dr. A. Hamilton Rice,/ 901 5th Ave.,/ N. Y. C./Catalogue No. 252/ ART ASSOCIATES, INC. - STREET OF WHEELS - NEW YORK WORLD’S FAIR - N.Y.”
8. To the left of this label is a serrated circle with an illegible, abraded surface, and below this is a piece of irregularly-torn masking tape with “2159/frame” written in pencil (fig. 7).



6. Flemish Master, *Christ Blessing,* 20 × 14 cm., Greenville, The Bob Jones University Museum & Gallery, inv. no. 59.168

Ground

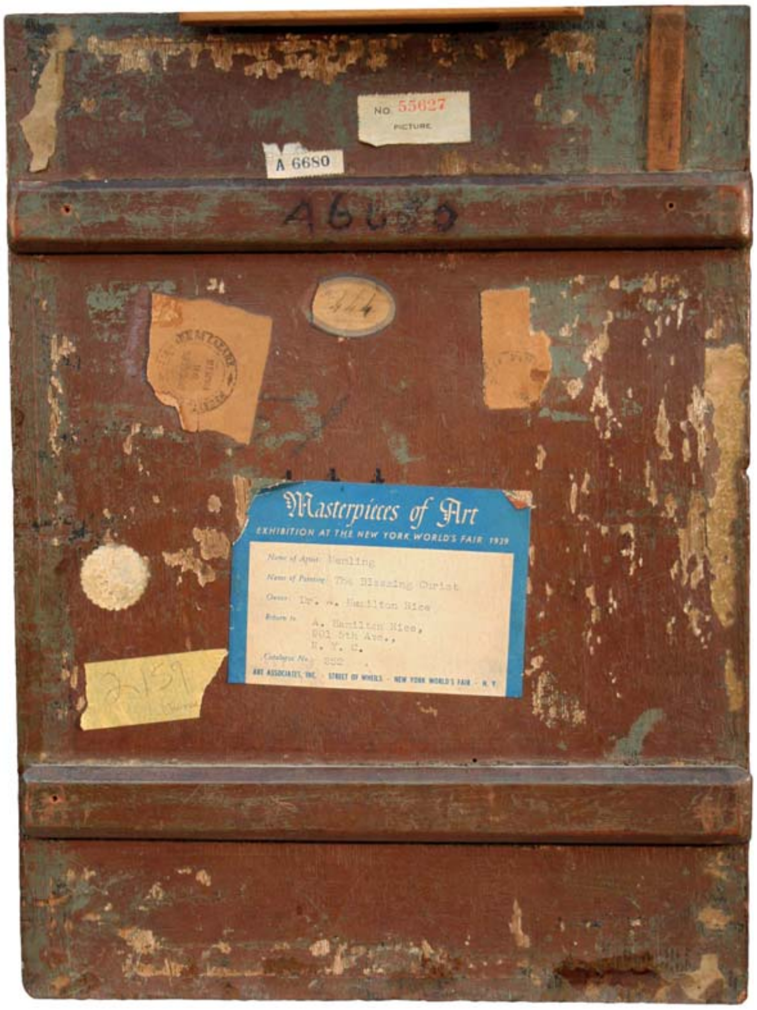
A thin white ground with a smooth surface covers the front of the panel, with an unpainted margin slightly wider than usual, between 0.8 and 1.0 cm. A slight barbe is visible next to the unpainted border, proof of the original presence of an engaged frame (fig. 8).

Underlying Drawing

The figure is drawn on the ground with a dry material such as chalk (fig. 9). The drawing is freehand but very assured, with an outline demarcating the contours of the eyes, mouth, and nose. Regularly spaced right-to-left hatching places the shadows on the left side of the face and to the right of the nose, with more indistinct hatching on the right cheek. The eyebrows, eyes with irises, lips, and curls of the hair are indicated. The contour line of the face and drapery are more sparse and wavering. The sketching for the hands is less decisive than that of the rest of the figure; restruck contours and multiple lines describe the contours of the fingers and thumbs. The drawing places the upraised fingers in a lower position than the one that was painted, and the thumb of the blessing hand is drawn shorter and angled to the right. The fingers of the proper left hand are drawn further to the left and with the fingers slanted downward to the right.

Paint Layer

The paint is handled with great finesse and subtlety; the modeling and coloration of the flesh tones is very delicate. The face is so thinly painted that the underdrawing


NO. 55627
PICTURE
A 6680
A6680
Masterpieces of Art
EXHIBITION AT THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR 1939
Name of Artist: Memling
Name of Painting: The Blessing Christ
Owner: Dr. A. Hamilton Rice
Return to: A. Hamilton Rice, 901 5th Ave., N. Y. C.
Catalogue No.
ART ASSOCIATES, INC. · STREET OF WHEELS · NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR · N. Y.

7. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing,* reverse

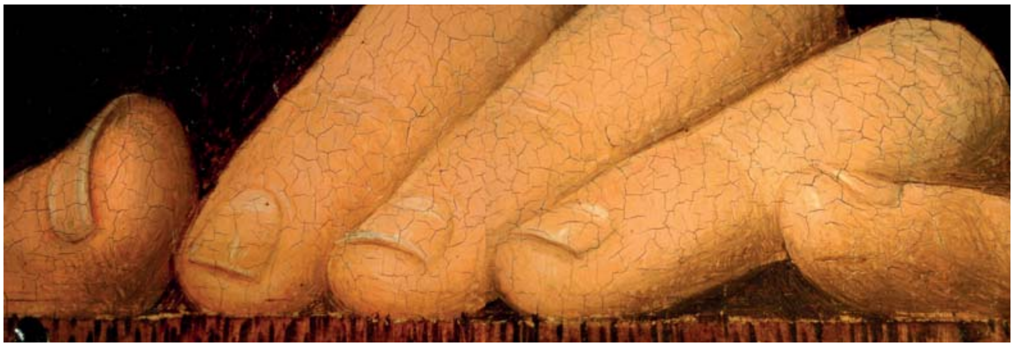
is faintly visible as bluish gray areas. Great attention is given to the description of detail. For example, six colors are used to describe the iris; the brown is modified with red, blue, yellow, black, and white (fig. 10). A fine mixture of azurite with white is dabbed into the shaded side of the eyeballs, to the right of the pupils. The right eyebrow may have been tamped with a finger while the paint was still wet (fig. 11). There is a pale pink underlayer beneath the fingers, and the eyebrows and beard were blocked in with a light gray, then articulated with thin strokes of reddish brown. In the hair and beard the curls are defined with thin strokes of light grayish brown. The last joint of the upper finger of the blessing hand was tilted slightly upward in a second paint layer. The background, which is more thickly painted than the figure, has a layer of white under the blue. A scumble of azurite over the burnt sienna (est.) adds depth to the modeling of the robe. Four clusters of very fine mordant gilded lines form a halo around Christ's head.

This painting is exceptionally well preserved. Overall the paint is in very good condition. The losses that are visible in the X-radiograph are actually located in paint on the reverse (figs. 7, 12). There is slight abrasion throughout, which can be seen in the individual strands of hair over the background. The azurite has darkened.

5. Pictorial Analysis

Christ is shown in a strictly frontal, bust-length view, wearing a brown robe whose neckline dips at the center. Set against a dark blue background, he raises his right hand in a blessing gesture, while lightly resting his left on an unseen ledge that aligns with the lower border of the painting. Tremendous care has been taken to define the details of Christ's hands, for example, the highlights on the fingernails, the dirt under the nails, and their white nail bed (fig. 8). Fine golden rays form an aureole around Christ's head. Originally they must have formed five groups of rays, three comprising a cross, and the remaining two radiating upwards along diagonals. Christ holds his head erect and his body completely still as he confronts the viewer with a

8.



8. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing,* detail of bottom edge of painting showing fingers and slight barbe

9. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing,* infrared reflectogram composite

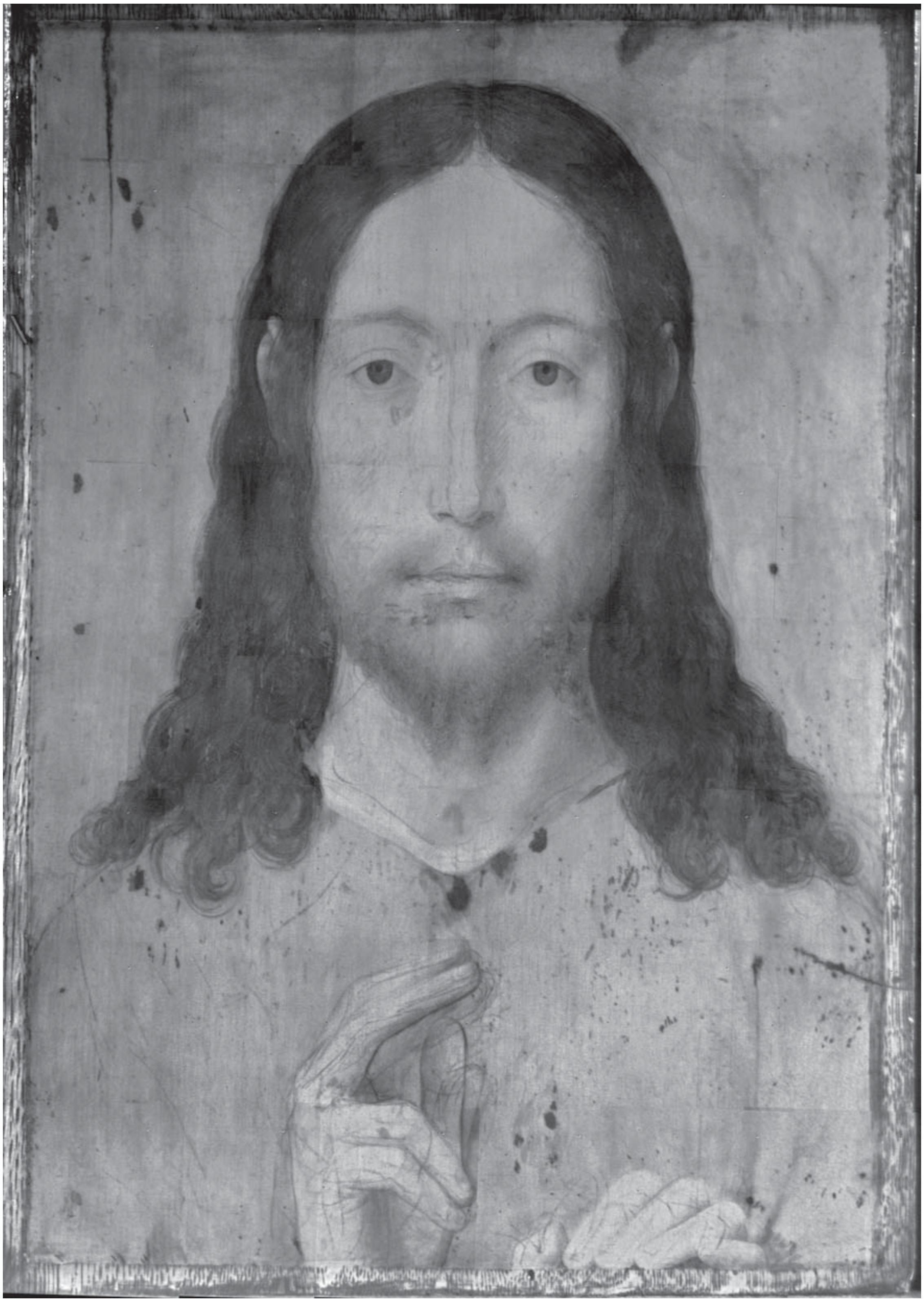
calm, steady, hypnotic gaze. His eyelashes, eyebrows, and hazel eyes with bluish tints are painted in great detail. The iris, for example, shows catchlights, highlights, and depth. The whites of the eyes are visible below the iris, giving Christ an otherworldly look. Christ's hair is parted at the center; a few delicate stray strands are visible at the sides of his high forehead. His pointed ears poke through his auburn hair, which falls in ringlets around his shoulders. Highlights are visible in his hair, which is darker than his sparse moustache and short, forked beard. His mouth is firmly closed, and creases are visible in his lips. Christ is lit from the left, and shadows fall along his left eye and cheek, and on the left side of his nose and neck. The composition shows a pronounced symmetry, with Christ's eyes and ears forming a horizontal alignment, and the part in his hair, his long, narrow nose, the fork in his beard, the dip in his neckline, and his raised right thumb forming a vertical alignment.

As H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur (2003) observe, small paintings of the Holy Face were extremely common in the late fifteenth century due to both the popularity of indulgences that were associated with them and the *devotia moderna's* desire for images that aroused emotions.[15] Such works fall into several categories, but many, like the Pasadena example, combine aspects of several types. Memling's *Christ Blessing* derives ultimately from Byzantine icons of the Pantokrator, some of which he may have seen, for example, the icon that Sixtus IV gave to Philippe de Croÿ who, in turn, donated it to the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Chimay in 1476 (fig. 13).[16] Memling's painting shares with these the bust-length, frontal, blessing Christ.

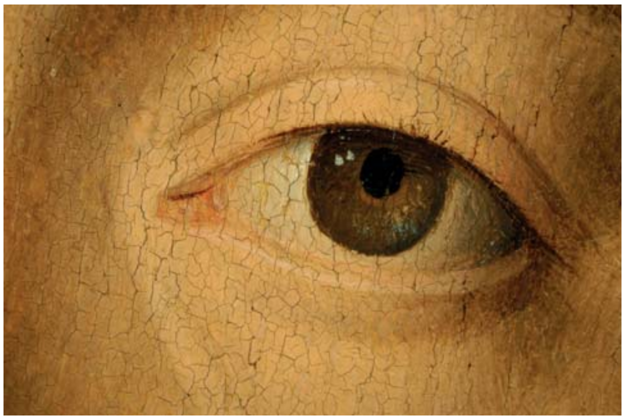
Memling's *Christ Blessing* also derives also from the description of Christ in the Lentulus letter, which, in turn, was based on Byzantine models. The Lentulus letter is first mentioned in the early thirteenth century and then repeated in such popular fourteenth-century texts as Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes in vitam Christi*.[17] More than a century ago, E. von Dobschütz (1899) compiled a list of seventy-five manuscripts that contained the letter; more have been discovered since. Memling's visage of Christ agrees with the description in the Lentulus letter in its short, forked beard, smooth brow, curly hair down to his shoulders, serious and dignified demeanor, serene expression, perfect skin, and great beauty.

Memling's painting is a small devotional object that, like the Lentulus letter, was designed to satisfy the desire of Christians to see Christ face-to-face. As P. Schmidt

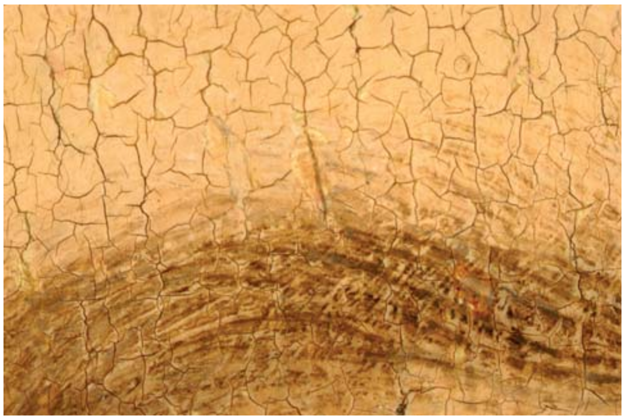
9.



10.



11.



10. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, detail of eye showing painting technique

11. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, detail of eyebrow showing fingerprint in wet paint

12. Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, X-radiograph

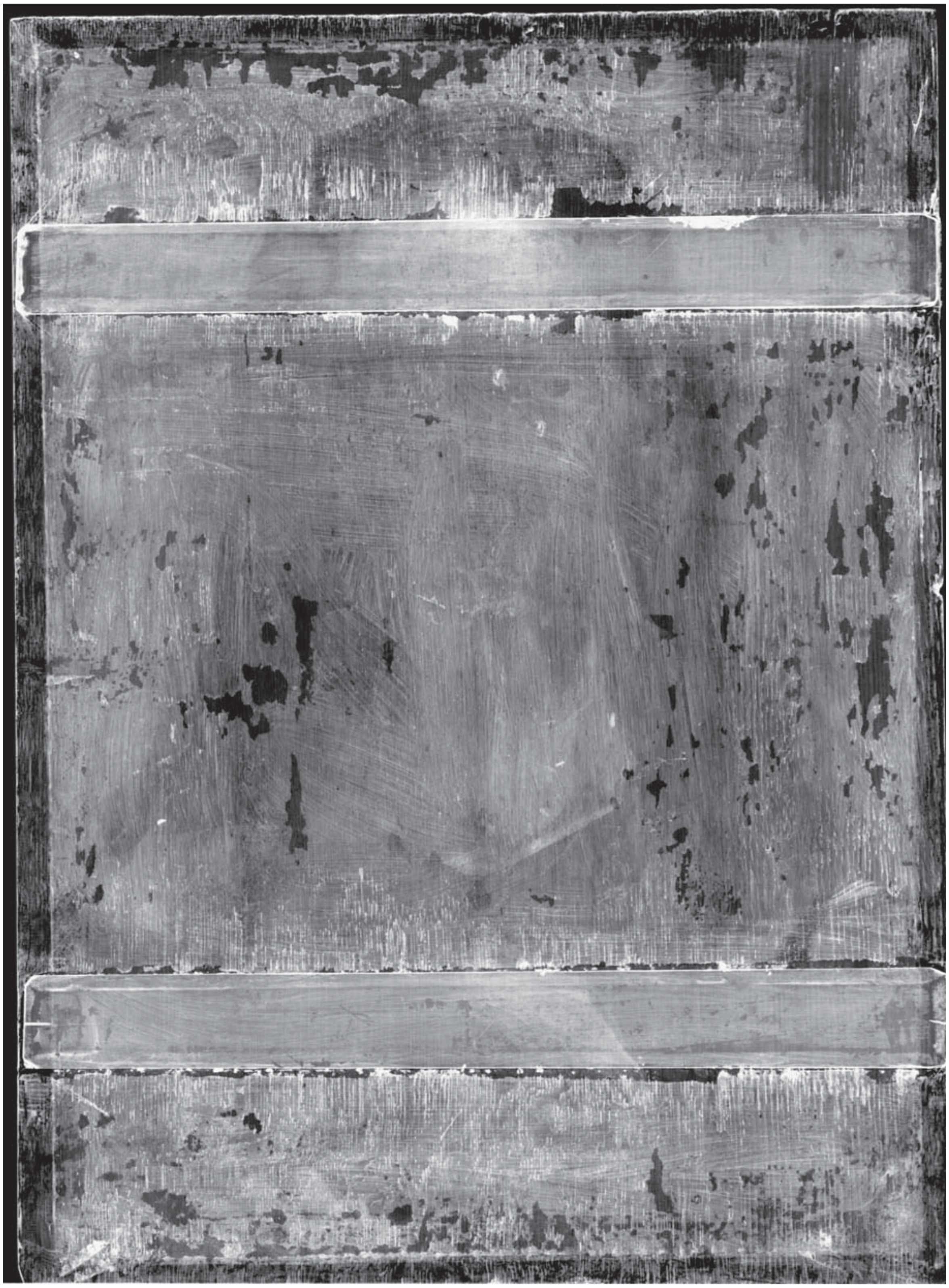
observes, to look at such images "is not only to envision the redeemer in material form, which is otherwise withheld from our senses, but also to anticipate seeing him face to face for eternity."[18] The Lentulus letter was the impetus for innumerable images of Christ's beautiful face shown at bust length, frontally, and with a forked beard. The most notable example is Jan van Eyck's, now lost, but portrayed in several copies.[19]

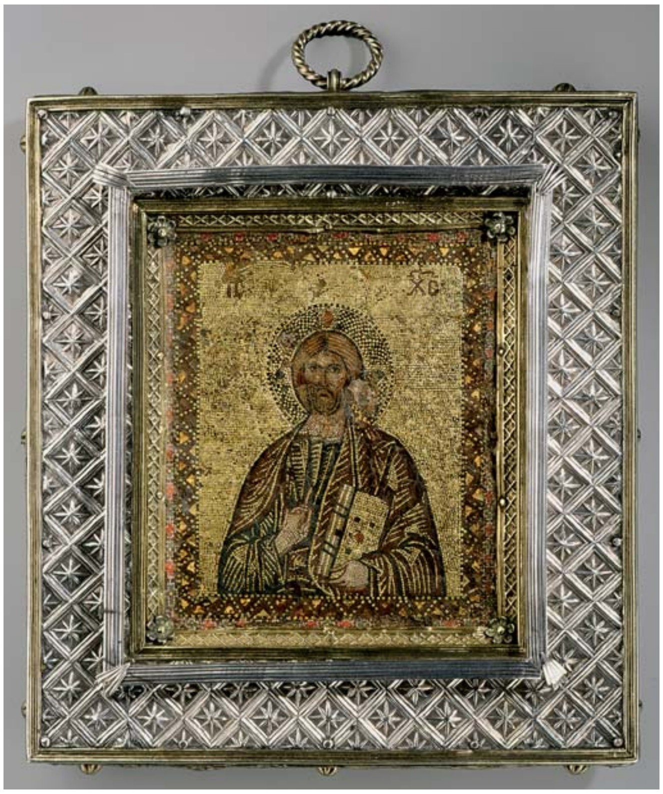
Memling diverged from Byzantine models in many ways, from his blue background to his adoption of the left hand naturalistically resting on a ledge. Whereas Christ's blessing gesture denotes his role as redeemer and savior, his left hand links him strongly and directly with the viewer's space. As M. Ainsworth (2004) states about other related images, the position of Christ's left hand and the suggestion of viewing him through a window create a "heightened sense of physical presence" and produce "a lifelike portrayal of Christ, viewed as a living icon as if through a window."[20] This powerfully hypnotic image of Christ, its intimate size, and the text that was probably inscribed on its original frame would have combined to enhance the painting's devotional appeal.

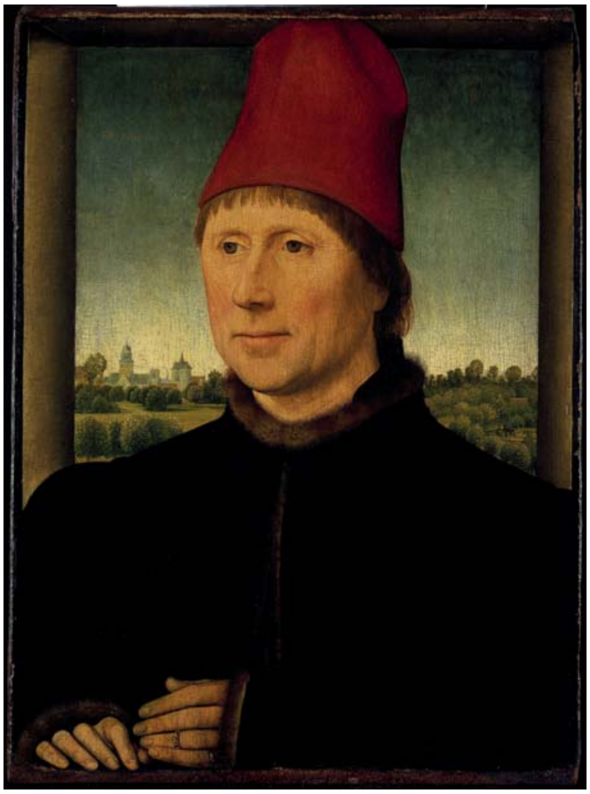
6. Comparative Material

- Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing,* 35.1 × 25.1 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William A. Coolidge Collection, inv. no. 1993.40 (fig. 5)
- Hans Memling workshop, *Christ Blessing,* diameter 27.3 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, inv. no. 32.100.54 (fig. 4)
- Hans Memling, *Christ with Musical Angels*, 164 × 212 cm. (central panel), 165 × 230 cm. (each wing), Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 778-780
- Flemish Master, *Christ Blessing,* 20 × 14 cm., Greenville, The Bob Jones University Museum & Gallery, inv. no. 59.168 (fig. 6)
- Rogier van der Weyden, *Braque Triptych*, 137 × 41 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF 2063

12.







13. Byzantine (Constantinople), *Mosaic Icon with Christ Pantokrator,* 1300-1350, Chimay, Church of Saints Peter and Paul

14. Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Man,* 41.8 × 30.6 cm., Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, inv. no. 945

- Master of Flémalle, *Christ Blessing and Virgin in Prayer*, 28.6 × 45.6 cm., Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, The John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. 332
- Gerard David, *Christ Blessing*, 12.1 × 8.9 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, inv. no. 2009.4.415
- Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing*, 34.5 × 26.3 cm. Provenance: Comte d'Arache, by inheritance to Conte Lorenzo Castellani Varz; sale of the latter's collection in Paris at Drouot in 1859 when it was attributed to "Hemling J" and sold to Marshall Woods; given to his son-in-law S.A.B. Abbot, who lived in New England, U.S.; sold at Sotheby's, New York, 31 January 2013 to a private collector in California

7. Comments

Christ Blessing is a work of very high quality, an autograph work by Memling painted with tremendous attention to detail. It must have also been an expensive work, since its aureole is formed with mordant gilding. For these reason, it would not have been painted on speculation for the art market as L. Campbell (1995) suggested. The earliest provenance for this work is the royal collection of Portugal, where fifteenth-century patrons were quite interested in Flemish art.[21] It is possible, then, that a wealthy Portuguese collector, perhaps even the king, commissioned this work.

Dated 1478, it was produced at the height of Memling's career, when he was busy with such major works as the *St. John Altarpiece* in Bruges.[22]

Although many scholars link this painting to the *Vera icon*, that type of image as a rule shows Christ's face as if depicted on a textile and as a Man of Sorrows.[23] Instead the Pasadena *Christ Blessing* draws on several other sources. As J.O. Hand (1992) concluded about a Holy Face by Petrus Christus, these types of portrayals are characterized by "complexity and fluidity."[24] Images of the Pantokrator, whether Byzantine or western European, ultimately stand behind the frontal, bust-length figure of the blessing Christ. Memling may well have known, for example, the Pantokrator in Chimay (fig. 13). Another source for Memling was the Lentulus letter or, more likely, paintings based on it, from which he derived the serene, beautiful face of Christ. Memling must have also been influenced by Rogier van der Weyden's type of Christ, which appears, for example, in the *Braque Triptych.* This is not surprising given Memling's training in that shop. The Master of Flémalle's Philadelphia painting provides a precedent for the position of Christ's left hand and also the unusual element of the loose strands of hair that are visible on Christ's forehead. The hand on the ledge also appears in earlier portraits by Memling, such as one dated ca. 1467-1470 in Frankfurt (fig. 14).

The panel's composition is strikingly close to Memling's *Christ Blessing* in Boston*,* dated 1481, and the many paintings that show the same composition (figs. 5-6). The main difference between the works in this group and the Norton Simon painting is the position of the blessing hand. In the former group, the blessing fingers cross each other and the hand lacks the verticality of the Pasadena panel. Many of the other versions are also inscribed HIS and HRS to either side of the head, a feature lacking in the Pasadena painting. Bialostocki (1976) believed that this group followed a model by Rogier van der Weyden, but their source remains unknown. The popularity of their composition and the fact that the surviving examples are predominantly Flemish suggests that their model may have been publicly displayed in Flanders. By contrast, no copies of the Pasadena *Christ Blessing* are known, which suggests that its original patron housed it privately, and perhaps not in the Netherlands.

A painting of the *Christ Blessing* that T.-H. Borchert, among others, attributed to Memling, was sold to a private collector in California in 2013. Dendrochronology revealed that the tree from which the panel was cut was felled between 1458 and 1471, which suggests that the painting should be dated shortly after 1480. Particularly striking is that the original background of this painting was blue changing to white below, which is similar to that in the Norton Simon version. The dimensions of the two paintings are close, but the gesture of Christ's right hand conforms to the paintings in Boston and Greenville, not the panel in Pasadena.[25]

It is possible that the Pasadena *Christ Blessing* was once joined with a panel showing a praying Virgin. When he rejected this idea, De Vos (1994) asserted that no such independent works by Memling or his circle exist. Yet several are catalogued in Friedländer (1971).[26]

Part of the inscription that may have appeared on the original frame of the Norton Simon *Christ Blessing* recurs on an earlier illumination of a related subject that was once part of the Turin-Milan Hours,[27] dated ca. 1440-1445. It shows a standing, full-length Christ raising his right hand in blessing while holding in his left two tablets, reminiscent of the Ten Commandments, and inscribed with the words "Ego sum via veritas vita."[28] The blessing gesture and inscription in both the illumination and Pasadena panel identify Christ as savior.

H. Belting (1994) writes that Jan van Eyck, in his Holy Face, maintained the immobility of Byzantine icons, but otherwise transformed the face of Christ into an image much like his secular portraits. That is, the painter depicted Christ at half length, close-up, set against a dark background, and so naturalistic that the viewer can see the reflection of windows in his eyes. Memling adopts much the same approach. Palpably real, Christ's hand reaches into the viewer's space, a gesture found in Memling's portraits. Christ's frontal position and hypnotic glance, however, confront the viewer with his otherworldly presence.

8. Documents and Literary Sources

Doc. 1. Latin text of the Lentulus Letter from the London, British Museum, Codex Harleianus 2729: Pub. Lentulus in Judea preses (tempore Cesaris) senatui populoque Romano hanc epistolam misit.

Apparuit temporibus istis nostris, et adhuc est, homo magnae uirtutis, cui nomen Jhesus Christus, qui a gente dicitur propheta ueritatis; et a suis discipulis filius Dei. Suscitans mortuos et sanans omnes langores. Homo quidem statura procerus et spectabilis. Uultum habens uenerabilem quam intuentes facile possunt diligere et formidare. Capillos habens coloris nucis auellane praematura et planos usque ad aures; ab auribus uero crispos aliquantulum coeruliores et fulgentiores; ab humeris uentilantes. Discrimen habens in medio capite iuxta morem Nazareorum. Frontem planam serenissimam cum facie sine ruga aliqua quam rubor moderatus uenustat. Nasi et oris nulla prorsus reprehensio. Barbam habens copiosam et capillis concolorem, non langam, sed in medio bifurcatam. Aspectum simplicem et maturum, oculis glaucis uariis et claris. In increpatione terribilis, in admonitione blandus et amabilis. Hilaris quidem seruata grauitate. Numquam uisus ridere, flere autem sepe. In statura corporis propagatus et rectus. Manus habens et brachia uisu desertabilia. In colloquio grauis, rarus et modestus. Forma certe speciosus prae filiis hominum.[29]

9. Bibliography

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1914: Longhi, p. 212.
1927: Alexandre, p. 62-64.
1927: *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 29, no. 62.
1927: Friedländer, p. 212.
1928: Friedländer, VI, p. 124, no. 39.
1929: *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 80.
1929: Vaughan, p. 40.
1930: Vollmer, p. 375.
1932: Frankfurter, p. 22.
1939: *Catalogue of European Painting and Sculpture from 1300-1800* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 123, no. 252.
1940: Lauts, p. 34.
1942: *Flemish Primitives. An exhibition organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 48.
1960: *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, p. 153-54, no. 34.

1960: *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, p. 102-103, no. 102.
1960: Winkler, p. 314.
1960: Vaughan, p. 295.
1969: Corti and Faggin, p. 87, no. 5.
1971: Friedländer, VIa-VIb, p. 51, no. 39, pl. 90.
1979: Morse, p. 197.
1980: Lane, p. 24, no. 38.
1980: *Selected paintings at the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 34.
1982: Snow-Smith, p. 75.
1984: Castelfranchi Vegas, p. 88.
1989: *Masterpieces of the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 23.
1989: Van Miegroet, p. 128, 133.
1992: Bauman and Liedtke, p. 354, no. 354.
1994a: De Vos, p. 142-143.
1994b: De Vos, p. 17, 66-67, no. 10.
1995: Campbell, p. 265.
1995: Sutton, p. 27-28, 30.
1996: Buijsen, p. 65, 67.
1996: Padovani, p. 171.
1998: Muchnic, p. 98.
1999: Dunkerton, p. 98.
2001: Ginzburg, p. 10-11.
2003: *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, p. 36.
2004: *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 568.
2009: Lane, p. 309, 111, n. 14.
2010: Campbell, p. 51, 58-60, 271, no. 210.
Forthcoming: Walsh.

Notes

1. *Flemish Primitives. An Exhibition organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1942, p. 48; D. De Vos, 1994, p. 142.
2. A. Alexandre, 1927, p. 63; *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927, p. 29; M.J. Friedländer, 1927, p. 212; M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 124; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in Aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1929, p. 80; M. Vaughan, 1929, p. 40; H. Vollmer, 1930, p. 375; A.M. Frankfurter, 1932, p. 22; *Catalogue of European Painting and Sculpture from 1300-1800* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1939, p. 123; J. Lauts, 1940, p. 34; *Flemish Primitives. An Exhibition organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1942, p. 48; J. Folie, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 153; H. Pauwels, in *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1960, p. 102 ; F. Winkler, 1960, p. 314; N. Vaughan, 1960, p. 295; M. Corti and G.T. Faggin, 1969, p. 87; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 51, no. 39, pl. 90.; J.D. Morse, 1979, p. 197; B. Lane, 1980, p. 24; *Selected paintings at the Norton Simon Museum*, 1980, p. 34; *The Salvator Mundi of Leonardo da Vinci* (exhib. cat.), Seattle, 1982, p. 75; *Masterpieces of the Norton Simon Museum*, 1989, p. 23; G. Bauman and W.A. Liedtke, 1992, p. 354; D. De Vos, 1994, p. 142; *Hans Memling. Catalogus*, Bruges, 1994, p. 66; S. Muchnic, 1998, p. 98; C. Ginzburg, 2001, p. 10; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, 2003, p. 23; M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 568; B. Lane, 2009, p. 309; S. Campbell, 2010, p. 271; A. Walsh, *Nothern European Paintings in the Norton Simon Collections* (forthcoming).
3. Supporting the date of 1478 are *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927, p. 29; M.J. Friedländer, 1928, p. 124; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in Aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927, p. 80; H. Vollmer, 1930, p. 375; *Catalogue of European Painting and Sculpture from 1300-1800* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1939, p. 123; *Flemish Primitives. An Exhibition organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1942, p. 48; M. Corti and G.T. Faggin, 1969, p. 87; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 51, no. 39, pl. 90; B. Lane, 1980, p. 24; *Selected paintings at the Norton Simon Museum*, 1980, p. 34; *The Salvator Mundi of Leonardo da Vinci* (exhib. cat.), Seattle, 1982; *Masterpieces of the Norton Simon Museum*, 1989, p. 23; D. De Vos, 1994, p. 142; *Hans Memling. Catalogus*, Bruges, 1995, p. 66; C. Ginzburg, 2001, p. 10; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, 2003, p. 23; M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 568; S. Campbell, 2010, p. 271.
4. "EGO. SVM. VIA. VERITAS. VITA (above) and EGO SVM. ALPHA. ET O[MEGA]. PRINCIPIV[M]. ET. FIN[I]S. 1478 "
5. J. Folie, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 153.
6. S. Ringbom, 1965, p. 45.

7. M. Ainsworth in *Byzantium. Faith and Power* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 568.
8. See also *Masterpieces from the Norton Simon Museum*, 1989; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum,* 2003.
9. J. Folie, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, p. 154.
10. J. Folie, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, p. 153.
11. H. Pauwels, in *Le Siècle des Primitifs flamands* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, p. 96.
12. J. Lauts, 1940, p. 34; *Flemish Primitives: An Exhibition Organized by the Belgian Government through the Belgian Information Center* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1942, p. 48*;* L. Castelfranchi Vegas, 1984, p. 88; *The Salvator Mundi of Leonardo da Vinci* (exhib. cat.), Seattle, 1982; *Masterpieces of the Norton Simon Museum*, 1989, p. 23; C. Ginzburg, 2001, p. 11; S. Padovani, 1996, p. 171; J. Dunkerton, 1999, p. 98.
13. J. Folie, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century* (exhib. cat.), Detroit, 1960, p. 153-154.
14. *Masterpieces of the Norton Simon Museum*, 1989, p. 23; E. Buijsen, 1996, p. 65, 67; *Handbook of the Norton Simon Museum*, 2003, p. 23.
15. H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur, 2003, p. 372.
16. For this icon, see *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 223.
17. H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur, 2003, p. 372; J.O. Hand, 1992, p. 10; *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington-Antwerp, 2006-2007, p. 200; M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power* (exhib. cat.)*,* New York, 2004, p. 564. Ludolphus had no knowledge of the text; it appeared in introductions to his work. See C.E. Lutz, 1975, p. 92.
18. P. Schmidt, in *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public.* (exhib. cat), Washington-Nuremberg, 2005, p. 241.
19. *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington-Antwerp, 2006-2007, p. 200. For van Eyck's version, see H.J. Van Miegroet, 1989, p. 128.
20. M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power* (exhib. cat.)*,* New York, 2004, p. 564, 566.
21. J.L. Porfirio, 2002, p. 158.
22. Hans Memling, *St. John Altarpiece*, 1479, 172 × 172-179 cm., Bruges, Memlingmuseum-Sint-Janshospitaal, inv. no. O.SJ0175.I.
23. *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public* (exhib. cat.), Washington-Nuremberg, 2005, p. 238.
24. Petrus Christus, *Head of Christ*, Tempera and oil on parchment, 14.9 × 10.8 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken. J.O. Hand, 1992, p. 16.
25. For this painting, see http://vlaamse-primitieven.vlaamsekunstcollectie.be/en/news/a-new-memling.
26. M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 51, n. 41, pl. 92.
27. Master of The Berlin Crucifixion or Circle and Master of Jean Chevrot, *Christ Blessing*, in the *Turin-Milan Hours*, Bruges, ca. 1440-1445, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 67 (2000.33).
28. *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (exhib. cat.), 2003, p. 85. The inscription means "I am the way, the truth and the life."
29. G. Gundermann, 1886, p. 241. C.E. Lutz, 1975, p. 93, translates into English a Lentulus letter in a fifteenth-century manuscript in Cambridge, Harvard Library, Beinecke Rare Book Library, Marston 49, fols. 74v-75v: "Lentulus, to the Senate and the Roman People, greetings. There has appeared in these times, and, indeed, is still living, a man of great power named Christ Jesus, who is said by the Gentiles to be the prophet of truth, but his disciples call him the Son of God. He raises the dead and heals all diseases. He is a man of average size and pleasing appearance, having a countenance that commands respect, which those who behold may love or fear. He has hair the color of an unripe hazelnut, smooth almost to the ears, but below his ears curling and rather darker and more shining, hanging over his shoulders, and having a parting in the middle of his head according to the fashion of the Nazarenes. His brow is smooth and quite serene; his face is without wrinkle or blemish, and a slight ruddiness makes it handsome. No fault can be found with his nose and mouth; he has a full beard of the color of his hair, not long but divided in two at the chin. His facial expression is guileless and mature; his eyes are greyish and clear. In his rebukes he is terrible, but in his admonitions he is gentle and kind; he is cheerful, but always maintains his dignity. At times he has wept, but he has never laughed. In stature he is tall and erect and his hands and arms are fine to behold. His speech is grave, reserved, and temperate, so that he is rightly called by the prophet, 'Fairer than the sons of men'.

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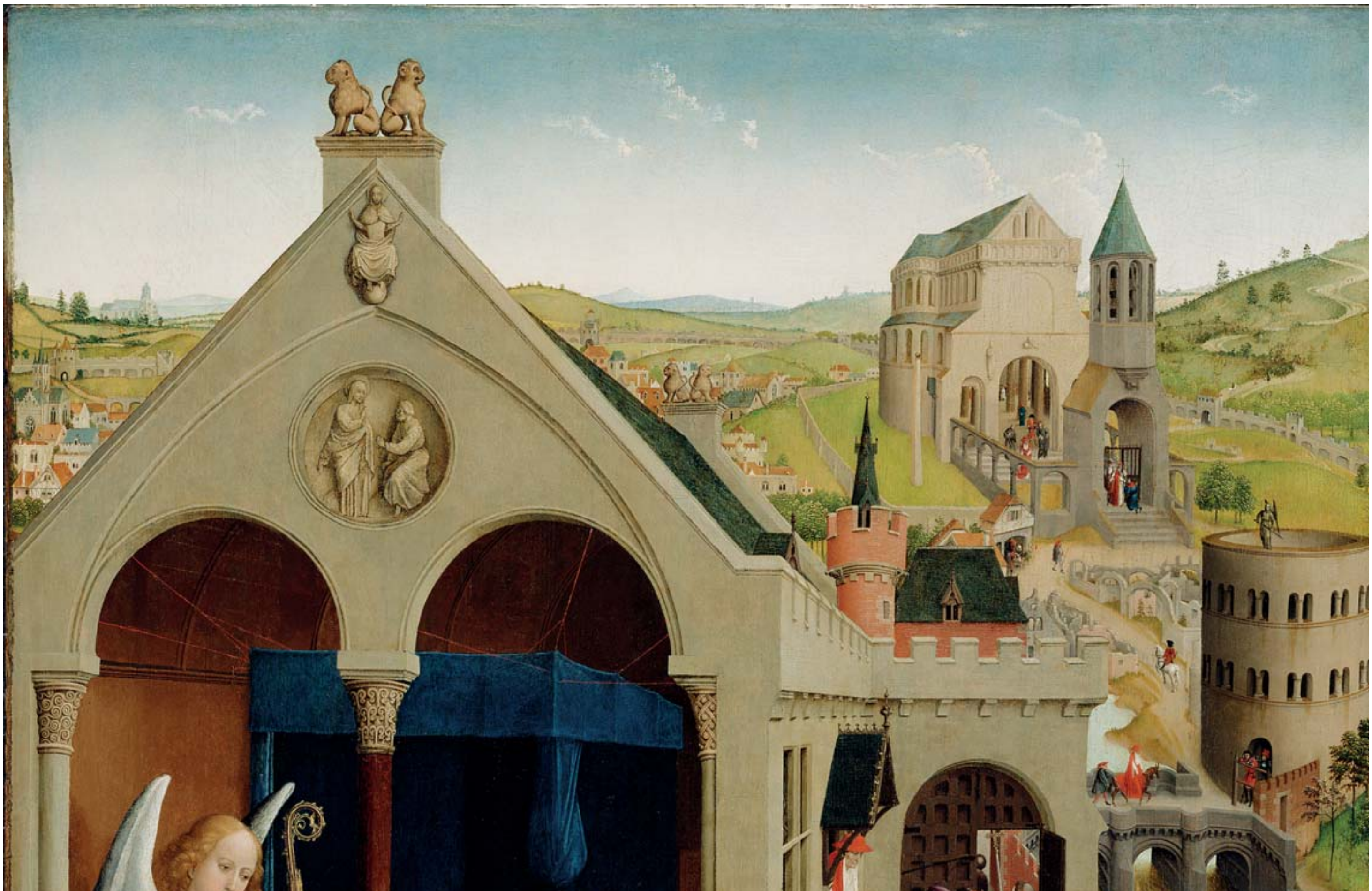


Rogier van der Weyden

Dream of Pope Sergius

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.PB.20

Group: Rogier van der Weyden
No. Corpus: 250

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1620s: Brussels, Chapel of Saint Hubert, Church of Saint Gudula
By 1796-1850: England, Frederick Ponsonby, third Earl of Bessborough, Bess-borough House, Surrey
1796: London, Bessborough Sale, Christie's, 7 May 1796, lot no. 34 (unsold)
1850: London, Christie's Sale, 10-11 July 1850, Earl of Bessborough, lot no. 186[1]
1850-1851: Webb, sold to Henri Labouchère, 1851
1851-1869: Bridgewater, Somerset, England, Henry Labouchère, first Baron of Taunton, Quantock Lodge
1869-1892: Bridgewater, Somerset, England, Mary Matilda Georgiana Labouchère (widow of Henry Labouchère) Baroness of Taunton, Quantock Lodge
1892: Bridgewater, Somerset, England, Mrs. Edward James Stanley (Lord Taunton's daughter), Quantock Lodge
By 1923-ca. 1924: London, Ayerts Hooker Buttery (source: Witt Library)
1924: New York, Kleinberger Galleries
By 1924: New York, Friedsam Collection
Before 1928-1931: New York, Mortimer L. Schiff
1931-1938: New York, John Mortimer Schiff
1938: London, Christie's Sale, 6 June 1938, Schiff Sale, lot no. 84
1938: Amsterdam, S. Rosenberg
1939-1940: Private Collection[2]
By 1945-1972: The Netherlands, von Pannwitz, Haartekampe; New York; Brazil, sold through New York, French and Co.
1972: Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum

1. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, 88.8 × 80.5 cm., Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.PB.20

MATERIAL HISTORY

Before 1976: cradle applied

1976: cradle was filled with wax

1985-1986: Giovanni Marussich and Renato Castorrini: cradle and wax were removed, splits channeled from the reverse to a v-shape, with the tip extending to just below the preparatory ground layer, and filled with aged oak adhered with Ren-weld epoxy resin (RP-106/H-953). The original join was separated, the edges beveled, and the panel re-joined with aged oak inserts. Horizontal movable battens were applied at top and bottom edges of the reverse.

1985-1986: Mark Leonard removed the varnish and restoration, and the old fills along the joins, and applied new varnish, fills, and retouching.

1997: Mark Leonard consolidated minor areas of flaking in the gouache underpainting of the retouching in the sky, retouched losses in the areas of flaking, and applied a brush coat of varnish.

EXHIBITIONS

1924 New York, F. Kleinberger Gallery, *Paintings on Exhibition at the Galleries*, n. p.

1929 New York, F. Kleinberger Gallery, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies*, no. 10

1934 Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, *A Century of Progress exhibition of painting and sculpture,* no. 131

1939-1940 Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen beeldhouwwerken, en teekeningen uit particuliere verzamelingen in Nederland*, no. 47

1945 The Hague, Mauritshuis, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen*, Nederlandsche kunst van de XV*^{de} *en XVI*^{de} *eeuw,* no. 84

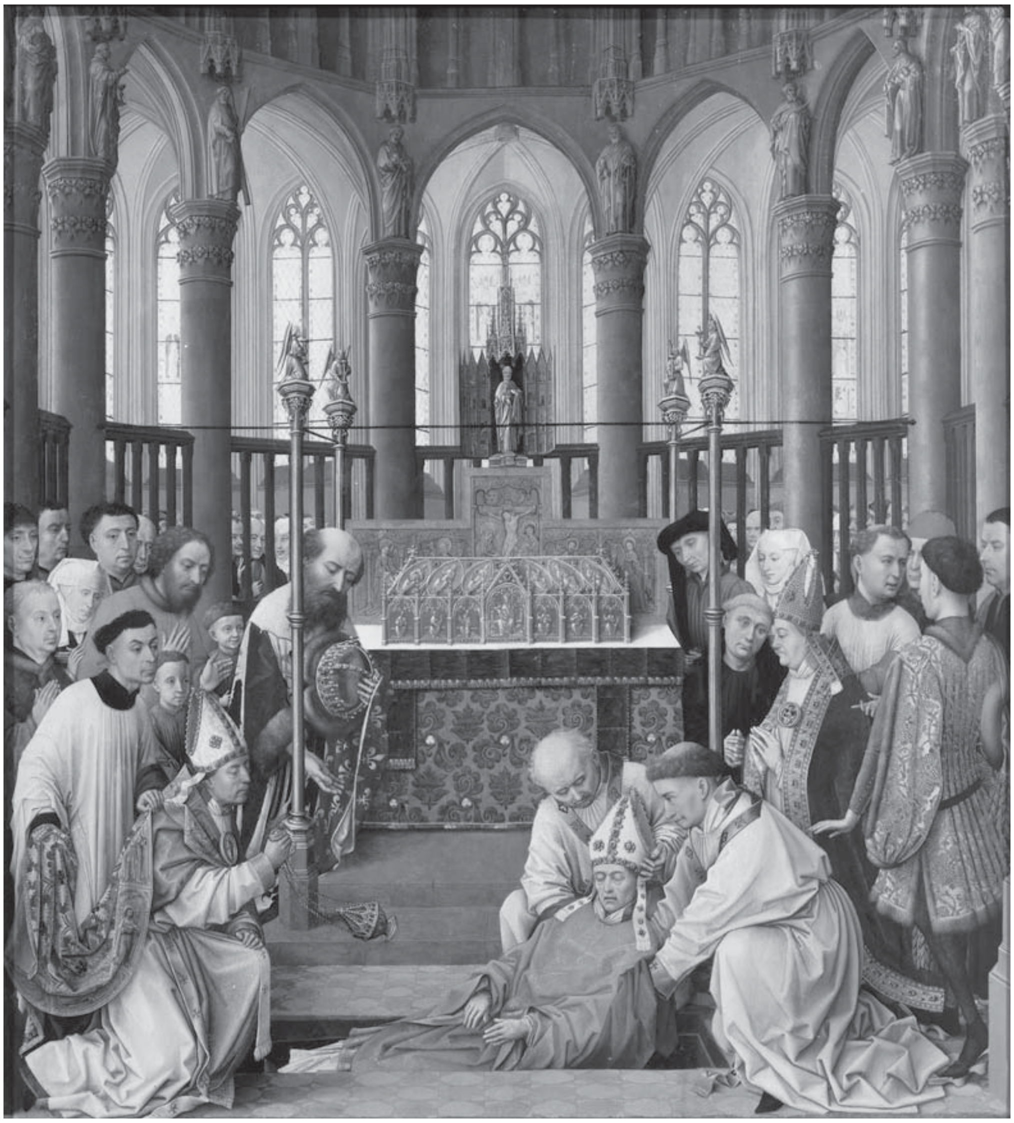
1979 Brussels, Musée communal de Bruxelles, Maison du Roi, *Rogier van der Weyden – Rogier de la Pasture*, no. 2Y

1999 London, The National Gallery, *Rogier van der Weyden: 600*th *Anniversary of His Birth*

2009 Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, Städel Museums and Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, no. 24

3. HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

The first written source to mention this painting (fig. 1) is the travel diary of François-Nicolas Baudot, sieur du Buisson et d'Aubenay, a Frenchman who visited the Low Countries several times over the years 1623-1628 (doc. 1).[3] Because his handwritten journal is a rough draft that was never intended for publication, its spelling and grammar are unorthodox, and its ideas sometimes contradictory or lacking in clarity. What is clear, however, is that Dubuisson-Aubenay saw in the Chapel of Notre-Dame des Fleurs in the Church of Saint Gudula at Brussels "a small painting of two panels" that was "believed to be by the hand of Rogier" and depicted



2. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *Exhumation of St. Hubert,* 82.2 × 81.2 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG783

episodes from the life of St. Hubert of Liège: on the left, the *Exhumation of St. Hubert,* and on the right, the *Dream of Pope Sergius.* This critically important document only came to light in 1946 when Léon Halkin published it and identified the two panels as those that are today in the National Gallery of London and the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (figs. 1-2). Indeed Dubuisson-Aubenay's descriptions closely correspond to these works. For example, he describes the *Dream of Pope Sergius* as follows:

> On the other section of the painting, which is at the right hand as we look at it, is Pope Sergius, as the inscription notes, to whom the visionary angel brings a crosier and a mitre, telling him that with them he has to invest Hubert, who was a man whom he would find *ad limina d*[*omini*]*. petri.*[4] There you see some buildings and structures of Rome, a cardinal and other people who come and go.[5]

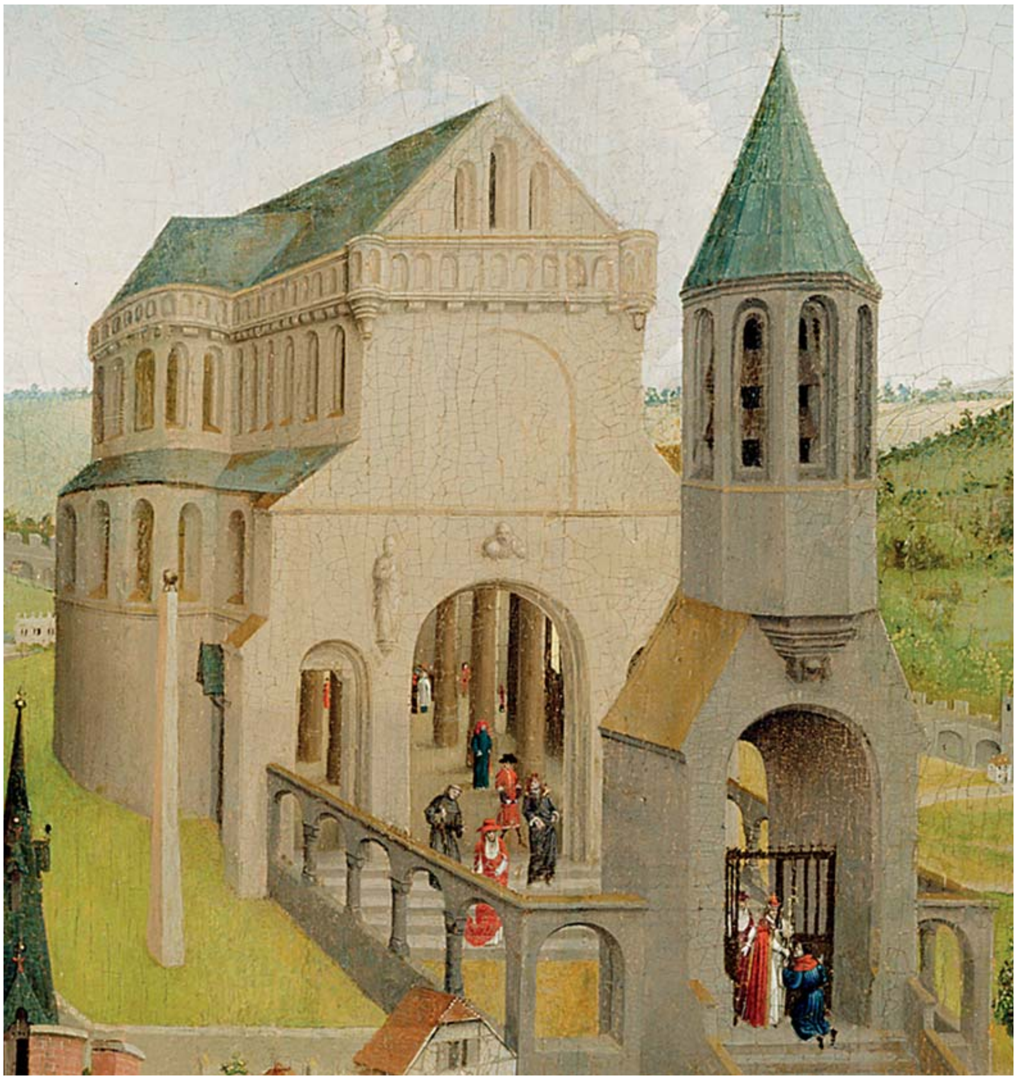
Although he was unaware of Dubuisson-Aubenay's remarks, G.F. Waagen (1854) linked the panels in London and Los Angeles on the basis of size, style and provenance, that is, their shared history in the collection of Lord Bessborough between 1796 and 1850. Ever since scholars have agreed that the two panels were originally part of the same ensemble. Waagen also noted that the painting was "very unequal in execution, for while some portions display the full excellence of the school, others are comparatively feeble," a characterization that agrees with the current predominant view. He assigned the Getty panel to the school of Van Eyck, like the auction catalogue of 1850, an attribution that gained no support.

M.J. Friedländer (1924, 1967) became the first since Dubuisson-Aubenay to attribute the panel in Los Angeles to Rogier van der Weyden and describe its subject as *The Dream of Pope Sergius and the Consecration of St. Hubert in Rome.* Most scholars supported both Friedländer's identification of the subject and his association of the panel with Van der Weyden, but opinion was divided as to whether the works in London and Los Angeles were by the master alone, by the master and members of his workshop working collaboratively, or by one or more of his followers acting independently.[6]

Friedländer (1924, 1967) also noted that the cityscape of the *Dream of Pope Sergius* includes an identifiable Roman building, Old St. Peter's (fig. 3). M. Conway (1926) added a second one, the Castel Sant'Angelo (fig. 4), and for this reason dated the panels around 1450, the year that Van der Weyden is believed to have travelled to Rome. Others followed this dating, until the 1930s when several assigned the paintings to an earlier period, the 1430s and 1440s.[7] Most cited stylistic evidence for the new dating, but M. Davies (1945) pointed to the costumes in the London panel to support a date of ca. 1440. Recently D. De Vos (1999) concurred, citing the garments worn by the background figures in the Los Angeles panel.

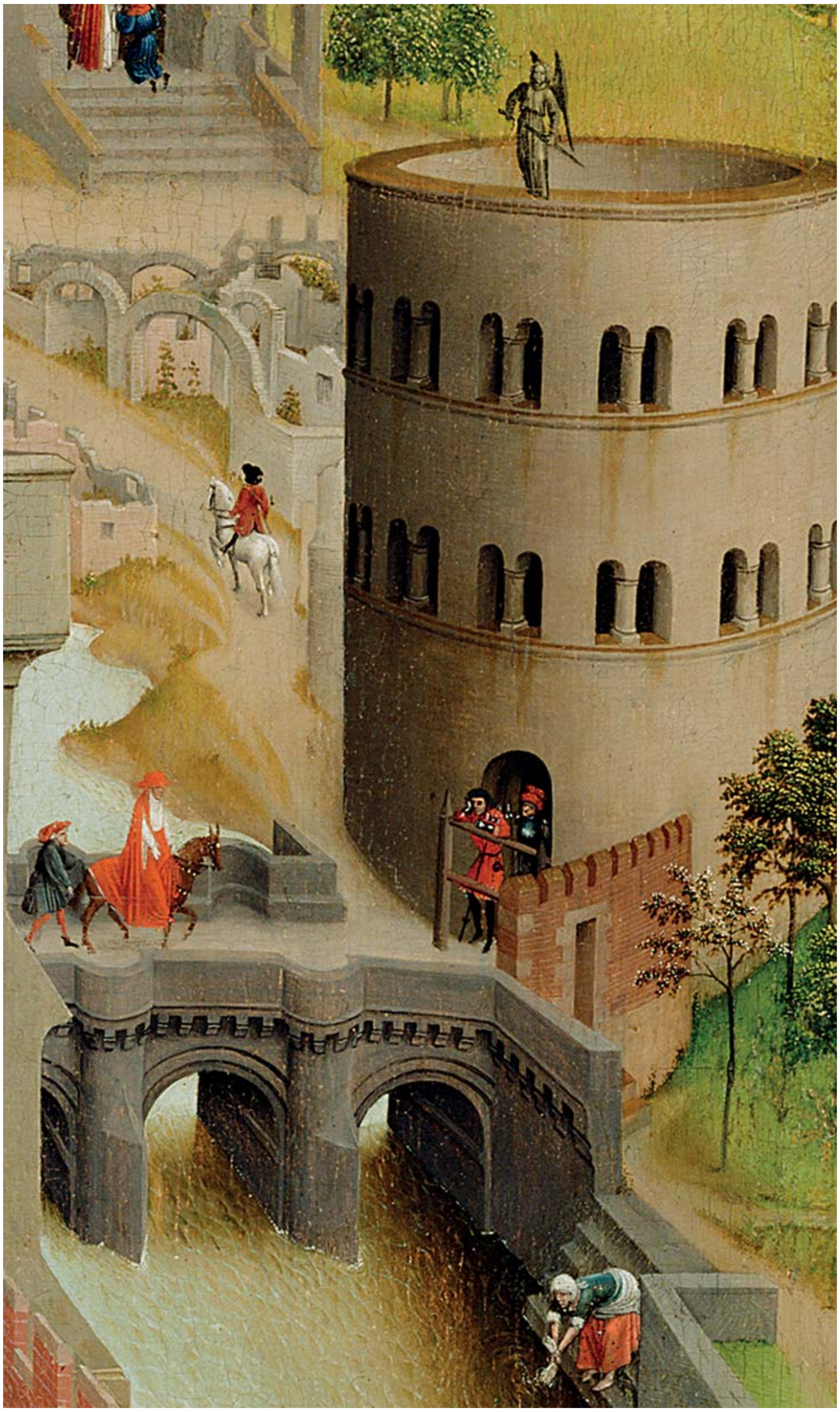
Before Dubuisson-Aubenay's travel diary was published, scholars believed that the panels were painted for Saint Peter's in Liège, where St. Hubert was first interred.[8] The one early dissenter was S. de Ricci (1931), who proposed that someone, perhaps Gerard, the duke of Jülich who founded the Order of St. Hubert in 1444, commissioned the panels for the Benedictine monastery of Saint Hubert-en-Ardenne. The appearance of L. Halkin's article in 1946, however, convinced scholars that the panels were probably commissioned for the Chapel originally dedicated to St. Hubert (now called Notre-Dame des Fleurs) in the collegiate Church of Saint Gudula (now the Cathedral of SS. Michael and Gudula) in Brussels.[9] When M. Davies (1954) noted the presence of St. Gudula in the retable of the *Exhumation* and published a document that demonstrated that this Chapel was founded in 1437 by Jan Vrientschap and Jan Coels, most scholars acknowledged that the panels must have been commissioned shortly after that date.[10]

At first the panels in London and Los Angeles were assumed to have been painted by the same artist. In 1951, however, H. Beenken proposed that they were created by two different painters, and J. Bruyn (1974, 1977), A. Smith (1980), and H.J. Van Miegroet (1987) supported that judgment.[11] More recently, L. Campbell (1994) noted not only stylistic differences between the two panels, but also, echoing Waagen (1854), "fluctuations in quality" within each panel. Yet he concluded that the commission must have been given to Van der Weyden, who at least minimally supervised the production of the two paintings.[12]



3. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, detail showing Old Saint Peter's

Campbell's conclusion rested on historical, technical, and stylistic evidence. According to a *Liber Capellaniarum* of Saint Gudula, which was compiled between 1466 and 1474, Jan Vrientschap and Jan Coels founded the Chapel of Saint Hubert. A later lawsuit reveals the date of this foundation. In 1432 Pope Eugenius IV granted Vrientschap permission to found the Chapel. In 1437 Coels assigned funds to it, and two years later its first chaplain, Gillis Coels, was appointed. As Campbell observed, Jan Vrientschap and Jan Coels were wealthy and well-connected brothers-in-law. Vrientschap, a dean of the mercers' guild in 1423 and town-councilor in the late 1420s and 30s, sold some of his considerable land holdings to Philip the Good in the 1430s. Coels was a receiver of the ducal domains from 1429-1441, and played a critical role in buying properties for the duke. In short, the two founders of the Chapel would have had ample opportunity to meet Van der Weyden and commission



4. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, detail showing Castel Sant'Angelo

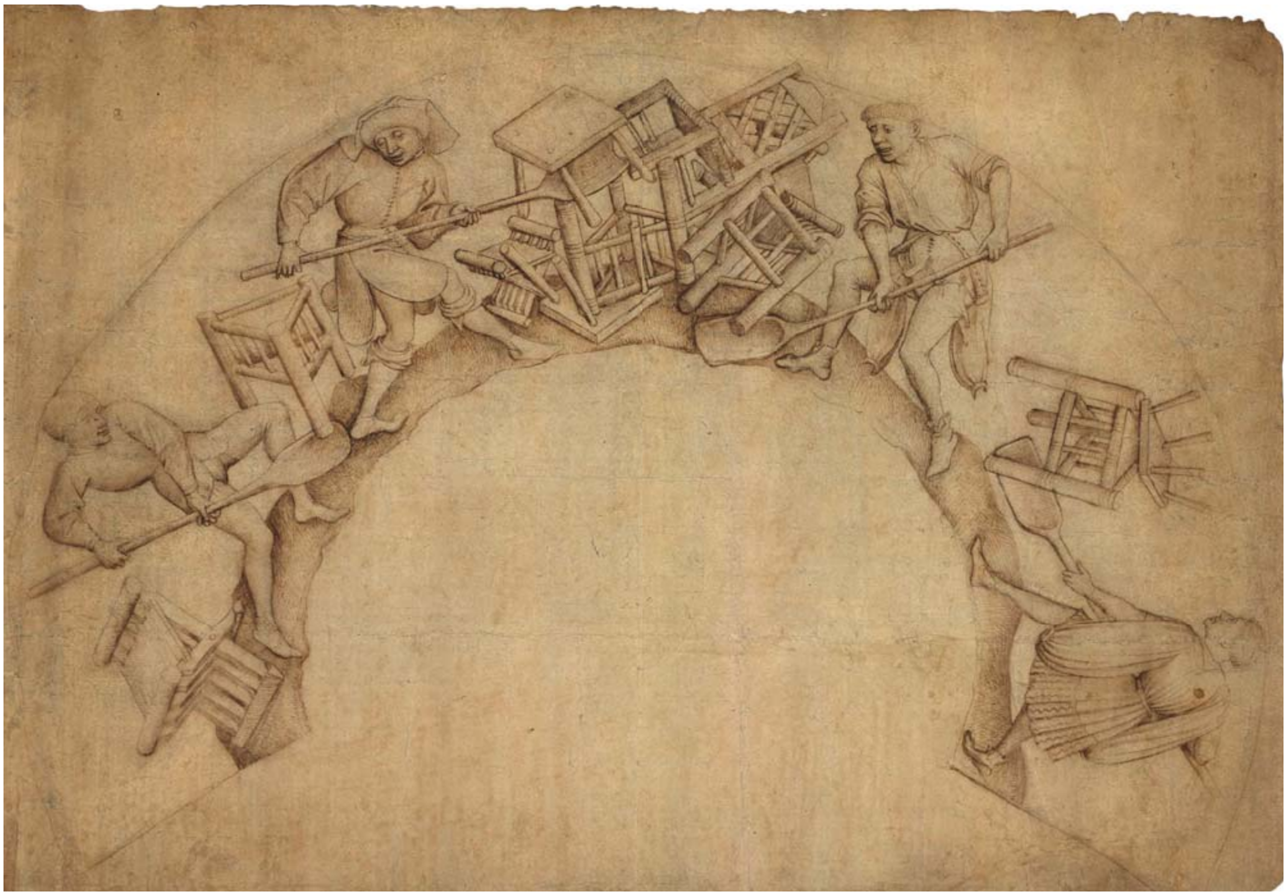
panels from him. And they would have wanted to do so for such an important commission in the principal Church of Brussels.[13]

Campbell (1998) further argued that technical studies supported the idea that Van der Weyden was involved in the commission. Infrared reflectograms of the London and Los Angeles panels reveal many changes in their compositions, which suggest that the paintings are originals, not copies, and that they were hastily planned. Campbell further noted "considerable variations in the styles of underdrawing and in the quality of both underdrawing and painting, where passages of great technical skill alternate with areas of lesser competence."[14] In addition to the reflectograms, dendrochronology pointed to Van der Weyden's involvement, since it confirmed a date of around 1440 for the London painting, that is, the time just after the Chapel was founded, when Rogier was severely overworked, busy with such major commissions as the *Justice Scenes* and the Prado *Deposition*[15]. Campbell concluded that the paintings in London and Los Angeles must have been produced by Van der Weyden and "a team of artists of varying abilities" from his workshop.[16]

Davies had earlier suggested that the *Exhumation* had been painted in Van der Weyden's workshop, "but with only a small participation by the master."[17] De Vos (1999) agreed that the panels must have been commissioned from Van der Weyden, "who then entrusted the execution to assistants." Yet, unlike Campbell, he asserted, "I detect nothing in either panel that would point towards Rogier's participation."[18]

A quite different train of thought concerning attribution arose when Friedländer (1903) attributed to a follower of Van der Weyden the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Antwerp Cathedral, the Edelheer *Descent from the Cross,* and the *Exhumation of St. Hubert* in London. Although by the 1920s Friedländer had reattributed the *Exhumation* to Van der Weyden himself, a few scholars perpetuated his initial idea and some assigned additional works to this artist, who was christened the Master of the Exhumation of Saint Hubert.[19] A. Châtelet (1999b) investigated this theory too.[20] He concluded that most of the works that have been linked to the panels in London and Los Angeles should not have been, but he argued that two drawings are by the same hand: the *Scupstoel* in the Lehman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 5) and the *Procession* in the British Museum.[21] The first, which served as a design for a capital of the Town Hall of Brussels, where Van der Weyden was city painter, was commissioned from him and executed by a workshop assistant ca. 1444. The second could also have been commissioned from Van der Weyden, but this is less certain since its patron is unknown. Châtelet further proposed that some of the faces in Van der Weyden's *Last Judgment*[22] and *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments*[23] were also by the Master of the Exhumation of Saint Hubert.[24] Campbell (1998), too, saw links between the *Scupstoel* drawing and the two supplicants holding petitions in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*.[25] De Vos (1999), by contrast, proposed that the landscape and architecture in the panel in Los Angeles may be by the same hand that painted those sections in the wings of the *Annunciation Triptych* in Turin (fig. 6).[26]

S. Kemperdick (1997) closely studied the stylistic links between the *Dream of Pope Sergius* and other works from Van der Weyden's circle, most notably the *St. Catherine* in Vienna,[27] the *Werl Altarpiece*,[28] and the Louvre *Annunciation*. For example, he cited the similar facial features and gentle, dreamy expression of the angels in the *Annunciation* and the *Dream of Pope Sergius* (figs. 1, 7). He also noted that the pattern

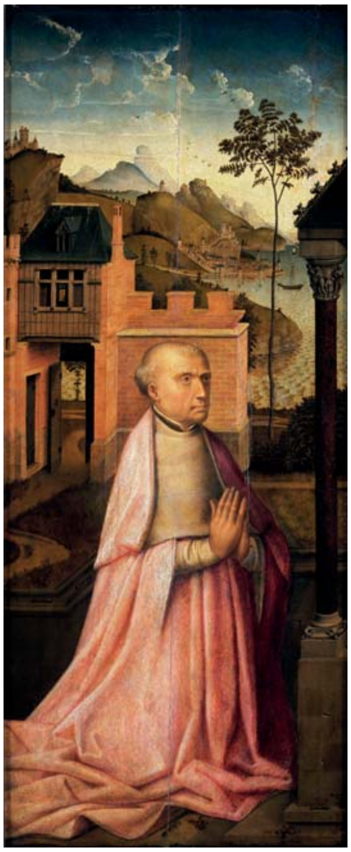


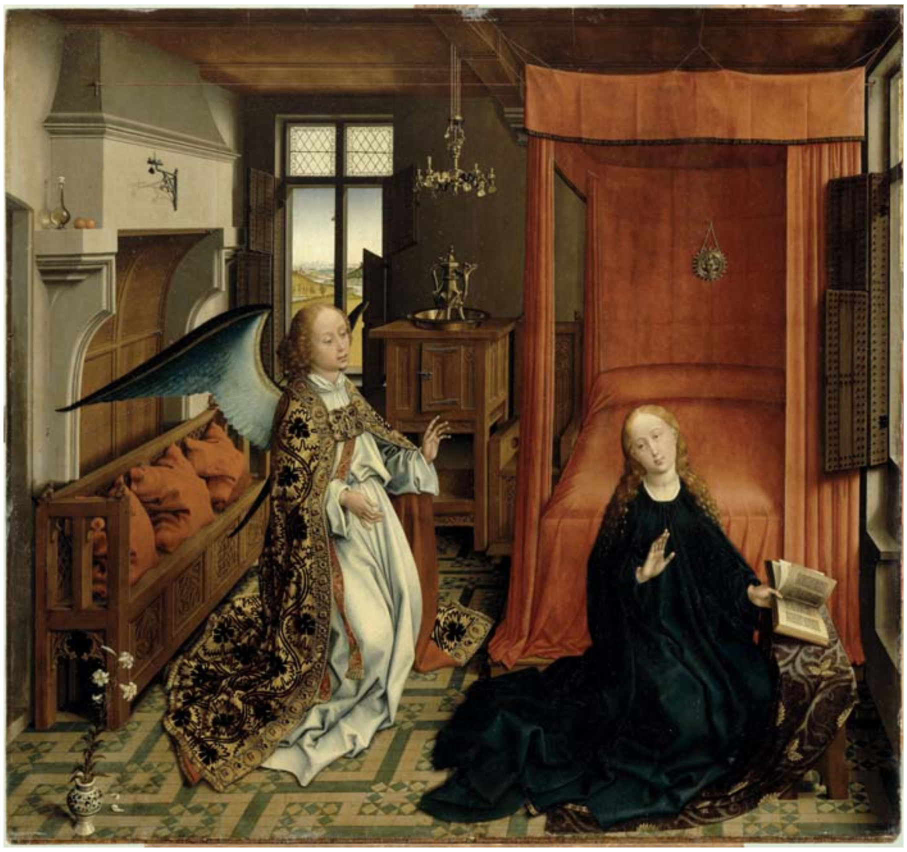
5. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, design for the *Scupstoel*, 298/300 × 426 mm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.848

of the brocade on Sergius's prie-dieu is identical to that on Gabriel's cope, and he further argued that these are the only two surviving examples of this pattern in Van der Weyden's circle.[29] Although he did not think that the *Annunciation* was painted by the same hand as the *Dream of Pope Sergius*, Kemperdick did attribute the latter work to the artist who produced the *St. Catherine* in Vienna.[30] Kemperdick also pointed to compositional similarities between the *Marriage of the Virgin* in Antwerp and the *Dream of Pope Sergius*. Both show the interior and exterior of a building, figures standing partly through a gabled doorway, a corridor along the outside of the building, and a deep landscape showing a city, river and bridge.[31]

But Kemperdick (1997) saw even closer links between the *Dream of Pope Sergius* and the *Mass of St. Gregory* in Brussels,[32] which is usually deemed a copy after the Master of Flémalle and dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century (see fig. 37 on p. 69, 245-246).[33] Kemperdick concluded that the same artist painted the *Dream of Pope Sergius* and the original of the *Mass of St. Gregory.*

Several scholars have noted compositional motifs that are close to those in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*. Friedländer (1924, 1967) suggested that the angel appearing to Elijah in a triptych from ca. 1480-1490 by the Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine is copied after the angel in the Los Angeles panel (fig. 8). Campbell (1998),



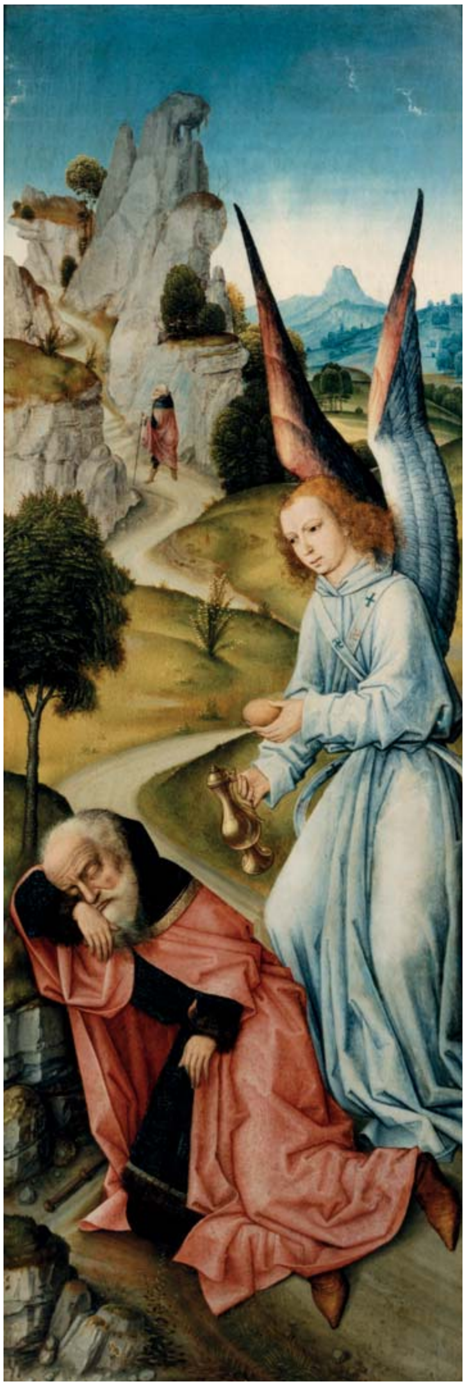


6. Rogier van der Weyden, follower, *Portrait of the Donor* (left wing of the *Annunciation Triptych*), 87 × 36.5 cm., Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv. no. 32 (210)

7. Rogier van der Weyden, *Annunciation* (central panel of the *Annunciation Triptych*), 86 × 93 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1982

following P. Rolland (1932), asserted that the angel in the *Dream of Pope Sergius* is "an adaptation" of the one carved by Jean Delemer and polychromed by Robert Campin in 1428.[34] Campbell also observed the extremely strong similarities between the portrayal of Old Saint Peter's in the *Dream of Pope Sergius* and the Church in a Brussels painting from the second half of the fifteenth century representing *St. Helena discovering the True Cross* (figs. 3, 9).[35] Another work that seems to draw from the same model is the *Presentation of the Virgin* (El Escorial) by yet another follower of Van der Weyden, as Davies (1945) noted.[36] T. Kren (2007) proposed that the cityscape in the background of an illumination of *St. Peter in the Vatican*, produced in Ghent ca. 1465-1470,[37] is adapted from the *Dream of Pope Sergius.*[38] The pose of Sergius recurs in a manuscript illuminated in Bruges in 1463 for Philip the Good (fig. 10).[39] The composition in Colyn de Coter's *St. Rumbold Taking Leave of Pope Stephen II*, painted in Brussels around 1500,[40] also resembles that in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*, as C. Périer-d'Ieteren (Brussels, 1979) remarked. In this painting note the depiction of an interior room and exterior wall for the foreground building, the cityscape that leads into the distance, and the arched bridge and rounded Castel Sant'Angelo.[41]

Over the years, scholars have identified – sometimes mistakenly – structures in the background of the *Dream of Pope Sergius* as Roman sites: Old Saint Peter's, the Castel Sant'Angelo, the bridge leading to the castle, the Colosseum, the city walls, an obelisque, and Saint Paul-outside-the-Walls.[42] Van Miegroet (1987, 1989),

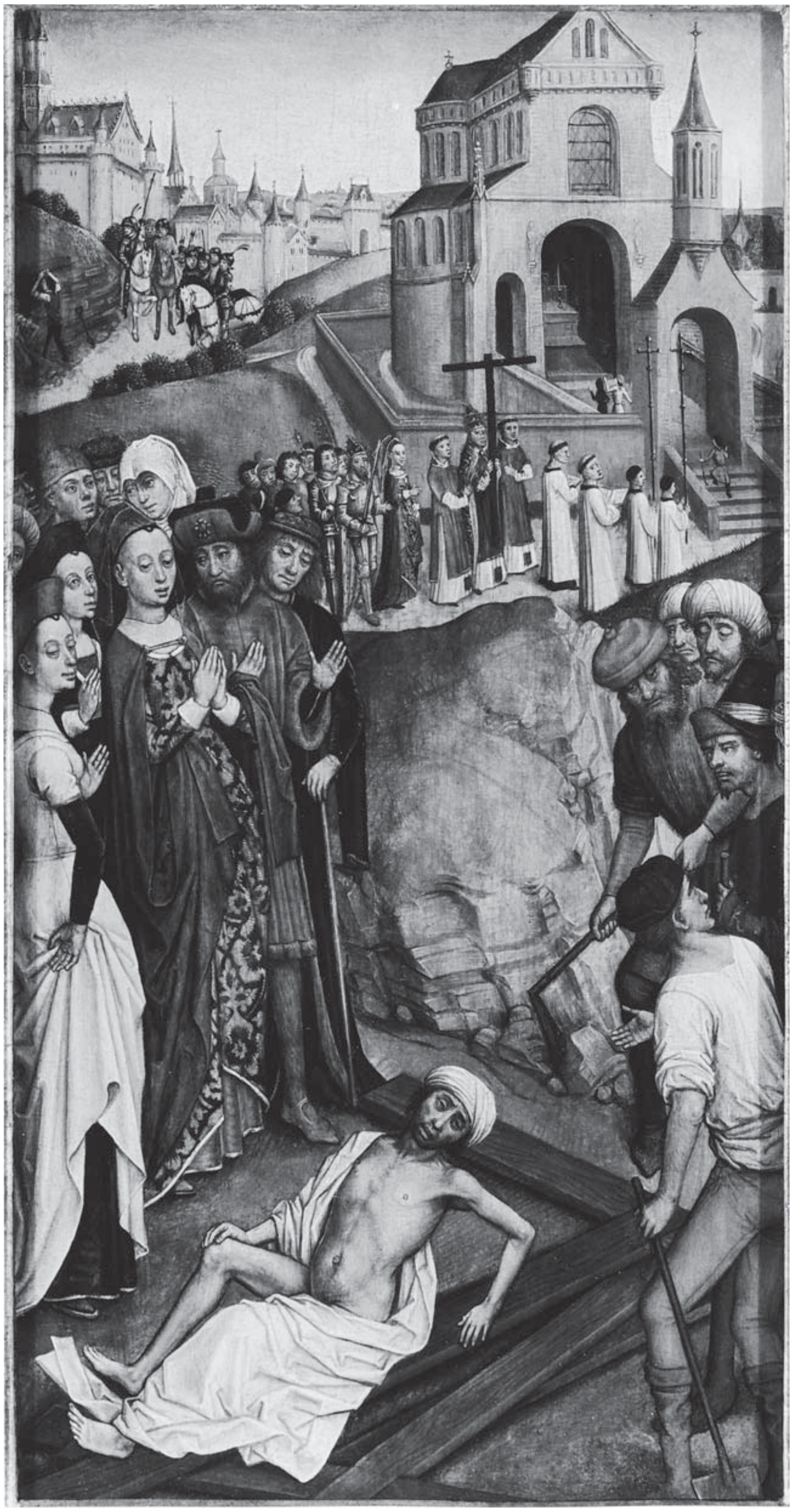


8. Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine, *Elijah in the Desert* (right wing of a triptych), 96 × 77 cm., Bruges, Grootseminarie

building on a publication by R. Terner (1976), argued that the cityscape shows Rome from the south, that such a view was unavailable until 1478, that the panel includes buildings that were destroyed in the 1490s, and that for these reasons the painting must date ca. 1490. Campbell (1998) countered each of these arguments. The disparate buildings are simply meant to evoke Rome, he argued, not to render the city accurately as it looked at a particular time and from a particular viewpoint.[43]

If most scholars now agree that Van der Weyden and his associates produced the London and Los Angeles panels for the Chapel of Saint Hubert in the Church of Saint Gudula shortly after 1437, they are unsure as to the original form of this commission. Davies (1954) reproduced a text and its accompanying sketch that describe an altarpiece that was in Saint Hubert's Chapel around 1627.[44] Based on this source, Davies surmised that either Dubuisson-Aubenay visited the Chapel before 1627 or that the paintings in London and Los Angeles had been placed at the top of this reconfigured altarpiece, in the two spaces left blank in the drawing. Davies was convinced that the two panels originally formed a diptych. He argued that Dubuisson-Aubenay described them as such and that they both show a centralized perspective system.[45] Périer-d'Ieteren (Brussels, 1979) and Châtelet (1989) supported this theory.[46]

P. Schabacker (1972) questioned whether Dubuisson-Aubenay saw the panels in their original form, since he had reported that the *Dream of Pope Sergius* was on the viewer's right, but the reverse order makes better chronological sense. Kemperdick (2009) reproduced the two panels side-by-side in order to explore the visual links between them.[47] Arranging the paintings chronologically, that is, with the *Dream of Pope Sergius* on the left, he observed that the diagonal formed by the Tiber in one panel was balanced by the diagonal of the crowd in the other, and that the horizontal lines of bridge and gateway in one corresponded



9. Master of the Prado Redemption, *St. Helena Discovering the True Cross* (left wing of a triptych), 53 × 28 cm., Madrid, Private Collection

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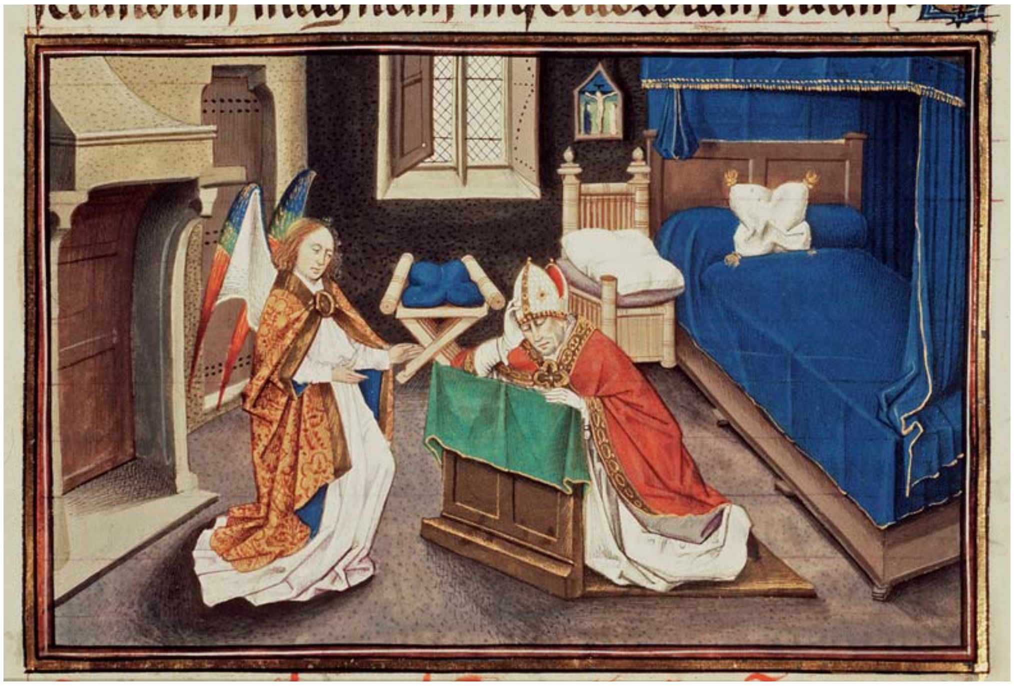


10. Loyset Liédet, *An Angel Announces the Approaching Death of St. Hubert*, in Hubert le Prevost, *Vie de Hubert*, Bruges, 1463, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 10, fol. 33v.

11. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, X-radiograph

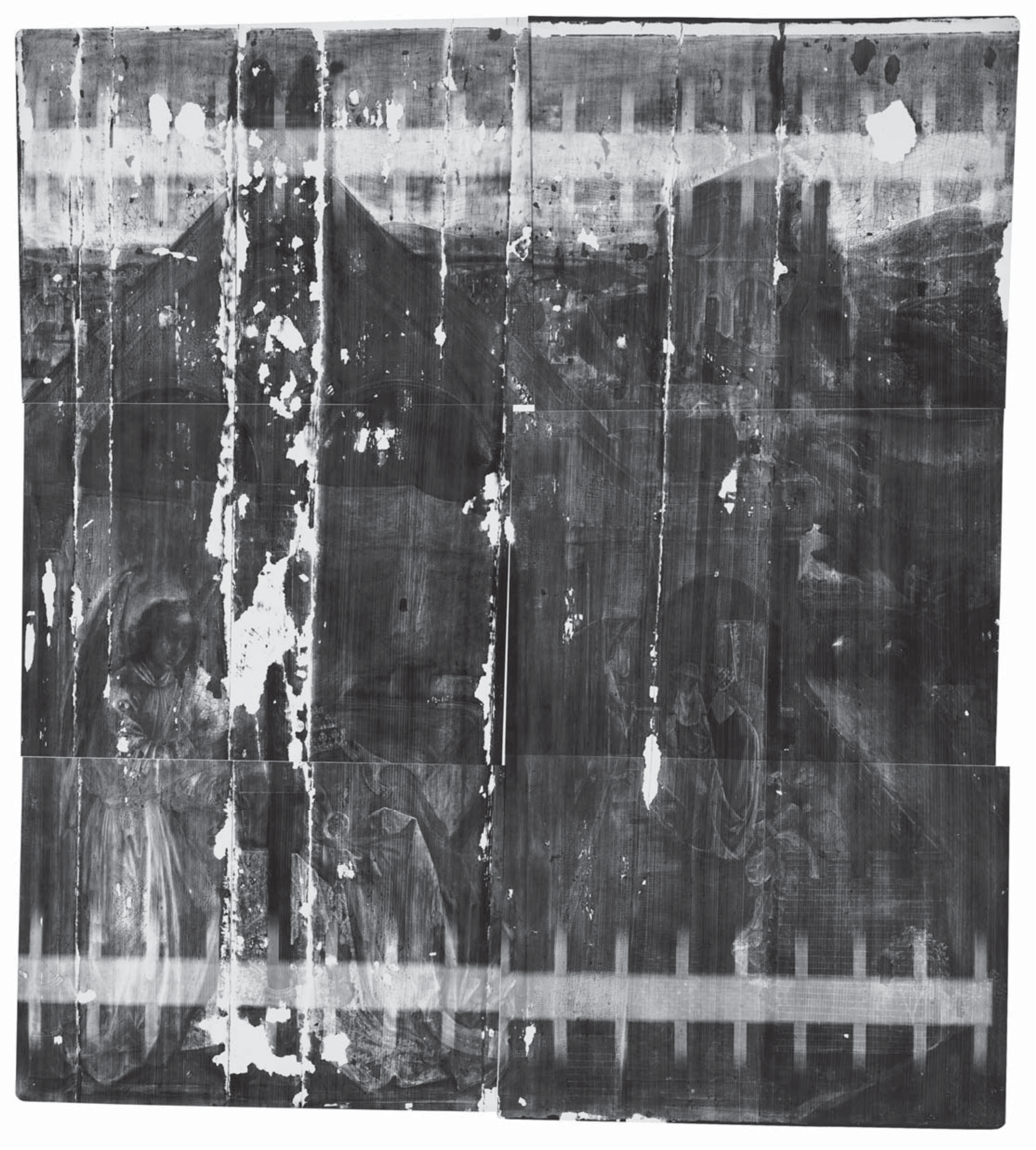
to those of the altar and shrine in the other. Kemperdick also demonstrated that neither panel is, in fact, truly centralized. There are more columns on one side of the *Exhumation* than on the other, and the lines of architecture pull the eye to the right in the *Dream of Pope Sergius.*

R. Terner (1976) proposed that the two paintings originally formed part of a triptych, with the *Exhumation* as the central panel and the *Dream* as the left wing. He wondered whether a scene from St. Hubert's life, such as the one today in Antwerp, served as the right wing. In this case, he suggested, the triptych might be dedicated not so much to the saint's life as to his relics, which would be a pressing issue since Hubert's body was lost in the Middle Ages.[48] By contrast, L. Fischel (1958) proposed that the *Dream of Pope Sergius* was originally the reverse of the *Exhumation,* and Campbell (1998) argued that originally the paintings must have been part of a larger ensemble, perhaps a frieze whose other panels have since been destroyed or dispersed.[49]

J. Bruyn (1974) also opposed the theory that the panels originally formed a diptych. He argued that their shape– almost square – made that unlikely. He further reasoned that the diptych theory was doubtful on iconographical grounds, since it would have lacked the best known episode in Hubert's life – his conversion – as well as any theme that showed the saint alive. He proposed instead that the two panels were part of a larger retable, perhaps like Jacques Daret's painted wings, which framed a sculpted shrine.[50]

A. Châtelet (1999a) countered Bruyn's argument by suggesting that, in fact, the paintings in London and Los Angeles attest to Hubert's sainthood by evoking both his divine designation as bishop and the miraculous preservation of his body when it was exhumed. Kemperdick (2009) similarly proposed that the two panels both focus

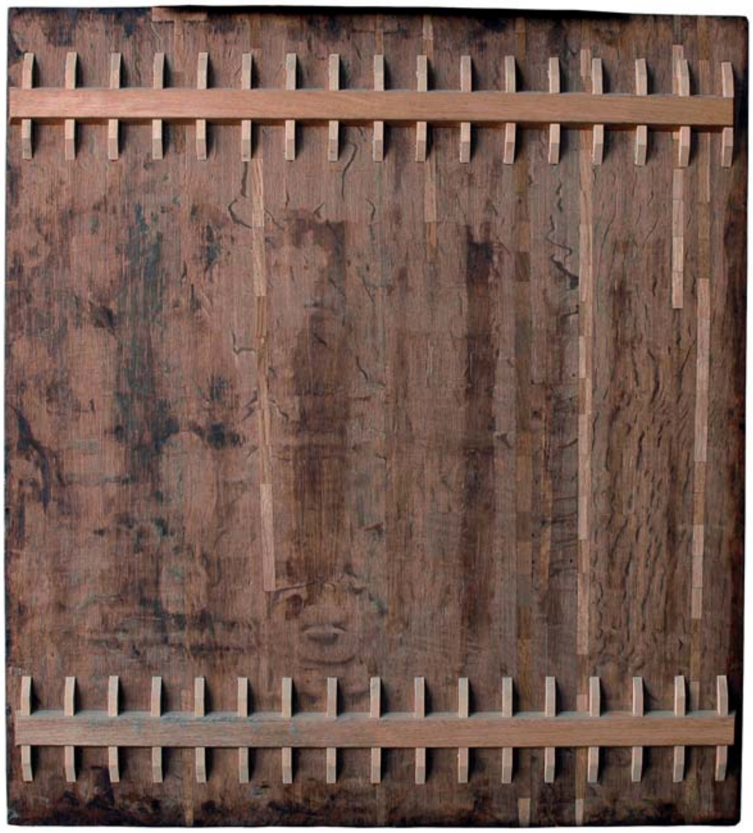
11.



on "miracles in an ecclesiastical context and allude to St. Hubert's role as bishop."[51] D. Jaffé (*Masterpieces of Painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 2003) noted that the relief showing Christ consecrating St. Peter, which is located directly above the foreground scene of Sergius' dream, gives visual form to the divine source of the papal authority to distribute offices. Jaffé further suggested that these elements may be a response to the contemporary challenge to this papal power by the French king and the Council of Basel. Jaffé further proposes that the Franciscan petitioner may refer to the donor's "religious affiliation."

One last issue was raised by O. Kerber (1936), who was the first to discuss the relationship between time and space in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*. He observed that events that unraveled through time were rendered in this painting as occurring through space, and that the composition dissected the story into a series of brief moments in time.[52] Similarly A. Acres (1992) explored the continuous narrative in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*. He noted the composition's "special sensitivity for the texture of momentary occurrence," and explored the many markers along the pathway that lead from the pope's dream to the fulfillment of that dream: the arched walkway, bridge, and road are all dotted with figures moving towards St. Peter's. Acres succinctly characterized the composition as a "single-minded sequence of motion through time in depth." Campbell also commented on the painting's development of three-dimensional space, remarking that this differs strikingly from Van der Weyden's usual practice of designing frieze-like compositions.[53]

12.



12. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, verso

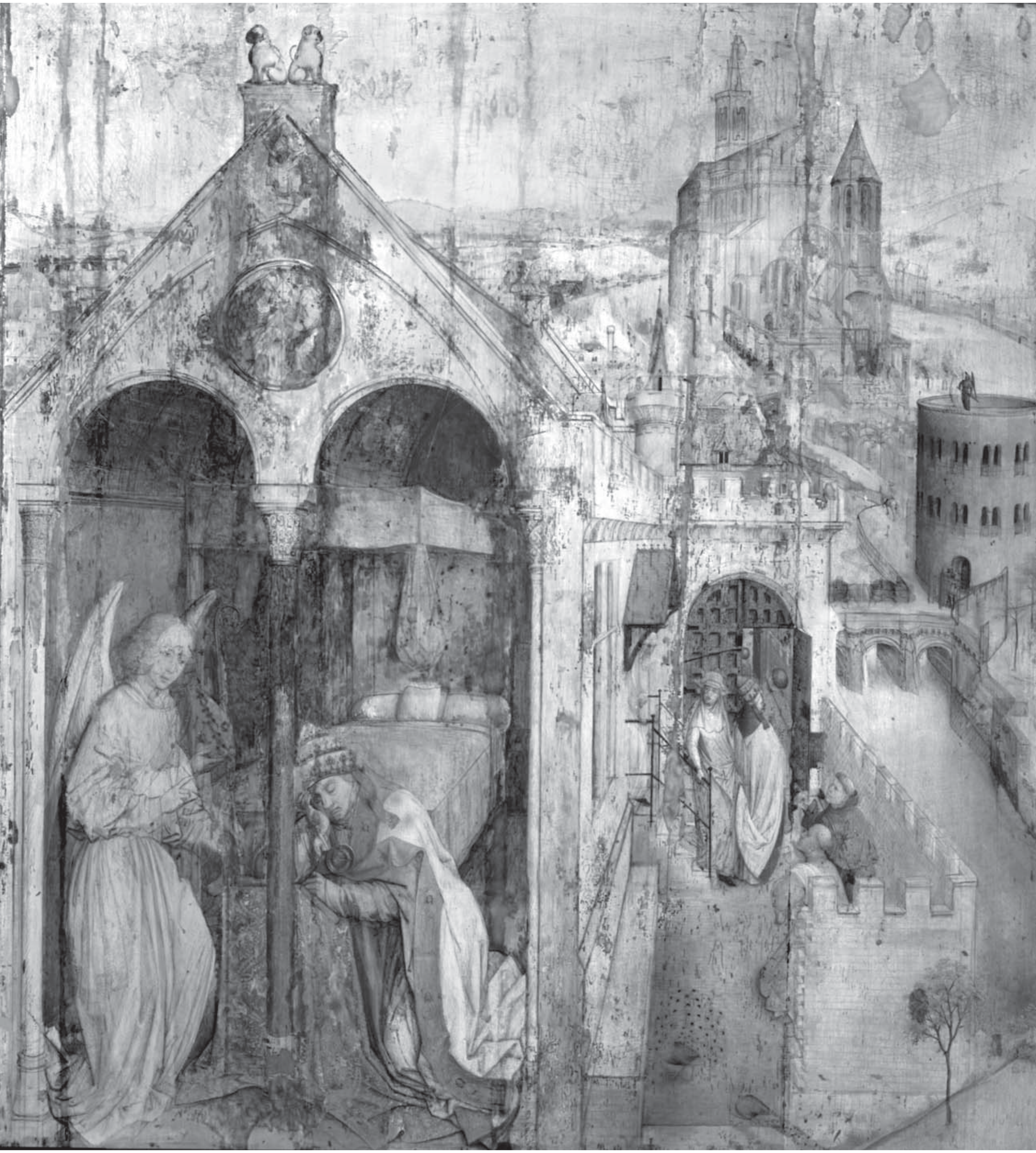
> 13.

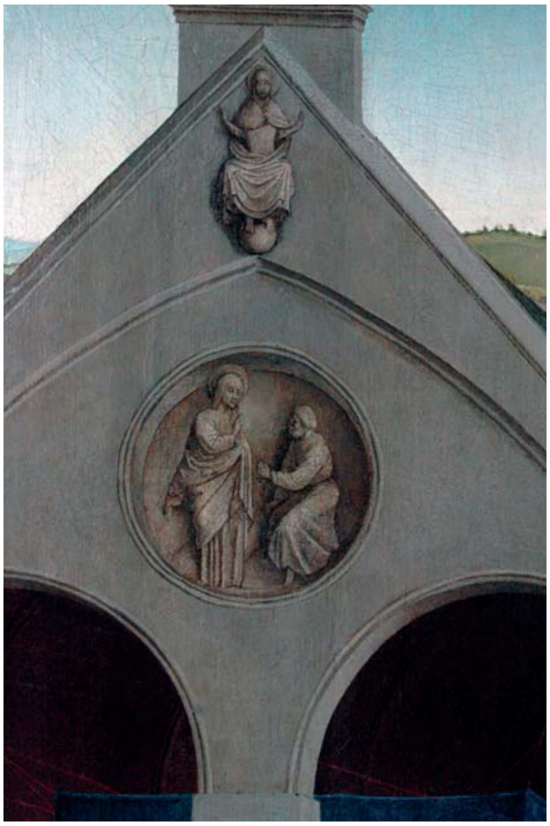
13. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, infrared reflectogram

4. Physical Analysis

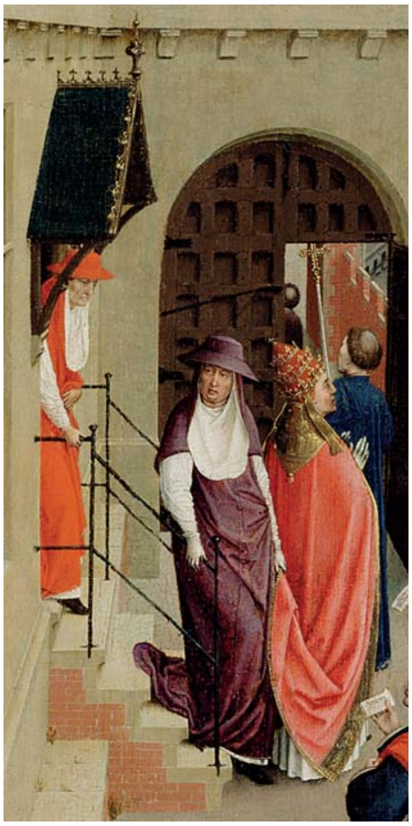
Dimensions

Support: 90.2 × 81.3 cm.
(current support dimensions)
Painted Surface: (original)
88.8 × 80.5 (± 0.3) cm.[54]





14. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, detail showing sculpture on façade



15. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, detail showing cardinals and pope near doorway on side of building

Support

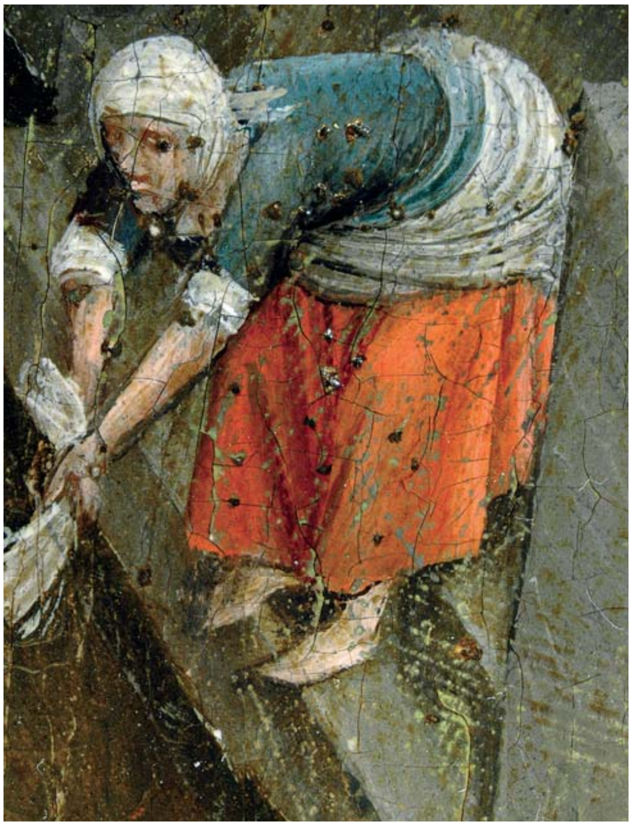
The support is composed of four vertical planks of radially-cut oak that has been butt-joined and glued. The wood is of Baltic/Polish origin. P. Klein determined through dendrochronology that the wood is from the same tree as three boards from the *Exhumation of St. Hubert* in London. Klein also reported that the youngest heartwood ring is from 1416 and the earliest felling date is 1425. For this reason he proposed that the earliest possible date for the painting is 1427, but a more plausible earliest date for the painting is 1441. The reverse has been planed, and the top and right edges have been trimmed, but residues of the original bevels remain on the bottom and left (figs. 11-12).

Frame

Not original.

Ground

A thin white ground was applied while the panel was in its frame, leaving an unpainted border. Due to the trimming of the top and right sides, there is no unpainted border on the right, while the remains of the unpainted border at the top have been filled and inpainted. The unpainted wood and the barbe are visible on left and bottom borders (fig. 18).



Underlying Drawing

The straight lines of the architecture are incised. The panel was prepared with a very complete, firm, and clear underdrawing made with a black liquid and brush (fig. 13). There are extensive and numerous deviations from the underdrawing in the painted image. The angel appearing to Pope Sergius was drawn with head upright, looking forward and his proper right arm lower than it is painted, not holding a mitre but with forefinger extended, as if speaking. The rows of windows on the Castel Sant'Angelo were drawn lower and St. Michael on the roof positioned further left. The underdrawing also shows a crenellated wall extending from the left of the castle toward the bridge and over the river. Old Saint Peter's was drawn with bell towers on either side, a wider, taller arch, and small staircase towers with conical roofs on each side of the façade. The architecture at the entry to the atrium was not planned in the underdrawing. A group of smaller buildings with a crenellated wall connecting them was underdrawn in the background hills to the right of the church. The petitioning monk in the middle ground was not planned in the underdrawing, nor was the purple-clad cardinal emerging from the right side of the pope's palace.

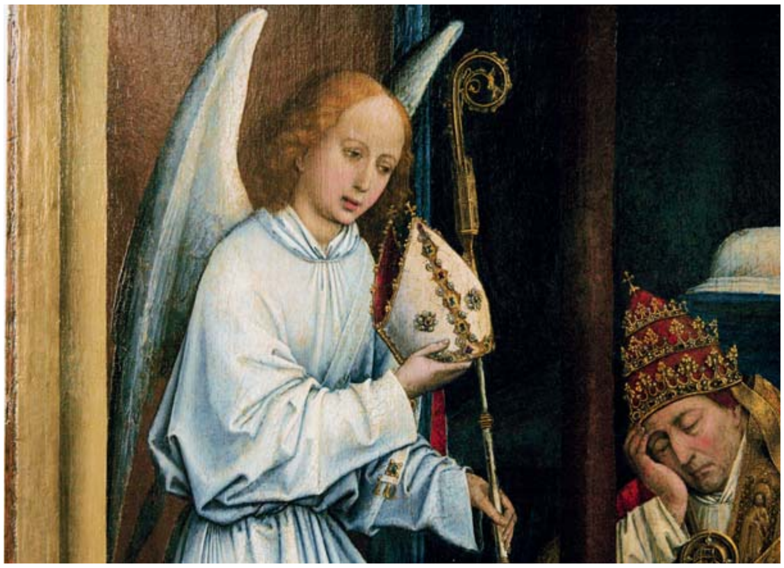
16. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, detail of washerwoman

Paint Layer

The paint is applied thinly in layers beginning with broadly-brushed large areas of color followed by a successive refinement of design and detail. The proficiency of paint handling, as in the *Exhumation of St. Hubert*, varies throughout the composition. The picture appears to represent the efforts of several workshop members, some of whom had authority to deviate from the underdrawing. For example, the changes in the sleeping pope, the foreground angel, and the crenellated wall at the right occur in the first application of underpaint. The extensive changes in the architecture of the church at the right side, however, were not made until after the first paint was applied following the underdrawing. The peacocks are clumsily painted over the completed patio, as are the rather mechanically-executed trees in the foreground at lower right. By contrast, the small middle-ground figures in the patio are very well painted with great attention to modeling and detail (fig. 15).

The paint layer suffers from much abrasion and a great loss of subtle shading and detail (fig. 18). The panel presents a coherent image due largely to a meticulous restoration by Mark Leonard, wherein the residues of original paint were reintegrated to give an impression of the whole as it once existed. As a result, some of the larger features (the foreground angel, sleeping pope, and sky, for example) appear flatter than would originally have been the case.

5. Pictorial Analysis

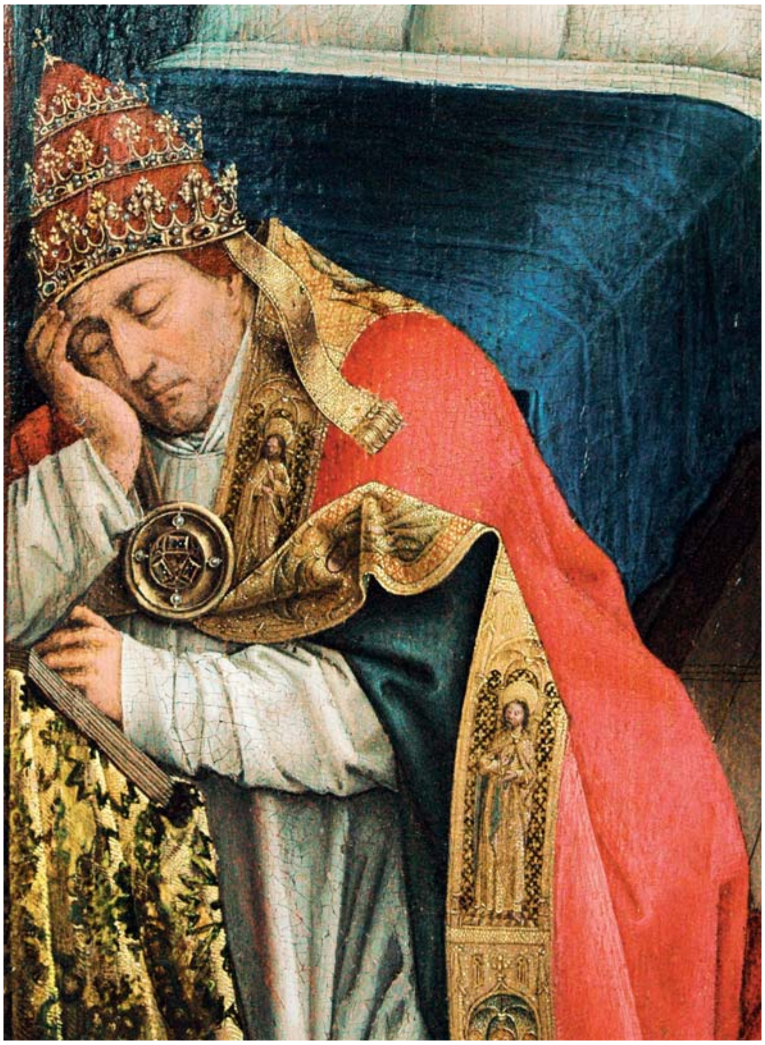


17. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, detail showing angel and barbe at the left side

This painting depicts an incident from the life of St. Hubert, an eighth-century bishop of Maastricht and Liège who was the object of particular veneration in the fifteenth-century Low Countries.[55] Hubert was intimately linked to St. Lambert, who as bishop of Tongeren-Maastricht was his episcopal predecessor. Hubert, moreover, actively promoted Lambert's cult by translating his relics from the episcopal seat in Maastricht to the site of his martyrdom in Liège. The episode depicted on the Getty panel, the dream of Pope Sergius, was invented by Canon Nicholas in the 1140s for his vita of St. Lambert because it struck a contemporary chord, since at that time the pope was involved in the election of the next bishop of Liège, Henri de Leez.[56] Nicholas's vita was, in turn, the source for three groups of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century accounts of St. Hubert.[57] These texts relate that one day Hubert, a disciple of St. Lambert, set off on a pilgrimage to Rome. On the very day that Hubert arrived in the holy city, Lambert was murdered. While Sergius lay sleeping, an angel appeared to him, told him of Lambert's death, presented him with the deceased bishop's crosier, and instructed him to find Hubert praying at St. Peter's and appoint him as Lambert's successor. The pope followed the angel's advice.

Few images of St. Hubert were produced before the fifteenth century.[58] But as his cult grew over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, images of him began to proliferate.[59] The patron saint of hunters and their dogs, protectors of the forest and those who suffer from rabies, Hubert is most often depicted by the scene of his conversion, which took place while he was hunting and saw a vision of a crucifix on the antlers of a deer.[60] His iconography was in a state of flux throughout the fifteenth century and some scenes from Hubert's life survive in only one example. Despite several narrative series devoted to the saint's life, only one other extant representation shows the dream of Pope Sergius (fig. 10).

The painting in Los Angeles traces the pope's movements from his dream in his palace to the fulfillment of that dream at Old Saint Peter's (fig. 1). It shows at the left a crenellated stone palace with Romanesque capitals and two chimneys crowned by sculpted lions seated back to back, perhaps a reference to the Leonine Borgo, the neighborhood that is represented in the painting.[61] On the gable of the main façade is a relief of Christ seated on the globe, wearing only his mantle and with arms outstretched, above a rondel showing Christ consecrating the first pope, St. Peter (fig. 14).[62] Below, a columned arcade opens the façade. In the first bay at the left stands an angel, wearing a white alb, amice, and stole, who holds a bishop's mitre and crosier (fig. 17). He bends his knees, as if he has just alit. Behind, occupying most of



18. Rogier van der Weyden and workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius*, detail of Pope Sergius

the room, is a bed with a white sheet, bolster, and pillow, a blue blanket, and curtains that are suspended by red cords. Two sides of the bed curtains are open; at one corner the curtain is tied into a sack. Despite the presence of the bed, the pope has fallen asleep at his prie-dieu (fig. 18). His sleep is indicated by his closed eyes, and the gesture of head in hand often implies dreaming.[63] An open book lies on the prie-dieu, which is covered by a rich green and gold brocade. The pope wears a tiara and morse (both adorned with pearls), an amice, alb, cope, and a richly embroidered orphrey, whose haloed saints cannot be identified, since no attributes are visible.

The pope's palace recedes precipitously, permitting a view of the outer right wall. A cardinal steps partly through a gabled doorway that pierces this wall (fig. 15). He holds the railing of a staircase as his foot lightly touches the first step. A second cardinal, wearing purplish vestments, is shown in mid-stride at the bottom of the staircase. He glances back at his companion as he lifts the pope's train. Just before him is the pope, appearing for a second time, who is preceded by two tonsured monks, one holding a processional cross, who pass through a partially open wooden door. The back of the pope's cope is adorned with an embroidery that shows a golden, haloed figure seated on a bench beside another figure, perhaps a representation of Christ and the Virgin. The pope and his entourage pass two kneeling supplicants, one a Franciscan monk, who each raise an inscribed petition. In the foreground are two peacocks, one displaying his feathers.

The walkway is enclosed by a crenellated brick wall that runs along a river, which represents the Tiber. On the opposite bank, a woman stands on a staircase that leads to the river. She bends far over, dipping a white cloth into the water (fig. 16). The pope's pathway leads to a triple-arched bridge, which presumably represents the Ponte Sant' Angelo. A cardinal crosses it on a horse or donkey, followed by a man on foot. On the other side of the bridge is a cylindrical building that can be identified as the Castel Sant'Angelo by the statue of St. Michael on its roof (fig. 4). In its arched doorway two armed men, presumably guards, stand behind a wooden barricade. On a winding road that passes beside the castle an equestrian figure approaches dilapidated structures that lack roofs. On his right, the many round arches that are overgrown with vegetation were probably intended to suggest ancient ruins. Beyond, a half-timbered building, perhaps an inn, is open on the ground floor to reveal a woman seated at a table and a man standing nearby. A traveler with a walking stick, presumably a pilgrim, marks the turn in the road towards St. Peter's.

The pope appears for the third time at the top of the stairs that lead into St. Peter's (fig. 3). He stands in an open gateway situated within a barrel vault that supports an octagonal bell tower crowned by a cross. Accompanied by a cardinal, the pope holds St. Lambert's mitre and crosier. Before him kneels a pilgrim, presumably St. Hubert, since he, too, holds the crosier. The gateway leads to an open-air atrium. Just outside its arched walls is an obelisque crowned by a bronze ball. A cardinal, monk, and lay figure stand on the steps leading into the church, where at least six figures are visible within the nave. The façade is pierced by three portals. Above are two sculptures, at the left a figure with a raised right arm, presumably Christ blessing, and on to the right a bust, perhaps of God the Father. Old Saint Peter's is recognizable by its open-air atrium, surrounded by arched walls, its double nave aisles, which are reflected in its roof, and the obelisk crowned by a bronze sphere, which at that time stood at the side of the church.[64]

The background of the painting shows a cityscape, and beyond its crenellated walls, which are pierced by gateways, are visible a church, tower, and countryside of rolling hills. None of these buildings are clearly identifiable. A church outside the walls may be meant to represent San Paolo fuori le Mura, but the painter shows no distinguishing features that enable it to be identified with certainty.

6. Comparative Material

- Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Marriage of the Virgin,* 128 × 105 cm., Antwerp, Cathedral of Our Lady, inv. no. 124
- Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, design for the *Scupstoel*, 298/300 × 426 mm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.848 (fig. 5)
- Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine, *Elijah in the Desert* (right wing of a triptych), 96 × 77 cm., Bruges, Grootseminarie (fig. 8)
- Jean Delemer (polychromed by Robert Campin), *Archangel Annunciate,* 183 × 61 × 50 cm., Tournai, Church of Saint Quentin
- Master of the Prado Redemption, *St. Helena Discovering the True Cross* (left wing of a triptych), 53 × 28 cm., Madrid, Private Collection (fig. 9)
- Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Presentation of the Virgin*, 145 × 100 cm., Madrid, El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo, inv. no. 100 144 04
- Attributed to Loyset Liédet, *An Angel Announces the Approaching Death of St. Hubert*, in Hubert le Prevost, *Vie de Saint Hubert*, Bruges, 1463, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 10, fol. 33v (fig. 10)
- Flemish Master, *Copy of figures in middle ground of Dream of Pope Sergius*, brown ink and black chalk drawing, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett[65]
- Simon Bening, *April*, includes version of washerwoman on steps leading to a canal, watercolor on vellum, 18.3 × 15.5 cm. (framed), London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. E 4575-1910

7. Comments

Evidence strongly suggests that the *Dream of Pope Sergius*, together with the *Exhumation of St. Hubert,* was produced for the chapel dedicated to that saint in the Church of Saint Gudula, Brussels, shortly after 1437. This commission developed because, beginning in 1415, the west end of Saint Gudula was expanded by two bays, including the Chapel of Saint Hubert, which was situated in the second bay from the west in the north aisle, that is, the seventh bay from the transept. Once this Chapel was erected it needed to be fully furnished, and the *Dream of St. Sergius* and its companion piece, the *Exhumation of St. Hubert,* were part of this campaign.[66]

The original disposition of these two panels is unknown. Altarpieces generally show an image of Christ in the central panel, which is appropriate for an object that functioned during the celebration of Mass. For this reason, perhaps the most famous episode in the saint's life, his vision of the crucified Christ on the antlers of a stag, was originally portrayed as the central part of an altarpiece. Yet altarpieces dedicated to saints' lives are not common in early Netherlandish art.[67] Since the size and shape of the panels make their union as a diptych unlikely, perhaps they were part of a frieze or some other sort of ensemble.

The *Dream of Pope Sergius* must have been commissioned from Rogier van der Weyden, but executed largely by his assistants. It is intimately linked to works by Van der Weyden and his followers. The furrowed brow, short neck, and prominent nose of the Franciscan monk who petitions the pope are quite similar to the second worker from the left in the *Scupstoel* drawing, which issued from Van der Weyden's workshop (fig. 5). The soft, dreamy, gentle expression of the foreground angel is reminiscent of St. Barbara in the *Werl Altarpiece* and *St. Catherine* in Vienna. The distinctive grouping of thin folds, visible on the angel's upper chest and right hip, recur on the deacon's alb in the *Mass of Pope Gregory* (fig. 37, p. 69). The form of the columns and the shape and decoration of the pope's mitre also resemble those in that work. Another similar figure is the angel in the *Elijah in the Desert* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine. If the angel in the *Dream of Pope Sergius* is reversed, his proportions, bowlegged pose, and the drapery folds between his legs are similar to the angel approaching Elijah (fig. 8). Only the side view of the sculpted angel in Tournai, polychromed by Van der Weyden's master Robert Campin, is similar in pose and drapery folds, but since the head, hands, and wings are later replacements, originally this angel may have been closer in appearance to the one appearing to Pope Sergius.[68] The architecture in the painting of St. Helena is strikingly similar to that in the Los Angeles panel (figs. 3, 9), and the brocade pattern on the prie-dieu further links that painting to Van der Weyden and his circle, since it resembles that in the Louvre *Annunciation* (figs. 1, 7). The general composition – the simultaneous representation of the interior and exterior of a building and a pathway leading far into the distance that includes a bridge and rounded structure in the middleground – agrees with the *Marriage of the Virgin* in Antwerp. All these examples support the idea that the *Dream of Pope Sergius* is closely connected to Van der Weyden's workshop and was publically displayed, probably in Brussels. The figures in the panel, however, show no evidence of having been painted by the same assistants who executed the *Exhumation of St. Hubert.* This supports Campbell's view that Van der

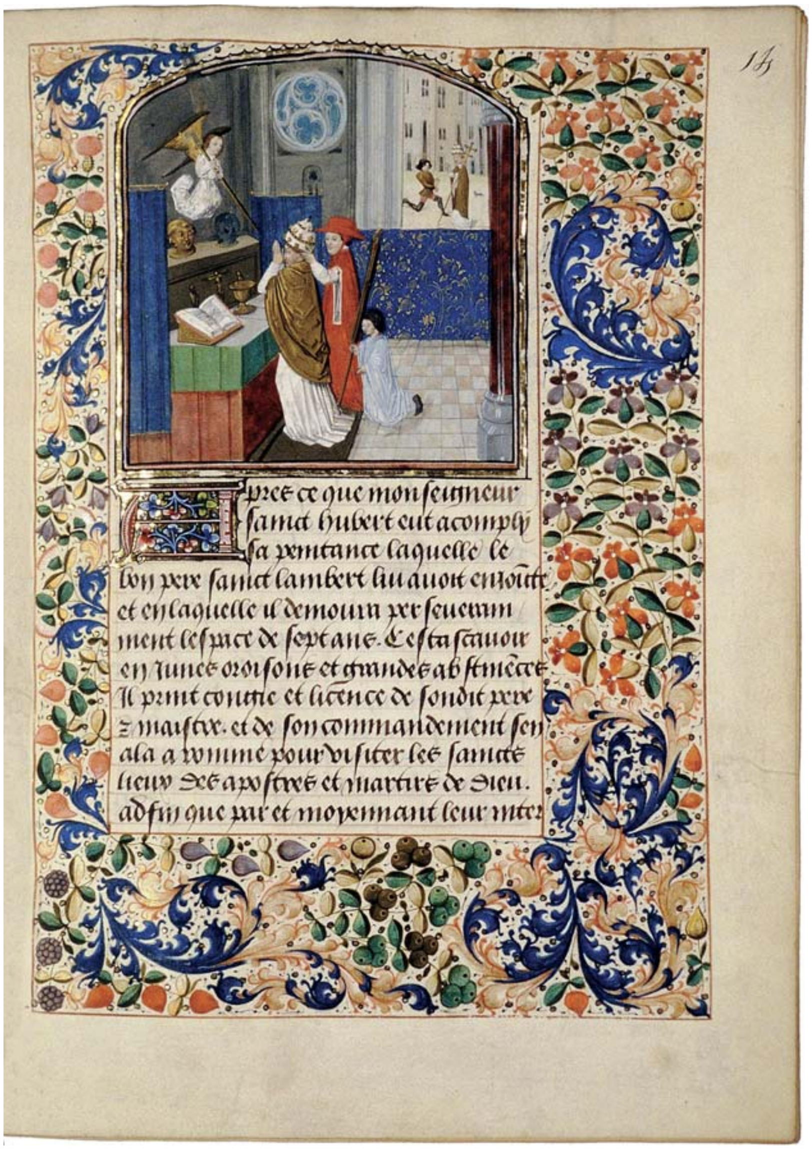
Weyden was very busy at this time, with many commissions, and for this reason hired numerous assistants.[69]

The foreground angel in the *Dream of Pope Sergius*, who is reminiscent of so many works associated with Van der Weyden's workshop, is by an assistant (fig. 17). He is blander and stiffer than figures by Van der Weyden, and lacks the detailed description of the face, the nuances of modeling, the gracefully turning pose, and the better spatial rendering of figures executed by the master. Similarly, the foreground figure of Pope Sergius is blunter and less highly finished than works by the master (fig. 18). By contrast, the middleground figures of the two cardinals and the pope exiting his palace are superbly rendered (fig. 15). The sensitive portrayal of the elderly cardinal's face, the figures in mid-movement, and the red and purple coloring of the cardinals' robes speak to the intervention of Van der Weyden himself. Several figures in the middleground and background, most notably the washerwoman and the pope consecrating St. Hubert (figs. 3-4, 16), are also rendered with superb mastery. The handling of the paint is comparable to Van der Weyden's other autograph works, such as his *Magdalen Reading* in London[70] or the background figure of the woman carrying buckets in the Boston *St. Luke*.[71]

Why did assistants paint the main figures, whereas Van der Weyden executed only a few minor ones? The underdrawing of the angel reveals that initially his hand was raised in a speaking gesture, much like Gabriel in many Annunciation scenes. Perhaps this figure was derived from a model of an annunciate angel in Van der Weyden's workshop and then the gesture was modified to suit the new subject, the dream of Pope Sergius. Likewise, the pose of the sleeping pope is similar to a later illumination of this subject (fig. 10) and may have been derived from a manuscript model.[72] Moreover the physiognomy of the pope – his long nose, droopy eyes, cleft chin, and the distinctive shape of the ears – is quite similar to that of Hubert in the *Exhumation* scene, but the handling is much weaker in the painting in Los Angeles. Once again this suggests a common model but different hands. But if the foreground figures may have originated in drawings in Van der Weyden's workshop, it would have been more difficult to find a model for the figures who exit the pope's palace, the pope who consecrates St. Hubert, or the washerwoman. Van der Weyden may have painted these figures himself because their poses needed to be invented from scratch. The fact that the major figures are by assistants and some of the minor ones are by the master is not unusual. Gerard David's *St. Anne Triptych* in Washington,[73] for example, shows the same phenomenon.[74]

The presence of the mitre is the only deviation from the textual versions of this episode of Hubert's life.[75] In fact, the only other known representation of this scene shows the angel holding only the crosier (fig. 19). Two musical texts, however, mention the mitre. These chants are responsories from the second nocturne of Hubert's rhymed office, which was sung at the Cathedral of Liège in the late Middle Ages, probably from the late fourteenth century and certainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[76] It is possible that all the examples that include the mitre derive from a lost source, perhaps votive poetry.

It is puzzling why Hubert is shown only as a small figure in the background, whereas emphasis is instead placed on the pope, his palace, and the cityscape of Rome. One of the major changes in the painting between the underdrawn and painted



14

Apres ce que monſeigneur
ſainct hubert eut acomply
ſa penitance laquelle le
bon pere ſainct lambert luy auoit enioinct
et en laquelle il demoura perſeueram
ment leſpace de ſept ans. Ceſt a ſcauoir
en ieunes oroiſons et grandes abſtinences
Il print congie et licence de ſondit pere
z maiſtre. et de ſon commandement ſen
ala a romme pour viſiter les ſainctz
lieux des apoſtres et martirs de dieu.
adfin que par et moyennant leur inter

19. Master of Margaret of York, *The Angel Presenting Pope Sergius with the Crosier to Give to St. Hubert*, in the *Vie de saint Hubert*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. 424, fol. 14

stages is the form of Old Saint Peter's, which becomes much more accurate in its final state. Perhaps the urban aspects of the holy city are stressed because although Hubert was the patron saint of hunters and their dogs, and protectors of the forest, there was also a strong civic element to his cult. The patron saint of Liège, Hubert is often shown as a bishop with his episcopal attributes.

8. Documents and Literary Sources

Document I: Excerpt from the Dubuisson-Aubenay's *Itinerarium Belgicum*
'Item dans l'Eglise Ste Goudele Un petit tableau a deux tables – que L'on croit estre

de St Hubert Evesque de Liège, Longeur de 4 pieds – hauteur de 3. Est en la chapelle de Nre dame de fleurs au bas de L'eglise a main gauche En Entrant……
A Ste Goudele….tout au – bas de la nef a main gauche le tableau dont est parlé cy dessus, est estimé de la main de ce roger dont est parlé p. 56 en L'histoire d'Erkenbaldus. Est divisé en – deux, au costé droit au regarde de l'+autre La section contient La levation – et translaon du corps de St Lambert coe porte La subscription: – Il est a demi leué du sarcueil en habit Epal. Ptres et clergé alentour et Carloman tenant sa coronne de la main gauche, la teste nue. Plus outre est une pspectiue avec ballustres a trauers desquelles regarde un people infini. – a L'autre section du tableau qui est a la main droite a nostre regard est le pape sergius coe porte la souscription a qui extasié L'ange apporte une crosse et mitre luy disant qu'il eust a en inuestir Hubert qui estoit un homme qu'il trouveroit ad limina d. petri. La se voyent quelques bastiments et apparences de Rome, un Cardinal et force Gents qui vont et viennent' (published by Halkin 1946, p. 47).

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2014: Saucier.

Notes

1. Contradicting the evidence of this sales catalogue is A. Graves, 1921, 3, p. 284, which states that the painting was sold to Webb at the sale of the collection of Charles Meigh held at Christie's in London on 21 June 1850, lot no. 186.
2. See *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken en teekeningen uit particuliere verzamelingen in Nederland* (exhib. cat.), Rotterdam, 1939, p. 18, no. 47.
3. L. Halkin, 1946, p. 59-61, and M. Davies, 1954, p. 188, transcribed the same passage differently.
4. The term "ad limina d. petri" refers to a pilgrimage to the tomb of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome, but also often implies showing proper reverence to Peter's successor, the pope. See T.C. Kelly, 2003, p. 95.
5. For the original French language, see Doc. 1.
6. *Kleinberger Galleries, inc.* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1924, n. p., and M. Vaughan, 1928, p. 43, 45, disagree with Friedländer's identification of the subject, viewing it instead as an episode from the life of St. Gregory. Those who attribute the panel to Rogier include *Kleinberger Galleries, inc.* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1924, n. p.; M. Vaughan, 1928, p. 43-45; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1929, p. 46; P. Rolland, 1932, p. 63; *Catalogue of a Century of progress exhibition of painting and sculpture* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 1934, p. 23; O. Kerber, 1936, p. 66; T. Borenius, 1938b, p. 200; G. Hulin De Loo, 1938, col. 234, who states that it is, however, close to the style of Robert Campin; C. De Tolnay, 1939, p. 58, no. 14; *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken en teekeningen* (exhib. cat.), Rotterdam, 1939, p.18; M.J. Friedländer, 1940, p. 37; F. Winkler, 1942, p. 472; *Nederlandsche Kunst van de XV*^{de} *en XVI*^{de} *Eeuw* (exhib. cat.), The Hague, 1945, p. 57-59; M.A. Glavimans, 1946, p. 51; O. Kerber, 1972, p. 292-299. Burton Fredericksen wavered between attributing it to Rogier alone (B. Fredericksen, 1980b, no. 22), a close follower alone (B. Fredericksen, 1975, p. 70, 105), or Rogier or a follower (B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72; B. Fredericksen, 1980a, p. 58-60). L. Cristin, in *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Guidebook*, 1975, p. 54, assigned it to "Rogier van der Weyden or possibly a very close follower." Other scholars attributed the panel to a follower of Van der Weyden: M. Conway, 1926, p. 29; G. Vitzthum, 1927, p. 270; P. Fierens and H. Fierens-Gevaert, 1928, p. 49; J. Destrée, 1930, p. 172; M. Davies, 1945, p. 113; E. Panofsky, 1953, p. 174 n. 4 and 298 n. ^{1d} ("produced by a fairly independent and somewhat old-fashioned member of Roger's workshop"); M. Davies, 1954, p. 179 and 186; M. Davies, 1955, p. 128-129; M. Davies, 1968, p. 173; P. Schabacker, 1972, p. 423-424 ("workshop origin and Campinesque influence"); J. Bruyn, 1979, p. 14; R. Terner, 1976, p. 256-257; C. Périer-D'ieteren, in *Rogier van der Weyden – Rogier de la Pasture* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1979, p. 138-139; S. Kemperdick, 1997,

p. 125 (Rogier circle); D. Jaffé, 1997a, p. 45 (workshop); D. Jaffé, 1997b, p. 134; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 411-412, 215, n. 7; S. Kemperdick, 1999, p. 28 (workshop) and 2009, p. 297. Others simply state that it is not by Rogier: C.J. Coenen, 1932, p. 220-221; W. Schöne, 1938, p. 64; C. De Tolnay, 1939, p. 58 (seems like a work by R. Campin); H. Beenken, 1951, p. 99.

7. Those who date the panels ca. 1450 are M.J. Friedländer, 1924, p. 97; *Kleinberger Galleries, inc.* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1924, n. p.; M. Conway, 1926, p. 29; M. Vaughan, 1928, p. 43; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1929, p. 46; *Catalogue of a Century of progress exhibition of painting and sculpture* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 1934, p. 23. Those who believed it should date earlier include P. Fierens and H. Fierens-Gevaert, 1928, p. 49 (before 1450); O. Kerber, 1936, p. 66; G. Hulin De Loo, 1938, col. 234 (1435-43); M.J. Friedländer, 1940, p. 37 (ca. 1440); D. Winkler, 1942, p. 472 (little later than 1435); E. Panofsky, 1953, p. 298 (ca. 1445); L. Fischel, 1958, p. 15; A. Châtelet, 1989, p. 18 (ca. 1440); S. Kemperdick, 2009, p. 301.
8. Those who believe that the provenance was St. Peter's in Liège include M.J. Friedländer, 1924, p. 97; M. Conway,1926, p. 29; M. Vaughan, 1928, p. 44; P. Fierens and H. Fierens-Gevaert, 1928, p. 49; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1929, p. 46; *Catalogue of a Century of progress exhibition of painting and sculpture* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 1934, p. 23; O. Kerber, 1936, p. 65-66; H. Beenken, 1951, p. 99 (probably for St. Peter's); T. Borenius, 1938a, p. 259.
9. For the Chapel, see below and L. Campbell, 1998, p. 419-420; M. Davies, 1954, p. 184; H. Velge, 1925, p. 202; A. Rombaut, 1777, I, p. 396. Those who accept that the provenance for the panels is the Hubert Chapel, Saint Gudula, Brussels, are M. Davies, 1954, p. 184; M. Davies, 1955, p. 129; M. Davies, 1968, p. 174-175; M. Davies, 1972, p. 219; L. Campbell, 1994, p. 18; C. Baker and T. Henry, 1995, p. 719; Billinge, R. *et al.,* 1997, p. 68; D. Jaffé, 1997, p, 45; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 407; B. Fredericksen, 1975, p. 105; B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72; B. Fredericksen, 1980a, p. 58; B. Fredericksen, 1980b, no. 22.
10. M. Davies, 1955, p. 129; M. Davies, 1954, p. 184; M. Davies, 1968, p. 174; M. Sonkes, 1969, p. 75; L. Campbell, 1994, p. 19; C. Baker and T. Henry, 1995, p. 719; S. Kemperdick and P. Klein, 1997, p. 146 (ca. 1440); Billinge, R. *et al.*, 1997, p. 68 (ca. 1440); D. Jaffé, 1997a, p. 45 (ca. 1440).
11. B. Beenken, 1951, p. 99; J. Bruyn, 1974, p. 541; J. Bruyn, 1979, p. 14; A. Smith, 1980, p. 91; H.J. Van Miegroet, 1987, p. 495.
12. L. Campbell, 1994, p. 19 (quote), 20.
13. M. Davies, 1954, p. 188; L. Campbell, 1994, p. 16, 19; L. Campbell, 1998, p. 419, 422.
14. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 414.
15. Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*, 220 × 262 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02825. S. Kemperdick and P. Klein, 1997, p. 146.
16. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 419.
17. M. Davies, 1954, p. 186.
18. D. De Vos, 1999, p. 411.
19. F. Winkler, 1913, p. 124-126; F. Winkler, 1924, p. 370; M. Conway, 1926, p. 29; G. Vitzthum, 1927, p. 270; J. Destrée, 1930, p. 172; W. Schöne,1938, p. 64; M. Davies, 1954, p. 186 (by the same hand as the *Marriage of the Virgin* in Antwerp, but possibly painted in Rogier's workshop with the small participation of the master).
20. A. Châtelet, 1999b, p. 257-258.
21. Master of the Exhumation of Saint Hubert, *A Procession*, 292 × 542 mm., London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1895,0915.1001. For these drawings, see A.E. Popham, 1926, pl. 16; M. Sonkes, 1969, pl. XLI, no. C43 and pl. XL, no. C41; B. Fransen, 2009, p. 273-275.
22. Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, 135, 215 (central panel) × 560 cm., Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel Dieu.
23. Rogier van der Weyden, *The Seven Sacraments*, 201.8 × 96.5 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 393.
24. A. Châtelet, 1999b, p. 257-258.
25. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 422, 425; B. Fransen (2009) concurred.
26. D. De Vos, 1999, p. 101, 411.
27. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *St. Catherine*, 18.8 × 12.1 cm., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 955.
28. Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, *The Werl Altarpiece*, 101 × 47 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01513.
29. S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 142.
30. S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 144.
31. S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 105.
32. Copy of the Master of Flémalle (?), *Mass of St. Gregory*, 82.6 × 71 cm. (painted surface), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 6298.
33. S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 144-145; C. Stroo and P. Syfer-D'olne, 1996, p. 65.

34. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 425; P. Rolland, 1932, p. 63. J.W. Steyaert, 1994, p. 50, fig. 1, reproduces the angel's frontal view, which appears unrelated to the one in the *Dream of Sergius.*
35. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 421.
36. M. Davies, 1945, p. 114. This work has recently been attributed to Vrancke van der Stockt. The rest of its composition is dependent on another model current in late fifteenth-century Brussels. See P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.,* 2006, p. 371.
37. *St. Peter as Pope in the Vatican*, in *Liber Floridus*, Ghent, c. 1465-1470, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1596 (724), f. 98.
38. We thank Lorne Campbell for this reference. T. Kren, 2007, p. 130.
39. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 419.
40. Colyn de Coter, *St. Rumbold Taking Leave of Pope Stephen II*, 116 × 75.6 cm., Mechelen, Sint Rumbold's Cathedral.
41. The similarity between the two works was first observed by C. Périer-D'ieteren, in *Rogier van der Weyden – Rogier de la Pasture* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1979, p. 138. Other comparisons that have been proposed are less convincing as demonstrating direct influence. See L. Campbell, 1998, p. 421-422.
42. *Kleinberger Galleries, inc.* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1924, n.p.; P. Fierens and H. Fierens-Gevaert, 1928, p. 49; S. De Ricci, 1931, p. 286.
43. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 422.
44. M. Davies, 1954, p. 189-190, 185.
45. M. Davies, 1954, p. 181, 184; M. Davies, 1955, p. 129; M. Davies, 1972, p. 219.
46. C. Périer-D'ieteren, in *Rogier van der Weyden – Rogier de le Pasture* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1979, p. 138; A. Châtelet, 1989, p. 17.
47. *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (exhib cat.), Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, 2009, p. 298.
48. R. Terner, 1976, p. 249-251.
49. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 418-419, who cited as an example of a frieze Colyn de Coter's *Legend of St. Rumold*, for which see C. Périer-D'ieteren, 1985, figs. 166-173. See also L. Campbell *et al.*, 1997, p. 68. D. Jaffé, 1997a, p. 45, believes they might be wings from a lost altarpiece.
50. For Daret's altarpiece, see M.J. Friedländer, 1967, p. 76, pl. 104-105.
51. *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (exhib cat.), Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, 2009, p. 298.
52. O. Kerber, 1936, p. 66-67.
53. L. Campbell, 1994, p. 18.
54. The restoration added a bit around the edges of the panel. The initial numbers reflect the original size without the restoration. The plus or minus 3 cm. reflects the variations due to this restoration.
55. A. Châtelet, 1999a, p. 86.
56. J.-L. Kupper, 1984, p. 43-44.
57. See L. Van Der Essen, 1907, p. 64-70 for fourteenth and fifteenth century versions of the vita of Hubert. For the political reasons for the invention of this episode see C. Saucier, 2014.
58. L. Réau, 1958, III, pt. 2, p. 661.
59. The multiple copies of Hubert's life that were reproduced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the establishment of an order in his honor in 1444 offer evidence of the growth of his cult.
60. For the iconography of the saint, see L. Réau, 1958, III, pt. 2, p. 658-663 and F. Werner, 1974, cols. 547-552.
61. This neighborhood was built by Pope Leo IV. See H.J. Van Miegroet, 1987, p. 489.
62. M. Davies, 1972, p. 220.
63. For a similar gesture, see the Limbourg Brothers' *St. Jerome dreams he is scourged before God,* The Cloisters, *Belles Heures*, col. 183v, 1404-8. For the latter, see M. Meiss, 1974, II, fig. 427. For the meaning of this gesture see F. Garnier, 1982, p. 117-119.
64. For the obelisque, which was later moved, see M. Davies, 1972, p. 219.
65. For this drawing, see *Das Geheimnis des Jan van Eyck* (exhib. cat.), Munich, 2005, p. 142, who misidentifies the subject.
66. P. Lefèvre, 1956-1957, p. 17, 27 n. 5, 50; P. De Ridder, 1988, p. 42.
67. H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur, 2003, p. 31.
68. J.W. Steyaert, 1994, p. 53.
69. L. Campbell, 1998, p. 419.
70. Rogier van der Weyden, *Magdalen Reading*, 62.2 × 54.4 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG654.
71. Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, 137.5 × 110.8 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 93.153. R. Macbeth and R. Spronk, 1997, p. 121, figs. 12-14.
72. M.W. Ainsworth and C. Metzger, 2009, p. 11-13; M.W. Ainsworth, 2003; M.W. Ainsworth and T. Kren, 2003, p. 39.
73. Gerard David, *St. Anne Triptych*, 232.5 × 96 cm. (central panel), Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, inv. no. 1942.9.17.a-c.
74. C.A. Metzger and B.H. Berrie, 2009.
75. See, for example, F.C. De Rooy, 1958, p. 12-13, for a version compiled in the Low Countries in 1459-1463.
76. C. Saucier, 2014.

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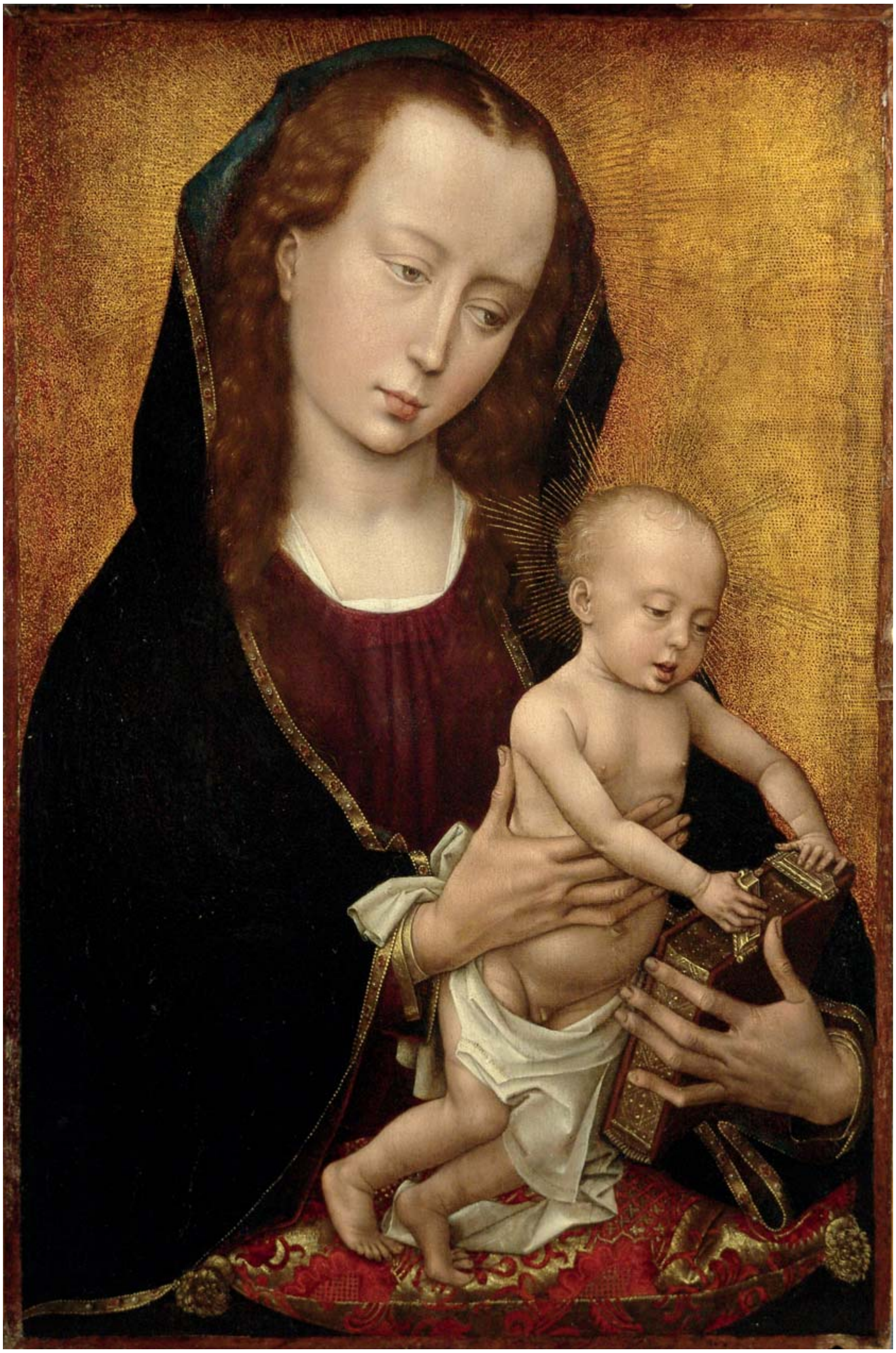


Rogier van der Weyden

Virgin and Child

1. IDENTIFICATION

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, inv. no. 25

Group: Rogier van der Weyden
No. Corpus: 251

2. HISTORY OF THE WORK

ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

1629 (?): Brussels, Alexandre d'Arenberg, Prince of Chimay
1892: Brighton, Henry Willett
1896: Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer
1901: Paris, Rodolphe Kann
Some time between 1901 and 1907: New York, Duveen Brothers[1]
1907: New York, Arabella D. Huntington
1924: New York, Archer M. Huntington
1926: San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

MATERIAL HISTORY

1908: Brisson frères, Paris, transferred to canvas with mesh gauze intermediate layer
1945: M.A. Adler, blisters put down, varnished
1947: M.A. Adler, fixed lifting paint
1953: Borwin F. Anton, removed fabric, transferred to masonite, added oak veneer to reverse and 1.3 cm. oak strips to edges; cleaned, varnished and retouched
1994: Mark Leonard, removed varnish and restoration, revarnished and retouched

1. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child,* 48.7 × 31.1 cm. (original), San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, inv. no. 25

EXHIBITIONS

1892 London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Netherlandish and Allied Schools of the XV And early XVI Centuries*, no. 18
1927 London, Burlington House and Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900*, no. 40

2006 Antwerp and Washington, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten and National Gallery of Art, *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych,* no. 38

2013-2014 San Marino, The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting,* pl. 5.

3. History of the Research

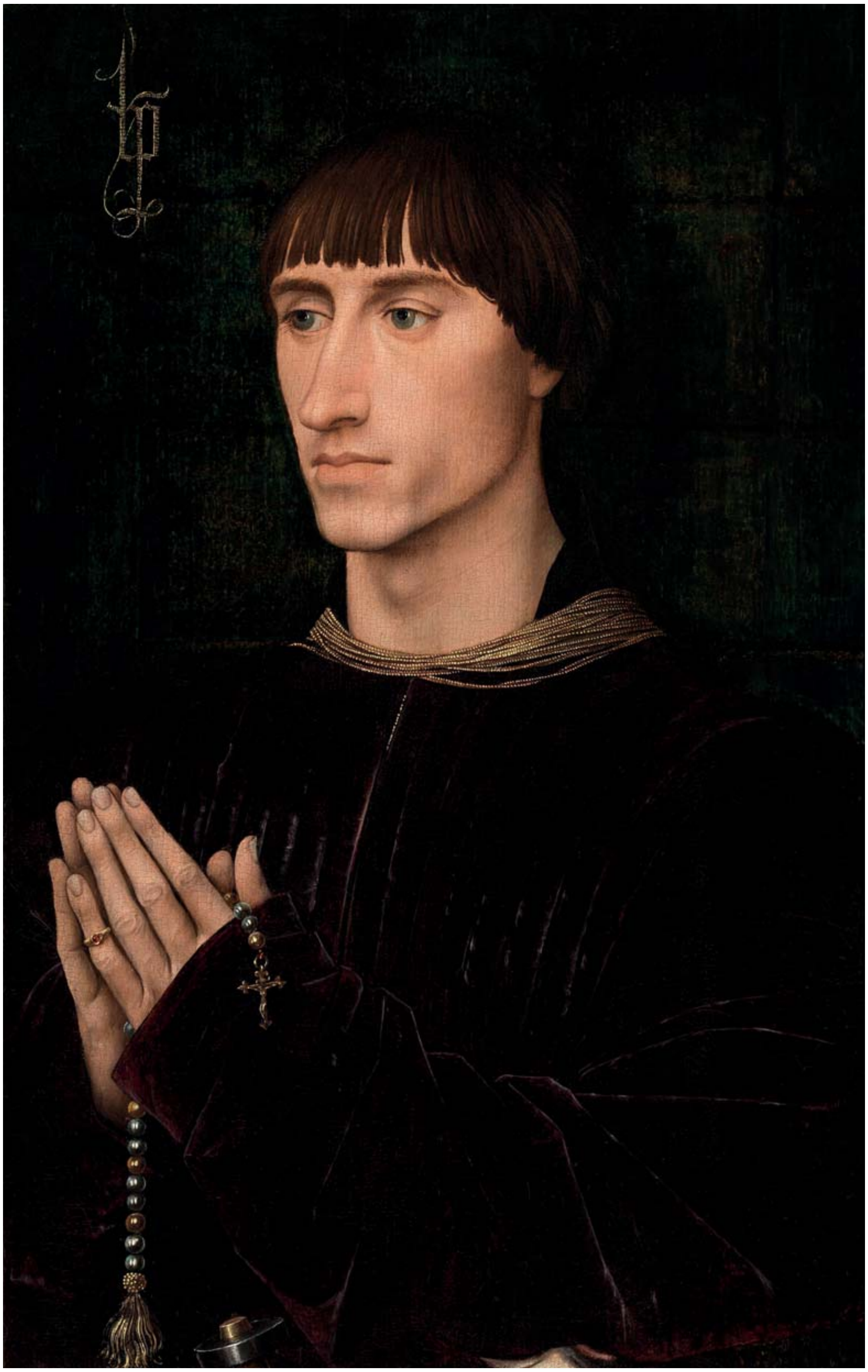
The first publication to mention the *Virgin and Child* was an exhibition catalogue (London 1892), which attributed it to Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 1). Almost all subsequent scholars have supported this attribution. M.J. Friedländer (1924, 1967) concluded that of all Van der Weyden's half-length Madonnas this "is the best of this group and has the best claim to be considered an original," and D. De Vos, in his recent monograph (1999), agreed that the work was "undoubtedly autograph." Only H. Von Tschudi (1893), S. Ringbom (1965), and S. Kemperdick (1999) have doubted this attribution.

In 1923 G. Hulin de Loo proposed that the *Virgin and Child* originally formed a diptych with the *Portrait of Philippe de Croÿ* in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (fig. 2). He pointed to the similar size and shape of the two paintings, and to the inclusion of a luxury manuscript, one of whose clasps Christ opens. Believing that this motif was unusual in Van der Weyden's œuvre, Hulin de Loo theorized that the person who commissioned the diptych must have been an avid collector of manuscripts. Since Philippe de Croÿ had one of the finest libraries of his time, this lent weight to the thesis that his portrait once formed a diptych with the *Virgin and Child.*

Although most scholars agreed that the two panels once formed a diptych, a few remained unconvinced. Friedländer (1924) pointed to the divergent treatment of their backgrounds as well as to what he perceived to be their different styles.[2] M. Davies (1972) concluded that the two paintings were linked "for reasons not more than quite good," and E. Heller (1976) similarly expressed doubt. P. Vandenbroeck (1985) cautioned against linking the two works definitively, justly observing that many half-length portraits and devotional images share the same dimensions, and that, moreover, the vertical strip that was added to the portrait makes it impossible to determine its original width.[3] De Vos (1971, 1999) concluded that there was insufficient evidence to connect the two paintings, and wondered if the companion piece to the San Marino panel might be the *Portrait of John I, Duke of Cleves* in Paris[4]. A. Dülberg (1990) judged the theory linking the works as only probable. J. Ninagawa (1996) further weakened Hulin de Loo's thesis by noting that the Christ Child plays with a book in another painting by Van der Weyden, the *Durán Virgin* (fig. 13).

Whereas Friedländer (1924) saw the divergent backgrounds of the two panels as a reason to reject linking them, E. Panofsky (1953) argued that the contrast was purposeful: that the gold ground of the *Virgin and Child* was meant to evoke the celestial realm of the holy figures, whereas the darker setting of the portrait was intended to suggest the earthly world of the supplicant. B. Lane (1970) and J. Friedman (1977) concurred, noting that the backgrounds of the *Wilton Diptych*,[5] the *Melun*

2. Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Philippe de Croÿ,* 51.5 × 33.6 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 354



Diptych,[6] and the first dedication page of the Brussels Hours[7] are similarly differentiated.[8] Ninagawa (1996) concluded that this contrast was meant to communicate "a direct confrontation of the secular with the sacred." Other scholars, by contrast, have pointed to links between the paintings. O. Pächt (1997) noted that they are united through the depiction of the book, which the Virgin holds quite close to the portrait wing, and through the poses of the figures, since the Virgin and Child turn towards the supplicant, and the Child leans towards him. J.O. Hand, C. Metzger, and R. Spronk (Washington 2006) recently discovered additional evidence for associating the two paintings: silver leaf lies below the green curtain of the portrait, which "suggests a concordance with the gold background" of the *Virgin and Child*. More recently, L. Campbell (Leuven 2009) concluded that Philippe de Croÿ might have bought the Huntington *Madonna* from Rogier's stock and then asked the painter to alter it, yet he pointed to a series of elements that link the paintings. In addition to the metallic grounds, he noted:

> The golden tassels on the Virgin's cushion complement, though they do not completely match, the tassel on Philippe's paternoster. The blues and reds of the *Virgin and Child* balance the purple velvet of Philippe's robe, while the varying golds of the Virgin's background, the haloes, the edging of her mantle, the book and the cushion complement the embroidered monogram, the narrow chains at Philippe's neck, his ring, the hilt of his dagger, the beads of his paternoster and its tassel and crucifix.[9]

Hulin de Loo (1923) dated the portrait of Philippe de Croÿ to the years 1459-1460 on the basis of style, haircut, and the inscription on the reverse, *Seigneur de Sempy,* a title that he believed Philippe held only from 1459 to 1461. Most scholars adopted this dating for both the portrait and the *Virgin and Child*. The date 1461 remains the *terminus ante quem* for the portrait, since Philippe adopted the title of Seigneur de Quiévrain when his mother died that year.[10] In 1978, however, W. Paravicini demonstrated that Philippe was actually Lord of Sempy as early as 1454, but this discovery was generally ignored.[11] Paravicini further argued that the portrait was commissioned in 1454 on the occasion of Philippe's betrothal or marriage, a proposal that has not gained wide acceptance. In 1989, P. Klein, using dendrochronology, dated the portrait much later, based on his finding that the tree from which the panel was cut was felled in 1455 and the assumption that panels were generally seasoned for ten years.[12] In 2006, Klein revised these dates, proposing that the earliest possible felling date was 1449, the estimated felling date 1455, and the presumed date of the painting 1457-1465.[13] Since the *Virgin and Child* has been transferred from its original support, its date cannot be ascertained by dendrochronology. Although most scholars agree that the *Virgin and Child* and the portrait of Philippe de Croÿ must have been produced at the same time, Friedländer (1924) argued that the portrait dated later, whereas De Vos (1999) concluded that it was produced earlier.

Campbell (1980, 1998) reports that "this or a similar diptych" is described in the inventory of the collection of Alexandre d'Arenberg, prince of Chimay, a descendant of Philippe de Croÿ. The earliest provenance of the portrait that is beyond doubt, however, is a castle in the province of Namur, not far from Chimay, which was a chief residence of the Croÿ family. The panel was purchased by the Chevalier van Ertborn, who bequeathed it to the Antwerp Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in 1841.[14] The *Virgin and Child* was purchased by Henry Willett of Brighton, England, who began collecting in the 1850s and acquired works both in England and abroad. The painting was certainly in his collection by 1892, the year it was exhibited in London.[15]

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 52.1 × 34.6 cm. (current support dimensions)
Painted Surface: 48.7 × 31.1 cm. (original)
50.5 × 33 cm. (including restoration)

Support

A note in the files of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery indicates that the Brisson Frères transferred the picture from its original wood panel support in 1908. The painting was probably originally on a panel consisting of two planks, since a continuous vertical damage on the right, located 23.8 cm. from the left of the current support, is most likely evidence of an original join between the two planks that comprised the panel. In 1953 it was retransferred to a commercially manufactured wood product board (Masonite), and an oak veneer and a cradle were attached to the reverse (fig. 3). Oak strips 1.2 mm. wide were attached to all four edges.

Frame

The frame is not original.

Ground

The thin ground is yellowish-white. When the painting was transferred to fabric, the ground acquired an overall weave pattern, with attending surface irregularity and fine cracks. The result is a surface that reflects both the normal craquelure of a painting on a wooden panel, the site of the former join in a long vertical crack at the right side, and the overall irregular cracks associated with the fabric support to which it was temporarily attached.

Underlying Drawing

3. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, reverse

4. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, infrared reflectogram

The underlying drawing is not readily visible through the paint. Infrared reflectography reveals a preliminary drawing that was possibly executed with a liquid material (fig. 4). The drawing is most clearly seen in the flesh tones. Freely applied fluid lines are visible with infrared reflectography in the Virgin's hair, especially at the left temple. The drawing outlines the Virgin's face and features (fig. 5). The underdrawn chin, mouth, and nose appear higher than their final painted position, and multiple lines mark the chin. The lines describing the Virgin's left hand in the underdrawing are lower than the painted hand (fig. 6). The lower position of the drawn hand on the Child's abdomen approaches, but is still higher than, the position of the Virgin's hand on his body in several other versions of the Virgin and Child by the Van der Weyden group, such as the Boston *St. Luke*[16]. The lines of the underdrawing in the lower right quadrant do not predict the painted forms. It is not clear what is drawn here, although it may be a sketch of the book and the right hand, which were originally envisioned in different positions. It is possible that the underdrawn position was somewhat like that of the hand and book in the *Durán Virgin* (fig. 13).

The drawing is assured, fluid, and succinct. Apart from the multiple lines for the chin, the rest of the underdrawing consists of single line contours drawn without hesitation, hatching, or cross-hatching. There is no evidence of new drawing to describe the final painted forms.

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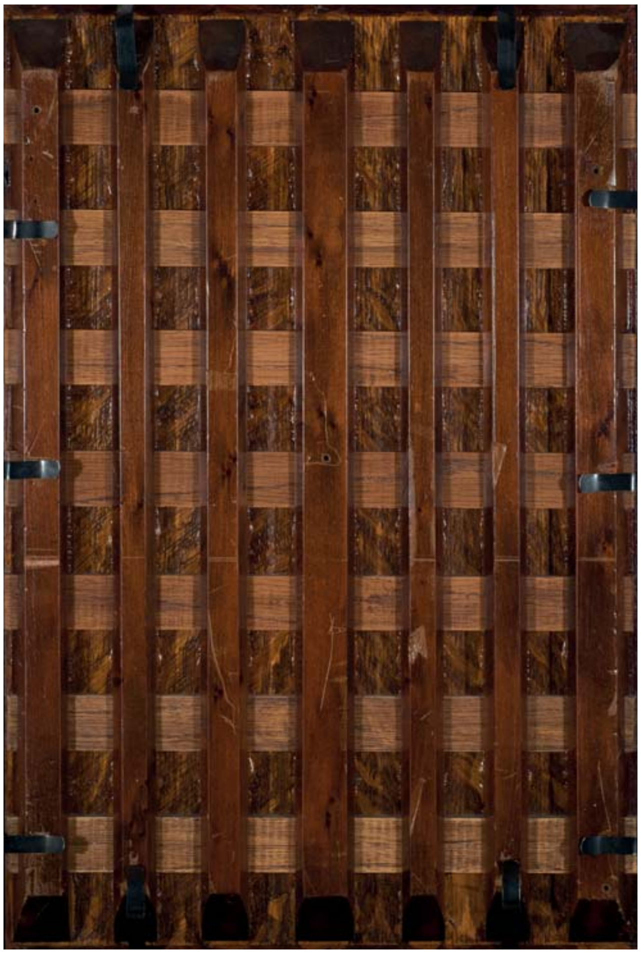

Paint Layer

The gold leaf background was water-gilded over a bole of red clay and glue. Red dots comprised of alum and madder were painted over the gilding (fig. 7).[17] The dots are painted more densely at the left and top edges and to the right of the forms of the Virgin and Child in a simulation of shadow caused by the fall of light from the top left. Over the decorated gold leaf background the haloes were added as a series of rays emanating from behind the heads of the Virgin and Child. These rays were created by painting lines of an oil and resin based adhesive over the water gilding and then applying strips of gold leaf onto the adhesive (fig. 7).

The paint is applied in thin successive layers, each carefully placed in circumscribed areas. The rendering of the Virgin is competent and assured but is not as convincingly plastic as that of Philippe de Croÿ or even the Child. The Child's hair is more completely described, strand by strand, than is the Virgin's. The composition of the Virgin's neckline was modified (figs. 4, 8). Originally it was lower and the overgarment had a "V" neck that revealed the straight bodice of an undergarment at the bottom of the "V." The flesh of her chest was painted to the top of this neckline, and a band of more X-ray opaque paint, probably intended to represent a bejeweled border on the overgarment, was painted along the edges of the "V." This type of attire for the Virgin is seen in the Caen[18] and Durán Virgins (fig. 13). The final layer of paint shows the present rounded, higher neckline with a white chemise protruding at the top, just abutting the rounded neckline. The underpaint of the first garment is ochre in color.[19] The present garment, with a round neckline, is painted with red lake over the ochre underpaint and the flesh tone of the chest. To create a mauve tone the garment was

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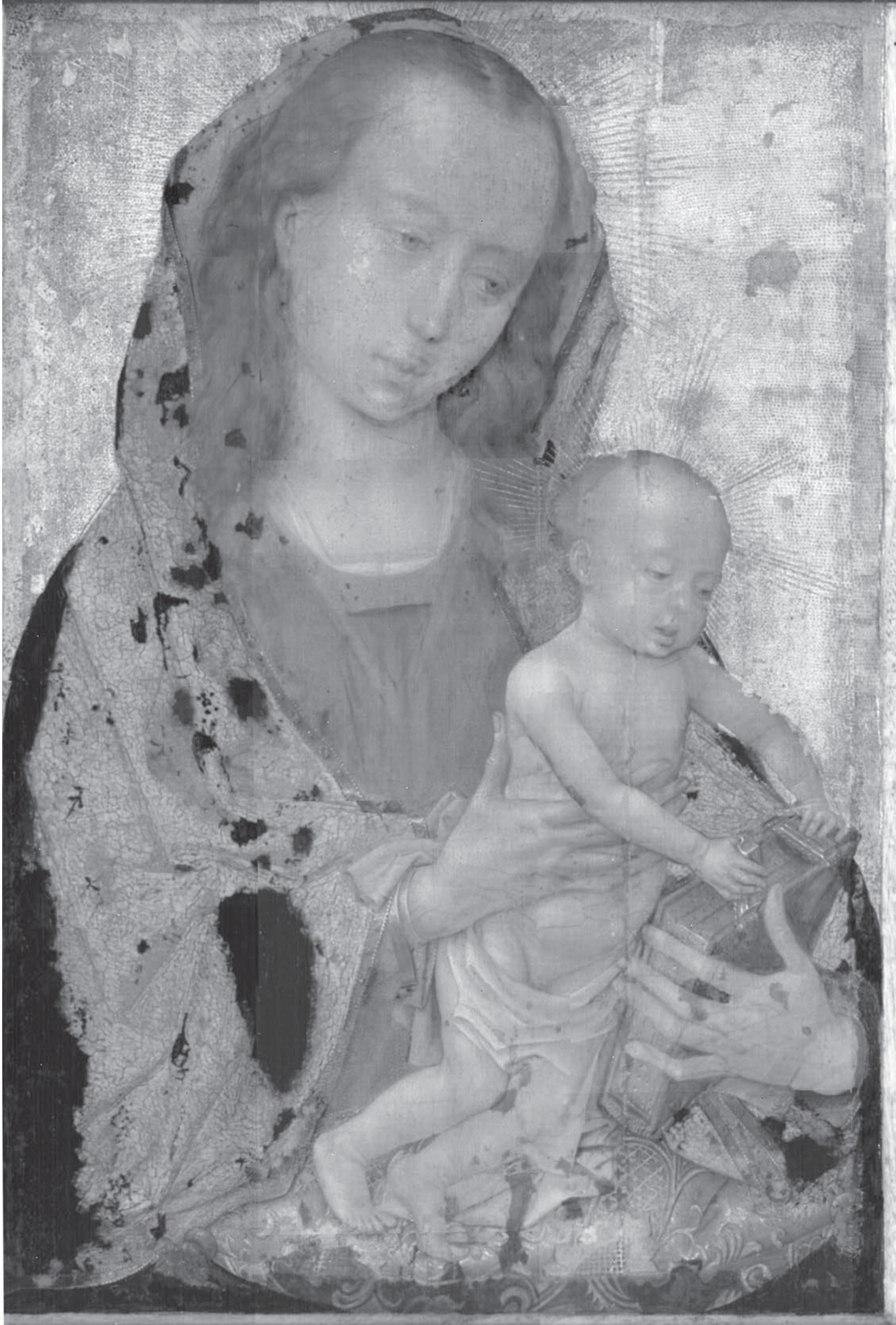
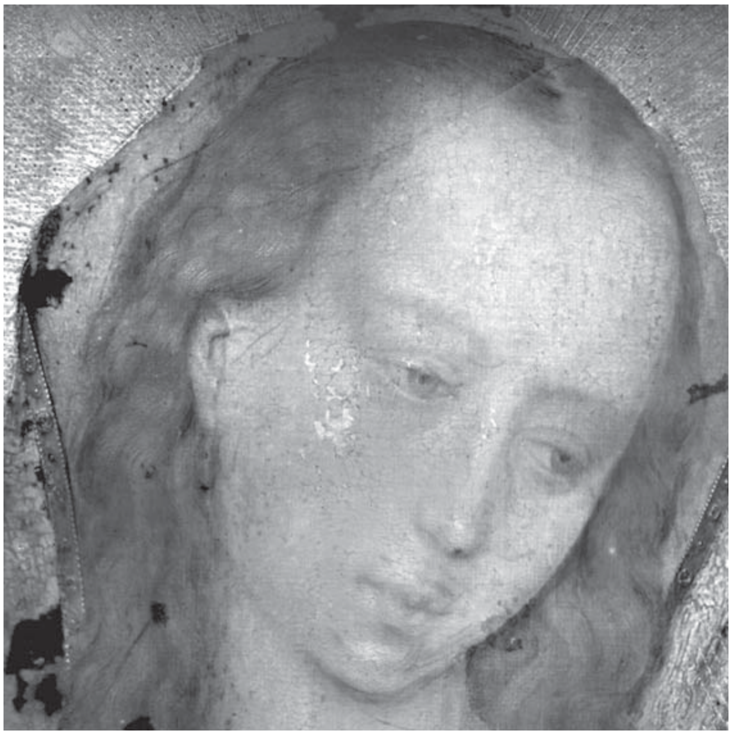




5. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, infrared reflectogram, detail of the Virgin's head

then lightly scumbled with azurite,[20] which extends over the lower part of the white chemise.

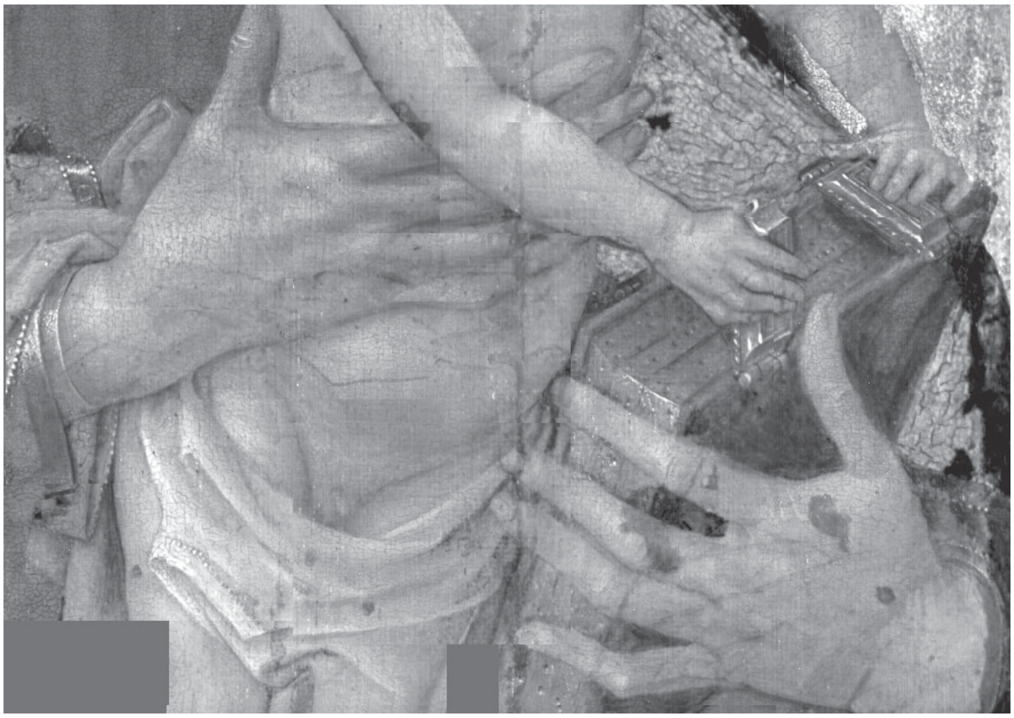
Vermilion and yellow ochre paint are embellished with lead-tin yellow highlights and madder lake shading for the brocade pillow (fig. 9). The Virgin's robe is azurite, with azurite of a lighter hue used for the lining, which is embellished with red dots. The binding and gauffering of the book are painted with brown earths and lead-tin yellow over the ochre base layer (fig. 11).[21]

The X-radiograph is disfigured by the densities of the cradle members and by the sweeping horizontal strokes of adhesive used in the transfer (fig. 10). It does show increased density at the highlights and the changes in the Virgin's neckline, but it is impossible to make a close reading of the paint application due to the interference of the structural interventions.

The painting is in fair condition. The transfer to fabric imparted an overall texture consistent with the weave of the fabric, destroying the smooth surface transitions of the original. There are small losses scattered throughout the gold leaf background. The Virgin's blue robe has losses through the head covering and the inner left fold, with a band of repaint approximately 2 cm. wide at the left shoulder continuing down the left side to become about 4.5 cm. at the bottom of the blue robe. The repaint is visible as dark areas in the infrared reflectogram (fig. 4). There is another large loss in the Virgin's blue robe just to the right of the elbow fold. Retouch covers the originally unpainted edge of the picture, and only two miniscule remains of a barbe could be discerned: one on the right edge near the book and one at the top edge in the Virgin's blue head covering. Despite the serious interventions to the painting support, much of the character and quality of the original surface still remains. The power, intimacy, and complexity of Van der Weyden's composition are evident, and the modeling of the paint has not deteriorated.

5. Pictorial Analysis

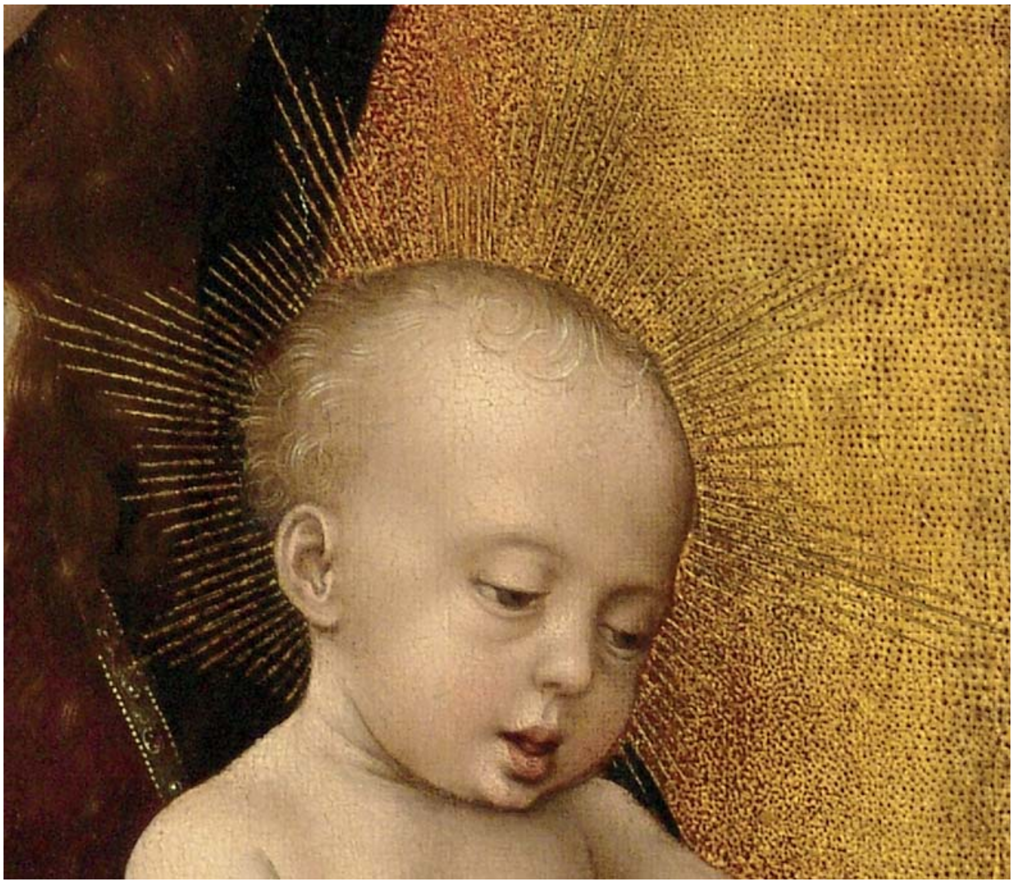
The tender, pensive half-length Virgin supports her infant Child with her right hand and a book with her left. Set against a gold background dotted with red, she wears a white chemise with a squared neckline, mauve robe, and blue mantle, which is trimmed with a golden border adorned with pearls and precious gems. The lighter blue lining of her mantle is modeled with orange dots and dashes in the shadows. In a complex layering of garments, two gold-trimmed cuffs are visible at her right wrist. Mary inclines her head to the right, and her mantle is folded back to reveal her brown



6. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, infrared reflectogram, detail of the Virgin's hands

hair with blonde highlights, which has a wide central part. The Virgin's forehead is high and broad, her cheeks are flushed, and a light blue vein is visible at her temple. Mordant-gilded golden rays surround the heads of the holy figures. Mary steadies her Child as he pushes himself up to an almost standing position, pressing his toes against a red and gold brocade pillow, which is adorned with tassels at the corners (fig. 9). Glimpses of a brown form, perhaps a parapet, are visible to either side of the pillow. The blond-haired, brown-eyed Child, whose tongue is visible between his parted lips (fig. 7), opens a golden clasp of the sumptuously bound, gauffered-edged manuscript that the Madonna supports with her left hand. A golden metallic bar, which serves as a book mark, crosses the manuscript near its binding (fig. 11). The Child's fine white shirt with pulled thread work at the collar has been removed and draped loosely around his thighs. The shirt hangs upside-down with its collar visible just above his right knee. The figures are lit from the upper left, which projects shadows that are especially visible on the Child's legs and abdomen. The painting is characterized by elegant, elongated forms, a sensitive, sinuous line, tender emotions, and an introspective spirituality.

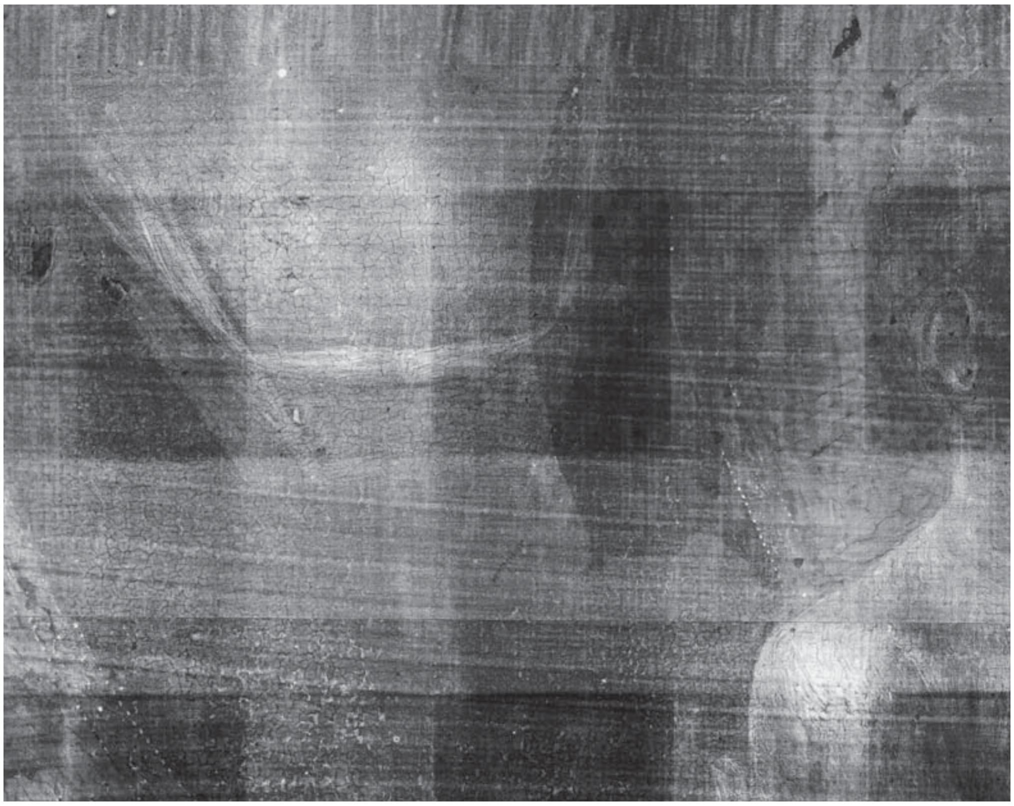
The relatively small size of the *Virgin and Child* and the close-up nature of its imagery suggest that it functioned at least some of the time as a portable aid to private devotion. Since both Mother and Child are turned to the right, the painting must have served as the left wing of a diptych whose right wing, judging by surviving examples, probably showed a portrait of a man. In 1996, C. Stroo and P. Syfer-d'Olne summarized the literature on Van der Weyden's devotional portrait diptychs. In 2006, in conjunction with an exhibition held in Washington and Antwerp, Hand, Metzger and Spronk authored a catalogue that surveyed the literature on early



7. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, detail of Child's head and gilding technique

Netherlandish diptychs and published new technical information about them. In the same year, Hand and Spronk edited a collection of essays that explored a wide range of issues concerning diptychs, including their patronage, technique, sources, and role in religious devotion.

Devotional portrait diptychs fulfilled multiple functions. They served as altarpieces, memoria, status symbols, genealogical records, expressions of piety, and aids to private devotion. When opened, which for most diptychs may have occurred mainly during prayer, they guided the devotion of the sitter, or, after his life, that of his descendants. Stroo and Syfer d'Olne (1996) note that the "traditional role of the diptych in a religious context is strongly linked with notions of spiritual welfare, intercession and devotion."[22] Perhaps the most important role of the Virgin is as mediatrix, that is, as intercessor for the praying supplicant, who asks her to intervene to save his soul. Panofsky (1953) has noted that the juxtaposition of the Virgin with a male supplicant would have aroused associations with both chivalric and spiritual love. The Child's position on his Mother's lap may well refer to the Virgin as the *sedes sapientiae,* the seat of wisdom. Reinforcing this idea is the prominence of the book, a common symbol of wisdom, which is applicable to both the Virgin and Child. The medieval book, according to O. Pächt (1986) was not only a precious object, but also a "witness to the promise of salvation."[23] For this reason, the Child's action of opening



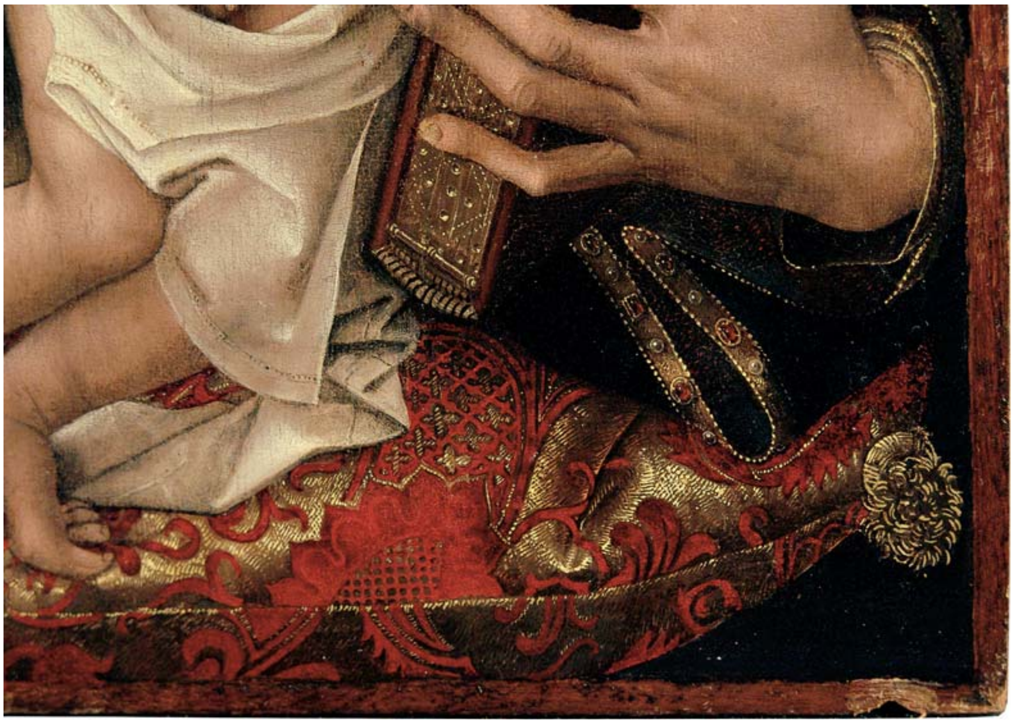
8. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, X-radiograph, detail of the Virgin's bodice

the manuscript must be interpreted on a symbolic level. A. Acres (1992) views Christ's gesture as serving to encourage the donor to read the devotional text.

Ringbom (1965) demonstrated that the pillow beneath Christ's feet was meant to suggest a parapet, a widespread sign of majesty, which derived from the experience of seeing royalty looking down from a balcony or appearing in a window (fig. 11). L. Steinberg (1983) noted that the white shirt draped around Christ seems designed to cover his genitals, but instead slips down to expose them, thereby drawing the viewer's attention there. Steinberg suggested that this motif served to remind the viewer of the male gender of Christ in an age of Marian spirituality, and also to make clear the dual nature of Christ, since it is his human aspect that will make possible his future passion. This foreshadowing of the Passion may also be suggested by the melancholic, introspective expression of the Virgin. Despite these associations with the wisdom, Passion, and majesty of Christ, he is portrayed in an intimate manner as a playful child of a loving mother, which is in line with iconographical trends in early Netherlandish art.

Although Van der Weyden and his workshop produced several surviving devotional portrait diptychs with the Virgin and Child on the left wing, the Huntington panel differs from the others in several critical ways. Pächt (1994) noted that its composition produces a closer relationship between the supplicant and holy figures than do other examples by the master, since the Child turns his back to his Mother in order to face and lean towards the petitioner. Furthermore, Pächt

9.

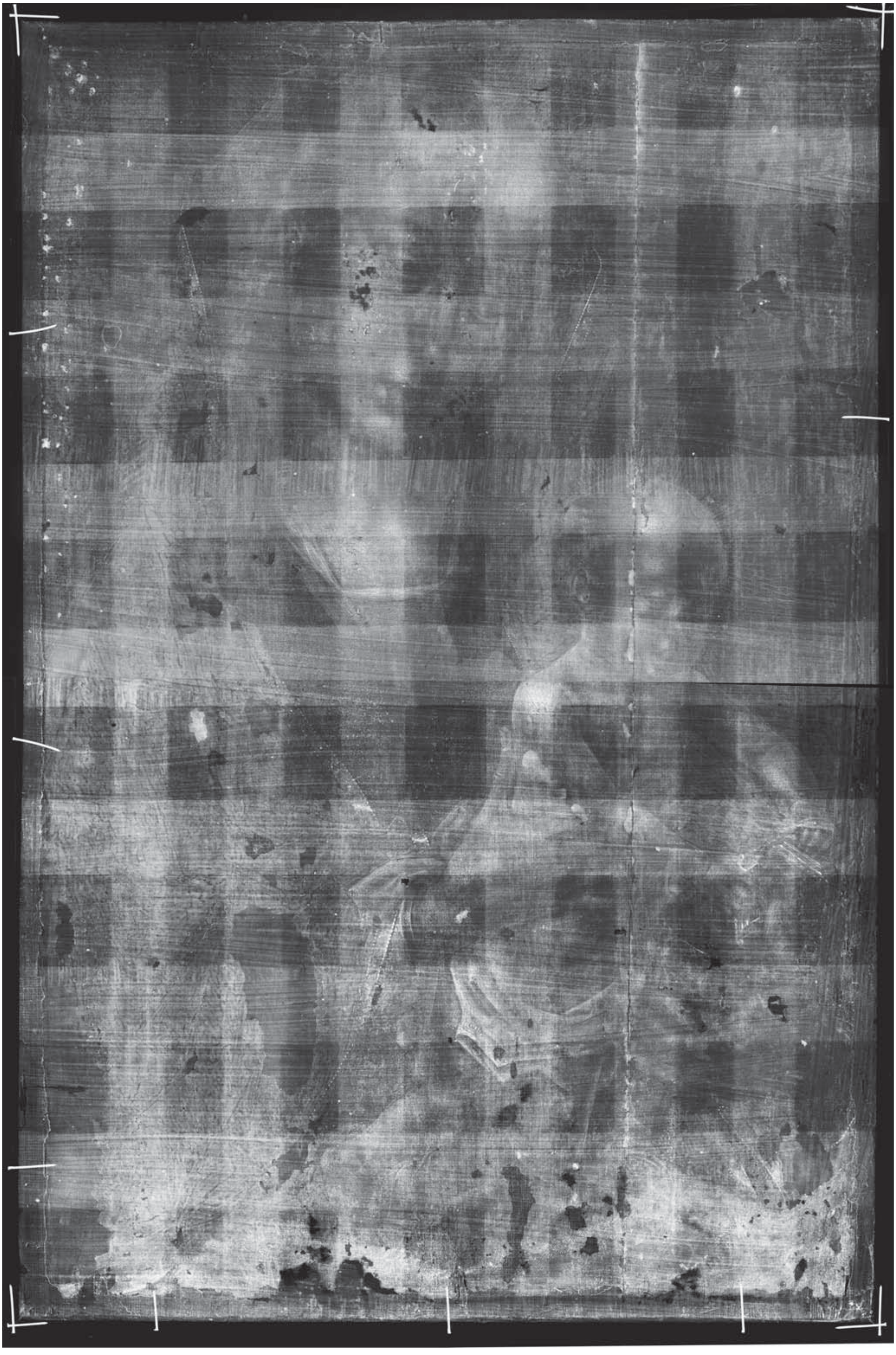


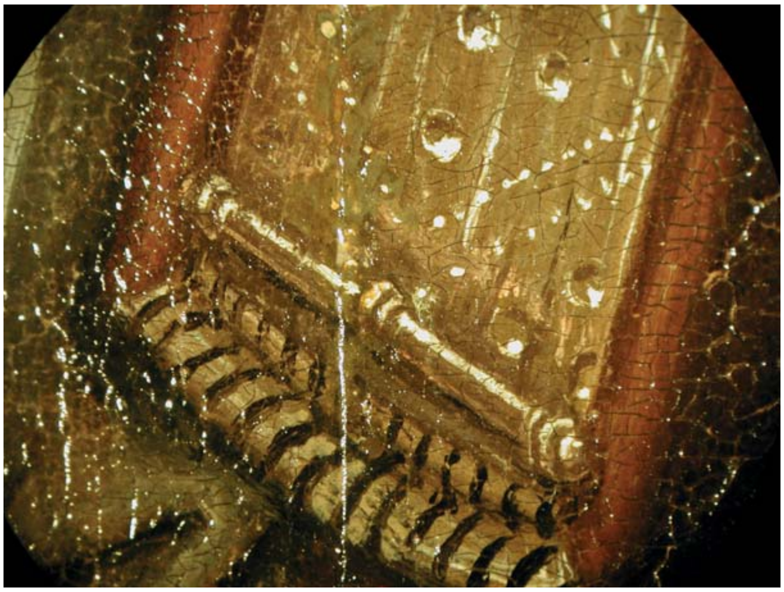
9. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, detail of the brocade pillow

10. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, X-radiograph

suggested that the manuscript that the Child opens may be the supplicant's, which he has given the Child. This would further tie the two wings together.

The *Virgin and Child* is the only surviving diptych wing by Van der Weyden to show a gold ground. It is partly due to this feature that it has long been associated with Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine paintings. Panofsky (1953) attributed what he believed to be Van der Weyden's reintroduction into Netherlandish painting of the half-length *Virgin and Child* to his exposure to an Italo-Byzantine *Virgin and Child* that was donated to the Cambrai Cathedral in 1450 (fig. 11). This icon had been brought back from Rome by Canon Fursy du Bruille, who believed that it was painted by the hand of St. Luke. M. Ainsworth (2004) noted that Van der Weyden may have seen one of these copies or even the original, since he visited Cambrai in 1459, when he delivered an altarpiece there.[24] J. Sander (1995) suggested that the artist could have viewed Italo-Byzantine paintings in the collections of his Italian patrons who were living in Ghent and Bruges, and Ainsworth (2004) observed that when Van der Weyden went to Rome for the jubilee year of 1450 he may well have seen icons there. She also noted that the Low Countries imported numerous holy images from Crete, and that Netherlandish inventories list works, now lost, in the "Greek" style. Van der Weyden did not copy a particular icon; neither the general composition nor the specific motif of the Child playing with the clasp of a book appears in Byzantine art. Rather, as Ainsworth has shown, he and other painters adapted or interpreted Byzantine works in "the prevailing style."[25] H.J. van Miegroet (1992), Acres (1992), Sander (1995), and De Vos (1999) all agree that the *Virgin and Child* is influenced by Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine works. Recently D. Wolfthal (2011) suggested why



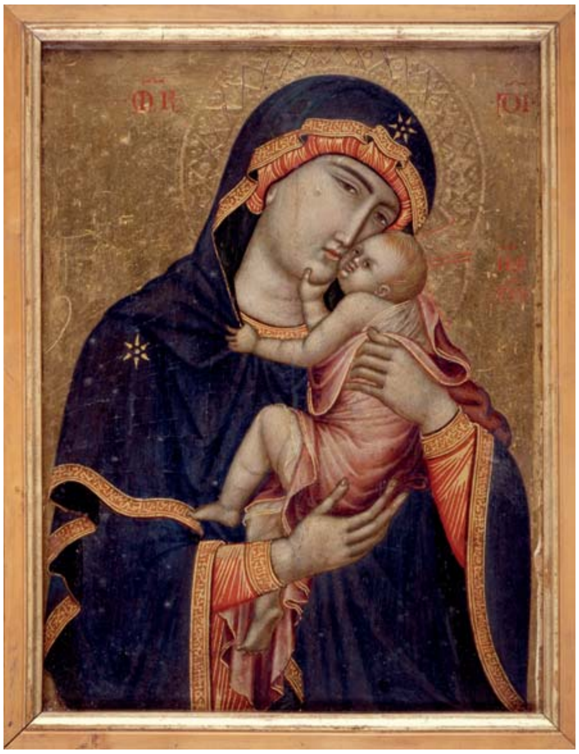


11. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child*, detail of the book binding

Philippe de Croÿ might have desired a *Virgin and Child* in the "Greek" style. In addition to the belief that such a style might contribute an added spiritual value, it may also have referred to Philip the Good's campaign to fight a crusade against the Muslims, an idea he first expressed in 1451 and which was strongly supported by the Croÿ family.[26]

Although the gold ground and half-length composition evoke Byzantine icons, some scholars have also sought the roots of the composition in the master's own work. De Vos (1971, 1999) justly observes that the head of the Child and his act of reaching for a book is similar to those in the *Durán Madonna,* that the Virgin's hands are strikingly close to a painting in Brussels that probably reflects a lost work by Van der Weyden, and that her expression and the folds of the mantle around her head are reminiscent of the *Chesterfield Madonna* (figs. 13-14). Hulin de Loo (1924) and A.E. Popham (1926) were the first to relate the face of the Virgin to a drawing in the Louvre (fig. 15). M. Sonkes (1969) pointed to similarities between the pose of the Christ Child and the Virgin's left hand in the Huntington painting and corresponding elements in a drawing at Dumbarton Oaks that she termed "rogeresque" (fig. 16). Similarly, she related the composition of the *Virgin and Child* to a drawing formerly in a private collection in Munich. J. Dijkstra (1990) concluded that this drawing must have belonged to Van der Weyden's atelier, since it resembles four other paintings by members of his workshop or his direct followers. De Vos (1999) argued that although the Louvre drawing was not an autograph work, it had served as a model in Van der Weyden's workshop. Despite elements derived from Byzantine icons, on the one hand, and Rogier's own inventions, on the other, the composition, especially the motif of the Christ Child opening the clasp of the book, is strikingly original.

W. Schöne (1938) suggested that the Huntington *Virgin and Child* influenced Dirk Bouts' painting of the same theme in Granada.[27] P. Wescher (1949) drew similarities to other paintings that show the motif of the Child reading or turning the pages of a manuscript, including the Eyckian *Ince Hall Madonna*[28] and a Van der Weyden group *Madonna* in a private collection in Detroit.[29] De Vos (1971) proposed that two other paintings were inspired by the Huntington *Virgin and Child* type: the Master of 1499's *Holy Family with Angel* in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp[30] and Hans Memling's *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.[31] Furthermore, two lost paintings are reported to reproduce the general outlines of the composition of the Huntington *Virgin and Child.*



12. Italo-Byzantine, *The Cambrai Madonna* (*Notre-Dame de Grâce*), 35.5 × 26.5 cm., Cambrai, Cathedral

6. Comparative Material

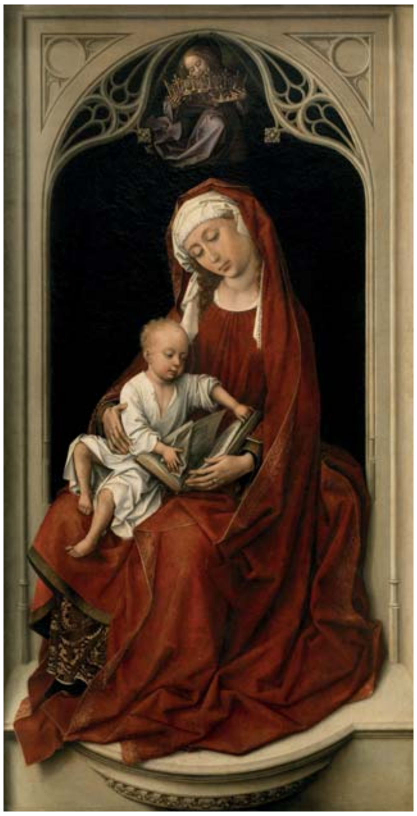
- *Madonna and Child,* Barcelona, Mateu Collection (D. De Vos, 1971, p. 152)
- Flemish Master, *Madonna and Child,* 4.7 × 3.9 cm. A copy with a landscape background, formerly Warner McCall Collection, Cincinatti; Hammer Galleries, New York (December 1941- February 1942). See New York, Frick Art Reference Library, Photographic Collection, cat. no. 407-8g[2]

7. Comments

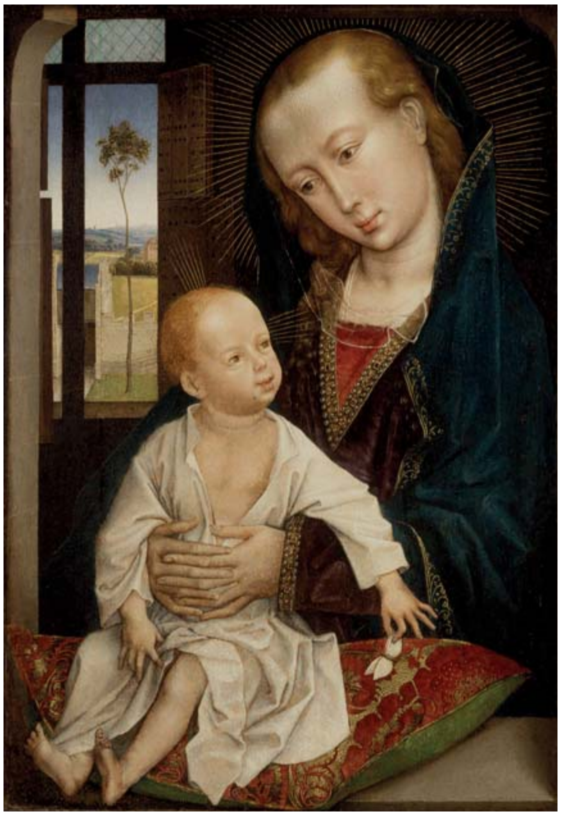
The painting's elegance, tender spirituality, graceful, fluid line, and underlying tension as well as the jerky movements of the infant and the two-dimensional composition based largely on parallel forms all point to an attribution to the Van der Weyden group. The lifeless eyes and limp hair of the Virgin suggest the contribution of a workshop assistant, but the high quality of the execution of the Child and the striking originality of the composition reveal the involvement of the master himself. Possibly confirming Van der Weyden's participation is the free hand drawing with changes in the composition.

The *Virgin and Child* must have been designed as a left wing, since both figures turn towards the right, creating an imbalance that could only have been countered by an adjoining panel on the right, which most scholars agree showed a portrait of a man. Stroo and Syfer-d'Olne (1996) argue that Van der Weyden almost certainly invented the devotional portrait diptych that consists of a half-length Virgin and Child facing a half-length portrait of a man in prayer. Campbell (1979, 2006) has countered that there is evidence of an earlier diptych showing a half-length Virgin on one wing, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and his father-in-law Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, on the other. Although the language of an inventory of 1420 suggests that the Virgin was depicted in half-length ("ung demi ymage de nostre dame"), it does not describe the portrait wing in the same manner.[32] Furthermore an illumination of the Duke at Mass, dated 1457[33], includes a diptych composed of a half-length Virgin and Child facing a full-length kneeling donor, probably Philip the Good.[34] It may well be, therefore, that the devotional diptych with half-length portrait was an invention of Van der Weyden. He certainly was largely responsible for spreading its popularity.

Since Hulin de Loo (1923) most scholars have justly concluded that the adjoining panel showed Philippe de Croÿ. But Hulin de Loo was mistaken in citing the size and shape of these paintings as a basis for joining them. C. Metzger (2008) has observed that of the late portraits by Van der Weyden, three are identical in dimensions, and another two are within two centimeters in size. Nor do the provenances of the *Virgin*

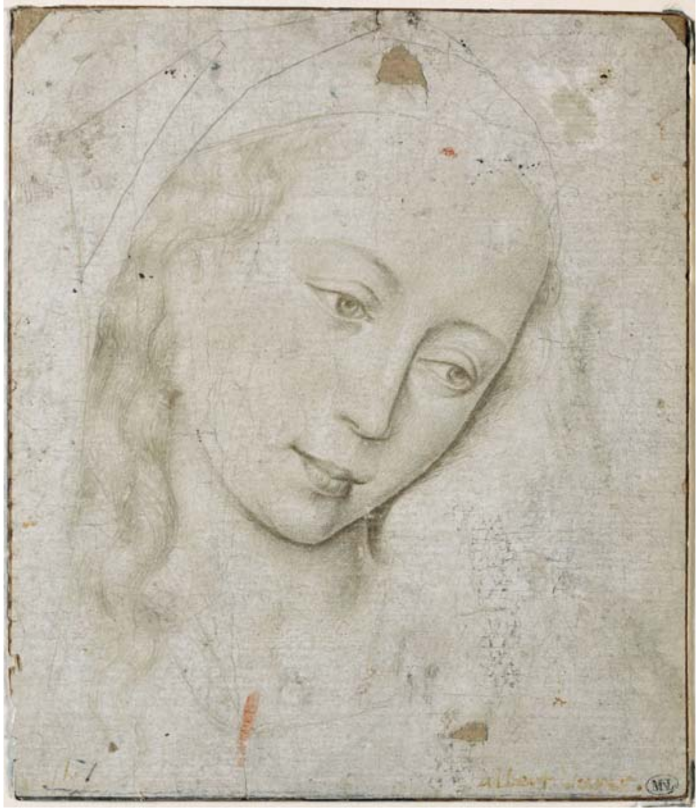


13. Rogier van der Weyden, *Durán Madonna*, 100 × 52 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02722



14. Rogier van der Weyden, group, *Chesterfield Madonna*, 60 × 41.6 cm., St. Louis, St. Louis Art Museum, inv. no. 155.1971

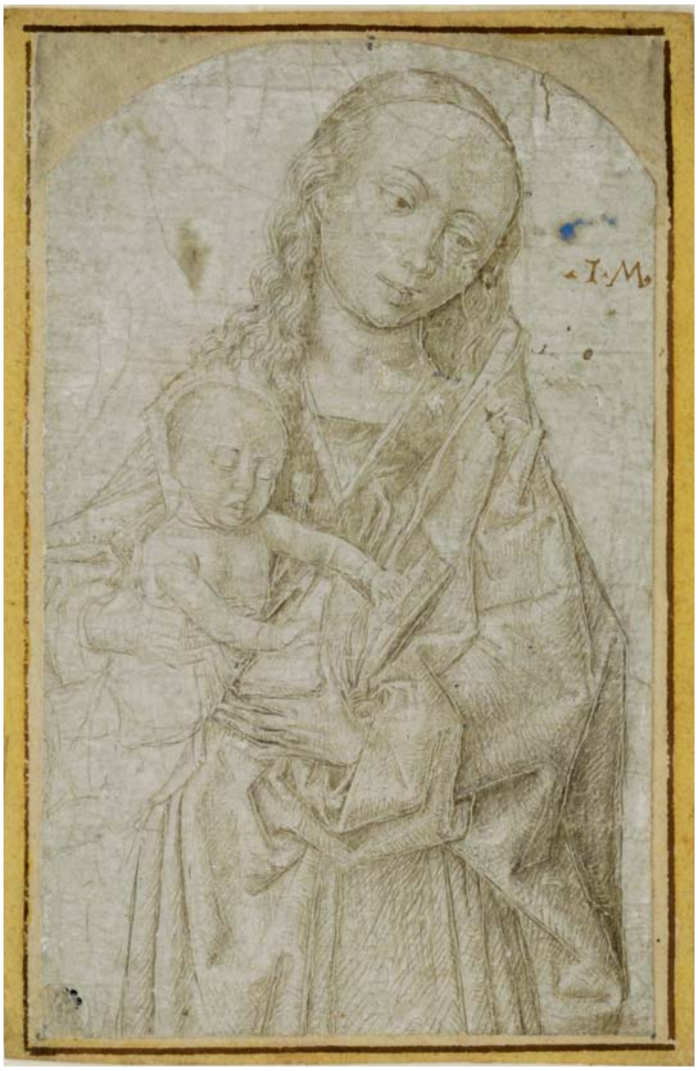
and Child and portrait of Philippe de Croÿ confirm that the paintings originally formed a diptych. But the inclusion of a manuscript in the Huntington panel is suggestive, as Hulin de Loo (1923) long ago observed, since Philippe de Croÿ owned one of the finest collections of manuscripts in the Burgundian territories.[35] He inherited numerous books from his father Jean, Count of Chimay (1395-1473), and expanded the collection considerably. Furthermore, visual evidence strongly suggests that the two panels were originally joined.[36] Both depict similar tassels with silken threads, and the fine golden chains that adorn Philippe's neck and that can also be partially glimpsed through the opening in his jacket have a dotted quality that is reminiscent of the beaded edge of the golden border on the Virgin's mantle. In addition, as Hand, Metzger, and Spronk (Washington, 2006) observed, the gold background of the Madonna complements the silver ground below Philippe's green curtain. Furthermore, the gold-and-silver color combination of the backgrounds is continued in Philippe's rosary beads, the hilt of his weapon, and the coat of arms on the portrait's verso. Similarly, the lowest portion of the *Virgin and Child*, formed by the Virgin's mantle and pillow, has a scalloped quality that corresponds to the lowest portion of the portrait, formed by Philippe's slashed sleeve. Besides these numerous visual correspondences, there is also the issue of cost. Who among the sitters whose portraits have been proposed as wings for the *Madonna and Child* could have afforded such an extravagantly expensive diptych? Philippe rises to the top of the list.



15. Rogier van der Weyden, group, *Head of the Virgin,* 128 × 109 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 20.664

Because the *Virgin and Child* can now be more securely linked to the portrait of Philippe de Croÿ, its date can be better assessed. Technical and stylistic evidence place the diptych in Van der Weyden's late period, in 1457 at the earliest. Archival sources attest to a *terminus ante quem* of 1461. The linking of these two panels also enables us to better understand the diptych's devotional aspect. The confluence of objects used during prayer that appear at the lower inner edges of the diptych – the book on one wing, the rosary with pendant crucifix on the other – would have enhanced the devotional function of the panels. Similarly, the crucifix on the right wing, like the Child's exposed genitals and the Virgin's far-away, sorrowful expression on the left wing, would have served as a reminder of the Passion to come. The hierarchically privileged position of the Virgin in this diptych is made clear through her placement on the left wing, her higher head, and her golden background. Philippe de Croÿ's broad shoulders and silver ground, however, assert his importance as well.

Indeed the diptych must have served in part as a sign of Philippe's high status. With its gold ground for the Virgin and silver ground for the sitter, it was a costly commission. In addition, the objects depicted in it were of the most expensive type. The Virgin's mantle shows a jeweled border, the manuscript has metal clasps and gauffered edges, and Philippe holds a gold and silver rosary, and has a gold and silver weapon as well as numerous fine gold chains. The crucifix may even have referred to Croÿ's name. The gold and silver color combination is also found in the more expensive medium of metalwork, and the diptych may have been designed to suggest



16. Rogier van der Weyden, group, *Madonna and Child,* 139 × 85 mm., Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, inv. no. 243

that medium or enamel work, as M. Belozerskaya (2006) proposes.[37] It is noteworthy that Philippe's silver-and-gold rosary beads may not have existed solely in the realm of Van der Weyden's imagination. Jean, Duke de Berry, owned a rosary composed of gold beads that were laced on a silver thread, and Charles the Bold's inventory, dated around 1468, lists a gold and silver rosary.[38] Furthermore Philippe de Croÿ's commission of a work from Rogier van der Weyden, a painter who was also patronized by the Duke, as well as the master's personal involvement in the execution and design of both panels of the diptych, would have further added to the social prestige of this work. Finally, in addition to its religious and social functions, the diptych may have played a role in supporting the crusading fervor at the Burgundian court, as Wolfthal (2011) suggests.

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1921: Conway, p. 150.
1921: Friedländer, 184.
1923: Burger, p. 68.
1923: Hulin De Loo, p. 53-58, 186.
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1969: Sonkes, p. 31, 34, 200, 202.
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Notes

1. Duveen Brothers, 1941, cat. no. 172.
2. M.J. Friedländer cited reasons for and against the theory that the Huntington *Virgin and Child* formed a diptych with the portrait of Philippe de Croÿ. First he stated that they originally formed a diptych, then that the portrait of Croÿ "apparently belongs" with the Madonna, and finally that "A counter-argument against the association with the Croÿ portrait would be the gold ground on the Madonna panel, which is not continued in the portrait. By style alone, I would be inclined to date the Madonna earlier." See M.J. Friedländer, 1924, II, p. 35-36, 103-104; M.J. Friedländer, 1967, II, p. 24, 27, 67-68, no. 39, pl. 63.
3. For this strip, see *Les Chefs-d'œuvres d'art ancien à l'Exposition de la Toison d'or à Bruges en 1907* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, 1907, p. 19.
4. Rogier van der Weyden (?), *Portrait of John I, Duke of Cleves*, 49.5 × 31.5 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 20223.
5. *The Wilton Diptych*, 53 × 37 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG4451.
6. Jean Fouquet, *Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels* (Right wing of the *Melun Diptych*), 112,7 × 104 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 132, *Etienne Chevalier with his St. Stephen* (Left wing of the diptych), 93 × 85 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie
7. *The Brussels Hours of the Duke of Berry*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Ms. 11060-61, fol. 10v-11.
8. B. Lane, 1970, p. 230; J. Friedman, 1977, p. 96.
9. *Rogier van der Weyden. 1400-1464. Master of Passions* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, 2009, p. 319.
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11. W. Paravicini, 1978, p. 83-85.
12. P. Klein, 1989, p. 29, 32.
13. P. Klein, 2006, p. 220.
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15. J. Rutherford, 1982, p. 176, 178; *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Netherlandish and Allied Schools of the XV and Early XVI Centuries* (exhib. cat.), London 1892, p. 10.
16. Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, 137.5 × 110.8 cm., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 93.153.
17. Analysis by Arie Wallert at the Getty Conservation Institute, 1993.
18. Rogier van der Weyden, *Virgin and Child* (Left wing from the *Laurent Froimont Diptych*), 51,5 × 33,5 cm., Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Collection Mancel, inv. no. M.91.
19. It is worth noting that Van der Weyden's Caen *Virgin and Child* has a cloth-of-gold garment with a jeweled border, which is painted with an ochre underpaint.
20. Arie Wallert identified the azurite by means of microscopy and X-ray fluorescence analysis in 1993.
21. Wallert performed all pigment analysis at the Getty Conservation Institute.
22. C. Stroo and P. Syfer d'olne, 1996, p. 126.
23. O. Pächt, 1986, p. 10.
24. For the Cambrai commission, see D. De Vos, 1999, p. 398; F. Cambier, 2012, p. 108-111.
25. M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 545.
26. For Philip the Good's attempts to win support for a crusade, see J. Paviot, 2003, p. 117-176 and D. Wolfthal, 2011.
27. Dirk Bouts, *Virgin in Full-Length*, 53 × 35 cm., Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real. For this painting, see M.J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 61, no. 17, pl. 25.
28. Jan van Eyck, *Ince Hall Madonna*, 26,5 × 19,5 cm., Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, inv. no. 1275/3.
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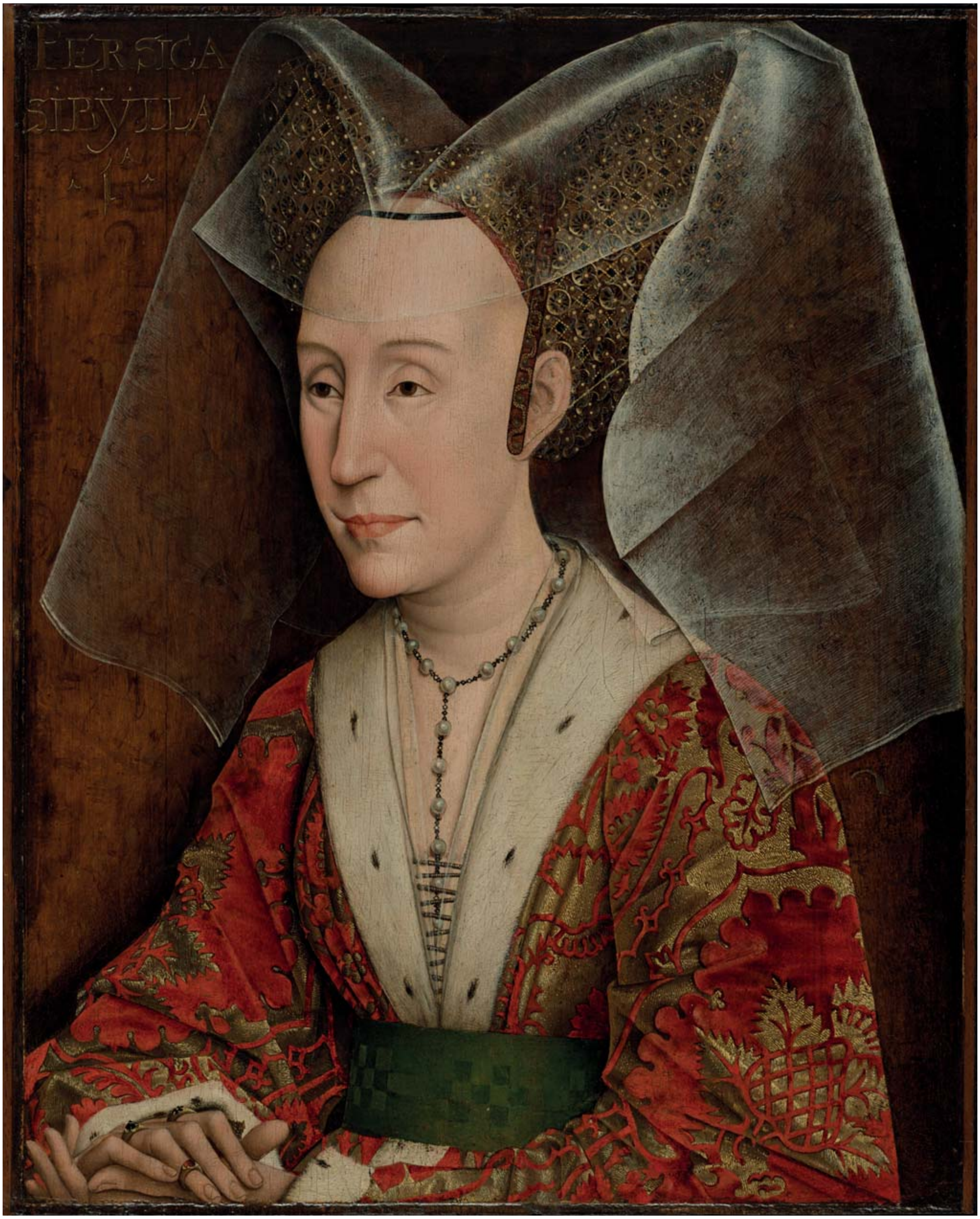
30. Master of 1499, *Holy Family with Angel*, 43 × 36 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 558.
31. Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, 75.4 × 52.3 cm., Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, inv. no. 44.43.
32. L. Campbell, 1979, p. 34.
33. Jean de Tavernier, *Philip the Good during Mass*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Ms. 9092, fol. 9r.
34. S. Ringbom, 1965, p. 32 and fig. 5, identified the subjects portrayed on the diptych. A. Pearson, 2000, p. 106, and M. Belozerskaya, 2006, p. 64 agreed with his conclusions.
35. For his collection, see A. Bayot, 1928, p. 23-26, 52-56; M. Debae, 1987, p. XVII, 58-61, 69-72, 79-81, 88; M. Debae, 1996,

p. 204; J. Devaux, 2001, p. 13-33.
The manuscript that is depicted in the *Virgin and Child* is a Book of Hours, as Roger Wieck communicated to me in an e-mail dated 15 March 2007: "The book is not fat enough to be a breviary, and not big enough to be a missal. Missals also don't have such clasps."

36. We would like to thank Lorne Campbell for sharing his observations with us in this regard.
37. For silver and gold metalwork, see, for example, *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 137, 208, and 435.
38. R.W. Lightbown, 1992, p. 354.

1.


PERSICA
SIBYLLA
IA

Rogier van der Weyden, workshop

Portrait of Isabella of Portugal

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 78.PB.3

Group: Rogier van der Weyden
No. Corpus: 252

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1523-1524 and before 1540: Mechelen, Apparently in the collection of Margaret of Austria
Before 1629: Possibly Alexandre d'Arenberg, Duke de Croÿ and Prince de Chimay[1]
By 1883: Brussels and London, The dealer Christianus Johannes Nieuwenhuys
4 May 1883: Brussels, Sold by J. & A. Le Roy frères, Estate of C.J. Nieuwenhuys, Galerie Saint-Luc, lot no. 4[2]
After 4 May 1883-by 1885: perhaps Licio Odescalchi[3]
By 1885[4]-1900: Paris, Baron Adolphe de Rothschild (d. 1900)
1900-by 1927: Paris, Baron Maurice Edmond Charles de Rothschild (by inheritance)
By 15 October, 1925: Paris, Consigned to the dealer Wildenstein
By January 1926: New York, Consigned to Wildenstein
By 1927-1948: New York, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
1948- 1960: On the occasion of their marriage, jointly owned by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (d. 1960) and Martha Baird Rockefeller
1960-1971: Martha Baird Rockefeller (d. 1971)
1971-1976: Abigail Rockefeller Pardee Mauzé (by inheritance, d. 1976)
1976- by 1977: Estate of Abigail Rockefeller Pardee Mauzé, consigned to Thomas Agnew & Sons, Ltd., London
By 1978: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

1. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal,* (heavily repainted in the sixteenth century), 45.5 × 36 cm. (painted surface), Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 78.PB.32

Material History

1952-1953: William Suhr, repaired split in panel, cleaned, and restored

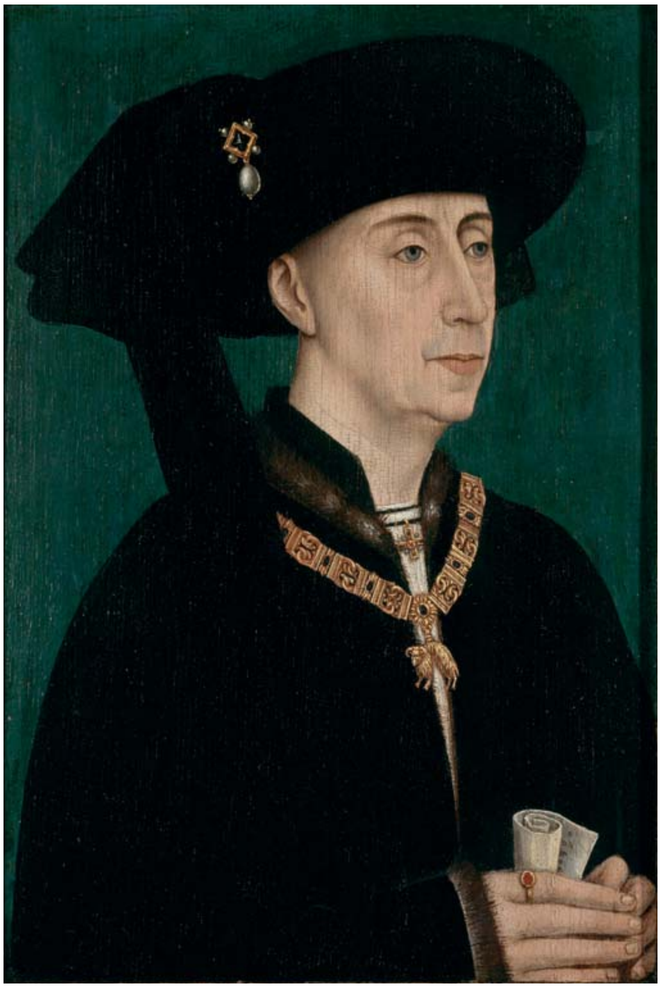
1982: Andrea Rothe, removed the bottom edge strip for dendrochronology by J. Fletcher
1998: Kristin Younger, surface cleaned, corrected some retouchings, and revarnished
2000: Mark Leonard, consolidated the area surrounding a tiny flake of red paint at the bottom center edge that was lost during unframing. The loss was filled and retouched
2000: P. Klein, dendrochronology
2003: J. Paul Getty Museum, XRF

EXHIBITIONS

1927 London, Burlington House, *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900*, no. 29
1929 New York, F. Kleinberg Galleries, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives in aid of the Free Milk Fund for Babies*, no. 7
1936 Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, Catalogue of the twentieth anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art. The official art exhibit of Great Lakes Exposition. *Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts.* no. 212
1939 New York, New York World's Fair, *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300 to 1800*, no. 410
1941 New York, M. Knoedler & Co. Galleries, *Loan Exhibition in Honor of Royal Cortissoz and His Fifty Years of Criticism in The New York Herald Tribune*, no. 3
1942 New York, M. Knoedler & Co. Galleries, *Flemish Primitives*, no. 7
1964 Tournai, Cathédrale de Tournai, *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-van der Weyden 1464-1964*, no. 26.
1979 Brussels, Musée Communal de Bruxelles, Maison du Roi, *Rogier van der Weyden – Rogier de le Pasture: Peintre officiel de la Ville de Bruxelles, portraitiste de la Cour de Bourgogne,* no. 14
1991 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I^er^, *Isabelle de Portugal*, *duchesse de Bourgogne, 1397-1471*, no. 39
1999 London, The National Gallery, *Rogier van der Weyden: 600th Anniversary of His Birth*
2008-2009 Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, Städel Museum and Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, *Die Geburt der modernen Malerei: Robert Campin, der Meister von Flémalle, und Rogier van der Weyden*, no. 40
2009 Leuven, M, *Rogier van der Weyden. 1400-1464. Master of Passions,* no. 15
2013-2014 San Marino, The Huntington, Library, *Face to Face. Flanders*, *Florence, and Renaissance Painting,* pl. 22

3. HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

The first mention of this panel appeared in 1883 in the sales catalogue of the estate of the art dealer Charles J. Nieuwenhuys, which described the work as a portrait showing a wife of Philip the Good by Jan van Eyck (fig. 1).[5] By 1899, M.J.



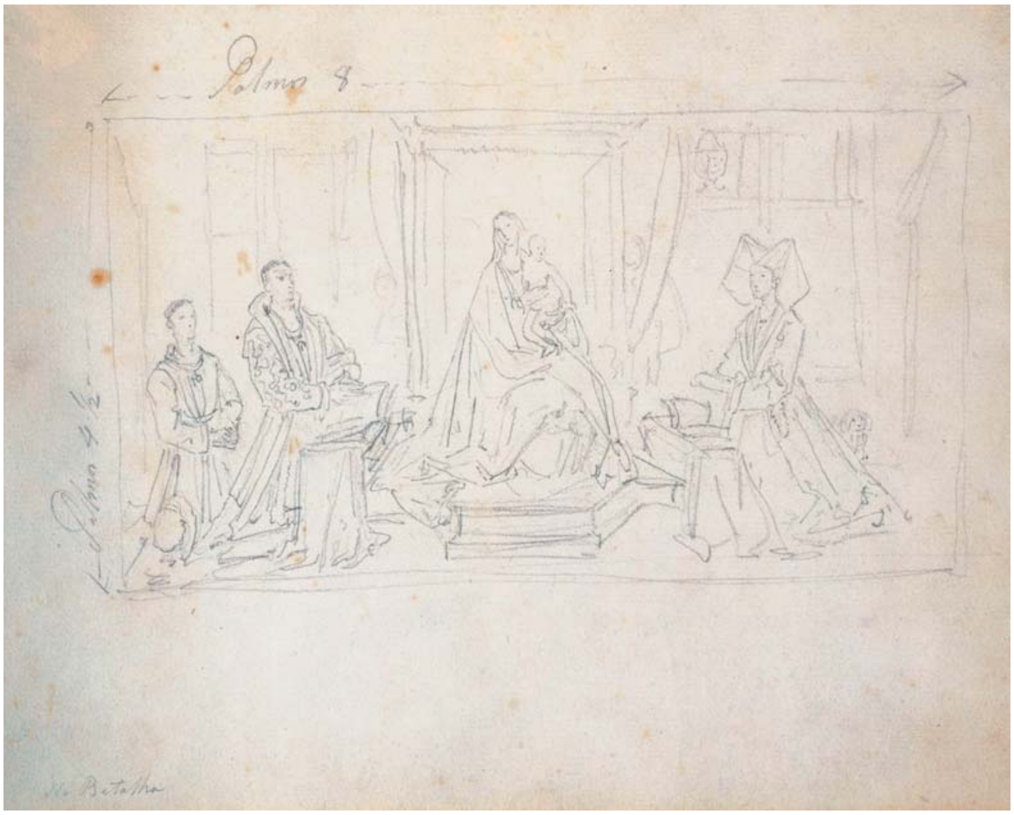
Friedländer attributed the painting to Rogier van der Weyden, and until 1979 most scholars supported this conclusion.[6] In 1900, H. Hymans identified the sitter as Isabella of Portugal, and in 1926 W. Stein amassed evidence to support this identification, which has held sway ever since.[7] E. Panofsky (1953) suggested that the Getty portrait "would have made an excellent counterpart to the portrait of Philip the Good," which is known only through copies (fig. 2).[8]

Numerous scholars have discussed the panel in the context of other portraits of Isabella.[9] Most notably M. Sonkes (1969) observed an "indisputable analogy" between the Getty portrait and that of Isabella in an altarpiece that she commissioned for the Dominican monastery of Batalha in Lisbon, which is known only through a nineteenth-century copy (fig. 3). Earlier S. de Ricci and M. Conway (1922) had noted the similarity between the Getty portrait and a head in the central panel of the Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine's *Altarpiece of the Miracles of Christ* in Melbourne (fig. 4). When L. Campbell (1979) observed a resemblance to Goossen van der Weyden's *Donation of Kalmthout*, ca. 1511 (fig. 5), he hypothesized that all three figures may have been based on the same model, perhaps a preliminary drawing for the Batalha portrait that would have been kept in Van der Weyden's workshop.

2. After Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Philip the Good*, 32.5 × 22.4 cm., Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. no. OOOO.GRO0203.I

The first to assign a date to this panel was P. Jamot (1928), who believed it was produced around 1425, the death date of Michelle de France, the duke's first wife, whom he mistakenly believed was the subject of the portrait.[10] Once scholars accepted the identification of the sitter as Isabella, most dated the panel ca. 1445.[11] Some pointed to biographical evidence, but Sonkes (1969) noted the similarity between the horned headdress in the Getty panel and that of Guigone de Salins in Van der Weyden's *Last Judgment* at Beaune, dated ca. 1443-1451 (fig. 6).

The inscription on the painting – PERSICA/SIBYLLA/ .I.^{A} – has long been a subject of interest. De Ricci and Conway (1922) were the first to suggest that the number in the inscription (I.^{A}) indicates that it was the first in a series of female portraits, each representing a sibyl. Panofsky (1953) observed that the series may never have been completed, and that, in fact, it would be surprising if the duchess had consented to be part of such a "collective enterprise." He proposed instead that the inscription was added in the sixteenth century when portraits of women as half-length sibyls became popular. M. Davies (1971) noted that the lettering closely resembled that on a painting of a *Man Reading (St. Ivo?)*, which was also

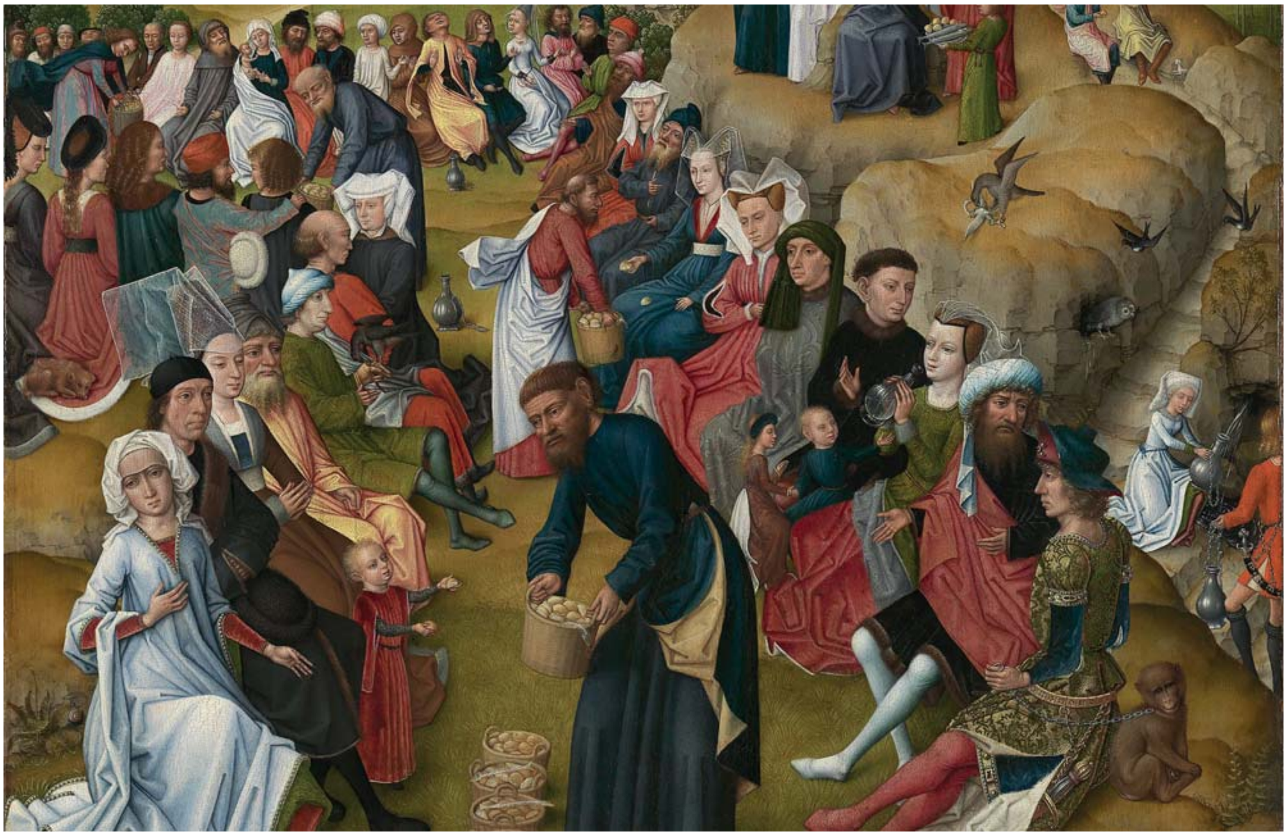


3. Dominges António de Sequeria, after Rogier van der Weyden's *Batalha Altarpiece*, 112 × 200 mm., Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 3125, fol. 46

approximately the same size. He concluded that the inscriptions must have been added at a later time when the two works found themselves in the same collection, but he was unsure whether the portrait of Isabella was originally intended to represent the Persian sibyl. D. De Vos (1994) noted a similar example: an inscription identifying a sitter as a sibyl was later added to a portrait by Memling.[12] B. Franke (1997) suggested that the portrait of Isabella may have belonged to a courtly type in which the sitter plays a role, for example, Jan van Eyck's *Tymotheos*[13], and suggested that the designation "I.^{A}" meant that the Persian sibyl was the foremost of the prophetesses. She further noted that sibyls were of very great interest in the fifteenth century.

In 1979 Campbell argued against the attribution of the Getty portrait to Van der Weyden. He reasoned that, unlike Rogier's autograph works, its skin lacked subtlety, its hands were poorly drawn, its face expressive, and the structure of its body and costume misunderstood. Furthermore, he noted that the background of wood paneling and the lack of first-hand observation from the model would be unusual for Van der Weyden. Campbell suggested instead that the painting could be a copy after a portrait by Van der Weyden, either a painting that was closely related to the image of Isabella in the Batalha altarpiece or its preliminary drawing (fig. 3). Most subsequent scholars have agreed with this assessment.[14]

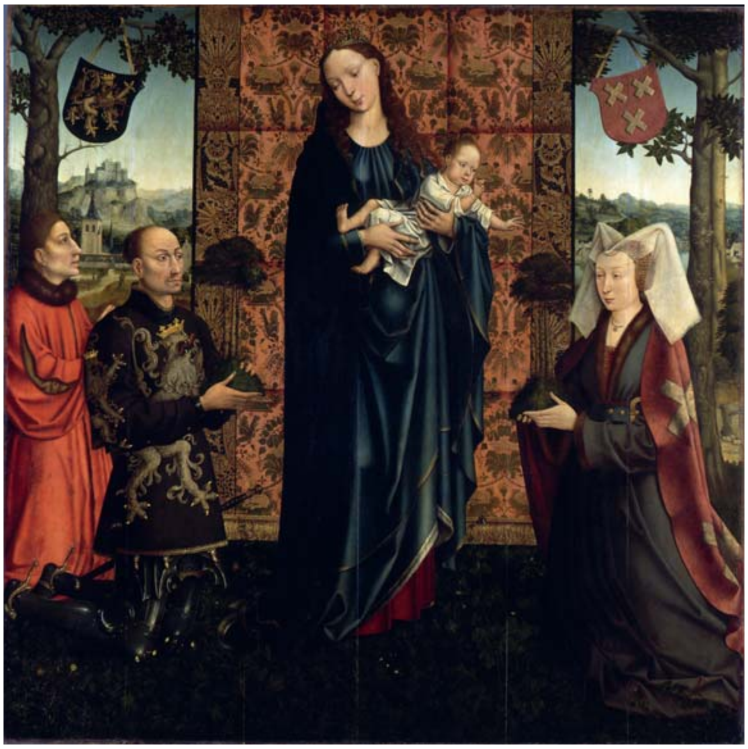
In 1998, Campbell noted that the boards of the wooden paneling in the background of the *Man Reading (St. Ivo?)* measured about the same width as those in the portrait



4. Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine, *Altarpiece of the Miracles of Christ*, 113.9 × 83.4 cm., Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, inv. 1247/3, detail of the central panel

of Isabella, and that the wooden grain was represented quite similarly in both. The next year, De Vos reasoned that if the original painter had wished to include the inscription, he would have left more room for it. De Vos further suggested that the wooden paneling may have reflected the duke's actual "chambre d'apparat", as represented in the dedicatory miniature of the *Chroniques de Hainaut*[15]. He wondered whether the Getty portrait could be by the same hand that painted the "stiff and soulless" Guigone de Salins of Van der Weyden's *Last Judgment* and whether the *Man Reading (St. Ivo?)* and the Getty portrait were once displayed at the Hôtel-Dieu at Beaune.

In 2004, L. Campbell and Y. Szafran, based largely on new technical discoveries, proposed several important conclusions. They had access to P. Klein's dendrochronological evaluation, which was only published later, in 2009, which revealed that one of the boards from the portrait of Isabella came from the same tree as planks used in four other paintings by Van der Weyden and his workshop: the *Madonna* and *St. Catherine* in Vienna[16] and the *Lamentation*[17] and *Man Reading (St. Ivo)* in London. Klein further determined that the youngest heartwood ring was formed in 1426, the earliest possible felling date was 1435, the earliest possible creation date was 1437, and a more probable date was from 1451 on.[18] Campbell and Szafran also published the infrared reflectogram of the portrait, which they characterized as



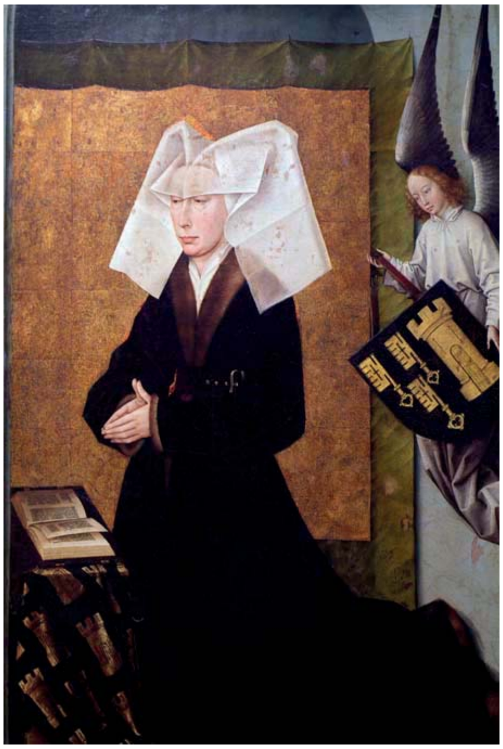
5. Goossen van der Weyden, *Donation of Kalmthout,* 153 × 153 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 526

probably by a left-handed artist and "unusually abundant and tentative" (fig. 7).[19] They further published an analysis of the pigments, which revealed that Isabella's clothes were completely repainted. Originally her gown was green, her belt white, and her collar and cuffs crimson. The original costume was painted, furthermore, in an entirely fifteenth-century technique.

Based on these new findings as well as stylistic analysis, Campbell and Szafran proposed that the Getty portrait once belonged to the collection of Isabella's great-granddaughter, Margaret of Austria, the Regent of the Netherlands from 1509 until her death in 1530, and is probably listed in the inventory of 1516 and certainly in that of 1523-1524. The earlier record simply cites the sitter's name, but the later one describes her clothes, which exactly match the original garments in the Getty portrait. For this reason, Campbell and Szafran suggest that sometime after 1524, the date of the second inventory, and before 1540, when Margaret's collection was dispersed, Isabella's clothes were repainted, possibly using as a model another portrait in the Regent's collection. Since the Getty portrait belonged to Isabella's descendent, Campbell and Szafran further postulated that it could well have been commissioned for the duchess herself. They also proposed that the inscription was added around 1600, together with that on the *Man Reading (St. Ivo?).*

In short, in 2004 Campbell and Szafran attributed to the first painter only the head, neck, necklace, headdress, and hands, and concluded that only the hands were his invention, since the rest was based largely on Van der Weyden's lost Batalha altarpiece. They dated the Getty panel in or after 1451 and attributed the portrait to one of Rogier's assistants, perhaps the same painter who produced the portrait of Jean de Froimont (see entry no. 247). Furthermore, they judged the abilities of this painter as a designer and a draughtsman as mediocre. Finally, they suggested the possibility that in 1629 the portrait of Isabella belonged to the collection of Alexandre d'Arenberg, prince de Chimay, who owned ninety-four portraits of the "Counts of Flanders and the House of Austria." [20]

In 2009, Campbell (Leuven) refined his earlier conclusions. He suggested that the artist who repainted the portrait of Isabella may have been one of Margaret's court painters, working sometime after the inventory of 1523-1524 and probably ca. 1530. He further proposed that this artist not only repainted the portrait to show a more magnificent costume but also was responsible for the upturned fingers of Isabella's left hand, since they overlap the repainted costume. He further theorized that the



6. Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, 129.8 × 73.7 cm., Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, detail of exterior showing Guigone de Salin

original arrangement of the hands would have resembled Van der Weyden's *Portrait of a Lady* in Washington (fig. 8).

D. Eichberger (2002) explored the painting in the context of Margaret of Austria's residence at Mechelen. Eichberger demonstrated that Margaret displayed her dynastic portraits, including that of Isabella of Portugal, in the *première chambre,* to which high-ranking visitors had access. In this way, this portrait served the dynastic interests of Margaret of Austria.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 7.1 cm. top, 36 cm. bottom × 46 cm. left side, 45.8 cm. right side (current support dimensions)

Painted Surface: 45.2 cm. left side, 45.5 cm. right side, and 36 cm. top and bottom (original)

Support

The support comprises two pieces of Baltic oak of Polish origin with a join on the left side through the background and the hands. The original join is not visible in the X-radiograph due to the predominant image of the long resinous grain of a backing panel most probably added at the time that the painting was thinned and cradled and edge strips attached on all sides (fig. 10). There is no record of this intervention, but it may have been undertaken to correct a split through the center of the image, 19.2 cm. from the left at the top and 19.8 cm. at the bottom. At the same time, the unpainted edges were removed from the sides and trimmed at the top and bottom so that the edge of unpainted wood is slightly deeper on the left side than on the right in each instance. A red seal on the reverse, inset into the cradle, is presumably transferred from the original support.

Frame

Not original.

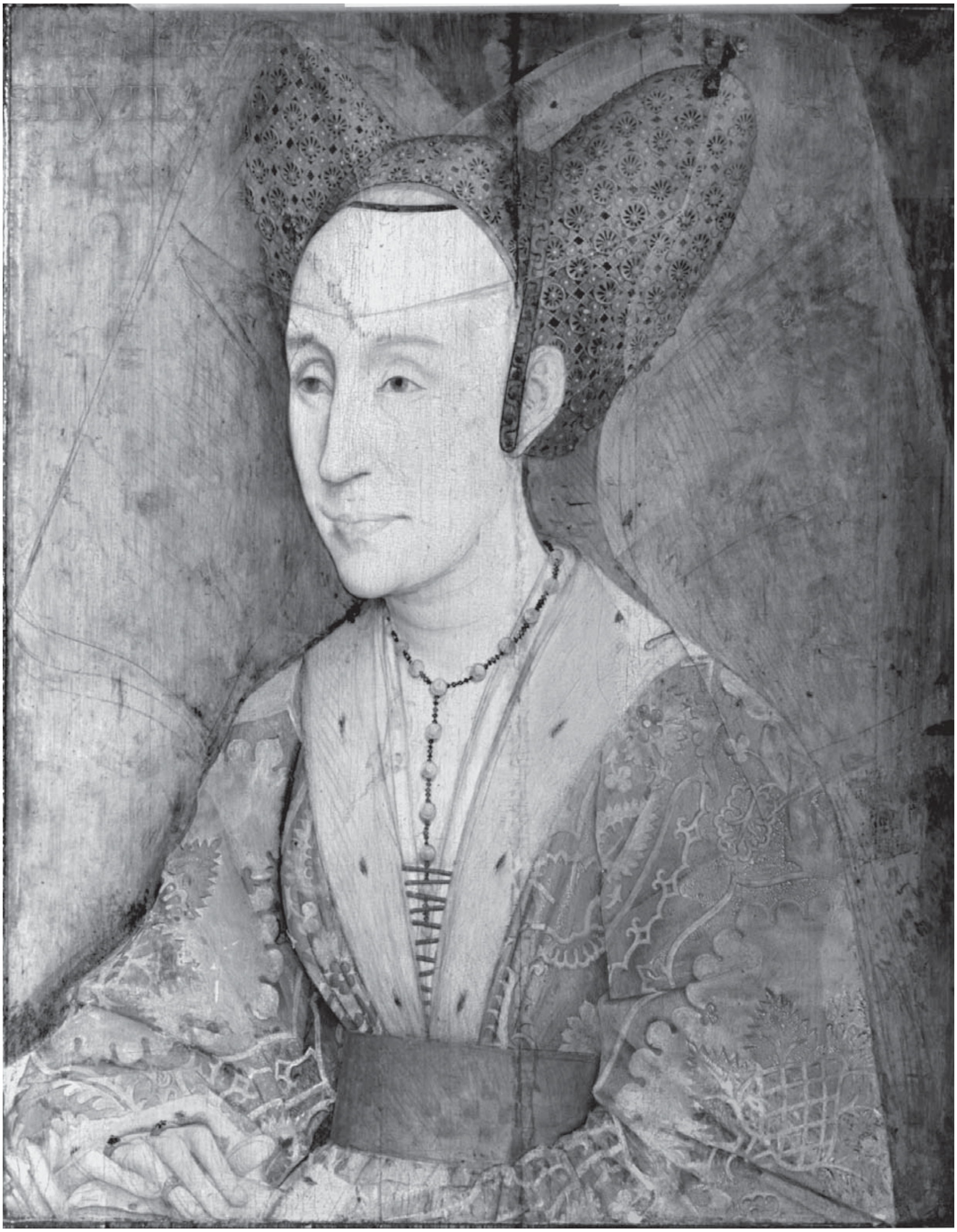
Marks

The red seal on the reverse has indistinct traces of a helmet and shield but the seal cannot be identified.

Ground

The smooth white ground has evidence of a barbe at the top, right and bottom (fig. 10). Analysis finds calcium carbonate in glue. A thin imprimatura of lead white lies over the ground. The striated brushstrokes of the imprimatura can be seen between the sitter's mouth and nose at the left, in the surface (fig. 11) and on the X-radiograph.

7.



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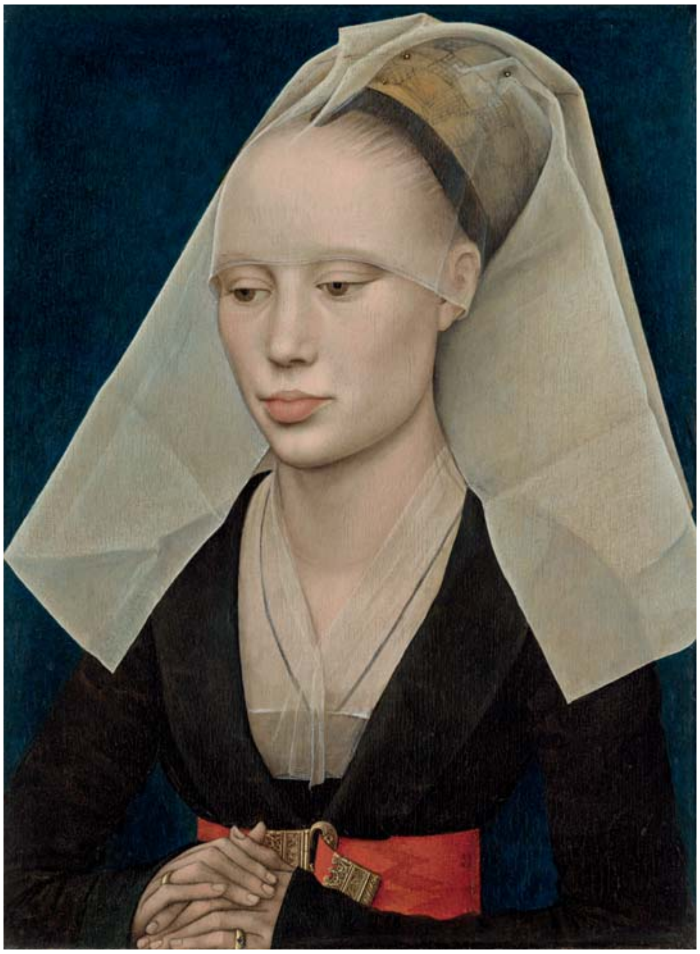


UNDERLYING DRAWING

A rather stiff drawing seemingly made with a dry material is visible with IRR (fig. 7). Contour lines barely mark the features – eyes, ear, meeting of the lips, chin, and wrinkles in the neck – but are much more abundant in describing the sitter's attire, where the artist often drew several lines to indicate a single contour. Somewhat wooden hatching from left to right indicates shading both within the attire and the surround, and suggests the possibility of a left-handed artist. There is also faint hatching in the right temple and under the chin and left eyebrow. The painter slightly shifted the position of the fingers, as can be seen by comparison to the underdrawing. The underdrawing is not visible to the unaided eye.

PAINT LAYER

The paint is thin and very smooth throughout, and even in the white and yellow highlights does not protrude from the surface in the usual way. Flesh tones are modeled with shadows and highlights that are smoothly blended into the middle tone. The pigments detected – lead white, vermilion, earth colors, lead-tin yellow, azurite, and calcium – are entirely consistent with fifteenth-century practice.

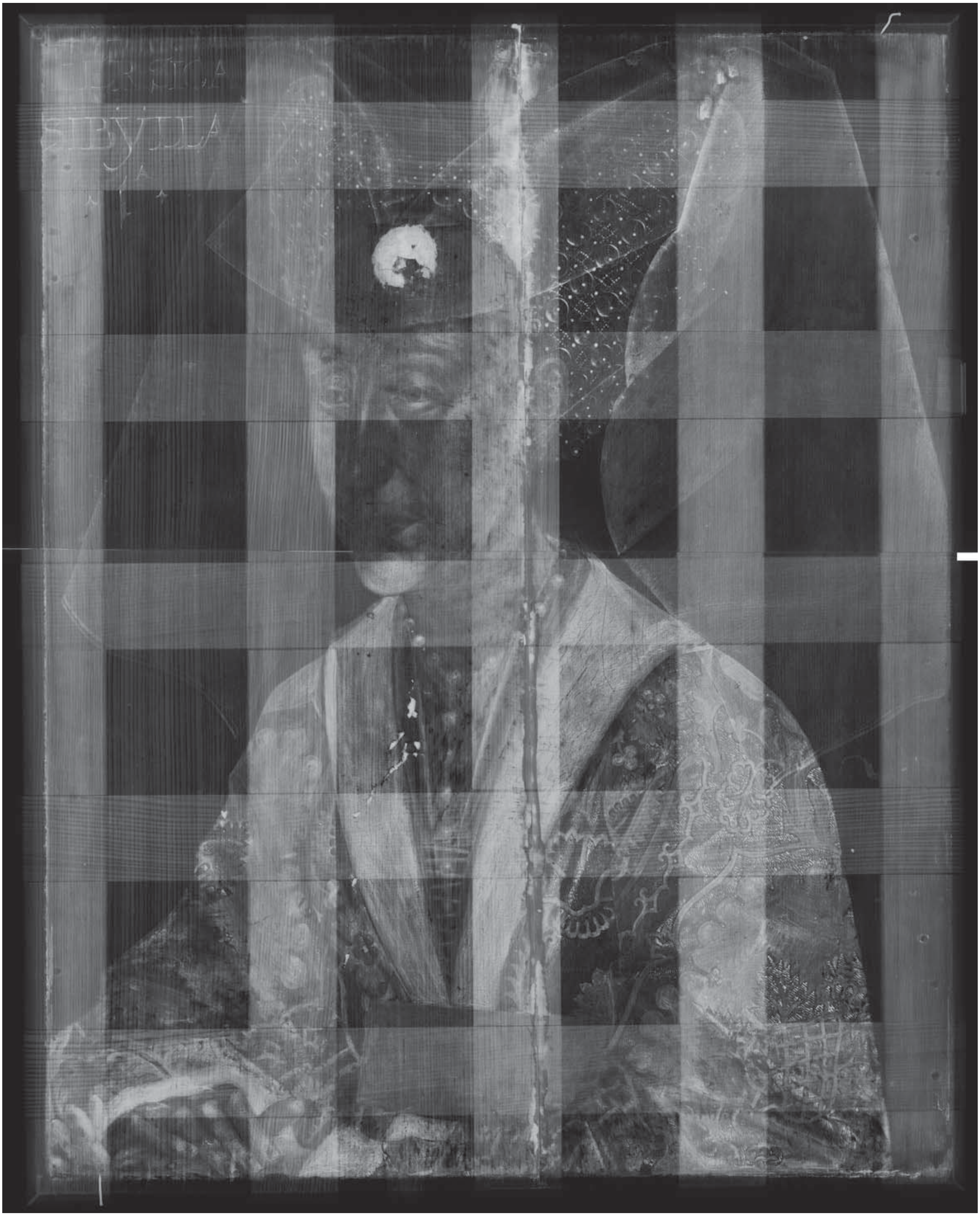
The presence of entirely different apparel can be detected beneath what is currently seen. Microphotographs show a bright green beneath the red damask (fig.12), red below the white ermine collar, and white under the green belt. Cross-sections confirm the presence of the lower layers. The materials used for the repainted apparel are consistent with those of fifteenth-century practice, but it would be abnormal then to layer red beneath white or green beneath red. The upturned fingers in the lower left corner are added over the repainted costume and are thus part of the same campaign of alteration. In the original arrangement the fingers of the left hand were clasped more tightly around the right hand.

The painting is in fair condition, although the right background and the area between the "horns" of the hat were repainted by Suhr in 1952-1953. The earlier alteration of the costume and hands should be taken into account when assessing the portrait.

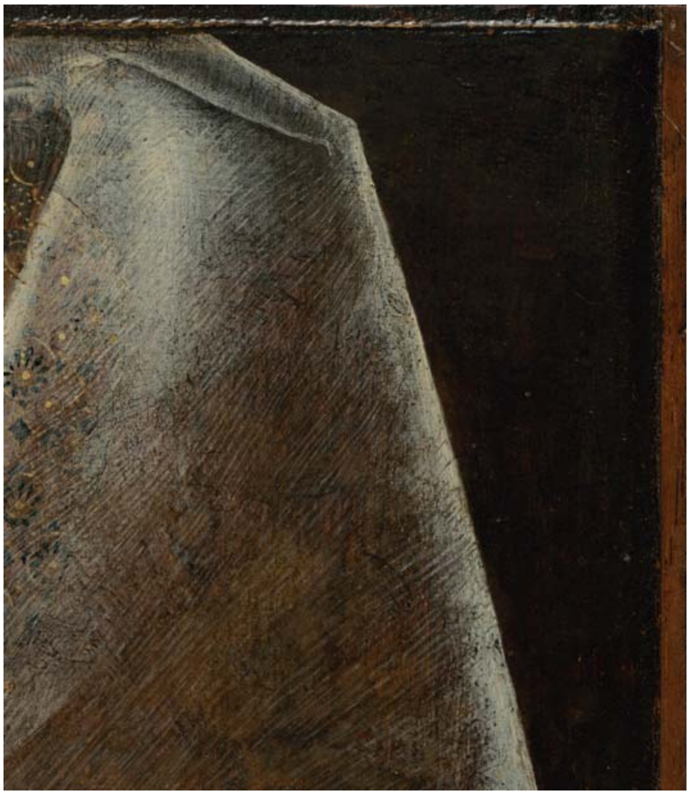
7. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, infrared reflectogram

8. Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of a Lady*, 37 × 27 cm., Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1937.1.44

9.



10.



9. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, X-radiograph

10. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal,* barbe at top right, above headveil

5. Pictorial Analysis

This panel shows a half-length portrait of a middle-aged woman turned three-quarters to the left. She has a long, narrow, oval face, a long nose that turns down at its tip, a fashionably high forehead, a protruding lower lip, and eyes that lie on the surface of the face. The proper right corner of her mouth rises slightly to suggest a smile. She wears a gold and red brocade dress with an ermine-trimmed collar and cuffs, a green belt, and a strand of pearls that circles her neck and then falls in a single line beneath her transparent collar and laced bodice. A transparent veil, whose folds are still visible, covers her hennin, which is adorned with a framework of strips that define squares that surround small wheels, perhaps composed of silver gilt. At the center of each wheel and at the four points that define the diagonals of the surrounding squares are tiny gilt bosses. Three rings adorn her right hand, which rests on her upturned left hand in the lower left corner of the panel. The background consists of a wood paneled wall; the inscription is squeezed into the upper left corner of the panel.

Isabella was born in 1397, the daughter of John I, king of Portugal, and Philippa of Lancaster. In 1430, at the age of thirty-two, she became the third wife of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. She bore him the long-awaited male heir, the future duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and she also served as an able negotiator with both France and Portugal. She was instrumental in the Treaty of Arras (1435) and in gaining the freedom of Charles d'Orléans (1440) and René d'Anjou (1455). After Isabella and Philip argued bitterly over political matters in 1457, she retired to La Motte-au-Blois, near Lille, and focused on charitable activities, including endowing several Carthusian institutions, since this order was closely identified with the Burgundian state. She died in 1471.[21]

6. Comparative Material

- Dominges António de Sequeria, drawing after Rogier van der Weyden, *Batalha Altarpiece*, 112 × 200 mm., 1808, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 3125, fol. 46 (fig. 3)
- Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine, *Altarpiece of the Miracles of Christ*, 113.9 × 83.4 cm., Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, inv. 1247/3 (fig. 4)
- Goossen van der Weyden, *Donation of Kalmthout*, 153 × 153 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 526 (fig. 5)

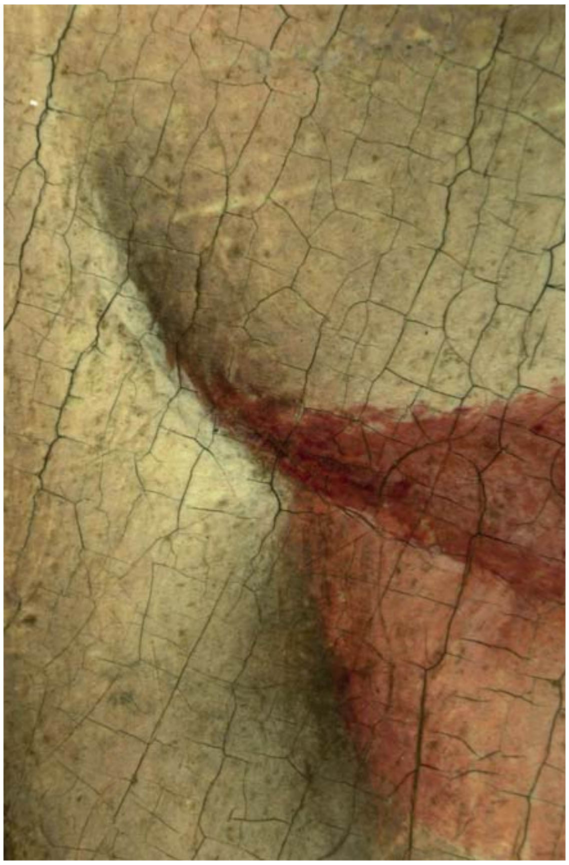
7. Comments

Three different artists were responsible for the portrait of Isabella as it appears today. Initially painted in the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, probably after a model by the master in or after 1451, the portrait is identifiable by the colors of its original costume as one listed in an entry in the inventory, dated 1523-1524, of the art collection of Margaret of Austria. The portrait was later heavily repainted – including Isabella's costume and upturned fingers – probably soon after this inventory, as Campbell and Szafran (2004) have demonstrated. A third painter, working around the turn of the seventeenth century, later added the inscription.

If portraits of Philip the Good are remarkably consistent in their physiognomy and he is therefore easy to identify, those of his third wife show considerable variety and for this reason make a secure identification difficult. As Lemaire and Henry (1991) note, the portrayal of Isabella in the Getty Museum scarcely resembles other portraits of Isabella such as those in Dijon[22] and New York.[23] The sitter in the Getty portrait was described as a wife of Philip the Good as early as 1883 and Stein's identification of her as Isabella of Portugal in 1926 was embraced by later scholars in part because she resembles the presumed portrait of Isabella in the Melbourne triptych and in part because the biographical facts of her life and the description of such a portrait in surviving archives strengthen this identification. Isabella was the wife of Philip the Good when the Getty painting was produced and her original costume perfectly matches the description of her portrait in her granddaughter's inventory.

An association between Isabella and the sibyls may well have existed before the inscription was added to the Getty portrait ca. 1600.[24] Jan van Eyck may have adopted the features of the duchess for the sibyl on the top right of the exterior of the *Ghent Altarpiece*,[25] which was completed in 1432. W. Stein (1926) was the first to make this identification, based on a lost drawing of Isabella by Jan van Eyck, and later scholars have supported this conclusion.[26] Stein suggested that Isabella was associated with the sibyl as an allusion to the fulfillment of the long-desired birth of an heir to Philip the Good. P.H. Jolly (1987) proposed that Isabella's name may have also suggested a connection to a sibyl.

11.



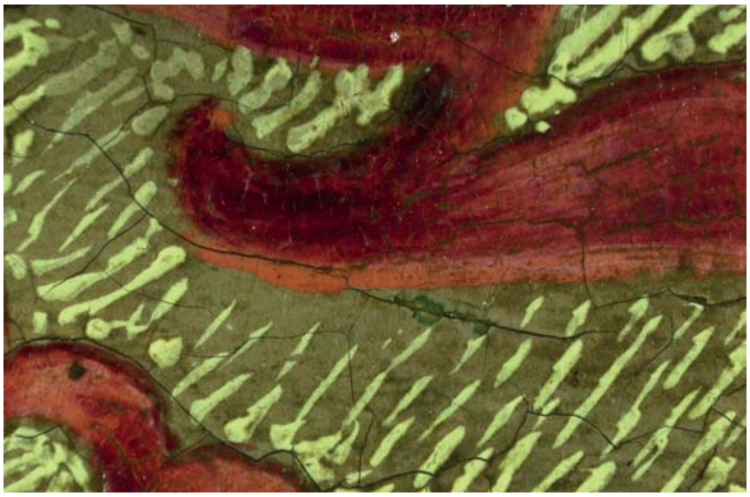
11. Rogier van der Weyden workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, striations in priming layer, visible through paint

8. Documents and Literary Sources

- Inventory of Margaret of Austria at Mechelen, 1516, which may refer to the portrait of Isabella in the Getty Museum: "Ung autre tableaul de Madame Ysabeaul de Portugal, sans couverte, ne feulletz"[27]

- Inventory of Margaret of Austria, 1523-1524, which almost certainly refers to the portrait and describes its original costume: "Item, ung aultre tableau de la portraiture de feue Madame Ysabeau de Portugal, habillé d'une robbe de satin verd, doublé de damas cramoisy, sainte d'une large saincture blanche."[28]

12.



12. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, photomicrograph showing green paint in a crack beneath red damask

9. Bibliography

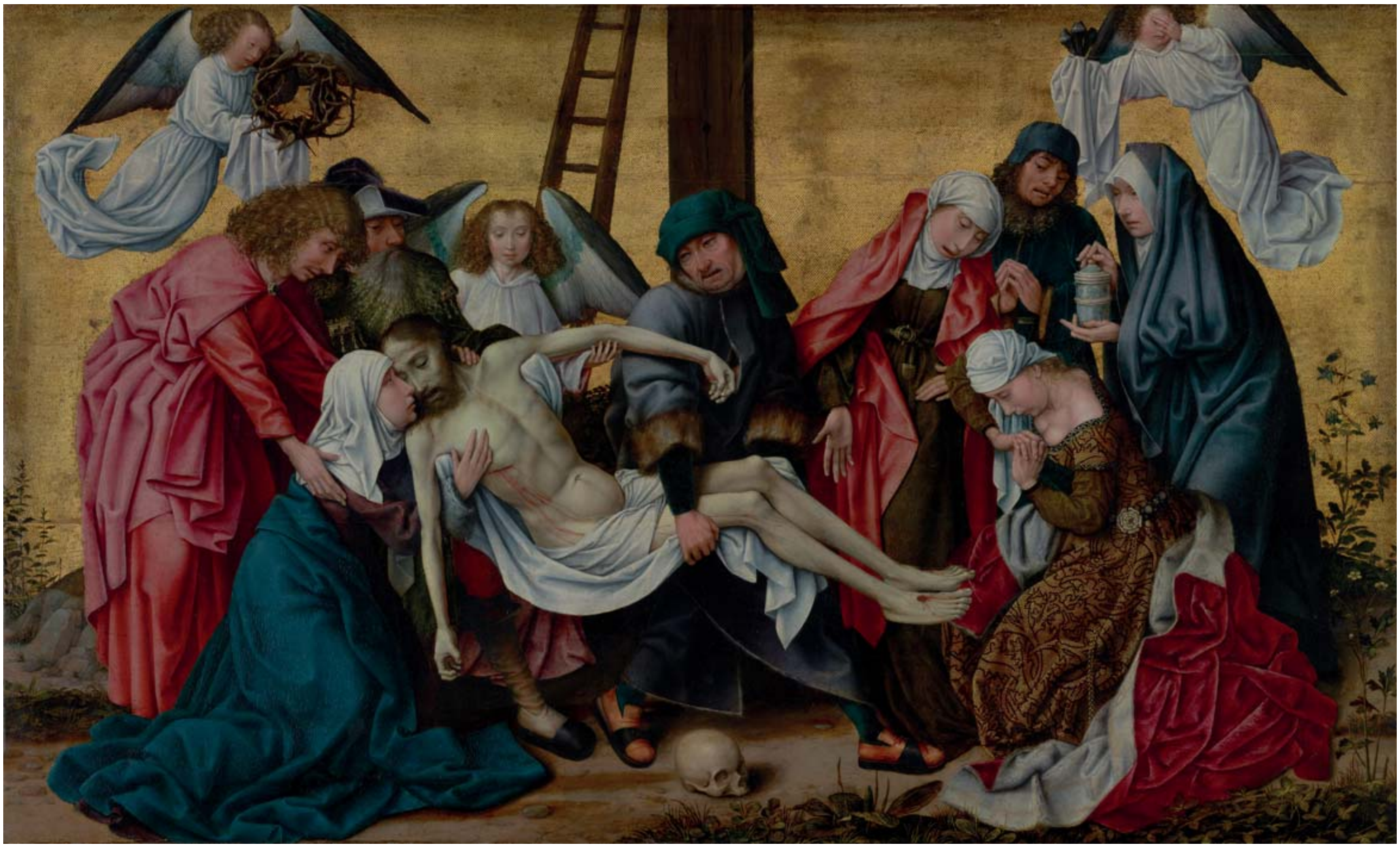
1847: Pinchart, p. 378.
1883: *Mouvement des Arts. Collection Nieuwenhuys*, p. 150.
1883: *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes* (sale cat.), Nieuwenhuys, Brussels, p. 11, no. 4.
1885: Emmonier, p. 158.
1899: Friedländer, p. 7.
1900: Hymans, p. 246.
1908: Laban, p. 58, 62.
1913: Maeterlinck, p. 58.
1913: Winkler, p. 53-54, 107, 174.
1916: Friedländer, p. 175.
1918: Reinach, 4, p. 243.
1921: Devigne, p. 344 n. 1.
1921: Friedländer, p. 24.
1922: De Ricci and Conway, p. 166.
1923: Burger, p. 70.
1924: Friedländer, II, p. 41, 95, no. 13.
1925: Reinach, p. 112.
1926: Stein, p. 10-12.
1927: Demonts, p. 262.
1927: Devigne, p. 72-74.
1927a: *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (exhib. cat), London, p. 14, no. 29.
1927b: *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. Burlington House. A Memorial Volume* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 15, no. 29.
1927-1928: Schneider, p. 40.
1928: Jamot, p. 276-277.
1929: *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 40, no. 7.
1930: Destrée, p. 181.
1935: Reis Santos, p. 135-137.
1935: Troche, p. 32.
1936: *Catalogue of the twentieth anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (exhib. cat.), Cleveland, p. 86, no. 212.
1936: Kerber, p. 34-41, 105.
1936: Sipple, p. 92.
1938: Hulin De Loo, cols. 240-241.
1939: *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300-1800* (exhib. cat.), New York, p. 201, no. 410.
1939: Comstock, p. 318.
1939: *Revised and Enlarged Complete Catalogue of the Paintings and Sculptures – Masterpieces of Art. The Official Souvenir Guide and Picture Book New York World's Fair*, p. 10, pl. 37.
1940: Van Puyvelde, p. 26-27.
1941: Wescher, p. 196.
1944: Michel, p. 78.
1948: Musper, p. 25, 59.
1951: Beenken, p. 74-75.
1953: Cortez, p. 41-42.
1953: Dos Santos, p. 35.
1953: Panofsky, I, p. 293-294.
1964: Ruival, p. 92-95, 103-105.
1964: *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-van der Weyden 1464-1964* (exhib. cat.), Tournai, p. 70, no. 26.
1966: Feder, p. 429.
1967: Bauch, p. 89-90.
1967: Friedländer, II, p. 26, 62, no. 13, pl. 22.
1969: *Anonieme Vlaamse primitieven* (exhib. cat.), Bruges, p. 239-240.
1969: Sonkes, p. 111-112, 139.
1971: Davies, p. 178.
1971: Hoff and Davies, p. 4, 18, no. 10.
1971: Philip, p. 181.
1971: Sterling, p. 18, n. 67.
1972: Davies, p. 230-231.
1972: Ruival, p. 112-114, 116.
1973: Hoffman, p. 281, n. 79.
1978a: Fredericksen, p. 72.
1978b: Fredericksen, p. 72.
1979: De Vos, p. 214.

1979: Campbell, p. 59, 151-152, no. 14.
1979: Strachwitz, p. 3148-3149.
1980a: Fredericksen, p. 60.
1980b: Fredericksen, cat. no. 23, n.p.
1980: Smith, p. 91.
1981: Ferguson O'meara, p. 99-101.
1981: Janssens De Bisthoven, Baes-Dondeyne and De Vos, p. 87, 93.
1982: De Vos, p. 214.
1982: Friedman, p. 11, 12, n. 9.
1982: Jolly, p. 29, n. 8.
1983: Janssens De Bisthoven, p. 87, 93.
1985: Harbison, p. 94.
1985: Prevenier and Blockmans, p. 146-147.
1986: Comblen-Sonkes, 1, p. 8, 13.
1987: Delenda, p. 10-11, 95.
1987: Dixon, p. 187-188.
1987: Jolly, p. 243-244, 251, n. 19.
1989: Weightman, p. 50.
1991: De Lancastre, p. 67.
1991: *Isabelle de Portugal. Duchesse de Bourgogne, 1397-1471* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, p. 142, 148-49, no. 39.
1994: De Vos, p. 168, n. 1.
1994a: Pächt, p. 69-70.
1994: Veronee-Verhaegen, p. 221, 227.
1996: Campbell, p. 123.
1997: Franke, p. 34-35, 142, n. 12.
1997: Jaffé, p. 135.
1998: Campbell, p. 434, 437-439.
1998: Sommé, cover and p. 42.
1999a: Châtelet, p. 220-221.
1999: De Vos, p. 111, 372, 374, no. B14.
1999: Kemperdick, p. 58.
2000: Dijkstra, p. 356.
2000: Kuijer, p. 121.
2000: Veronee-Verhaegen, p. 221, 227.
2001: Buck, p. 270-271.
2001: Taylor, p. XXI.
2002: Eichberger, p. 157.
2004: Berkemeier-Favre, p. 18, Abb. 9.
2004: Campbell and Szafran, p. 148-157.
2005: Campbell, p. 108.
2009: Bonaventura, p. 136, 137.
2009: *Rogier van der Weyden 1400-1464. Master of Passions* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, p. 297-298.
2009: Kemperdick and Sander, p. 159.
2009: Klein, p. 166.
2009: *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (exhib cat.), Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, p. 364-367.
2009: Scott, p. 138.
2010: Sommé, p. 164, pl. VII.
2013-2014: *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, p. 97, 108.

Notes

1. L. Campbell and Y. Szafran, 2004, p. 157, n. 41; A. Pinchart, 1847, p. 378: "Nonante-quattre pièces de painctures, représentant les comptes de Flandres et la maison d'Austrice."
2. *Mouvement des Arts. Collection Nieuwenhuys*, 1883, p. 150; *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes* (sale cat.), Brussels, 1883, p. 11, no. 4.
3. M. Davies, 1972, p. 230, suggests that this provenance is incorrect and that Reinach confused this painting with lot no. 6 of the Nieuwenhuys Sale of 1883.
4. L. Emmonier, 1885, p. 158.
5. *Mouvement des Arts. Collection Nieuwenhuys*, 1883, p. 150.
6. The following attribute the painting to Rogier: M.J. Friedländer, 1899, p. 7; F. Laban, 1908, p. 58; F. Winkler, 1913, p. 174; M.J. Friedländer, 1916, p. 175; M.J. Friedländer, 1924, II, p. 41, 95; S. De Ricci and M. Conway, 1922, p. 166; W. Burger, 1923, p. 70; M.J. Friedländer, 1924, p. 95 and 41; M. Devigne, 1927, p. 72; H. Schneider, 1927-1928, p. 40; *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927a, p. 14; *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927b, p. 15; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives* (exhib. cat.), New York, 1929, p. 40; J. Destrée, 1930, p. 181; E. Troche, 1935, p. 32; E. Sipple, 1936, p. 92; *Catalogue of a Century of progress exhibition of painting and sculpture* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 1934, p. 86; O. Kerber, 1936, p. 34; G. Hulin De Loo, 1938, cols. 235, 240-241; H. Comstock, 1939, p. 318; E. Michel, 1944, p. 78; T. Musper, 1948, p. 25; H. Beenken, 1951, p. 75; K. Bauch, 1967, p. 89; M.J. Friedländer, 1967, II, p. 26, 62, no. 13, pl. 22.; B. Fredericksen, 1978a, p. 72; B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72; B. Fredericksen, 1980a, cat. no. 23, n.p.; C. Ferguson O'Meara, 1981, p. 99; P.H. Jolly, 1982, p. 244; N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 1994, p. 227. H. Hymans, 1900, p. 246, attributed the painting to the Master of Flemalle; L. Maeterlinck agreed, 1913, p. 58. E. Panofsky, 1953, I, p. 293-294, writes of "a problem of authorship," but implies an attribution to Rogier. A. Strachwitz, 1979, p. 3148-3149, views it as a late copy. N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 2000, p. 221, places a question mark after her attribution of the painting to Rogier. D. Jaffé, 1997, terms it "after" Rogier van der Weyden.

7. H. Hymans, 1900, p. 246; W. Stein, 1926, p. 10-13. Those agreeing with the identification of the sitter as Isabella of Portugal: L. Maeterlinck, 1913, p. 58; M. Devigne, 1927, p. 72; J. Destrée, 1930, p. 181; E. Sipple, 1936, p. 92 (maybe); H. Comstock, 1939, p. 318 ("plausible"); E. Michel, 1944, p. 78; H. Beenken, 1951, p. 75; E. Panofsky, 1953, I, p. 293; Bauch, 1967, p. 89; U. Hoff and M. Davies, 1971, p. 4, 18; M. Davies, 1971, p. 178 ("probably"); B. Fredericksen, 1978a, p. 72; B. Fredericksen, 1980a, cat. no. 23, n.p.; L. Campbell, 1979, p. 151; A. Smith, 1980, p. 91; C. Ferguson O'Meara, 1981, p. 99; P.H. Jolly, 1982, p. 244; L. Dixon, 1987, p. 188; O. Pächt, 1994a, p. 69 (probably); Veronee-Verhaegen, 1994, p. 227; S. Kemperdick, 1999, p. 58. *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne, 1397-1471* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1991, p. 149, casts doubt on this identification. M.J. Ruival, 1963, p. 105, proposes that the Getty portrait represents Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France. S. De Ricci and M. Conway, 1922, p. 166, identify the sitter as Michelle de France, the duke's first wife. This was followed by S. Reinach, 1925, p. 112; P. Jamot, 1928, p. 277.
8. E. Panofsky, 1953, 1, p. 293-294. For this painting, see D. De Vos, 1999, B13.
9. W. Stein, 1926, p. 10-13; L. Reis Santos, 1935, p. 135-137; E. Michel, 1944, p. 77-78; A. Janssens De Bisthoven, 1981, p. 93; A. Janssens De Bisthoven, 1983, p. 93; M. Comblen-Sonkes, 1987, p. 7-12; Brussels, 1991.
10. P. Jamot, 1928, p. 277.
11. G. Hulin De Loo, 1938, p. 240-41 (ca. 1445-1446); O. Kerber, 1936, p. 35 (early); T. Musper, 1948, p. 59 (ca. 1452); H. Beenken, 1951, p. 75 (not early); E. Panofsky, 1953, I, p. 293 (ca. 1445); O. Pächt, 1994a, p. 69 (1440s); B. Fredericksen, 1980a, cat. no. 23, n. p. (ca. 1445); S. Kemperdick, 1999, p. 58 (before 1451); A. Châtelet, 1999a, p. 220-221 (workshop replica, ca. 1455); D. De Vos, 1999, p. 374 (1445-1450).
12. Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Woman*, 37 × 22.5 cm., Bruges, Memlingmuseum-Sint-Janshospitaal, inv. no. O.SJO174.I.
13. Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of a Man (Tymotheos)*, 33.3 × 18.9 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG290.
14. A. Smith, 1980, p. 91; O. Delenda, 1987, p. 10, 95; L. Dixon, 1987, p. 187; *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne, 1397-1471* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1991, p. 142. 148; O. Pächt, 1994a, p. 70; M. Sommé, 1998, p. 42; S. Kemperdick, 1999, p. 58, dates the portrait ca. 1500; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 374.
15. Rogier van der Weyden, *Jean Wauquelin (?) presenting the Chroniques de Hainaut to Philip the Good*, in Jacques de Guise, *Chronique de Hainaut*, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Ms. 9242, fol. I.
16. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Madonna* and *St. Catherine*, 18.9 × 12.1 cm., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. nos. 951, 955.
17. Rogier van der Weyden, workshop, *Lamentation*, 35.5 × 45 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG6265.
18. S. Kemperdick and J. Sander, 2009a, p. 159, date the lost model "before 1451" and, based on Klein's findings, date the Getty panel 1426/1451.
19. L. Campbell and Y. Szafran, 2004, p. 153.
20. L. Campbell and Y. Szafran, 2004, p. 157, n. 41; *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden* (exhib. cat.), Berlin, 2009, p. 364, agrees with these findings except for the date of the repainting, which is judged to be fifteenth century. *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, 2013-2014, p. 107-108, terms it a workshop production, ca. 1450 with later additions, ca. 1500, apparently on the basis of these findings.
   For this portrait, see the entry no. 247 on the portrait by Petrus Christus.
21. For Isabella as a patron of the arts, see C. Willard, 1996, p. 306-320.
   J.B. Friedman, 1982, argues that the duchess dresses more simply beginning around the year 1456. For Isabella, see W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, 1985, p. 146; J.B. Friedman, 1982; L. Campbell and Y. Szafran, 2004, p. 150; *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne, 1397-1471* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1991.
22. After Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, 15th century, 30 × 22 cm., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. D 1951-1-P.
23. After Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, 15th century, 34.6 × 27 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950, inv. no. 50.145.15.
24. This was suggested to us by Bart Fransen in an oral communication, July 2012.
25. Jan van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece*, 1432, 375 × 520 cm., Ghent, Saint Bavo Cathedral.
26. W. Stein, 1926, p. 12. For later scholars, see, among others, M. Comblen-Sonkes, 1986, p. 9; P.H. Jolly, 1987, p. 237-253; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 374.
27. J. Finot, 1895, 8, p. 210.
28. H.V. Michelant, 1871, p. 69; L. Campell and Y. Szafran, 2004, p. 154-155.



Follower of Rogier van der Weyden

Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. L.79.PB.7

Group: Rogier van der Weyden
No. Corpus: 253

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1888: Vienna, Josef Karl Ritter von Klinkosch
2 March 1889: Vienna, Estate of Josef Karl Ritter von Klinkosch Sale, Miethke, lot no. 16
1889-1906: Vienna, Dr. Alois Spitzer
24 January 1906: Vienna, Estate of Dr. Alois Spitzer Sale, Wawra, lot no. 142
Date unknown: Vienna, Ehrendorfer
1978: London, Sale of Private Collection, Sotheby's Sale, 13 December 1978, lot no. 33
1978: London, David Carritt, Ltd. and P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd.
1979: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Material History

1982: David Bull, condition and treatment report (cleaned, repaired split, retouched, revarnished)
2003: Elizabeth Mention, consolidated flaking paint

Exhibitions

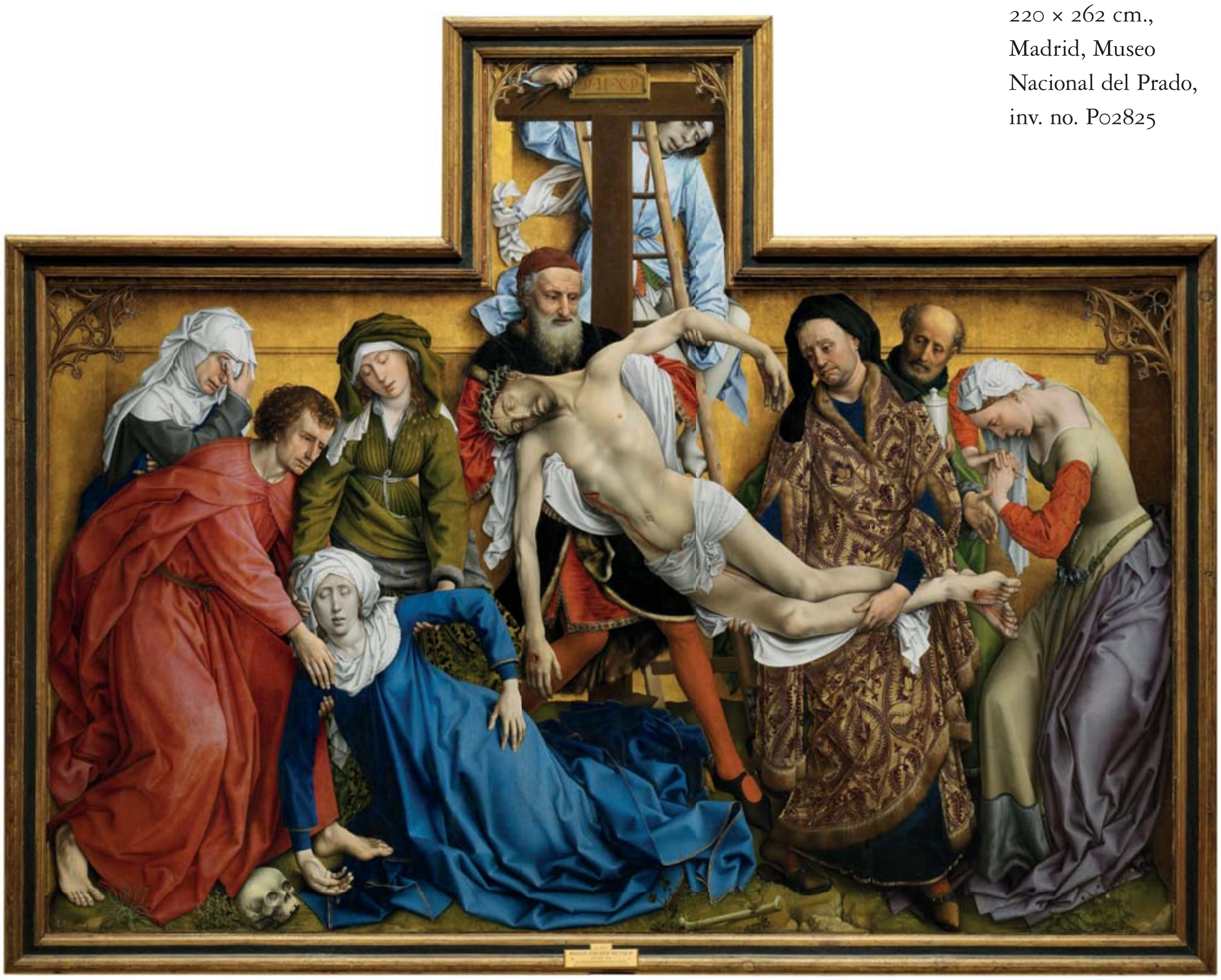
None

1. Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre,* 58.9 × 97.4 cm., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. L.79.PB.7

3. History of the Research

The first discussion of this painting appeared in an auction catalogue of 1889, which assigned the panel to Dirk Bouts, an attribution maintained by T. von Frimmel (1914), who viewed it as a copy after a lost painting by Rogier van der Weyden that F. Winkler had reconstructed the year before (fig. 1).[1] M.J. Friedländer (1929) agreed that it was based on a composition by Van der Weyden that showed figures similar to the panel now in Madrid, plus three angels (fig. 2). Friedländer listed three other versions of the composition, noting that the angels and the dotted ground in the Getty panel were similar to those in a drawing in the Louvre whose format suggested that Van der Weyden's original painting conformed to a "U" shape (fig. 3). E. Michel (1934) and a Sotheby's sale catalogue (1978) also termed the Getty panel a copy after Rogier van der Weyden.[2]

Once the painting entered the Getty museum in 1979, it attracted more attention. In one publication B. Fredericksen (1980a) attributed it to a North Netherlandish

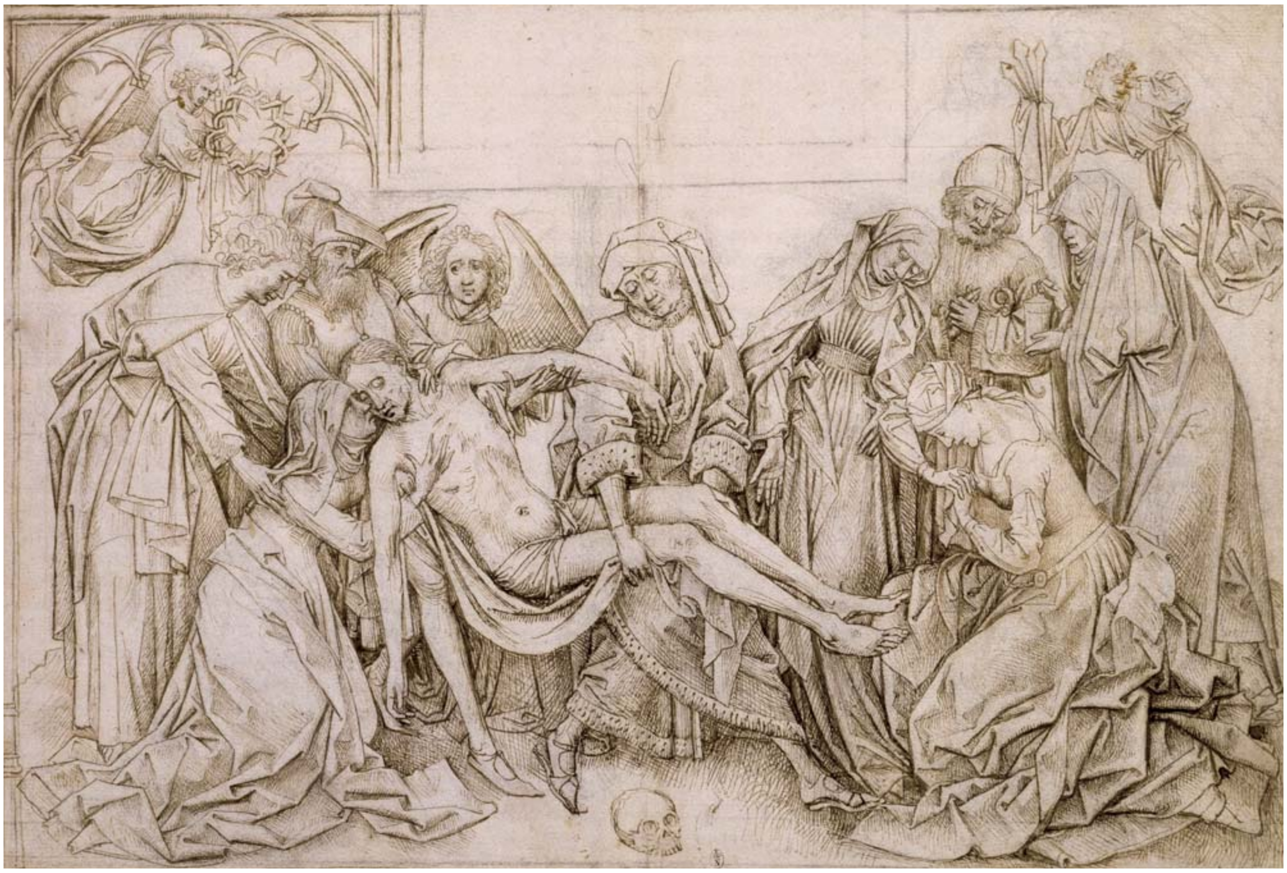


2. Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross,* 220 × 262 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02825

artist of 1480-1490. In another of the same year (1980b) he judged it an early work, ca. 1470, of the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altar, who was active in Germany from 1470 to 1500, but was strongly influenced by Rogier van der Weyden. A. Smith (1980) supported this second attribution.

The next year Fredericksen (1981) published an extensive study of the painting. He noted its importance for understanding the lost work by Rogier van der Weyden and the many versions of it that were produced over the course of more than a century. Fredericksen observed that the Getty panel represents a rarely depicted moment, which combines traditional elements of both a Deposition and a Carrying Christ to the Tomb. In this, he followed N. Verhaegen (1962) who had also noted that in the Louvre drawing the Virgin seems to embrace a departing Christ, whereas Mary Magdalen appears to halt the movement.[3] Fredericksen noted that this procession-like character is one of the key factors that distinguishes this composition from Van der Weyden's panel in the Prado (fig. 2).

Fredericksen concluded that the large number of copies of Van der Weyden's lost painting suggested that it was originally displayed in a public setting. He further argued that this work was produced in mid-fifteenth-century Brussels and is best reflected in the drawing in Paris (fig. 3) and in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (the latter showing only Mary Magdalen and a female mourner). Fredericksen observed



3. After Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Carried to his Tomb,* 240 × 357 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 20.666

that the Getty panel deviates from the Louvre drawing by showing a cross, ladder, and plants scattered across the foreground, a brocade pattern for the Magdalen's dress, a flower adorning her belt, and an ornamental ring horizontally bisecting her ointment jar. He further concluded that the Getty painting was the ultimate source for most of the later versions.

Fredericksen dated the Getty painting sometime between 1490 and 1500, in part due to the shoe furthest to the left of the skull, which he noted showed a pointed toe in the x-radiograph. He also summarized its style, noting that its figures are shorter, stockier, and less angular than those by Van der Weyden, that their heads and feet are larger in proportion to their bodies, and that they wear different shoes, more rounded and heavier. He concluded that the artist who painted the Getty panel was working outside Brussels.

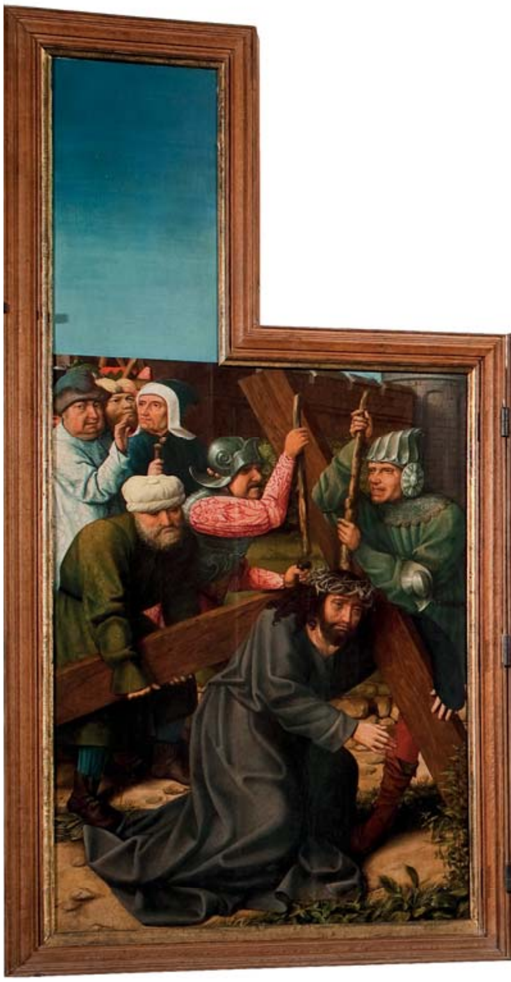
After first considering that the artist might be from the North Netherlands, Fredericksen concluded that he was Flemish, either the Master of Frankfurt, the young Jan Joest (c. 1450/1460 - 1519), or someone from the workshop of the Master of Frankfurt who knew Joest's work. In part Fredericksen based his conclusions on the then unpublished work of S.H. Goddard (1984) that linked the Magdalen's brocade pattern to paintings produced in the workshop of the Master of Frankfurt (see below). Most subsequent scholars have supported an attribution to the Master of Frankfurt or his workshop.[4]

In 1984 Goddard suggested that the Getty panel was probably by the Watervliet Painter (fig. 4), whom he believed was a member of the Master of Frankfurt's workshop.

He dated the Getty painting ca. 1515, praised its "high quality," and termed it the "most faithful" of all the painted versions of Van der Weyden's lost composition. In an article of 1985, Goddard identified the brocade pattern in the Getty panel as the most popular one used in the Master of Frankfurt's workshop. Although he noted that in the Getty example the cloth is individualized through both stippling and thick high-relief parallel lines to suggest its gold threads, Goddard concluded that the brocade pattern had been mechanically transferred.

Moving in a different direction, C. Weightman (1989) proposed that the kneeling Magdalen in the Getty panel should be identified as Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy. She pointed to the saint's belt, which is adorned with a white rose and three white flowers, which she identified as marguerites, and to the Magdalen's facial features, which, for Weightman, were characteristic of Margaret's portraits.[5] During the Wars of the Roses, the duchess was sympathetic towards the house of York, whose symbol was the white rose.

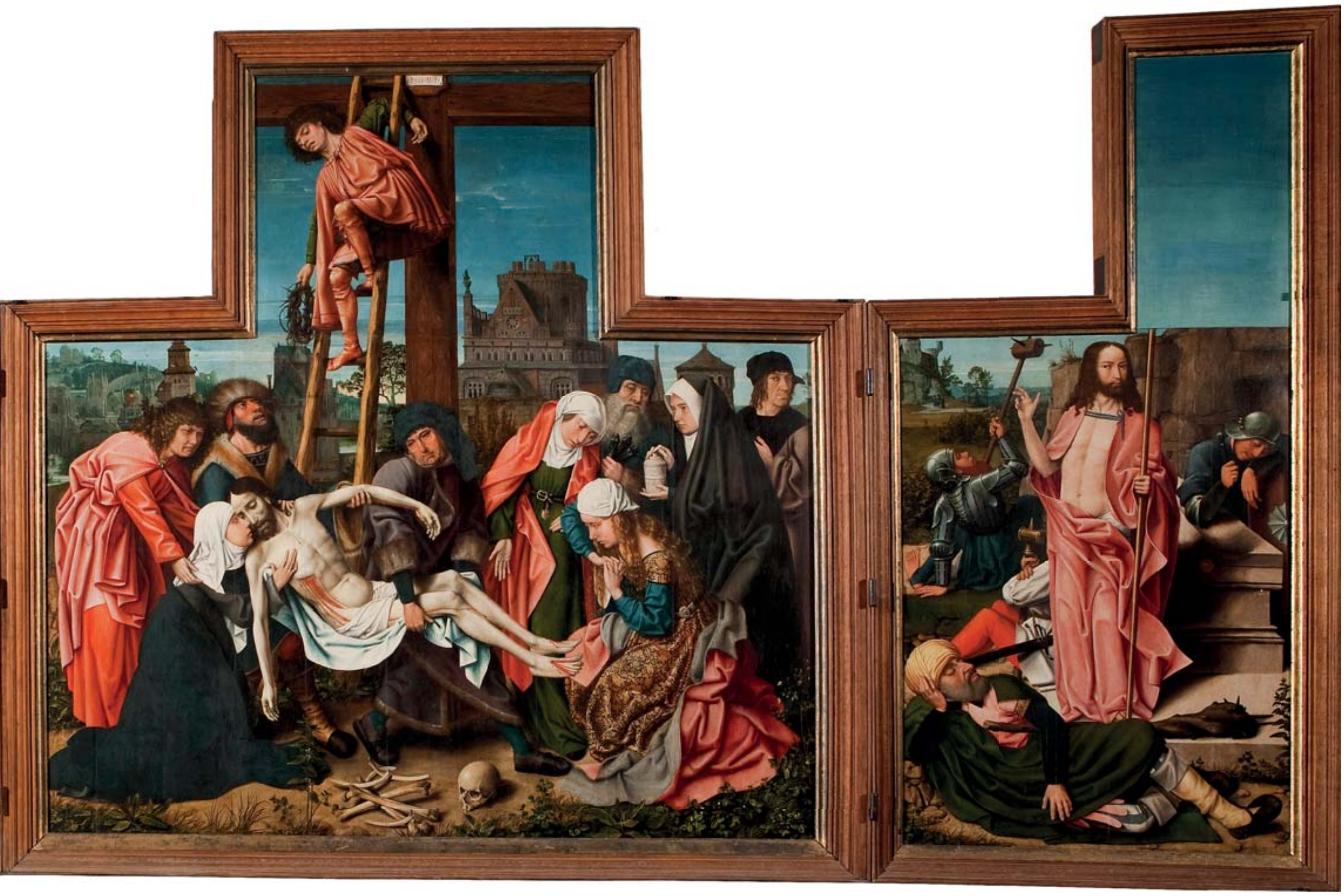
Weightman's ideas were taken up by H. Van Miegroet (1992), who linked Margaret's portrayal as the Magdalen to her founding in 1485 of the *Filles de la Madeleine* at Mons, the first establishment for reformed prostitutes in the Low Countries.[6] Margaret gave this group, which cared for the sick, two houses and endowed them with revenue. She also insisted that they be allowed to leave the convent to marry. They appear not to have been aligned with a particular order, but followed rules given them by the bishop and wore white. J. Spicer (2013) agreed that the white rose referred to the



4. Master of Watervliet, *Triptych of the Deposition,* 238.5 × 236 cm., Watervliet, Our Lady Church

House of York and its Burgundian alliance and suggested that the Getty panel was commissioned for Margaret of York, perhaps by her.

D. De Vos (1999), following Goddard (1984), judged the Getty painting the most faithful copy of the lost composition by Van der Weyden. Like Friedländer, he believed that the rectangular format of the Getty panel represents a modification of the original U-shaped design. Following S. Sulzberger (1950) and F. Thürlemann (1993), De Vos concluded that the composition derives from ancient Roman reliefs showing the funerary procession of Meleager.[7] He judged the Getty panel an "excellent copy dating from ca. 1500 from the circle of the Antwerp Master of Frankfurt." By contrast, more recently Thürlemann dated the panel ca. 1500, and C. Reynolds (2007) sidestepped the problem of attribution by terming the painter a follower of Van der Weyden, ca. 1490.



4. PHYSICAL ANALYSIS

DIMENSIONS

Support: 61 × 99.7 × 0.6/1.4 cm.
Painted Surface: 58.9 × 97.4 cm. (on average)

SUPPORT

The support is comprised of three horizontally oriented planks of Baltic oak. P. Klein proposed a possible felling date of 1470. The earliest possible creation date is 1472, with a more plausible earliest creation date of 1478.[8] The reverse of the panel has adze marks. Strips of a coarse twill weave fabric have been glued over the joins. Two vertical battens are screwed onto the reverse; the left batten has been removed and replaced at some point. The top and sides are cut with a lip to allow insertion into a frame. The bottom is very thin and has not been cut with a similar tongue. The joins are visible as ridges on the front.

FRAME

Not original.

MARKS

A partial wainscot mark in the form of an elongated horizontal "X" at the upper right (as viewed verso) is cut off by the edge of the plank. The mark is visible in the X-radiograph (fig. 5).

GROUND

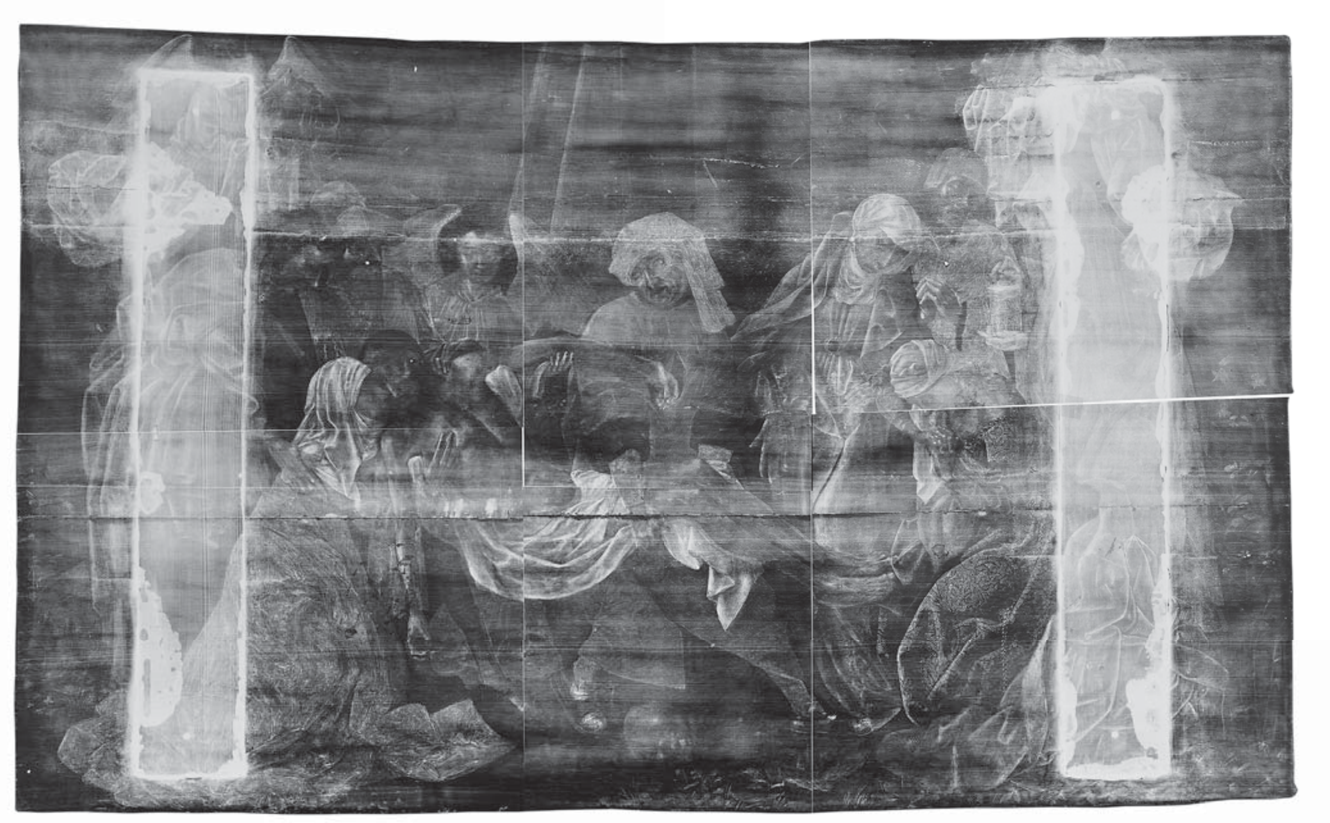
There is an overall smooth thin white ground. The ground has a ridge of barbe, and an unpainted edge of wood on all four sides. The bottom edge is wider than the top one and the left edge is wider at the top than at the bottom.

UNDERLYING DRAWING

The composition is underdrawn with a brush and liquid material. The drawing is readily visible with infrared reflectography. Contour lines describe all the compositional elements, including the skull, ladder, and cross (fig. 6). Hatching applied with confidence and speed indicates areas of shadow. The hatching is in zones, and in a single zone the lines are roughly parallel, but some are vertical, others were drawn right to left, and still others left to right (fig. 7). More hatching is in the larger figures in the foreground than the angels above. The drawing does not show searching or reworking, and probably copies a known prototype.

PAINT LAYER

A warm ocher poliment lies under the gold leaf. The leaf is embellished with a pattern of small red lake dots, with a thin scumble of azurite dragged over it in a border along the top and the sides. The paint is competently handled in moderately thin layers. Each large color area was blocked in, allowed to dry, and then detail added with small strokes of color. There is no wet-in-wet work. In the clothing and

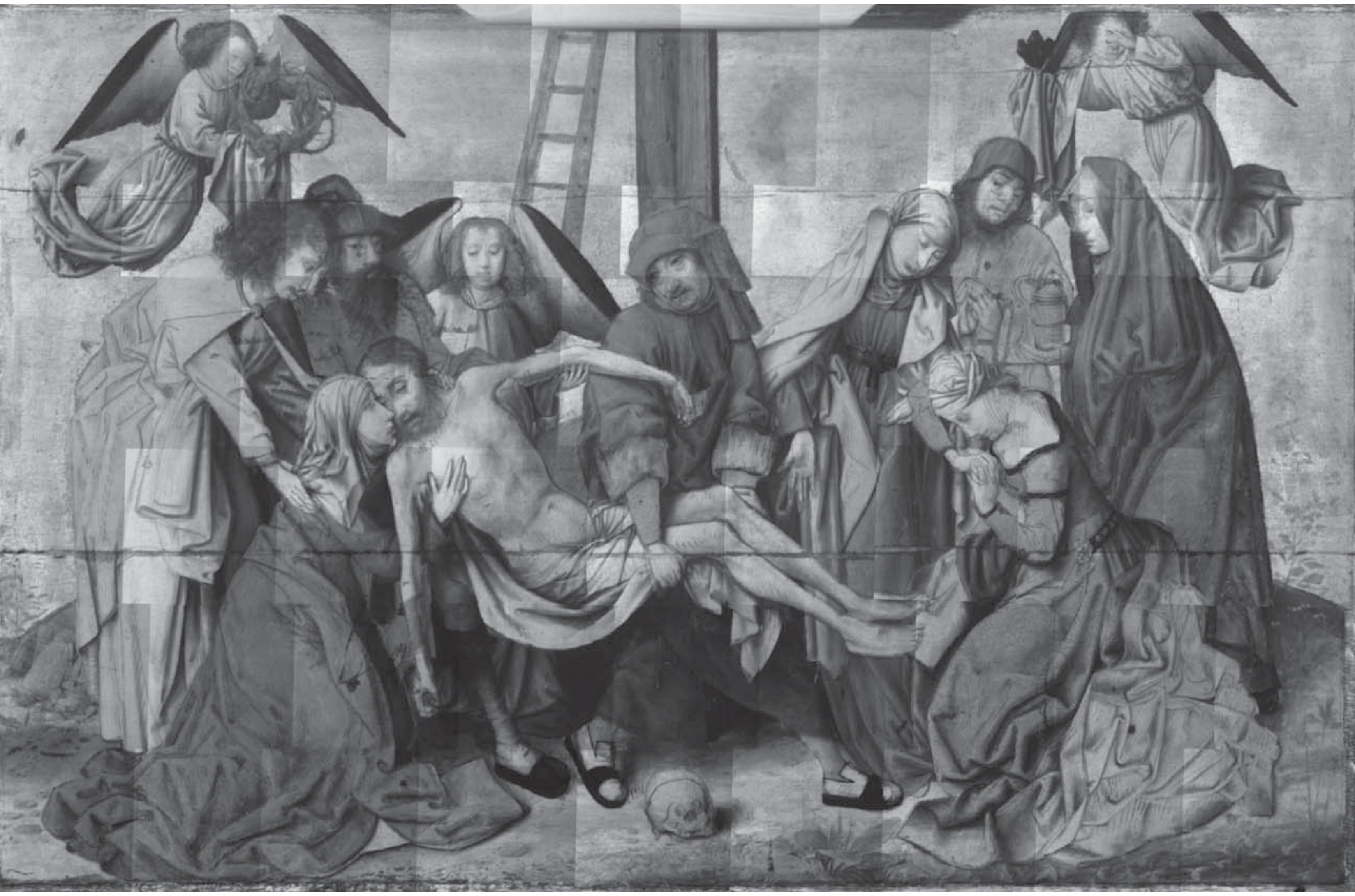


5. Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, X-radiograph

jewelry the darks are painted first, with highlights added last. Individual strands of hair are represented as overlapping light and dark curls of paint. For the Virgin's flesh a layer of medium tone skin color was put on, followed by lighter pink modeling, then reddish brown for shadows and to define features. Very small strokes of red for the lips and the contours of the eyes, and black for the eyelids, were then put on. Finally a very fine brush was used to add tiny highlights, for example in the irises and along the lower lids of the eyes. This working practice is very different from Van der Weyden's, and suggests that the painter did not know his methods.

Compared to the underdrawing, the artist adhered fairly closely to the arrangement of drapery folds in the foreground, but significantly enlarged the skull in the center. Another foreground change is the narrowing of the foot of the boot furthest to the left of the skull (fig. 6-7). In the middle range of the painting, with the exception of the face of the woman to the right of the cross, whose hands were changed in the paint layer, the faces of the figures in the background have been moved from their underdrawn layout. St. John's profile was extended to the right, and features of all the other figures were moved upward from their underdrawn positions. The angel in this row of figures has features that were painted as they were drawn but the position of his left hand was moved to the right in the paint layer. The hands of both the Magdalen and the woman to her left were significantly altered from the underdrawn positions.

Overall the painting is in good condition. There is minimal abrasion. Except where it is mixed with white, the azurite has darkened and only appears blue under strong light. The gold leaf has irregular, darkened areas.

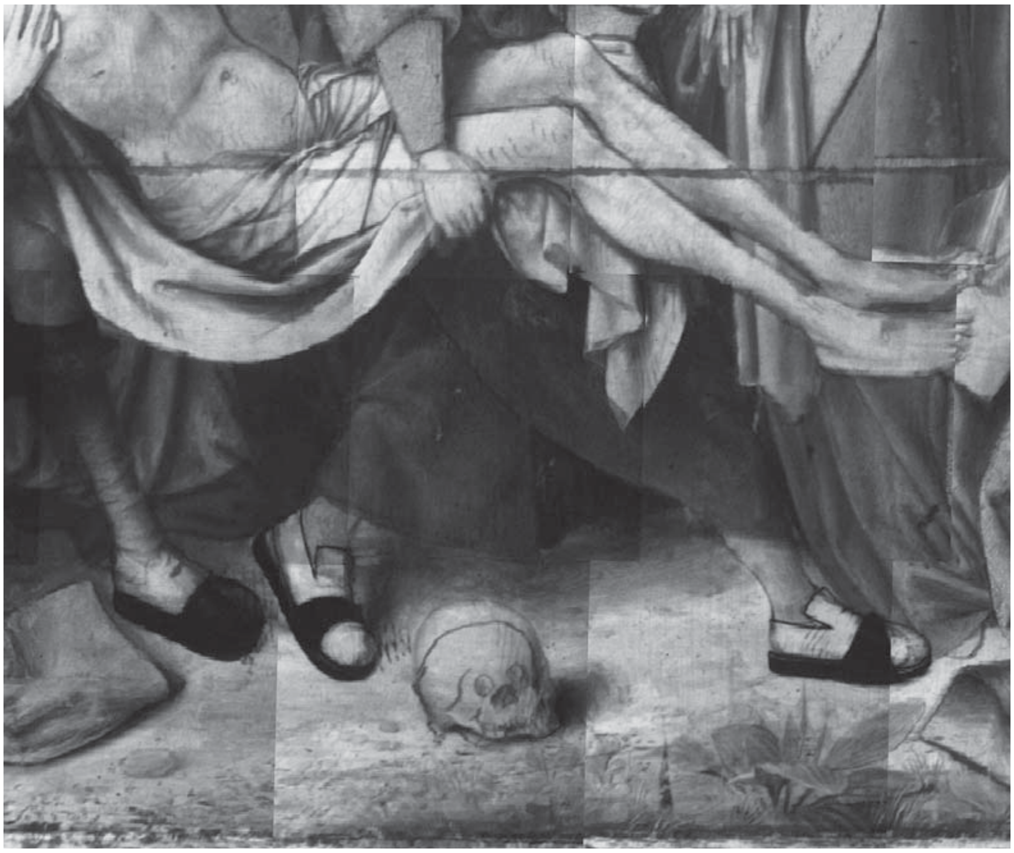


6. Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, infrared reflectogram assembly

5. Pictorial Analysis

This painting shows the moment when Christ is being carried to his tomb and the Virgin stops the procession to embrace her son. A frieze of ten figures, including an angel, is set against a mottled gold background and on a path lined with rocks, flowers, and other plants.[9] Two curly-haired, brunette angels wearing albs hover in the upper corners, holding instruments of the Passion in their draped hands. The one at the left displays the crown of thorns, the other, three nails. The latter partially covers his eyes with his left hand.

The Madonna's mantle is blue, her dress reddish-purple with grey fur cuffs. Her hair and neck are covered with a white cloth adorned with a pleated edge. She kneels as she places her pink face against her son's greenish one, her arms embracing him. St. John the Evangelist stands behind the Virgin, bending towards her and stretching his arms out to support her, his right hand resting on her shoulder. He wears a red



7. Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, infrared reflectogram assembly, detail showing hatching

robe and pinkish mantle clasped at the neck with a jewel. His brown curly hair is enlivened with blonde highlights. Tears fill his right eye and spill down his face. His mouth is slightly ajar, revealing his teeth.

Christ, wearing only a loincloth, has brown hair and a brown straggly beard. Hair appears on his chest, lower abdomen, and especially his legs, which also show blue veins. The painter makes clear that he is dead; his portrayal is unusually graphic. His eyes are heavy-lidded, his right one completely closed, his left partially open. His mouth, which appears to be frozen in an open position, reveals his teeth. His thin right arm dangles straight down, his left, with elbow bent, extends almost horizontally. Both hands are clenched in rigor mortis. The ghastly nature of his death is made clear. The crown of thorns has left bloody marks across his forehead, and caused blood to drip down his cheek and onto his chest. More blood has flowed down his arms from the wounds in his hands; rivulets have streamed from the long gash on his side. Blood has also issued from the wounds in his feet. It has flowed in two directions on his right foot, indicating that the position of his body changed while he was still bleeding. Christ's body lies on a shroud, whose curvature parallels his body and serves to link the groups of mourners to either side.

Three figures support Christ. At his head, a man usually identified as Joseph of Arimathea carries him under the arms with both hands covered by the shroud. Joseph wears an ornate black cap lined with white fur. His curly beard, part grey, part blond, flares out across his chest. He wears a long green mantle, whose lower section is visible behind Christ's right arm. Adorning each shoulder is an ornate jewel consisting of a row of gems set into golden frames at whose interstices hang pendant pearls. Only Joseph's right leg is visible, clad in red leggings, a cuffed high tan boot, and a black shoe with a rounded toe.

The central and most dynamic figure in the painting is usually identified as Nicodemus. Standing directly below the cross, he turns back to look at Christ as he strides forward with a broad step, raising his right heel. His left hand, covered by the shroud, supports Christ under his knees. His right hand crosses Christ's legs, but rather than holding them, instead grasps only the shroud. Christ's stiff, jutting left hand accidentally pushes open Nicodemus's coat, revealing its fur lining. The mouth of Nicodemus is open to reveal his upper teeth, his face shows a day's growth of beard, and his eyes are watery. He wears a black chaperon, black leggings, orange-brown shoes, black pattens, and a floor-length greyish coat with brown fur turned out at the neck, cuffs, and hem. A skull lies on the ground before him.

The angel at his side is the only figure whose face is entirely frontal. Standing before the ladder that rests against the cross, he wears a white alb tinged with red that becomes pink below Christ's body. He gazes downward, his light brown curly hair parted in the center. His left hand lightly supports Christ's left arm.

The holy woman standing beside Nicodemus inclines her head to the right while gesturing with an open right palm. She wears a white cloth that covers her forehead, chin, neck, and most of her brown hair. It is edged with a decorative pattern, resembling small rounded pleats. She also wears a red mantle and a high-waisted green pleated dress fastened with a golden belt. She gazes downward and slightly opens her mouth, while her left hand rests on her hip.

To her left stands a man with a broad nose, brown bangs, curly hair, a day's growth of beard, and an open mouth revealing his upper teeth. Below his chin, but apparently not attached to it, is a mass of curly hair, which might represent a beard or fur collar. He wears a black bonnet, and a belted blue coat lined with fur. His hands are joined in prayer.

The Magdalen falls to her knees at Christ's feet. Her white head cloth has partially unraveled, and she dramatically raises her right elbow as she wrings her hands in grief. Locks of her light brown curly hair with blond highlights have escaped her head cloth and fall upon her shoulder. She is richly dressed in green sleeves adorned with black trim at the wrists and a low-cut brocaded dress embellished with a black border that is decorated with wavy gold stitching interspersed with pearls. Her dress is fastened with a belt adorned with two small white flowers and a large white rose from which hangs a long golden chain. Her red, fur-lined mantle, which has fallen off her shoulders, is enlivened with white highlights that indicate its folds.

Behind the Magdalen a woman with a slightly downturned mouth and unseeing brown eyes wears a white head cloth below a blue mantle that also covers her head. She holds a blue and white ointment jar, decorated with repeat patterns, perhaps animals above and figures below.

The faces in this painting generally show heavy-lidded eyes, noses that strongly project from the face, delicate curly hair, and, especially for the men, open mouths that reveal teeth. Particularly the women's faces are smooth and rounded, with what Goddard (1984), writing about the Watervliet Master, has termed "small, ball-like chins."[10]

In some ways, the painting follows standard iconography. The general outlines conform to the description of the Pseudo-Bonaventure, writing in the later dugento, who notes that Mary embraced Christ's head and shoulders, the Magdalen grieved at his feet, and other mourners gathered around.[11] Here Mary Magdalen kneels at Christ's feet, her ointment jar nearby. She is richly dressed in a low-cut yellow brocade gown to suggest that she had formerly been a prostitute.[12] St. John supports the Virgin who lovingly embraces her son. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are differentiated by age and by their position at the head and legs of Christ's body.[13] The skull refers to the belief that Adam was buried at the spot at which the cross was erected as well as to the name Golgotha, which means "a place of a skull" according to Matthew 27:33.

The composition focuses on the display of Christ's body, that is, the Corpus Christi, which would be especially suitable for an altarpiece, serving a Eucharistic function. Verhaegen (1962) has suggested that the standing angel touching Christ alludes to a phrase in the Canon of the Mass, which is recited during the consecration of the host, "Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: jube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum" (Most humbly we implore You, almighty God, bid these offerings to be brought by the hands of Your Holy Angel to Your altar above).[14] Furthermore, as is typical in early Netherlandish painting, the angels wear ecclesiastical vestments, which refers to the idea that Christ is the sacrifice at Mass and also its officiant, and the angels serve him as assistant priests.[15]

The painting is also typical of late medieval devotional art in its heightening of the dramatic impact through the inclusion of many figures passionately involved in the event.[16] The painter moves away from a narrative depiction towards a detailed description of elements intended to arouse emotions. Christ's dripping blood, gaping wounds, greenish complexion, and rigor mortis, and the mourners' copious tears and grief-stricken poses and gestures would have facilitated the viewers' spiritual union with Christ, and enhanced their deeply-felt identification with his suffering and the compassion of the mourners, all typical features of the *Devotio Moderna.*

The moment portrayed – a lamentation at the base of the Cross while Christ is being carried to his sepulchre – is not described in the Bible and is rarely portrayed in art. More common are scenes that chronologically bracket this episode, the Deposition and the Entombment. Thürlemann (2002) points to an episode described by Ludoph of Saxony in his very popular text the *Vita Jesu Christi*, when some of Christ's followers want to bury his body and others want to keep it with them, and a "pious quarrel" ensues.[17]

Most scholars believe that the composition is based on a lost painting by Rogier van der Weyden. They point to its tender spirituality, inventive and harmonious composition, and the fact that some of its elements, most notably St. John, the Magdalen's upper body, and the general position of Christ strongly resemble their counterparts in Van der Weyden's Prado *Deposition* (fig. 2). Scholars have debated without resolution which painting was produced earlier.[18] But unlike the Prado *Deposition*, this copy of Van der Weyden's lost painting shows a sense of movement. In 1993 Thürlemann proposed that Robert Campin, not Rogier van der Weyden, invented the composition, a view that has not gained support.[19]

As S. Sulzberger (1950) first observed, the composition is partially inspired by a popular scene in ancient Roman sarcophagi, Meleager's corpse being returned to Kalydon.[20] Such reliefs generally show several figures in a frieze-like procession carrying Meleager on a shroud. Usually his torso is turned to the viewer, his right arm dangles down, his left arm extends horizontally, and his knees are bent, as in copies of the lost painting (figs. 1, 3-4). As Sulzberger notes, most Renaissance examples omit the figure crouching beneath Mealeager's knees and only include the two other porters, the one supporting his shoulders, the other, his legs. The cloth underlying Meleager forms a parallel curve to his body, much as in copies of Van der Weyden's lost painting. Sulzberger suggests that although Van der Weyden's composition may be derived from an intermediary source, perhaps a trecento or quattrocento painting, she believes he knew a Roman original. It is this combination of two very different sources – a static image of the Lamentation of Christ and a relief showing mourners energetically carrying Meleager's body – that forms the basis of Van der Weyden's composition.

Kemperdick (1997) and Fransen (2009) have shown that the sculpted *Bearing of Christ's Body to his Tomb* in Detroit represents the oldest and most faithful version of the composition recorded in the Louvre drawing, which is often said to best represent Van der Weyden's painting. The Getty panel, however, is the closest of the painted copies. Its painter has modernized the shoes and he has filled the upper central area of its rectangular format with a cross and ladder. Other deviations are scarcely noticeable. Besides those listed by Fredericksen (1981), the bare foot of St. John, which appears in the drawing, is not shown in the painting, and he now has longer hair and a hand that rests more squarely on the Virgin's shoulder. Because Joseph of Arimathea has less room, his left leg is not visible, less of his upper body is depicted, and he no longer leans far back under the weight of Christ's body. Only one of the standing angel's hands are included, and Christ is shown in a more ghastly manner, with more blood and a more pronounced rigor mortis. The man standing above the Magdalen prays rather than holds tools, and the hovering angel on the right adopts a slightly different position for his left hand. Although the figure of Christ in the Getty panel is thin and elongated like that in the drawing, many of the other painted figures have rounder faces and physiognomies that are more distant from those of Van der Weyden.

6. Comparative Material

The closest compositional parallels with the Getty painting are:

- After Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, 240 × 357 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 20.666 (fig. 3)
- Brussels workshop, *Lamentation*, 86 × 137.5 cm., Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 61.164
- After Rogier van der Weyden, *Mary Magdalen and a Holy Woman*, 235 × 129 mm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupfertichkabinett, inv. no. 17.694
- Master of Frankfurt (?), *Triptych of the Descent from the Cross with Scenes from the Passion*, 144.5 × 347.5 cm., Lawrence, University of Kansas, Spencer Art Museum, inv. no. 1984.0196.a-e

- Master of Watervliet, *Triptych of the Deposition*, 238.5 × 236 cm. (central panel), Watervliet, Our Lady Church (fig. 4)
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, 109 × 71 cm., London, Sale Christie's, 24 November 1961, no. 34, formerly New York, Ernst Schwartz Collection
- Flemish Master, Copy after Rogier van der Weyden, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, 82 × 82.5 cm., Naples, Museo Nazionale
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, 74.5 × 88.7 cm., Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, inv. no. 253
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre,* 49 × 47 cm., formerly in the Strasbourg Museum, destroyed by fire in 1947
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, 64 × 90 cm., Bruges, Van Acker Collection
- Ambrosius Benson (?), *Triptych with the Lamention*, 61 × 89 cm., formerly London, Spanish Art Gallery
- Ambrosius Benson (?), *Deposition*, 92.5 × 67.5 cm., Spalding, Turner Collection
- School of Martin Schongauer, *Deposition*, 20.2 × 44 cm., Ulm, Münster Unserer Lieben Frauen
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, Germany, formerly E. Brandts Collection
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, London, Sale Sotheby's, 30 November 1983, no. 168
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, Brussels, formerly Laurent Meeus Collection
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, sculpted version, Brussels, formerly Baron de Decker Collection
- Flemish Master, *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre*, Cologne, Sale Lempertz, 27 Novembre 1935, no. 57
- Marcellus Coffermans, *Descent from the Cross*, London, Sale Sotheby's, 21 April 2005, no. 15[21]
- Thoman Burgkmair, *Lamentation*, Augsburg, Dominican friary of St. Katharina[22]
- Flemish Master, *Crucifixion,* 47 × 31 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01886, figure of the Magdalen
- Flemish Master, *Crucifixion,* 32.5 × 20.5 cm., Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. no. 800, figure of the Magdalen

7. Comments

As most scholars have long believed, the *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre* is a close copy of a lost painting by Rogier van der Weyden. Not only does its composition agree in large part with the Louvre drawing, but also its underdrawing lacks reworking, which strongly suggests that it is a copy. Since the man supporting the upper body of Christ seems cramped, it is possible that the composition was modified from a wider model to fit its narrower format. Van der Weyden's brilliant composition creates a tension between the still and moving figures and inventively melds together elements of a Lamentation and a Carrying to the Tomb to form an unprecedented scene.[23]

The Getty painting is also linked to the workshop of the Master of Frankfurt. As Goddard (1985) has demonstrated, it shows a brocade pattern that was frequently reproduced by mechanical means by members of the Master of Frankfurt's workshop and is therefore assumed to be one of his stock patterns. Furthermore, the Getty painting shows strong links to the Watervliet triptych, which is painted by an artist who has been connected to the Master of Frankfurt's workshop (fig. 4).[24] Dated ca. 1515 by Goddard (1984), its central panel relies on Van der Weyden's lost composition in general, but it also shares many features with the Getty *Lamentation* in particular. Both show, for example, Christ with an open mouth and visible teeth, his left eyebrow curving up near the bridge of the nose, and bloody marks on his forehead made by the Crown of Thorns. In addition, both paintings include a similar belt for the female mourner to the left of the Magdalen, and comparable pleated borders on the white head cloths. Even the coloring of the two works is strikingly similar. In both John wears a pinkish mantle over a red robe, Nicodemus a grey fur-trimmed coat, and the mourner beside him a green dress beneath a red mantle. Perhaps most striking is the Virgin's pink face, which contrasts with Christ's paler skin.

Although the painter of the Getty *Lamentation on the Way to the Sepulchre* appears to have known a composition by Van der Weyden and worked in Antwerp in association with the Master of Frankfurt, his smooth round faces also link him to such North Netherlandish painters as Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Perhaps, like the Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, which is also discussed in this volume, he was active in several art centers over the course of his career.

According to dendrochronology, the *Lamentation* is unlikely to date before ca. 1478. The rounded toes of its shoes indicate that the painting could not have been executed earlier than ca. 1480, when the change in fashion from the pointed shoe was taking place.[25] The painting probably dates somewhat later, judging by the full-figured Magdalen whose foreshortened body is so convincingly portrayed. For these reasons, Fredericksen's suggestion that the painting dates ca. 1490-1500 seems reasonable.

Much remains unknown about this painting. The theory by Weightman (1989) that the figure on the far right refers to Augustinian nuns is doubtful, since she wears a blue mantle. Similarly, the facial features of the Magdalen are similar to those of the Virgin in the Getty panel and do not resemble those in portraits of Margaret of York, as Weightman has suggested. Yet, as is proposed by the case of the portrait of Isabella of Portugal, which is discussed in this volume, images of a duchess do not necessarily conform to a single easily identifiable model.

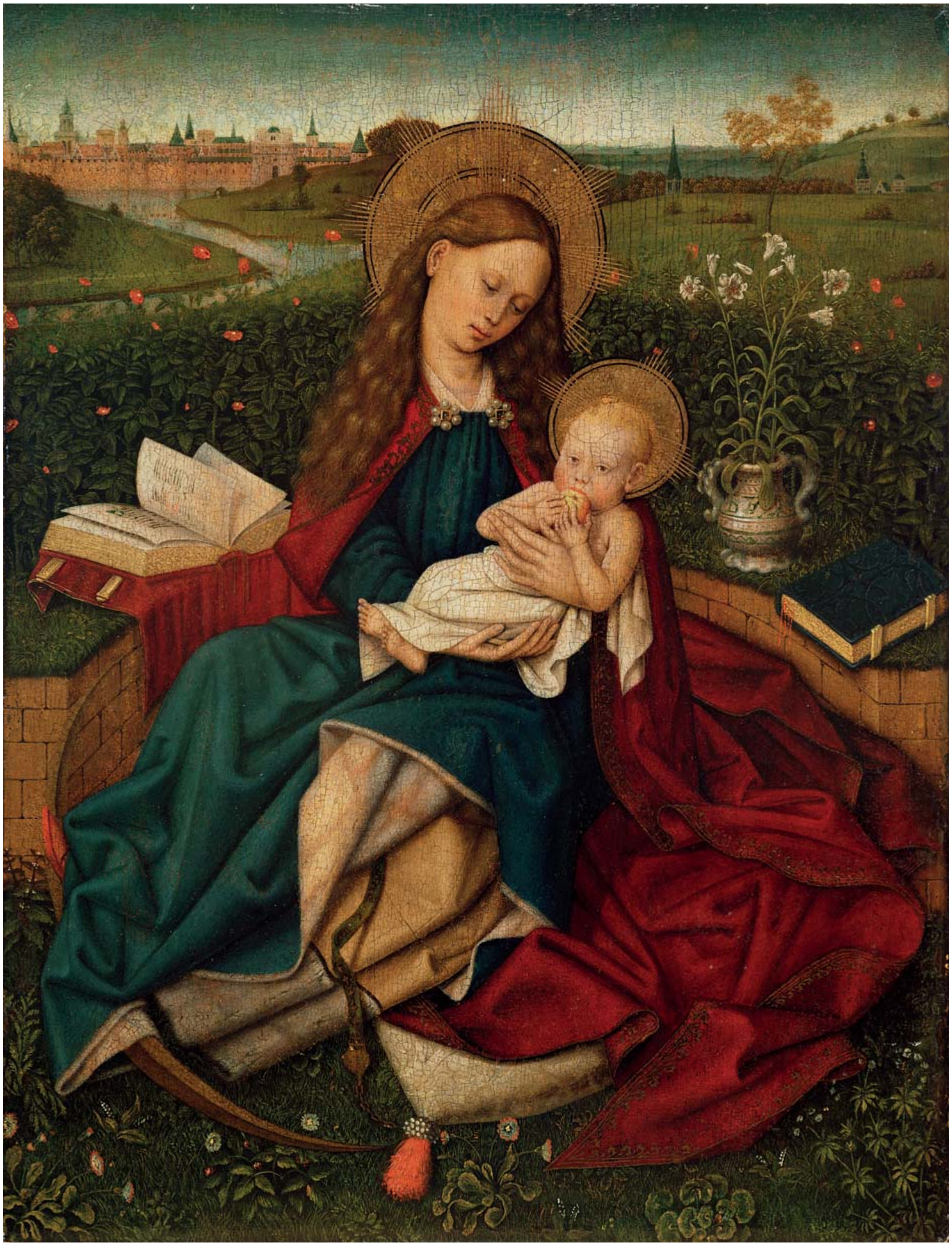
8. Bibliography

1889: *Estate of Josef Carl Reiter von Klinkosch* (sale cat.), Vienna, 1889, p. 5, lot no. 16 (with engraved illustration of painting)
1906: Dr. Alois Spitzer, *1. Abteilung. Ölgemälde und Handzeichnungen moderner und alter Meister. Miniatüren und Antiquitäten* (sale cat.), Wavra, Vienna, 24 January, 1906, p. 37, lot no. 142.
1914: Von Frimmel, 2, p. 403, no. 16.
1929: Friedländer, II, p. 122, no. 94c.
1934: Michel, p. 242, no. 3.
1966: Veronee-Verhaegen, p. 43-44, no. 5a.
1967: Friedländer, II, p. 78-79, no. 94c.
1969: Sonkes, p. 137, 139.
1978: *Important Old Master Paintings* (sale cat.), Sotheby's, London, 13 December 1978, p. 37, lot no. 33.
1979: *Rogier van der Weyden-Rogier de le Pasture* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, p. 160.
1980a: Fredericksen, p. 60.

1980b: Fredericksen, no. 24.
1980: Smith, p. 91.
1981: Fredericksen, p. 133-156.
1984: Goddard, p. 91-92, p. 159, no. 107.
1985: Goddard, p. 403, 406, 416.
1989: Weightman, p. 71, 185, 186.
1992: Hall, p. 130.
1992: Van Miegroet, p. 77-84.
1993: Thürlemann, p. 30, 31.
1997: Jaffé, p. 135.
1997: Kemperdick, p. 54, 55, 177, n. 62.
1998: Sterling, C. *et al.*, p. 10, n. 6.
1999: De Vos, p. 388-390, no. B22.
2002: Thürlemann, p. 85-86.
2005: Neidhardt, p. 249-250.
2007: Reynolds, p. 218.
2011: Kennedy and Nolan, p. 136.
2013: Spicer, p. 168, 170-171, 175.

Notes

1. F. Winkler, 1913, p. 81 ff.
2. Many scholars have explored one or more of the drawings, sculptures, and paintings that showed this composition. For the versions of the lost Van der Weyden composition, see M. Sonkes, 1969, p. 136; B. Fredericksen, 1981, p. 133-156; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 388-390.
3. N. Verhaegen, 1962, p. 64.
4. N.H.J. Hall, 1992, p. 130; F. Thürlemann, 1993, p. 31; S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 177, n. 62; C. Sterling *et al.*, 1998, p. 10, n. 6; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 390 n. 1; F. Thürlemann, 2002, p. 85-86.
5. C. Weightman, 1989, p. 71.
6. L. Hommel, 1959, p. 323.
7. See S. Sulzberger, 1950, p. 258-260; F. Thürlemann, 1993, p. 35-36, n. 100 and n. 102.
8. P. Klein, report in conservation file, 06.10.2000.
9. The plants may include at the bottom right corner the Ranunculus sp. (buttercup), to its left, the Fragaria vesca (wild strawberry), and below Christ's feet the Plantago major (broadleaf plantain).
10. S.H. Goddard, 1984, p. 90.
11. Pseudo-Bonaventure, 1961, p. 342.
12. For the Magdalen as a former prostitute and repentant sinner, see R. Mellinkoff, 1, 1993, p. 55-56, 220-222.
13. See W. Stechow, 1964 and C. Schleif, 1993 for the difficulties in identifying these two biblical figures and also the centuries-old tradition of associating Nicodemus with artists.
14. For the Latin, see N. Verhaegen, 1962, p. 64. For the English translation, see www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/latinmass.html.
15. See M.B. McNamee, 1972, p. 263-278.
16. G. Schiller, 2, 1968, p. 167.
17. F. Thürlemann, 2002, p. 85 and p. 221 no. 129 refers to Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi,* 2, p. 144: "Illi volebant eum tradere sepulturae, et ipsa volebat eum retinere, et sic erat haec pia lis et miseranda contentia inter eos."
18. For a summary of these opinions, see D. De Vos, 1999, p. 388-390.
19. The only publication supporting Thürlemann's attribution to Campin is H. Belting and C. Kruse, 1994, p. 108. Thürlemann reiterated his views in his monograph of 2002, p. 83. Those who disagree with it include O. Pächt, 1994a, p. 27; J.W. Steyaert, 1994, p. 78, 88 note 39; S. Kemperdick, 1997, p. 52; D. De Vos, 1999, p. 33; B. Fransen, 2009, p. 227; *Das Geheimnis des Jan van Eyck* (exhib. cat.), Munich, 2005, p. 249; A. Powell, 2006, p. 540; C. Reynolds, 2007, p. 218.
20. S. Sulzberger, 1950, p. 258-260. For the popularity of the theme of Meleager, see N. Spivey, 2001, p. 120. As A.M. McCann, 1978, p. 63, 65, notes, "The theme of the dying hero whose fated death is mourned by his companions combined with the sorrowing mother forms a natural prototype for the Christian scene of the Deposition of Christ." For other ancient examples, see A.M. McCann, 1978, especially p. 63 n. 4. For fifteenth-century Italian versions, see A.M. McCann, 1978, p. 66, n. 14.
21. For this, see H. Mund, 2009, p. 202, fig. 108.
22. For this painting, see G. Goldberg, 1978, Abb. 13.
23. The paintings that come closest to depicting this moment are the *Lamentation* in The Hague and the *Deposition* formerly in the Laurent Meeus Collection, Brussels. See M.J. Friedländer, 1967, II, p. 69, no. 46, pl. 68, and p. 79, no. 96, pl. 111. Neither, however, clearly indicates the process of carrying Christ's body to his tomb.
24. P. Vanaise, 1966, p. 29 dates the Watervliet triptych ca. 1515 and believes that it might come from Master of Frankfurt's workshop. S.H. Goddard, 1984, p. 91-92 agreed with this attribution and attributed several other works to the Watervliet Master. Recent scholars, however, have argued that these works do not form a consistent group. See, for example, G.C. Bauman, 1984, p. 68; M. Wolff, in Sterling, C., 1998, p. 99.
25. See, for example, A.H. Van Buren and R. Wieck, 2011, p. 216, 240, 242, 246, 312.



Follower of the Master of Flémalle

Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 77.PB.28

Group: Master of Flémalle
No. Corpus: 254

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1935-1939: Brussels, Gaston Müller[1]
By 1960-still in 1967: Brussels, Baron Robert de Gendebien[2]
1971: Luxembourg, Galerie Artemis[3]
By 1975: Liechtenstein, Établissement pour la Diffusion et la Connaissance des Œuvres d'Art
By 1977: Artemis Fine Arts, Inc.
By 1977: New York, Eugene Thaw
1977: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Material History

Sometime in or before 1935: Restored by Jef Van der Veken[4]
1978-79: David Bull, re-examination; new X-radiography, varnish removal, overpaint removal, varnishing, filling and first layer of inpainting
1980: Bettina Jessel, completion of inpainting, varnishing, application of wax layer over varnish
2003: Mark Leonard, brush coat of varnish

Exhibitions

1935 Brussels, Exposition Universelle et Internationale, *Cinq siècles d'art. Memorial de l'Exposition,* no. 13
1937 Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Un Cabinet d'amateur,* no. 1

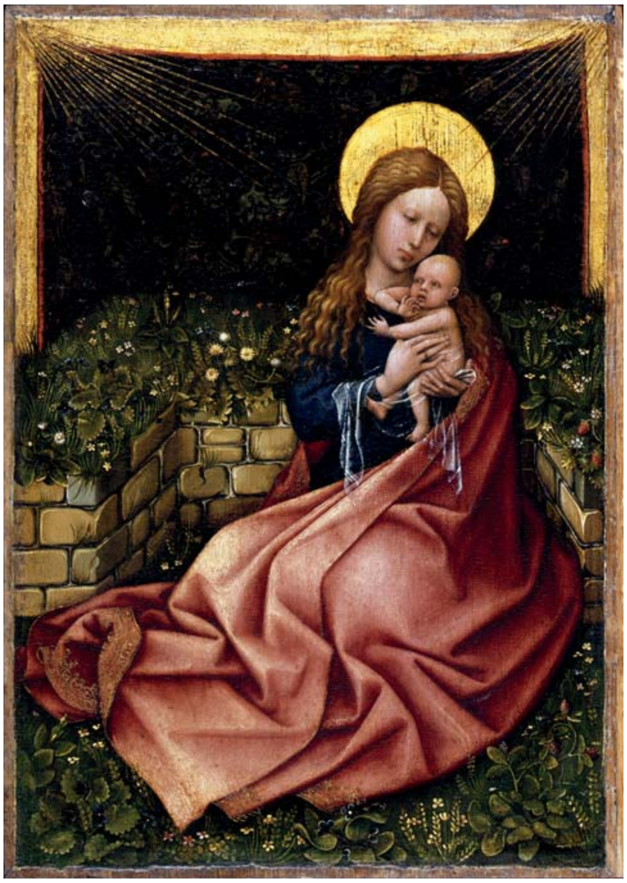
1. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon,* 48.6 × 37.8 cm., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 77.PB.28

1939 Worcester, Philadelphia, Museum of Art and The John G. Johnson Collection *The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting*, no. 5
1960 Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, *Bloemen en Tuinen in de Vlaamse Kunst/ Fleurs et Jardins dans l'art flamand,* no. 43
1964 Tournai, Our Lady Cathedral, *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden 1464-1964*, no. 11

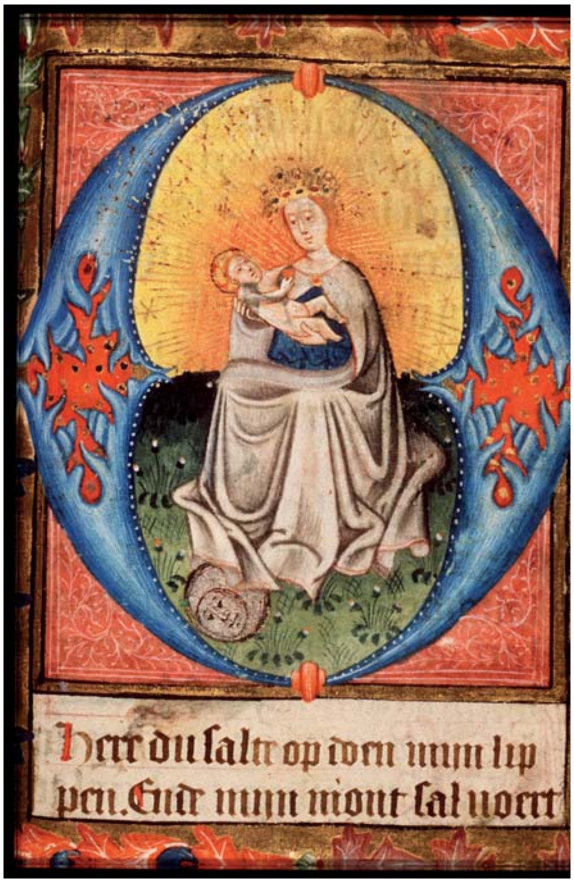
3. History of the Research

The *Madonna with a Crescent Moon* first became known to scholars when it was exhibited in 1935 as a work by a contemporary of Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 1).[5] Four years later, C. de Tolnay (1939) became the first to assign it instead to Robert Campin, but most later scholars ascribe it to one of that master's followers.[6] Few cite reasons for rejecting the attribution to the Master of Flémalle himself, but A. Châtelet (1996) noted that the style of the Getty panel was too porcelain-like, the proportions of the Virgin's left hand too weak, and the type of Virgin too remote from those attributed to Campin. C. Fisher (1996) observed that the treatment of the garden in the Getty panel is related to, but different from, others in the Campin group. Only C. Gottlieb (1957) attributed the painting to Jacques Daret.

J. Lavalleye (1937) related the Getty panel to the Master of Flémalle's paintings of the Virgin in Berlin (fig. 2) and Aix-en-Provence.[7] R. Dupierreux (1952) judged the style similar to works from the Rhine and Schelde regions. M. Davies (1972) concurred and also pointed to similarities to the many versions of a *Virgin with a Flower*, which is often believed to be based on a composition by Rogier van der Weyden. In his typological analysis of van der Weyden's œuvre, D. De Vos (1971) linked the Getty panel, which he believed reflected a prototype by the Master of Flémalle, to two works. He first suggested that the general position of the Child, especially his crossed feet, resembled a *Madonna and Child* in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges.[8] He then noted that the position of the Virgin's hands were close to those in a drawing in Rotterdam.[9] Gottlieb (1957) perceived resemblances between the Virgin's mantle in the Getty painting and its counterpart in the Saint Petersburg *Madonna at the Fireplace.*[10] Similarly she related Christ's feet to Salome's hands in the Dijon *Nativity.*[11] F. Thürlemann (2002) compared the way in which the Madonna holds the swaddled Child in her long fingers to the *Madonna in an Apse* in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[12] L. Ninane (Tournai, 1964) deftly analyzed the composition of



2. Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of the Grassy Nook,* 40.2 × 28.5 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 1835


Heer du salt op doen mijn lip
pen. Ende mijn mont sal voert

3. Dutch (Utrecht?) Master, *Mary holding the Christ Child, a crescent at her feet,* in *Book of Hours*, 93 × 53 mm., The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 131 G 3, fol. 14v

the Getty panel. She noted that the circular movement of the curving bench is continued in the Madonna's drapery on the right and the crescent moon on the left. K. Strauss (1972), in his study of ceramics portrayed in northern Renaissance paintings, judged the vase in the Getty panel to be of Netherlandish origin.

The *Madonna with a Crescent Moon* was dated around 1430 until De Tolnay (1939) placed it after the *Werl Altarpiece*[13] of 1438.[14] More recently R. Falkenburg (1994) dated it "before 1450," Thürlemann (2002) tentatively judged it around 1450, D. Jaffé (1997) dated it ca. 1450-1470, and M.-B. Potte (2007) assigned it to the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1984 J. Fletcher published the results of his dendrochronological study. Noting that the latest ring of the panel dates from 1422, he suggested, without explanation, that it could have been painted seventy years later.

Scholars have also discussed the painting's iconography. Some suggested that it shows a Madonna of Humility in the *hortus conclusus*, a common symbol of Mary's virginity.[15] Several proposed that the crescent moon at her feet marks her as the Woman of the Apocalypse, an allusion to her immaculate conception.[16] E. Panofsky (1953) noted that the idea of placing the moon on the grass on which the Virgin sits appears earlier in a Dutch manuscript.[17] Falkenburg (1991, 1994) illustrated the Getty panel in a discussion of the lily as a symbol of the Virgin's purity and virginity. He also cited the painting as an example of the common connection between prayer books on the one hand and flowers and fruit on the other, noting that it is a rare example of an image of the Child biting into a fruit. C. Purtle (1996) cited the painting as a representation of a "triumphant and transcendental" Madonna of Humility. Potte (2007) asserted that the form of the grassy bench surrounding the Virgin suggests a throne.[18]

A very different approach was adopted by F. Winkler (1936) who asserted that not only had Jef Van der Veken restored this painting, but that he had so radically transformed it that it was largely a modern work. Winkler thought the iconography – the combination of a crescent moon and a river bank, an open book and a shut one, a disk halo and rays – was suspicious. He also asserted that the style was typical of Van der Veken's work. He acknowledged, however, that M. Friedländer had told him that he had had seen photographs of the painting taken before Van der Veken's intervention and held a favorable opinion of this work. Of later scholars, only J.-L. Pypaert (2008) takes notice of Winkler's article.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

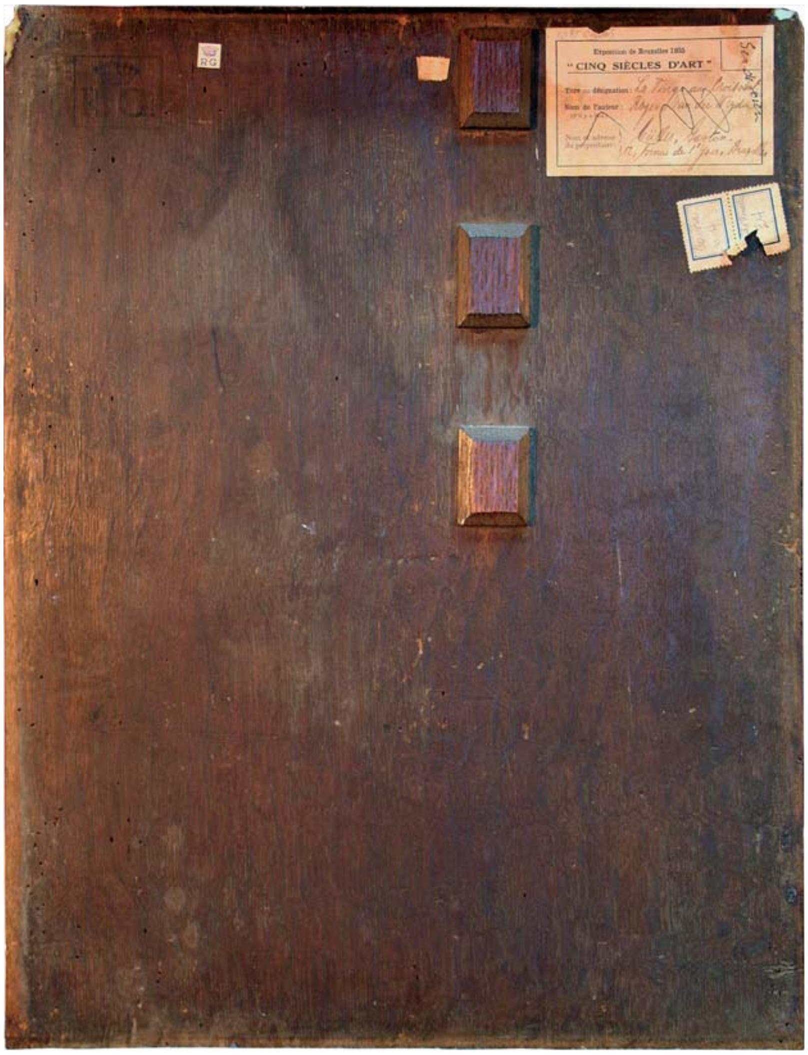
Support: 48.6 × 37.8 × 0.4 cm.

Support

The painting is on a single panel of vertically grained oak (fig. 4). A very slight shallow bevel of irregular dimensions is present on the reverse, although other slight irregularities are not clearly recognizable as toolmarks. Three blocks of wood applied at a much later date may have been placed to mend a check in the middle right side (figs. 4-5). J. Fletcher's unpublished dendrochronology report of 1980 states that the rings of the panel date from 1080 to 1422. He concludes, when allowing for absent sapwood, that the earliest felling date of the tree was 1442-1452 and that the panel was most likely painted in the second half of the fifteenth century.

4. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, reverse

5. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, X-radiograph



Marks

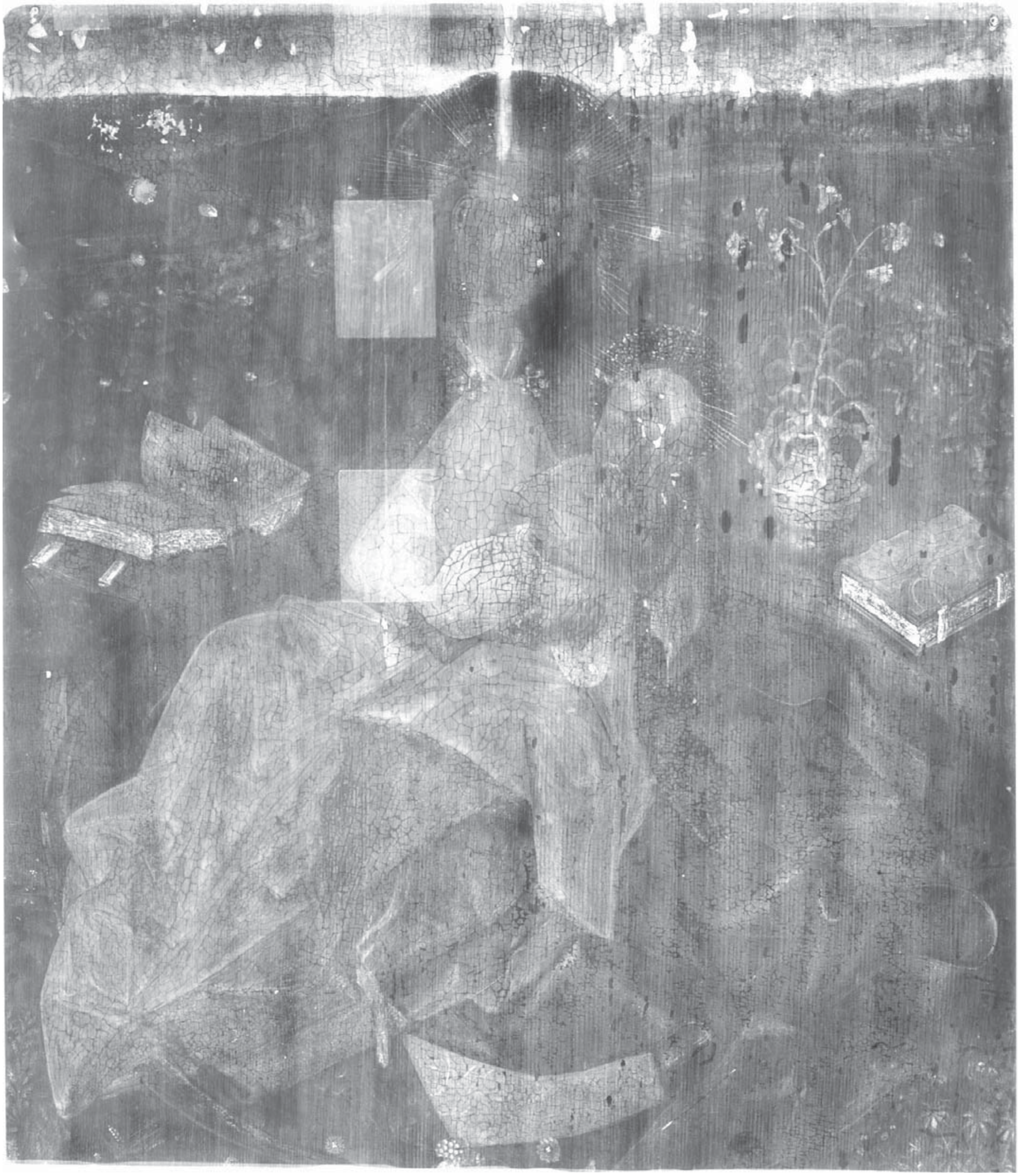
The exhibition catalogue *Cinq siècles d'art flamand,* Brussels, 1935, 1, no. 13, relates that the panel bears the monogram "V. W," although it does not state where those initials appear on the painting. At present this monogram is not visible. Strauss (1972) suggested that the letters on the vase might read "AVE." Gottlieb (1957) instead saw "DA."

A stamp and a paper label at upper left of the reverse read "RG" below a stylized image of a crown (fig. 4). A small paper with serrated edges in the center could read "DB" over "69." A large paper exhibition label on the top right reads "CINQ SIÈCLES D'ART" and then the attribution, title and owner.

Ground

The panel has a thin white ground that terminates in a barbe approximately 0.5 cm. from each edge, leaving a strip of unpainted wood at each side. The barbe is damaged and not continuous, but traces of it can be found on all four sides.

5.



Underlying Drawing

6. Follower of the Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, infrared reflectogram

The drawing comprises both contour lines and diagonal hatching to indicate shading in the draperies (fig. 6). It is not elaborate, and appears to be a freehand rendering of a known design. The drawing is not readily distinguishable from the painted contours in most places, requiring verification by microscopy that it lies beneath the paint. Contours in the Virgin's drapery below her proper right arm and hatching in the folds beneath her proper right hand differ from the painted form.

Paint Layer

The paint is very thinly applied. Wet-in-wet modeling is used in the flesh tones, emphasized in the darkest areas by thin strokes of brown paint (fig. 7). The modeling of the garments is accomplished by successive layers of glazes over a base color that represents the highlights. The foliage is painted using a combination of dark green glazes and yellow highlights over a mid-tone green. Decorative details and strands of hair, are rendered wet over dry with very liquid paint and a fine brush. The haloes, rays, and stitching on the mantle are mordant gilding, which has been applied as the final step (figs. 7, 9).

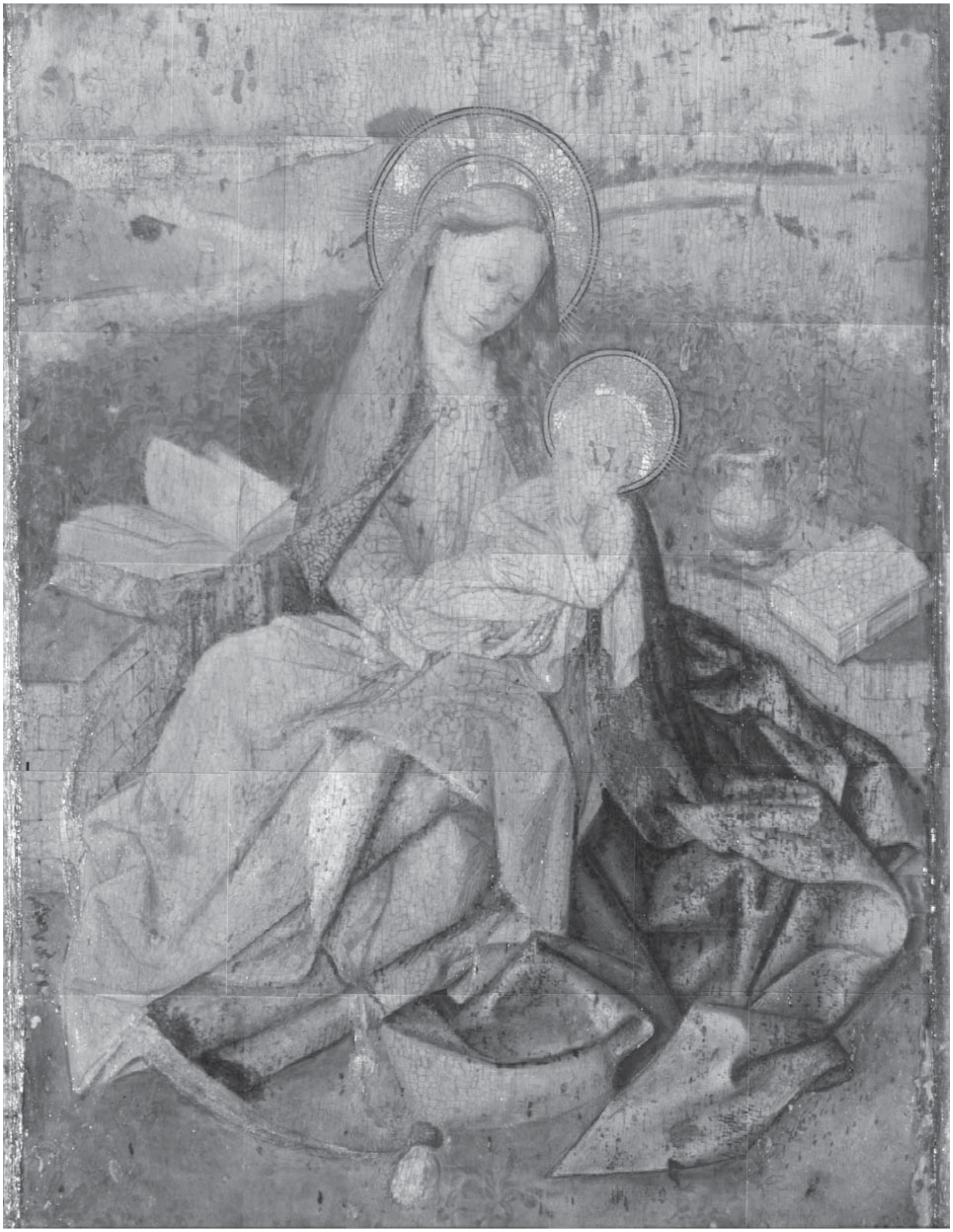
The painting is badly abraded, giving a softening effect to the image overall. The glazes in the garments are extensively retouched. The mordant gilding is filled with losses. It is difficult to assess the painting's original appearance.

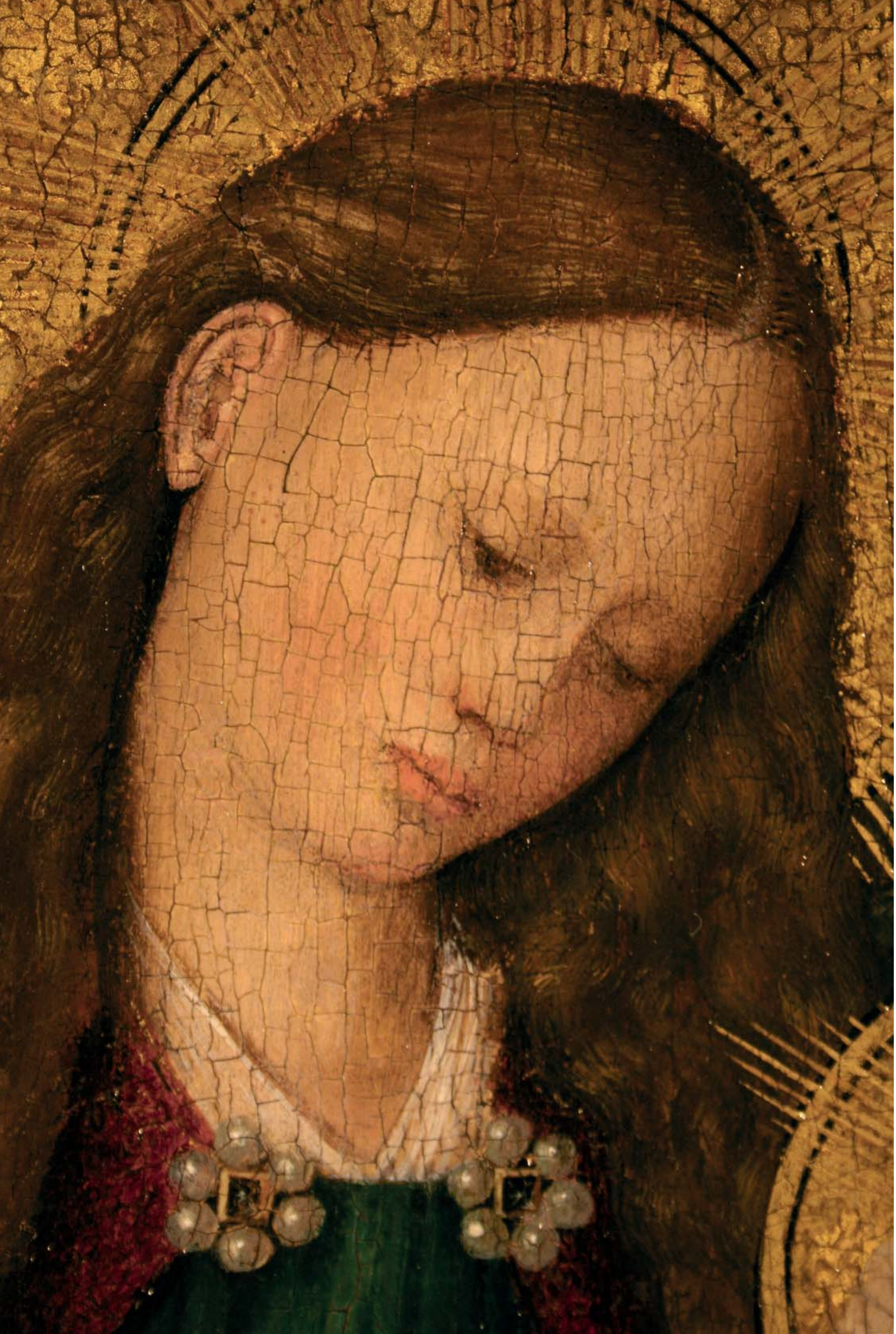
5. Pictorial Analysis

A full-length Virgin sits in a beautiful spring-time garden holding the Christ Child in her arms. She turns her head to the right to gaze at him. Her long, thick, wavy, auburn hair falls over both shoulders. She wears four layers of clothing: a white chemise, visible at the neck; a tan skirt trimmed with a wide grey border, perhaps of squirrel fur; a blue dress lined with white fur streaked with brown; and a red mantle edged with gold stitching. A green belt adorned with gold crosses and ending in a golden clasp winds down her skirt before resting on the ground (fig. 8). Two identical jewels consisting of a gem surrounded by pearls keep her mantle in place (fig. 7). She sits on a grey damask cushion adorned at the corner with a red tassel and a band of small, round, white objects, perhaps pearls (fig. 8). At the left, the Virgin's mantle loops around a golden crescent moon that lies on the ground. A red section of the crescent may represent her right shoe. The garden is filled with a variety of flowers, two of which are identifiable: lilies of the valley (*convallaria majalis*), and daisies (*bellis perennis*).

The Child has short blond hair, plump rosy cheeks, and brown eyes that look towards the viewer. Loosely wrapped in a white cloth, he raises an apple to his mouth with both hands. The gold disk haloes of the Virgin and Child are decorated with one or more concentric circles that were formed with a compass. In addition, clusters of golden rays issue from their heads. Those surrounding Christ's halo produce a cruciform shape.

6.





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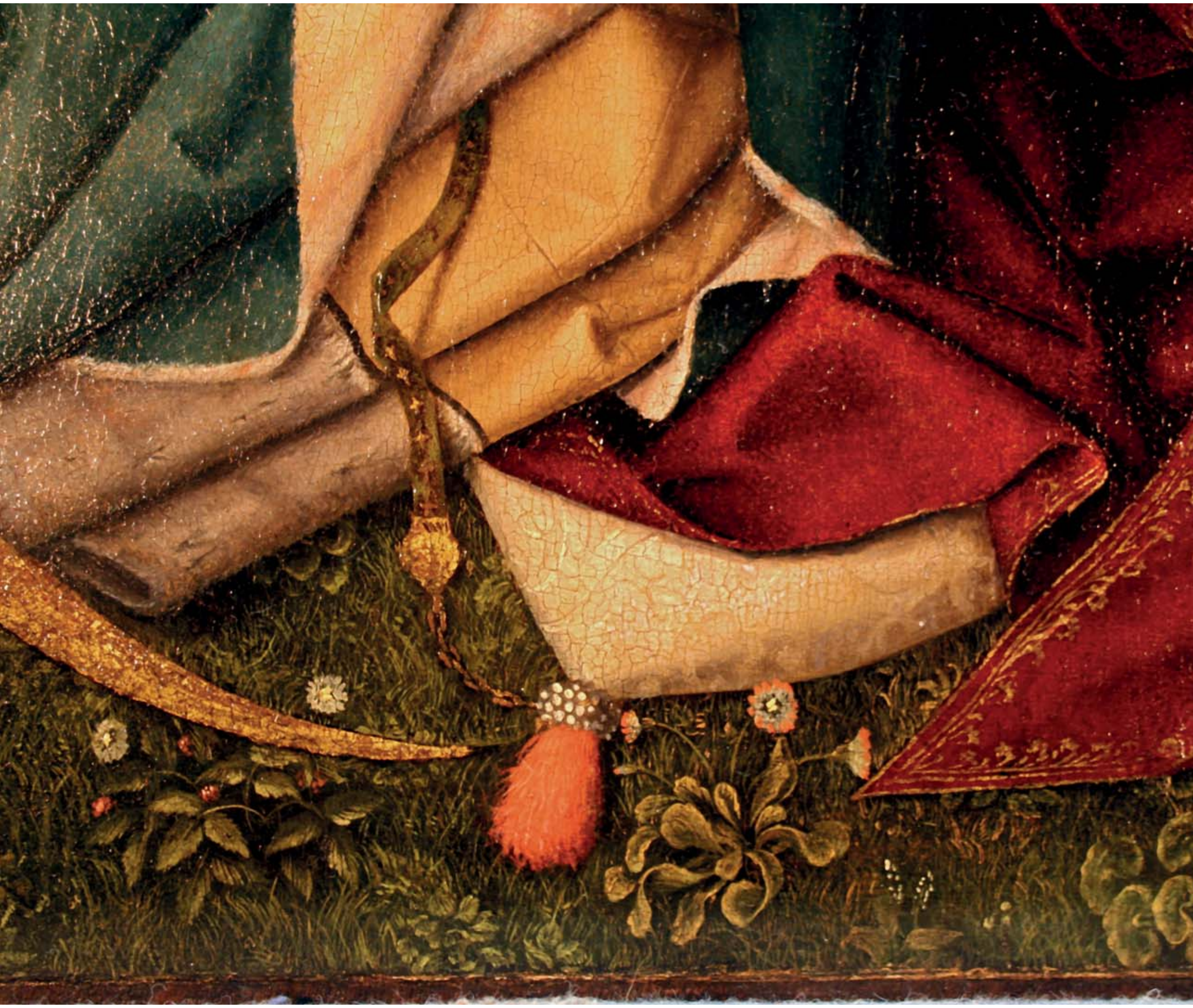
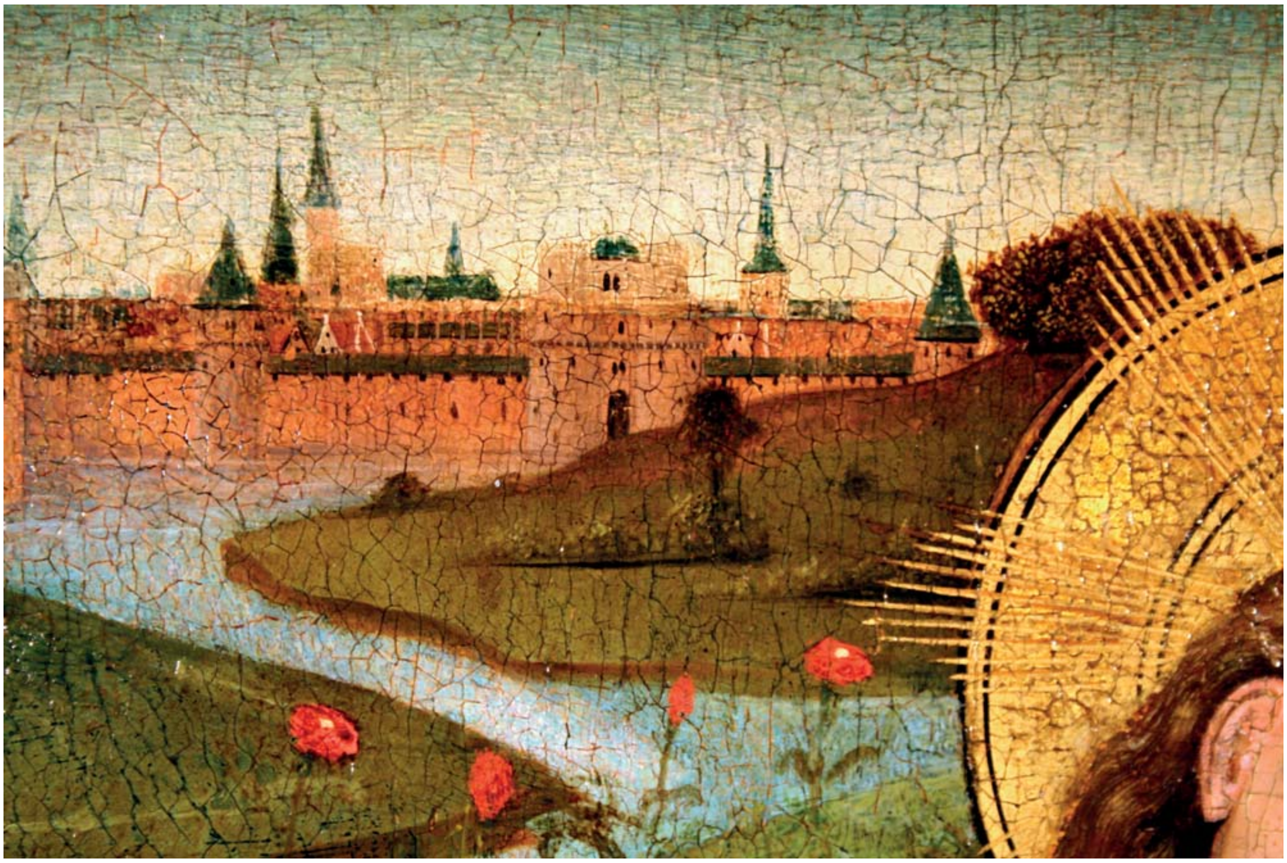


7. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, detail of Virgin's face

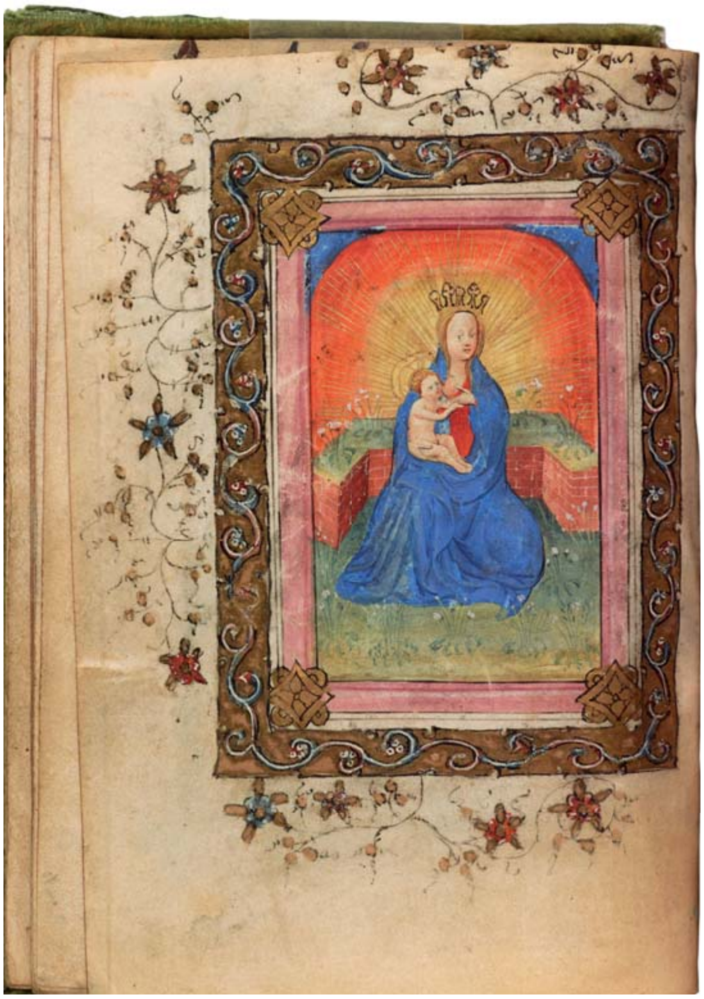
8. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, detail, bottom of picture with drapery



9. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Madonna of Humility with a Crescent Moon*, detail, buildings at left background

The Madonna sits before a turf bench that curves around her. Resting on its grassy ledge are two books and a blue and white ceramic vase that holds three stalks of white lilies. The closed blue book on the right has four red ribbons that serve as bookmarks. At the left, another manuscript, covered with a crimson cloth, is open to an illegible textual passage. It has two metal clasps, gauffered edges, and four brown bookmarks with finials. A hedge of flowering plants, perhaps roses, serves as a natural backrest for the bench and as a partition that separates the Virgin and Child from the landscape behind. In the far distance, beyond meadows through which a river passes, is a walled city surrounded by water (fig. 9). Its wall is punctuated by windows, towers, and a gate, and within the city turrets and gabled roofs are visible.

The crescent moon alludes to the woman of the Apocalypse, who is described in Rev. 12:1 as having "the moon under her feet." This type of image is often linked to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[19] Mary's loose hair probably refers to her virginity.[20] Since she does not sit on the ledge, but rather on a cushion placed on the ground, she may have been intended as a Madonna of Humility, which since the fourteenth century had become a popular theme in images produced for private devotion.[21] However, as C. Reynolds (1996) has observed, aristocrats are sometimes depicted this way, and, unlike the situation in Italy, there is little evidence that Flemish viewers interpreted the low position of the Madonna as a sign of her humility.

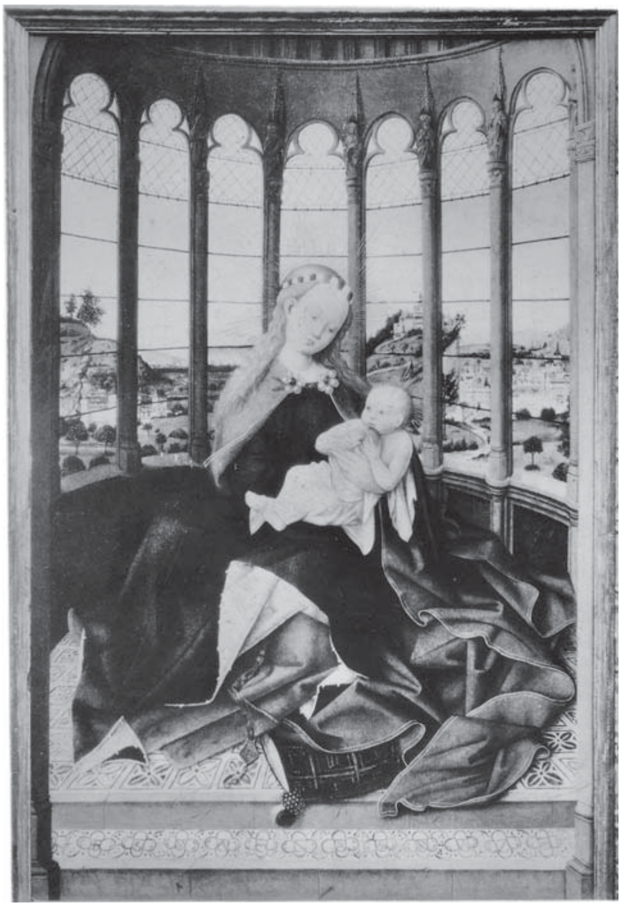


10. Dutch Master, *Madonna and Child before a Turf Bench,* in *Book of Hours*, 114 × 80 mm., New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M. 1073, fol. 10v.

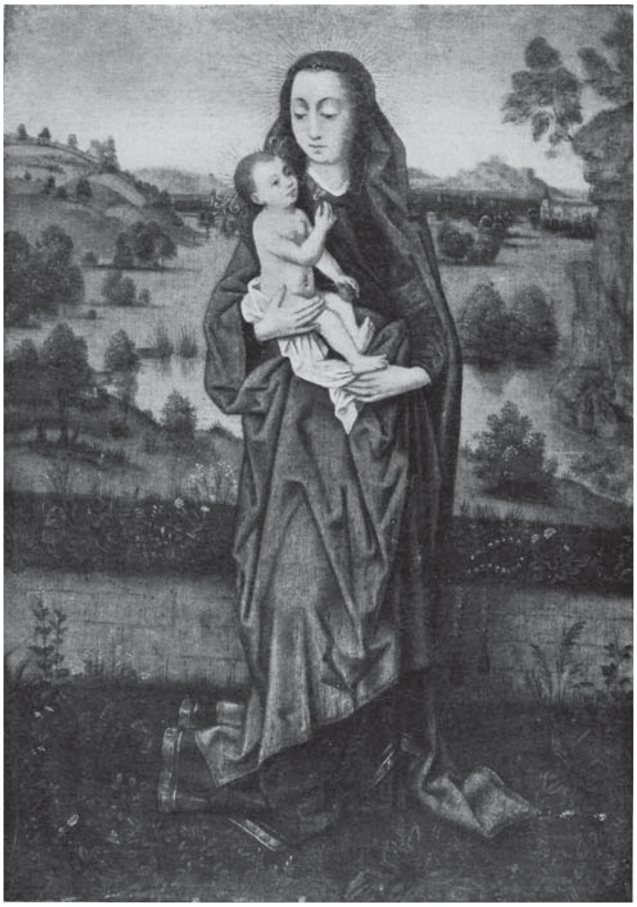
The turf bench with its hedge of flowers suggests the garden enclosed (*hortus conclusus*), a symbol of Mary's virginity, derived from the Song of Songs 4:12, and the flowering garden may refer to the Garden of Paradise. Recently, however, C. Fisher (1996) doubted that grassy benches represent the *hortus conclusus*. Instead she suggested that they may simply be a realistic element introduced because mothers often played with their young children on such benches. She further proposed that flowering gardens would have been viewed as sites of prayer and meditation, a common function at this time and an idea supported by the books in the Getty panel. Fisher also argues that flowers may have been included solely for their decorative qualities, and cautions that plants should not as a rule be interpreted individually as carrying a specific symbolism.

A large group of works shows the Madonna before a turf bench. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (1996) list six such illuminations, including one in a Dutch Book of Hours, dated ca. 1410-1420 (fig. 10).[22] One engraving and three panels also show this composition: the Master of Flémalle's *Madonna of the Grassy Nook,* dated sometime after 1394 (fig. 2); Stefan Lochner's *Madonna and Child before a Grassy Bench*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, dated around 1440;[23] the Master of 1456's *Madonna on a Crescent Moon in a Hortus Conclusus*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, dated in the 1450s;[24] and the Master of the Banderoles's *Madonna and Child with a Flower*, Darmstadt, dated before 1470-1475.[25] Like the Getty panel these last four works show a low-seated Madonna with a disk halo surrounded by a turf bench. Furthermore, all depict the Virgin's drapery spread out around her as she holds the Child. Only the Getty version and the panel attributed to the Master of 1456, however, include a crescent moon beneath the Virgin. But at least two illuminations show the Virgin and Child seated in a grassy patch with the moon below her (fig. 3).[26] There is considerable variety among these works as to their place of production and the specifics of their composition, but collectively they make clear that the motifs in the Getty panel were common at this time in the southern Netherlands. One *Madonna of the Grassy Nook* is attributed to the Master of Flémalle (fig. 2), another is by the Master of the Banderoles, who sometimes copied the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden,[27] and a third is by the Master of 1456, who was trained in the southern Netherlands.[28]

11.



12.



6. Comparative Material

- German Master, *Madonna and Child.* The exhibition catalogue of 1935 relates that Tobias Christ of Basel owned a free copy of the *Madonna with a Crescent Moon* now in the Getty Museum. Lavalleye (1937) attributed this panel to a German Master, and a Sotheby's catalogue assigned it to a Rhenish Master active ca. 1450.[29] Winkler (1936) declares it an original work on which the restorations of Van der Veken are based. This painting is probably identical to one reproduced earlier by O. Fischer (1928). The general outlines of the Madonna and Child and the curving niche agree in both works (figs. 1, 11)
- Flemish Master, *Madonna and Child.* See below for a discussion of this painting, which appeared in the sale of objects from the Château de Vantoux at Dijon, 8 July 1927, lot no. 27 (fig. 12)[30]

11. German Master, *Madonna and Child,* Basel, Private Collection (from 1928-1938)

12. Flemish Master, *Madonna and Child,* 285 × 205 cm., Dijon, Sale Château de Vantoux, 8 July 1927, lot no. 27

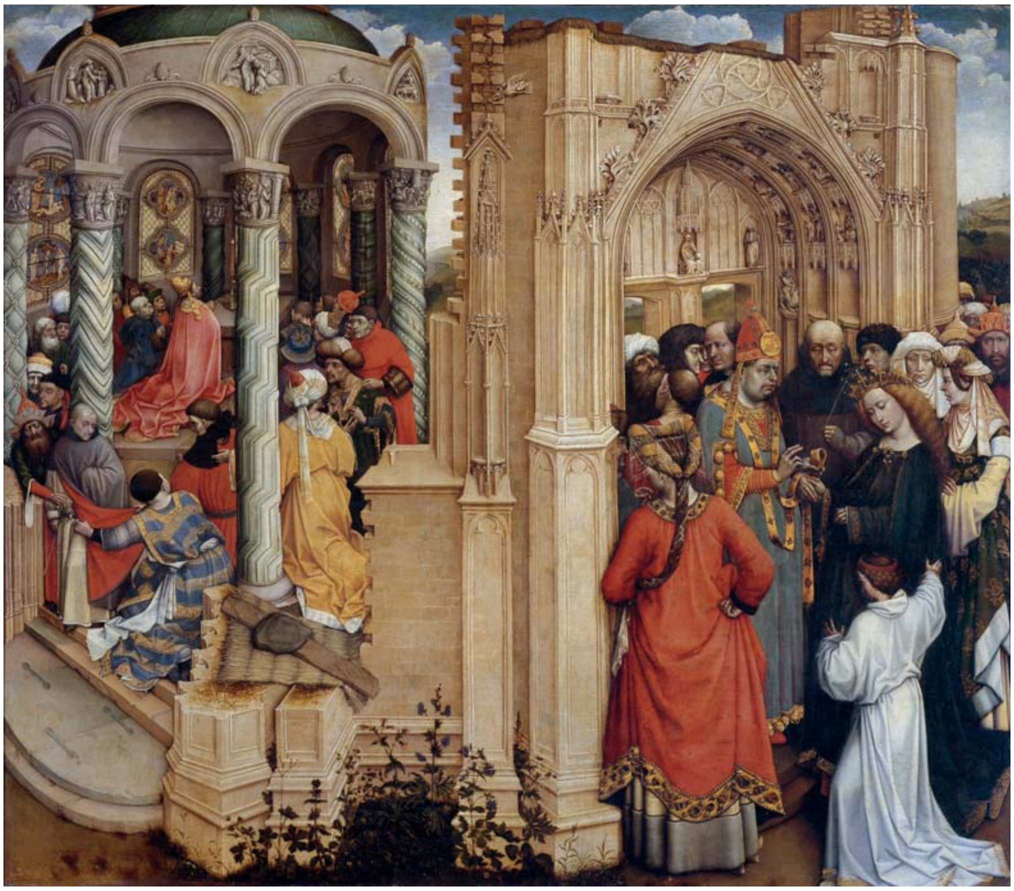
7. COMMENTS

J.-L. Pypaert (2008), who saw a photograph of the painting before it entered Van der Veken's shop, noted the restorer's heavy repainting of the background landscape and especially of the Virgin's face. Furthermore, the painting shows several features common to Van der Veken's restorations: a penchant for embroidered hems, for the reverse of fur linings, and for linear rays issuing from the heads of Christ and the Virgin.[31] Based on the poor condition of this painting and the early date of the dendrochronological report, it is difficult to make firm conclusions regarding its date and attribution.

On the basis of its style and composition, however, it should remain in the group of works attributed to the Master of Flémalle and his followers. Its costumes are similar to those in works by the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden. For example, the Virgin's tan skirt with a wide grey border is strikingly similar to that worn by the turbaned woman whose back faces the viewer in the Master of Flémalle's *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 13), a woman in the right wing of the *Columba Altarpiece*,[32] and a holy woman in a *Crucifixion*[33] whose attribution alternates between Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle. Similarly, the physiognomy of the Christ Child is quite close to those in works produced in the circle of the Master of Flémalle, for example, the panels in Douai[34] and Washington[35]. The color of the Child's fruit and the shape of the Virgin's face resemble those in the painting in Washington. Finally, the central circular shape formed by the curving brick wall, which is continued by the Virgin's drapery on the right and the crescent moon on the left is reminiscent of compositions associated with the Master of Flémalle, such as the Brussels *Annunciation*.[36]

An anonymous note in the curatorial file of the Getty Museum remarks that this painting is similar to one sold in Dijon in 1927 (fig. 12). The author observes that the Madonna and Child in the panel in Dijon are heavily overpainted, but that the landscape, the wall, the plants, and the drapery resemble those in the Getty painting. This judgment has considerable merit. Note the complexity of the folds that do not reveal the body beneath the drapery. Unfortunately the current location of this painting is unknown.

The presence of the crescent moon lying on the ground makes clear that the painting in the Getty Museum is not intended simply as a mirror of reality. Similarly, since a vase with flowers is not something one would naturally bring to a garden, this also suggests a symbolic function, the lilies as a sign of purity. Because the ideas of the *hortus conclusus* and Christ as the second Adam are so common, they probably apply here. In addition, the Virgin seated close to the ground may refer to her role as the Madonna of Humility. The *Madonna with a Crescent Moon* is a small scale, intimate scene of the Virgin and Child of the type that generally functioned as a private devotional image.



13. Master of Flémalle, *Marriage of the Virgin,* 77 × 78 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01887

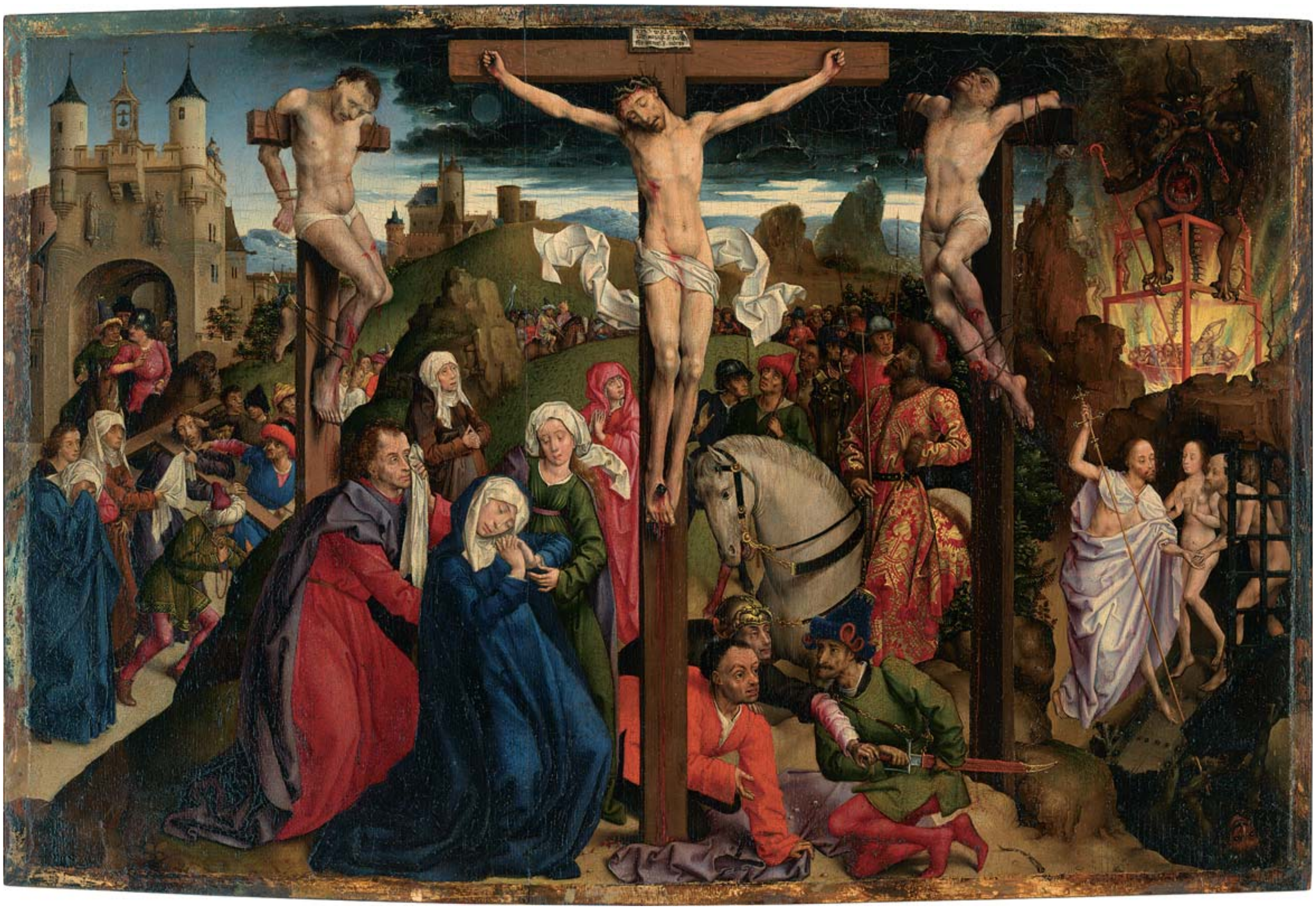
8. Bibliography

1935: *Cinq siècles d'art* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1, p. 10, no. 13.
1936: Winkler, p. 20-21.
1937: Lavalleye, p. 72, no. 1.
1939: De Tolnay, p. 16-17, 45-46, 59 (no. 17), 88 (no. 24).
1939: *The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting* (exhib. cat.), Worcester and Philadelphia, p. 19-20, no. 5.
1952: Dupierreux, p. 16.
1953: Panofsky, I, p. 128, 143, 175 (n. 1) and 426.
1957: Gottlieb, p. 59, n. 16.
1960: *Fleurs et jardins dans l'art flamand* (exhib. cat.), Ghent, p. 114, no. 43.
1961: Meiss, p. 276-277, 310, n. 9.
1964: *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden 1464-1964* (exhib. cat.), Tournai, cat. no. 11.
1967: Friedländer, II, p. 92, Add. 151, pl. 142.
1970: Kerber, p. 27.
1971: De Vos, p. 69, 70 (n. 18), 86, 90, 92, 120, 156, 161.
1971: *Artemis 70-71 Annual General Meeting 22 October 1971*, p. 8-9
1972: Davies, p. 247, 239.
1972a: Kerber, p. 299.
1972: Rademacher-Chorus, p. 376.
1972: Strauss, p. 28, Taf. 20, 6.
1978b: Fredericksen, p. 72, 74.
1984: Fletcher, p. 13, 15.
1990: De Coo, p. 42-43.
1991: Falkenburg, p. 421.
1994: Falkenburg, p. 3 and fig. 10.
1996: Châtelet, p. 328.
1996: Fisher, p. 120.
1996: Purtle, p. 181.
1997: Jaffé, p. 20.
1997: Kemperdick, p. 168, n. 36.
2002: Thürlemann, p. 333.
2007: Potte, p. 44-45.
2008: Pypaert, p. 246.

Notes

1. For the presence of this painting in Müller's collection up to 1939, see J.-L. Pypaert, 2008, p. 246.
2. M.J. Friedländer, 1967, II, p. 92.
3. *Artemis 70-71 Annual Meeting 22 October 1971*, 1971, n.p.
4. J.-L. Pypaert, 2008, p. 246.
5. The exhibition catalogue of 1935 ascribes the attribution to M.J. Friedländer, noting that he judged the painting of great originality and exceptional quality. J. Lavalleye, 1937, p. 23, hesitantly maintained the attribution to Rogier van der Weyden, suggesting that it was an early work related to his paintings of the Virgin in Berlin and Aix-en-Provence. Lavalleye also cited aspects that he deemed Eyckian, such as the landscape and the coloring.
6. E. Panofsky, I, 1953 (a faithful copy); M. Meiss, 1961, p. 277 ("more or less freely copied"); *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden 1464-1964* (exhib. cat.), Tournai, 1964, cat. no. 11; M.J. Friedländer, II, 1967, p. 92, Add. 151, pl. 142 (follower of Master of Flémalle); O. Kerber, 1970, p. 27; *Artemis 70/71,* 1970, n.p.; M. Davies, 1972, p. 247 ("It seems remote, at least in execution, from Campin; it is recorded summarily here."); B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72 (close follower of Campin); R. Falkenburg, 1991, p. 421 (after Campin); R. Falkenburg, 1994, p. 3 ("employing an invention of the Master of Flémalle"); C. Purtle, 1996, p. 174 and p. 181, n. 6 (Campin follower); D. Jaffé, 1997, p. 20 (after Campin); F. Thürlemann, 2002, p. 333 (follower of Campin, but not someone from his workshop). A. Châtelet, 1996, suggested that the Getty painting might reflect a model by the Master of Flémalle. Supporting the attribution to the master himself are *The Worcester-Philadelphia exhibition of Flemish Painting* (exhib. cat.), Worcester and Philadelphia, 1939, p. 19; R. Dupierreux, 1952, p. 16; and *Fleurs et jardins dans l'art flamand* (exhib. cat.), Ghent, 1960, p. 114.
7. Master of Flémalle, *The Virgin and Child, SS. Peter and Augustine, and a Donor*, 48 × 31.6 cm., Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, inv. no. 300. C. Gottlieb, 1957, p. 59, *Fleurs et jardins dans l'art flamand* (exhib. cat.), Ghent, p. 443 and M. Davies, 1972, p. 247 agreed in part or in full.
8. Master of Flémalle, *Madonna and Child*, 43 × 30.5 cm., Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. no. OOOO.GRO.1365.I. D. De Vos, 1971, p. 82, fig. 15.
9. Rogier van der Weyden, *Madonna and the Child*, 216 × 133 mm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 9.
10. Master of Flémalle, *The Virgin by the Fireplace*, 34.3 × 24.5 cm., Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 448.
11. Master of Flémalle, *Nativity*, 86 × 72 cm., Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. CA 150.
12. Copy after Robert Campin, *Madonna in an Apse*, 45.1 × 34.3 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 05.39.2.
13. Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden?, *Heinrich von Werl and St. John the Baptist* and *St. Barbara* (wings of the *Werl Altarpiece*), 101 × 47 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P01513.
14. *Worcester-Philadelphia exhibition of Flemish Painting* (exhib. cat.), Worcester and Philadelphia, 1939, p. 19, dated it 1430 or after 1438; *Fleurs et jardins dans l'art flamand* (exhib. cat.), Ghent, 1960, p. 114, dated it ca. 1430.
15. E. Panofsky, I, 1953, p. 128; *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden 1464-1964* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1964, cat. no. 11; M. Davies, 1972, p. 247; B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72; A. Châtelet, 1996, p. 328; D. Jaffé, 1997, p. 20.
16. De Tolnay, 1939, p. 16; *Hommage à Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden 1464-1964* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1964, cat. no. 11; M. Davies, 1972, p. 247; B. Fredericksen, 1978b, p. 72, 74; A. Châtelet, 1996, p. 328; J. De Coo, 1990, p. 42-43.
17. E. Panofsky, I, 1953, p. 175, n. 1.
18. M.-B. Potte, 2007, p. 45.
19. For example, see J. De Coo, 1990, p. 41-44. For a second example of this, see entry no. 248.
20. For long, loose hair as a sign of virginity, see C. Reynolds, 1996, p. 188; D. Wolfthal, 1999, p. 43-45.
21. The classic study of the Madonna of Humility is M. Meiss, 1936, p. 435-65.
22. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon, 1996, p. 169, n. 66.
23. Stefan Lochner, *Madonna and Child before a Grassy Bench*, 37.5 × 23.6 cm., Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 13169.
24. Master of 1456, *Madonna on a Crescent Moon in a Hortus Conclusus*, 95 × 62 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 1230.

25. Master of the Banderoles, *Madonna and Child with a Flower,* 12.1 × 10 cm., Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. no L. 45. The Master of the Banderoles's print is inscribed with references to Mary as virgin, queen, and mediator. For a related Marian hymn, see F.J. Mone, 1854, p. 301, no. 517.
26. The other illumination is *Mary Sitting on the Crescent, Holding the Christ Child,* in *Book of Hours*, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 E 15, fol. 16.
27. *Fifteenth Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the National Gallery of Art* (exhib. cat.), Washington, 1968, introduction to cat. nos. 27-29. The Master of the Banderoles also copied Rogier van der Weyden and the original composition reproduced in the engraving under discussion is usually assigned to that painter. See M.J. Friedländer, 1967, II, p. 86-87, pl. 124, fig. 120a.
28. H. Bevers, 1996, p. 622.
29. *Highly Important Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Tobias Christ of Basel* (sale cat.), 9 April 1981, London, Sotheby's, 1981, n.p.
30. *Catalogue des tableaux anciens, Galerie Georges Giroux* (sale cat.), Brussels, 15 March 1926, no. 16; *Les meubles anciens provenant du château de Vantoux par Messigny* (sale cat.), Dijon (Côte d'Or), 8 July 1927, p. 26, no. 27.
31. J.-L. Pypaert, 2008, p. 200.
32. Rogier van der Weyden, *Columba Altarpiece*, 138 × 153 cm., Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 1189.
33. Follower of the Master of Flémalle, *Crucifixion*, 77 × 47 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 538A.
34. After the Master of Flémalle, *Virgin and Child*, 83 × 90 cm., Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse, inv. no. 162.
35. Workshop of the Master of Flémalle (?), *Virgin and Child with Saints in the Enclosed Garden*, 119.8 × 148.5 cm. (painted surface), Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1959.9.3.
36. Master of Flémalle, *Annunciation*, 61 × 63.7 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 3937.



Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris

Crucifixion

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 79.PB.177

Group: Rogier van der Weyden
No. Corpus: 255

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1978: Private Collection
1978: Versailles, Palais des Congrès, Anonymous Sale, 19 November 1978, lot no. 88
1978: Paris, The restorer Paulet
1978-1979: Paris, François Heim Gallery
1979: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Material History

1979 (?): cleaned and restored[1]
1982: the split panel was rejoined and humidified, and multiple layers of shellac were applied to the reverse. The painting was also framed with springs at the extreme edges to give maximum elasticity to the panel[2]

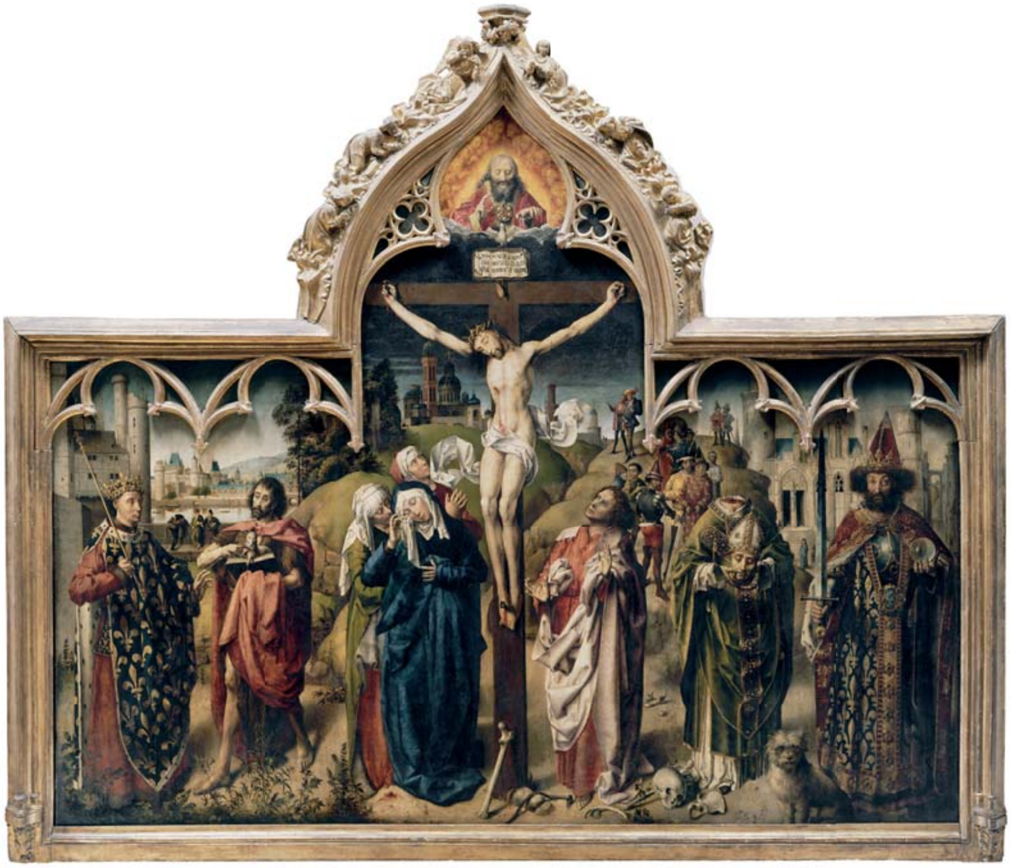
Exhibitions

2010-2011 Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, *Kings, Queens, and Coutiers. Art in Early Renaissance France,* no. 7

1. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion,* 46 × 69 cm. (painted surface), Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 79.PB.177

3. History of the Research

The *Crucifixion* first became known in 1978, when it was sold at Versailles as a Flemish fifteenth-century work from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 1). The auction catalogue related the *Crucifixion* to one painted for the Grande Chambre of the Parlement of Paris by a master who is generally believed to have been trained



2. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris,* 146.8 and 226.5 (gable) × 270 cm. (support), Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 2065

in Flanders but active in Paris in the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 2).[3] In 1980 B. Fredericksen attributed the Getty panel to the Master of the Parlement de Paris or his circle. Yet he noted certain differences between the two Crucifixions. The composition in the Getty Museum was more complex, which he attributed to its smaller size and later date.

In 1983, Fredericksen wrote the first extensive study of the Getty *Crucifixion.* Terming it mid fifteenth-century French, he hypothesized that its relatively good condition was due to its having long belonged to a single collection. Furthermore, he related some of its compositional motifs to those in paintings by Rogier van der Weyden and his followers: the fluttering loin cloth to the *Crucifixion* in Vienna;[4] the group of St. John, the Virgin, and the holy woman to the *Deposition* in Munich;[5] the brocaded robe of Longinus to the *St. Columba Altarpiece.*[6] However, Fredericksen observed that no figure in the Getty *Crucifixion* was an exact copy of its model. For that reason, he postulated that the panel must have been painted by an artist who was trained by Rogier, but had long since left his shop. He also noted that the inclusion of a scene of hell was unusual in a depiction of a Crucifixion.

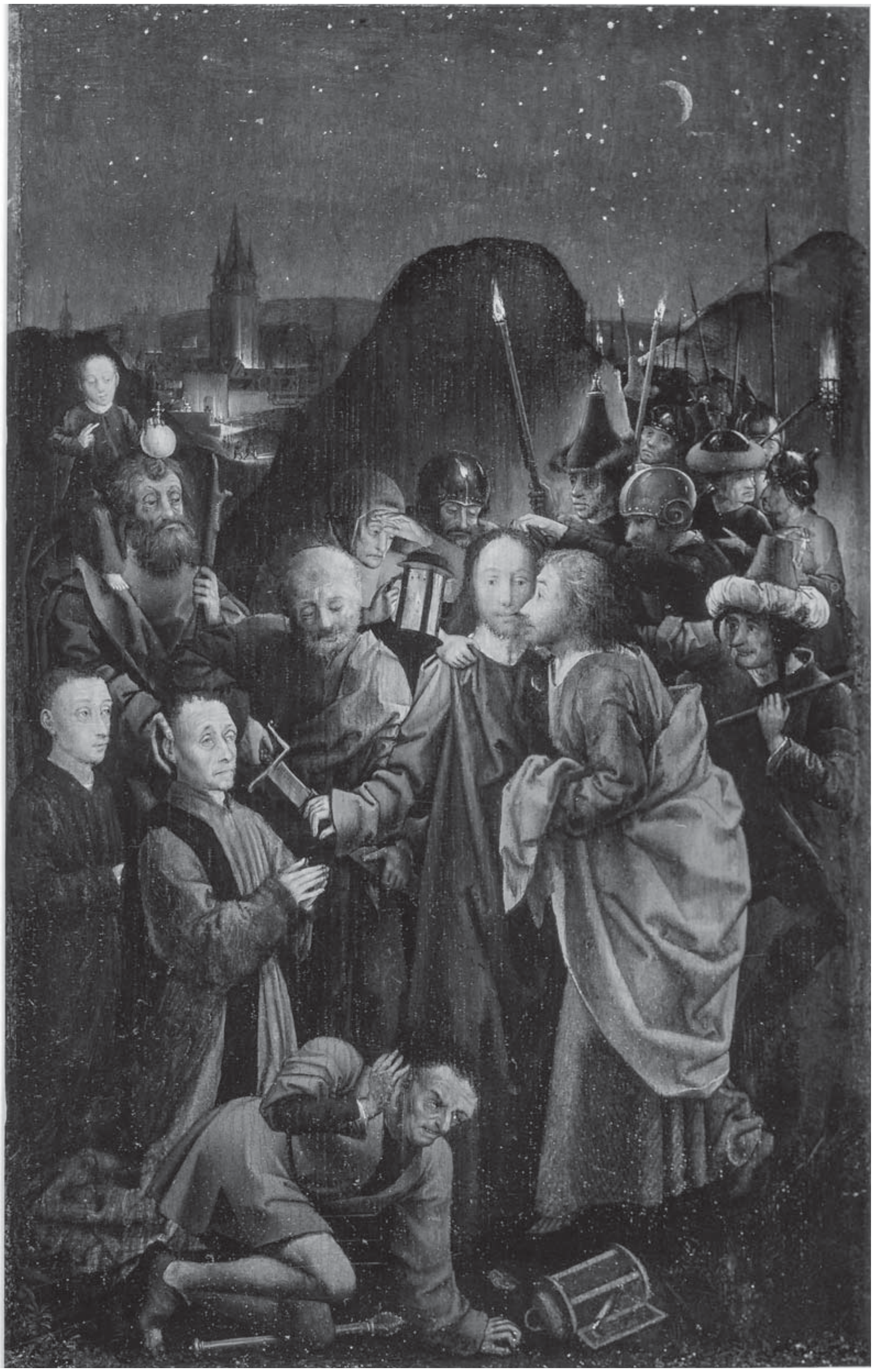
Fredericksen further proposed that the *Crucifixion* formed the center of a triptych whose right panel was a *Resurrection with female donors and St. Catherine* in Montpellier (figs. 1, 4).[7] He pointed to the similar “grotesque faces and contorted poses” of the gambling soldiers in the *Crucifixion* and the guards in the *Resurrection* as well as to the wind-blown drapery of the Getty Christ and the Montpellier angels.[8] He also noted that both panels show the same pattern of craquelure as well as faces with pronounced eyelids, bags under the eyes, and prominent lower lips.[9] Finally, he argued that the dimensions and subjects of the two paintings correspond. Although the *Resurrection* had previously been linked to Dirk Bouts and the Master of Saint Giles, Fredericksen pointed to the similarity between its St. Catherine and the painting of the same saint by Rogier's workshop.[10] He also noted that G. Hulin de Loo (1927) had earlier attributed the *Resurrection* to a Flemish-born artist active in Paris.[11]

Fredericksen further proposed that the left wing of the triptych was a *Betrayal of Christ*, today in a Private Collection (fig. 3). Its subject fits the chronological sequence of a Passion cycle, he argued, and its male donors presented by St. Christopher complement their female counterparts with St. Catherine on the right wing. Moreover, he asserted, the size and craquelure pattern are consistent with the two other panels, as are such stylistic features as the figures' short spiky fingers, the patrons' gaunt faces, and the physiognomies of the soldiers. He concluded by attributing the newly proposed triptych to the same master who painted the Parlement *Crucifixion*, an attribution that was supported by D. Jaffé (1997).[12]

C. Sterling (1990) published the second major study of the Getty *Crucifixion.*[13] He accepted Fredericksen's proposed triptych, noting that although the wings are too small to cover the *Crucifixion*, their frames could have made up the difference in size. He also identified the donor family as Dreux I Budé, his wife Jeanne Peschard, and their children, based on the women's resemblance to figures painted in a grisaille panel in a Private Collection and identifiable through the coat of arms on their prie-dieu (fig. 5).[14] In addition, he explained the identity of Budé's patron saint, St. Christopher, in the *Betrayal of Christ*: in 1454 Budé and his wife constructed in the Church of Saint-Gervais a Chapel dedicated to the Virgin and St. Christopher. Saint-Gervais was situated at the economic center of Paris, and Budé's family fortune was based in the wine trade. The son of Jean II and nephew of Guillaume, Dreux I Budé (d. 1476) was a high official at the courts of both Charles VII and his successor Louis XI; he served as a lawyer, notary, and secretary to the king as well as a keeper of the royal charters. Budé reached the height of his career in 1450-1455 when, in addition to his royal functions, he also served as provost of the Parisian merchants. After he died in 1476, he was buried at Saint-Gervais beside his wife, who had predeceased him. Sterling proposed that Budé commissioned his triptych in 1454 for his family Chapel at Saint-Gervais. He further noted the presence of St. Catherine, patron saint of their daughter, and the lack of patron saint for Jeanne Peschard, who, having died two years earlier, in 1452, no longer needed one.

Sterling agreed that the painter of the triptych was intimately familiar with Flemish art and might have been trained in Flanders, perhaps at Tournai. However, he cautioned that numerous motifs of Flemish origin, such as the fluttering loincloth, were widespread by mid-century, and that many similarities to Rogier's compositions could be due to circulating drawings rather than first-hand observations.

Sterling also proposed correspondences to other artists. He noted that the pose of the bad thief resembles that in the Master of Flémalle's *Seilern Triptych*[15] and that his raised head is reminiscent of one in his *Deposition* fragment in Frankfurt.[16] Sterling



3. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Betrayal of Christ*, 48.8 × 30.5 cm., Private Collection

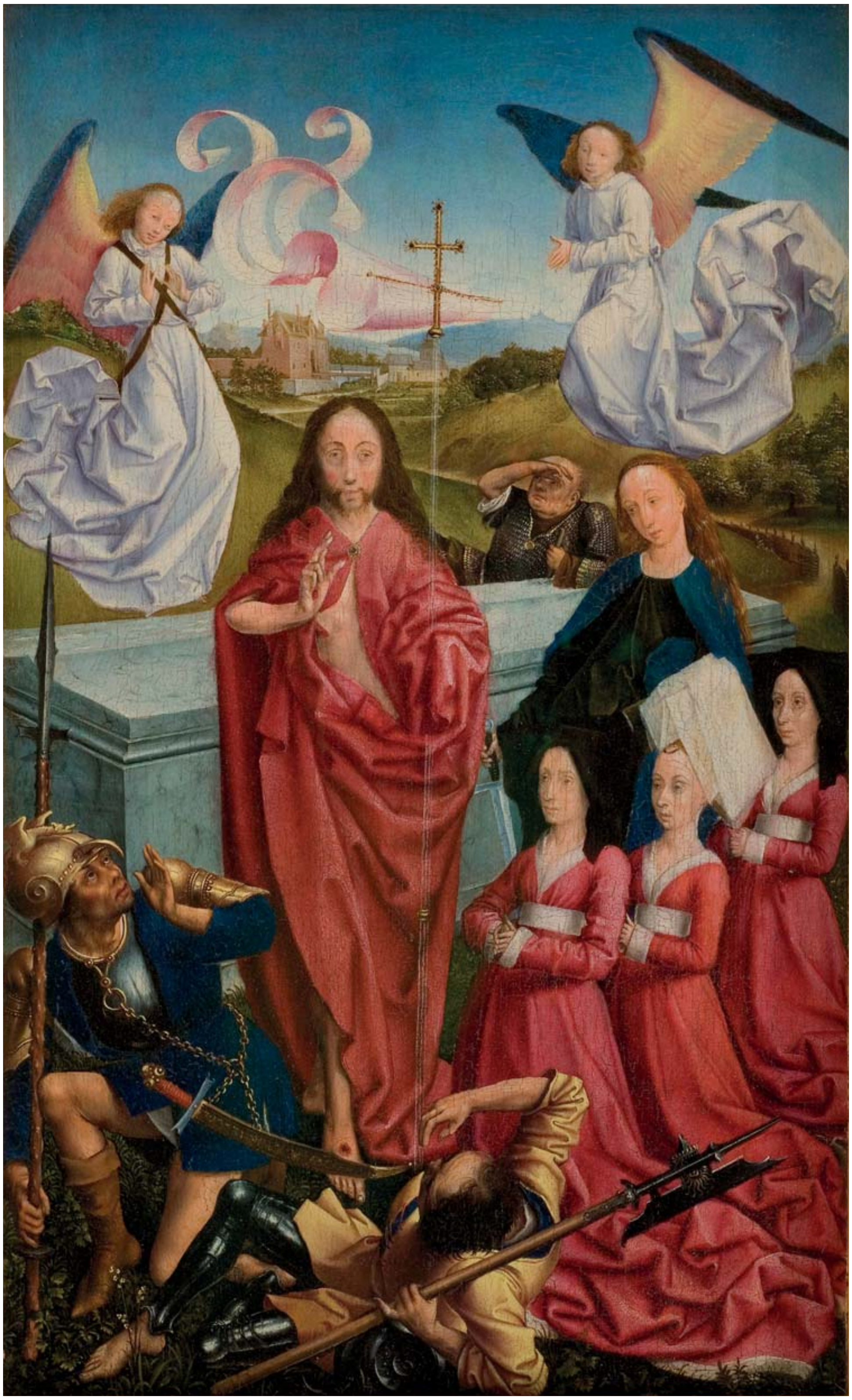
further observed that the *Resurrection* is similar to works by Dirk Bouts in the use of multiple light sources and the motif of Christ who has completely left his tomb. Both wings, he remarked, share the static verticality and austere and mute spirituality of Bouts. In addition, Sterling concluded that the composition of the Getty *Crucifixion*, with its stunning expansion of Passion scenes is exceptional among Flemish panels, but common in paintings from Westphalia.[17]

Because Sterling believed that Jeanne Peschard looks slightly younger in the grisaille portrait, he dated it somewhat earlier than the triptych, perhaps ca. 1450, but he attributed both works to the same hand, noting the similar heavy eyelids, sleeves with regularly spaced folds, and the curvilinear, sculptural drapery of the spread-out garment of the donatrix (figs. 4-5). He also praised the master's monumental composition, volumetric forms, lyrical expressionism, and subtle treatment of light, and observed that although the motif of the closed tomb in the *Resurrection* links it to Germany, the painter's rapid, spontaneous, and light brushstrokes are closer to the Northern Netherlands. This latter quality led him to wonder whether the painter was born there and whether he had worked as an illuminator. Sterling also noted the master's inventiveness, for example, in the grave expression of St. Veronica and Christ's tender response, his glance of recognition (fig. 8). He broke with Fredericksen in seeing the Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris as a separate personality, who painted with less lyricism but more originality than the artist who produced the Getty *Crucifixion*.[18]

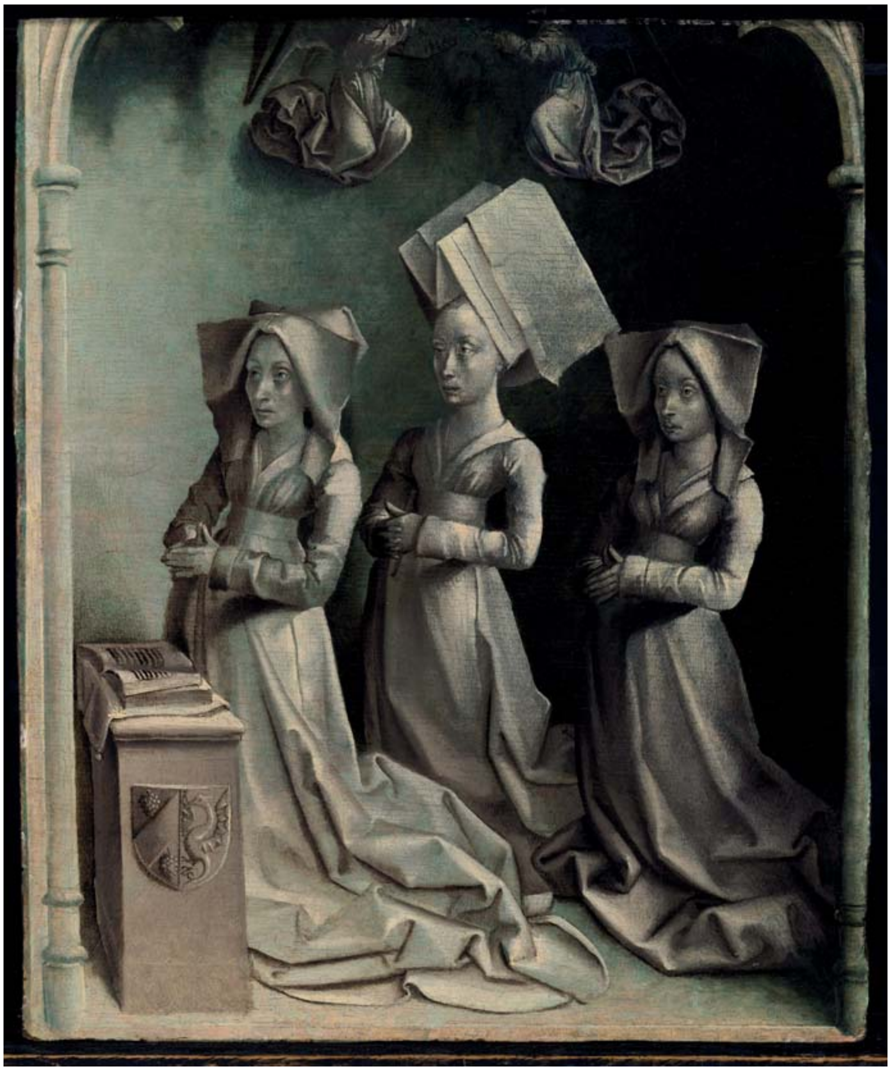
For Sterling, the Getty *Crucifixion* was painted by Conrad de Vulcop (d. 1479), an artist from the Netherlands who worked for Charles VII from the mid-1440s through 1459. Budé, a high court official, could have temporarily secured the services of the royal painter, Sterling reasoned. He cited as evidence the similarity in architecture, composition, and drapery to works attributed to Conrad's brother, Henry, and observed that Henry is believed to have illuminated manuscripts for both Jean and Dreux Budé. He further concluded that Henry de Vulcop was the Master of Coëtivy, a painter and illuminator to the queen who produced a *Resurrection of Lazarus* (fig. 9).

Three years later, N. Reynaud (1993) accepted Fredericksen's proposal of a triptych and retained Sterling's name for this painter, the Master of Dreux Budé.[19] However she disagreed with Sterling's identification, instead proposing that he was André d'Ypres (d. 1450), who in 1428 became a master painter in Tournai, in 1425-1443 worked in Amiens, and in 1450 was known in Paris, where he became a citizen. In addition, she enlarged his œuvre, adding several illuminated manuscripts. She further argued that he influenced his immediate successor in Paris, the Master of Coëtivy, whom she identified as André's son Colin d'Amiens, who was, in her opinion, the most important Parisian artist between 1450 and 1485.[20]

Over the course of twenty years, P. Lorentz published eight studies on the Getty *Crucifixion,* which he believes was painted by the Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris.[21] He recognized the stylistic differences between the two works, but attributed this to their vast difference in size. He accepted Fredericksen's thesis that the Getty panel formed a triptych with two other Passion scenes, Sterling's identification of the donor as Dreux Budé, and Reynaud's enlarged œuvre and attribution to André d'Ypres. When D. Vanwijnsberghe (2000) discovered a document that showed that André died at Mons in July 1450, Lorentz responded that



4. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Resurrection*, 48.5 × 30.5 cm., Montpellier, Musée Fabre, inv. no. 811



5. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Jeanne Peschard and her daughters*, 35 × 28 cm., Private Collection

André's son Colin could well have finished the Parlement *Crucifixion* by following his father's detailed underdrawing, since this project was begun in February 1449, before André's pilgrimage and subsequent death.[22]

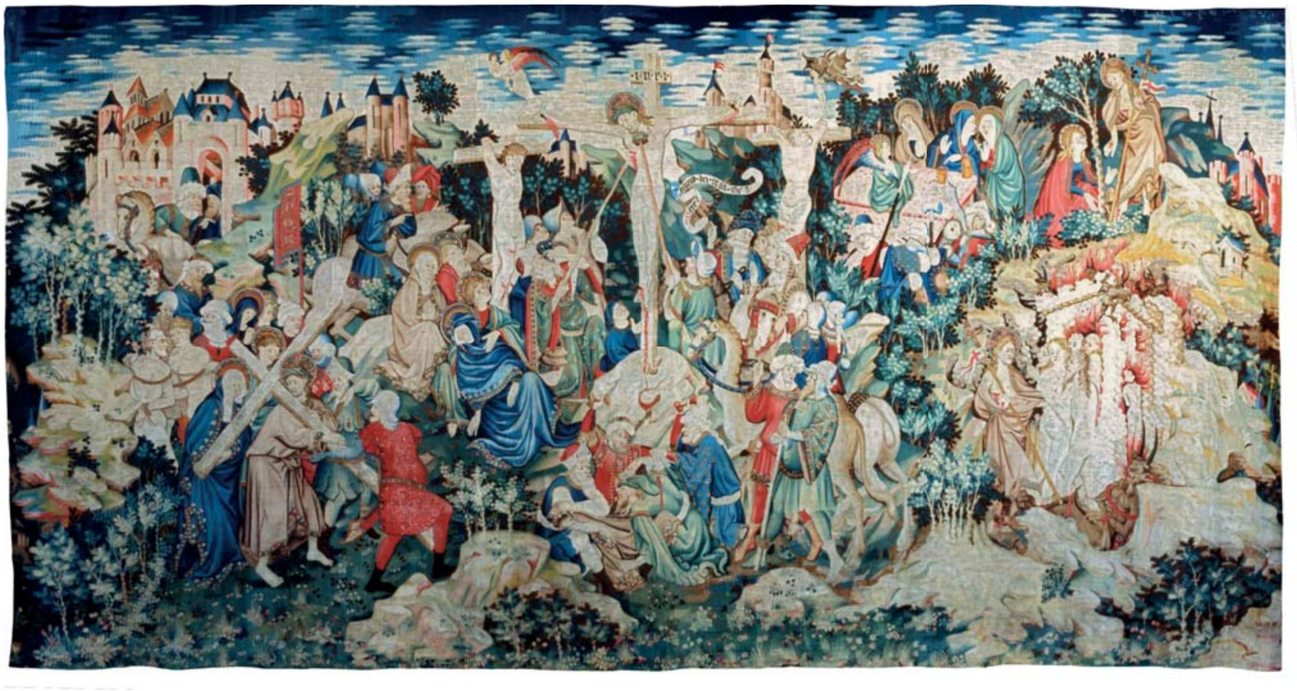
No consensus has been reached concerning the author of the painter of the Getty *Crucifixion*.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 40.6 × 71.1 cm. (current support dimensions)
Painted Surface: 46 × 69 cm.

6.



6. Arras Work, *The Crucifixion Tapestry*, 119 × 224 cm., Zaragoza, Cathedral, Museo de Tapices

7. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, detail showing Hell

SUPPORT

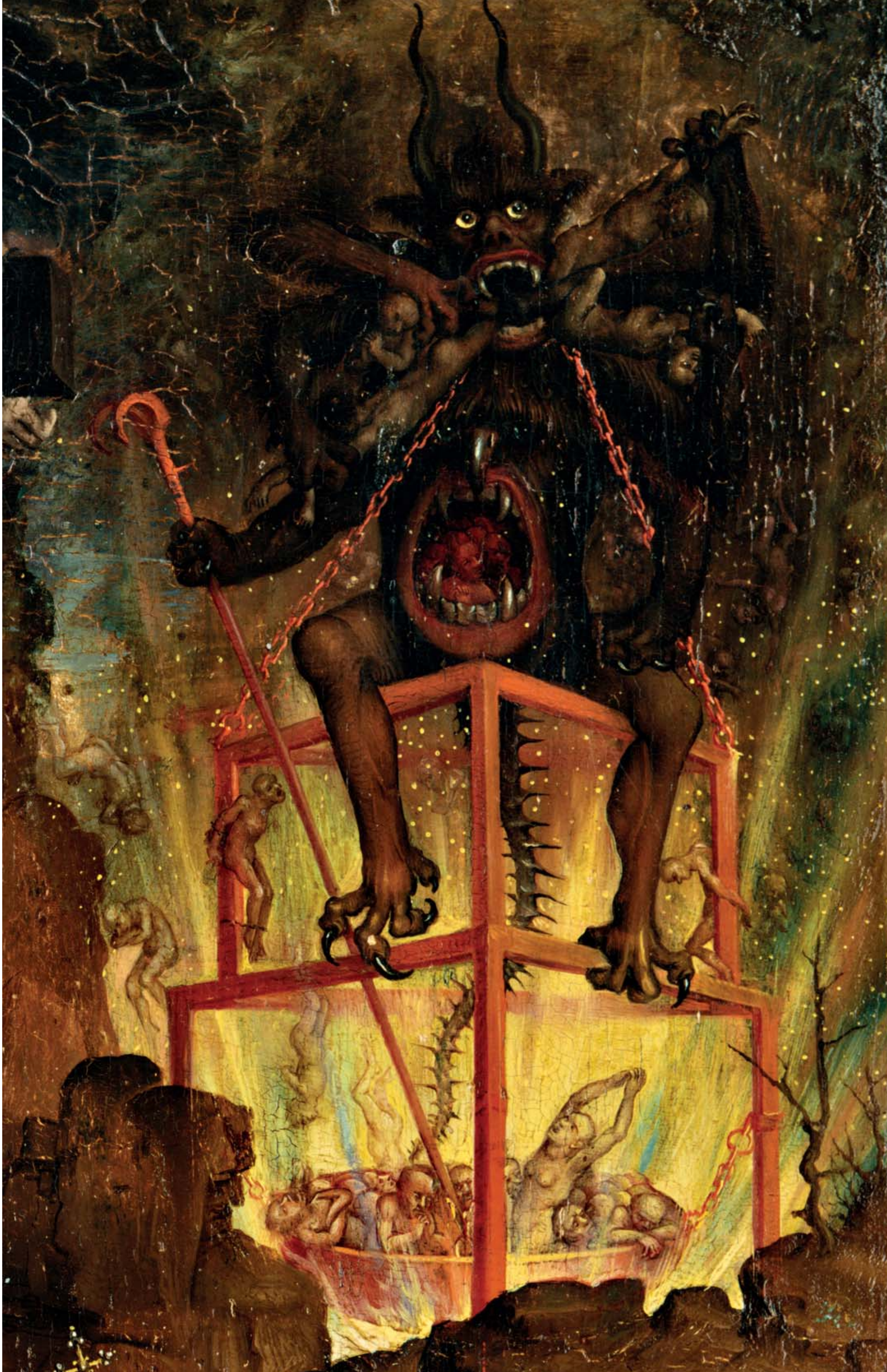
The panel is comprised of four boards of oak of western German or Netherlandish origin. Dendrochronology shows that boards I and II are from the same tree, that the youngest heartwood ring is from the year 1411, and therefore a plausible earliest creation date is 1438.[23] Each join was aligned with two dowels located at approximately one-quarter of the total height from the top and bottom edges. There are bevels on the verso on all four sides. In an intervention intended to flatten the convex warp, several layers of shellac were painted onto the verso, but the panel continues to have a marked convex warp. There are two holes, slightly smaller in diameter than the dowels that align the planks; they are situated in the reverse of the panel midway between Christ's pelvis and the thighs of the thief on his right. These holes, which are perpendicular to the painted surface, do not penetrate the full depth of the panel. They are filled with a material that is x-ray opaque, and their purpose is unknown.

FRAME

Not original.

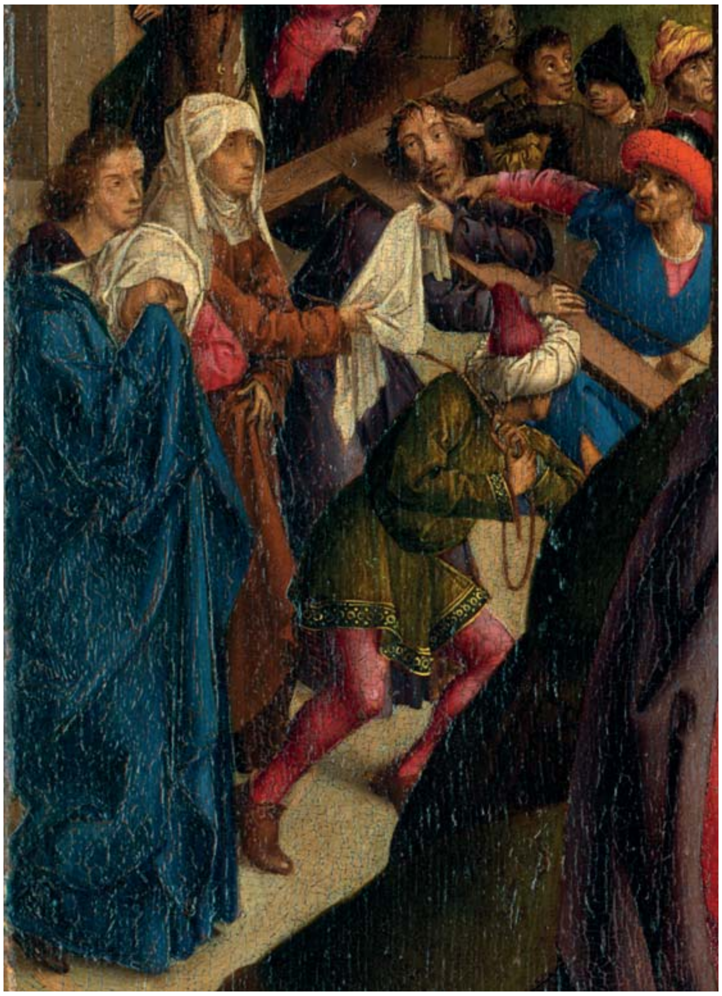
GROUND

The white ground shows remnants of a barbe at all sides. It has been shaved or sanded to the level of the paint in most places.



Underlying Drawing

There is an abundant freehand underdrawing that articulates the entire composition, including details of the pupils of the eyes in mid-ground figures and fully worked shading and modeling schemes (fig. 10). This drawing, which was executed with a brush in liquid media, is unconstrained and expressive. It is readily imaged with infrared reflectography and can be seen with the unaided eye through the paint in many places, such as the head and neck of the thief on the right (fig. 11). The drawing is similar in language to the underdrawing in the *Betrayal of Christ* and the Louvre *Crucifixion*, but the hatching and cross-hatching are somewhat less rigid and regular. The Louvre underdrawing is, judging from the published detail, more heavily drawn than this *Crucifixion*, and the underdrawing of the *Betrayal of Christ* seems to fall midway between that of the two *Crucifixions* in elaboration of shading.[24] All three are sufficiently comparable to have been done by the same artist. The draftsman was probably copying a known composition for this complex scene, as the forms are drawn with confidence, and no searching for compositional elements is evident.

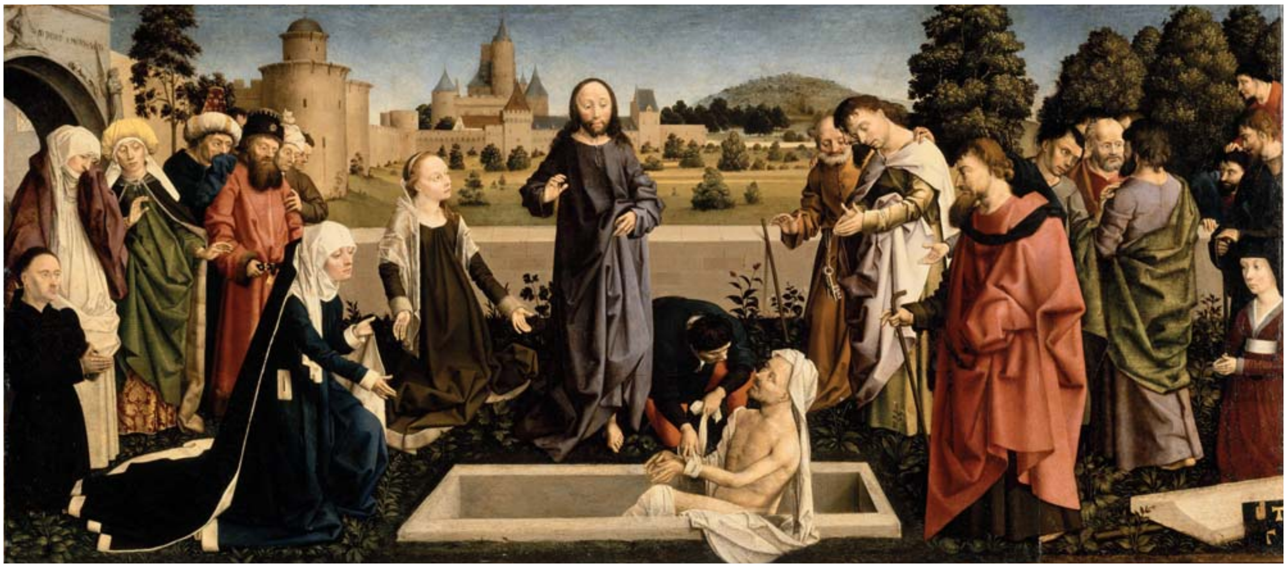


8. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, detail showing the Carrying of the Cross

Paint Layer

The paint is applied in multiple very thin layers. Small details are frequently added but not painted with great finesse (fig. 12). Despite the care taken to paint the most minute feature, the painter is not concerned with accuracy in placing and representing each element. There are wet-in-wet passages in some of the smallest details and the highlights on the foliage are made with dots of very liquid paint.

The changes to the underdrawn composition are made in the first paint stage. The head of the thief on the right was moved to look upward, the leg of Christ at the door of purgatory was made to stride forward, the thief on the left lost a long shock of hair dangling before his face. The gateway on the left was painted without turrets and the spikes in the arched doorway. The landscape between Christ and the thief to his left was changed to have a jagged rocky protrusion and the background château was modified. On the right, the arched doorway to Limbo, visible in the underdrawing, was eliminated, Christ's cross was shortened, and the two jagged mountainous forms in the background were combined into one.



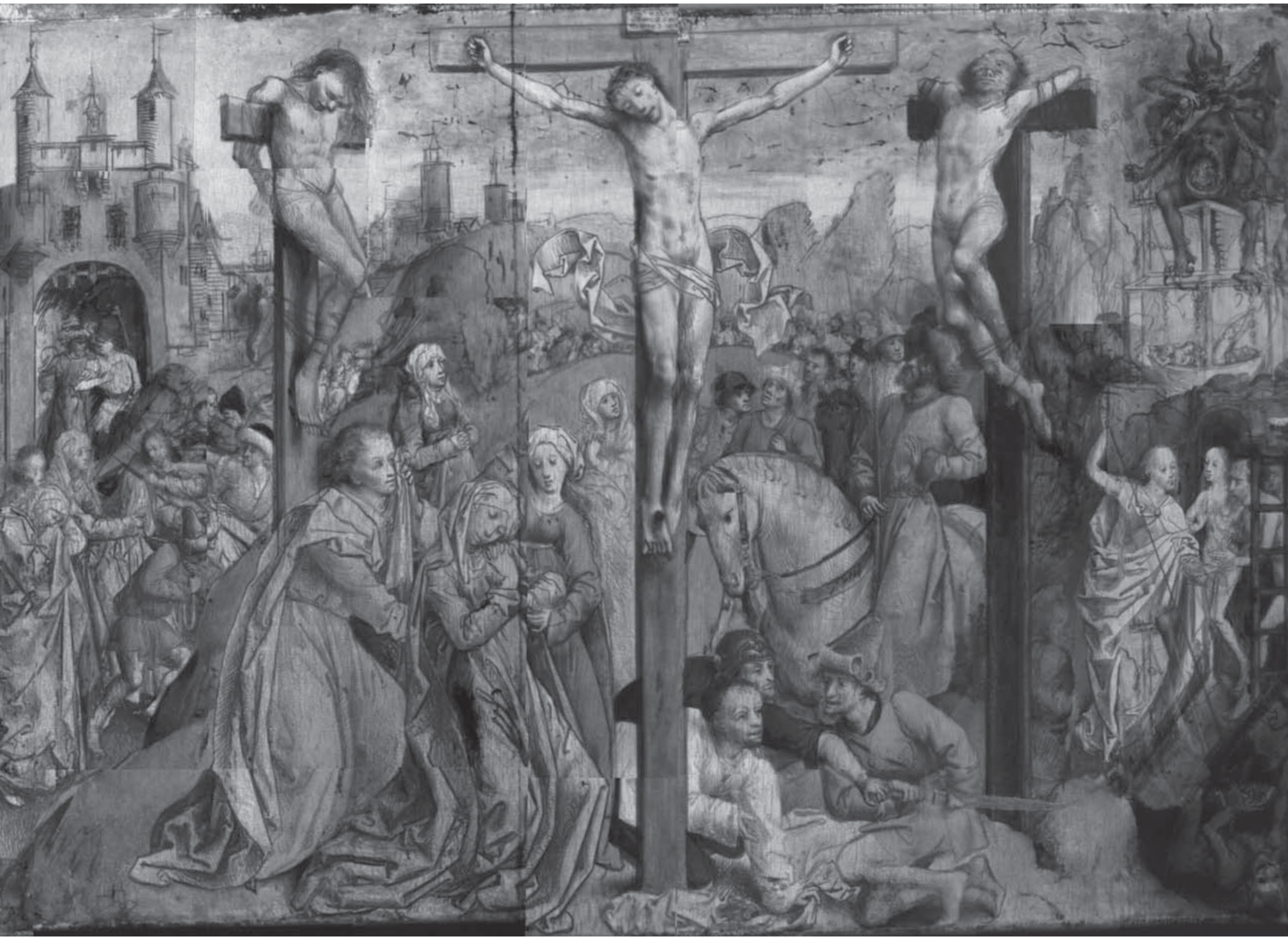
9. Henry de Vulcop/ Master of Coëtivy (?), *Resurrection of Lazarus*, 78 × 141 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 2501

The panel is in fairly good condition, with normal wear at the edges of cracks and some minor abrasion. The craquelure is slightly pronounced, producing a lightness in the dark forms. There are no major losses.

5. Pictorial Analysis

This painting portrays the Passion of Christ from the Carrying of the Cross at the left to Christ in Limbo at the right. All episodes are set within a single landscape setting and performed by numerous crowded, agitated figures. At the center, serving as the focus of the composition, is the crucified Christ on the cross whose long white loincloth partially unravels to reveal his left hip. Blood drips from each of his wounds, and affixed to the top of the cross is a titulus that declares Christ king of the Jews in three languages. To the left foreground, the Virgin swoons, her head bowed, her knees bent, her hands clasped before her (fig. 13). One holy woman gently touches her left wrist, as if moving to support her; two others stand in the middleground, their fingers devoutly threaded together as they gaze upward towards Christ. St. John stands beside the Virgin and stretches his right arm out towards her, while wiping his tears with a large white cloth held in his left hand. Behind him hangs the good thief, identifiable by his bowed head and location on Christ's right.

To the far left in the middleground is a scene of the Carrying of the Cross, part of a long procession that streams through the arched gateway and winds its way to Calvary (fig. 8). The Virgin appears again, this time weeping into her mantle as she is consoled by St. John. Beside them an older St. Veronica, with a grave expression, offers a white sudarium to Christ, who accepts it with his left hand as he turns to glance back towards her while carrying his cross. The procession includes vicious men wearing turban-like hats who torment Christ as well as two equestrian figures who



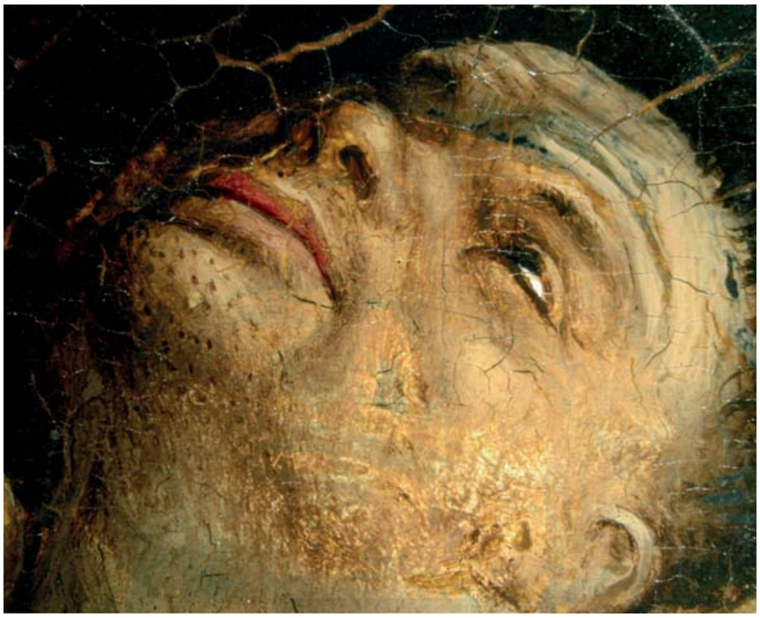
follow him, turning and gesturing towards each other as if in conversation. They ride through a large gateway whose façade is adorned by two statues and surmounted by a central bell tower and two turrets. On the roof, two small figures observe the scene below.

The procession, including the two thieves who are dressed in the white robes of convicted criminals, crosses the panel in the middle ground behind the Crucifixion. A cityscape appears in the distance. The silvery disc of the sun is perceptible through the dark clouds that surround the horizontal beam of Christ's cross and extend to the right, a reference to the darkening of the sky that occurred when Christ died. As the

10. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, infrared reflectogram

procession moves from left to right, the landscape is transformed from placid, rolling hills to barren rocky outcroppings.

The procession winds towards the hanging bad thief, marked as such by his upturned face, contorted posture, and location on Christ's left. Like the good thief, his arms and legs are bound to his cross by ropes, and his legs show bloody gaping wounds. The crowd on Christ's left is dominated by the procession's leader, the centurion Longinus, who glances up at Christ. He wears a fur-trimmed, full-length brocaded robe, and rides a magnificent white steed. A figure in a red cap also gazes at Christ, while his companion, in a metal helmet, turns away from the cross. In the foreground three men kneeling on the earth cast lots for Christ's tunic. One prepares to draw his sword, while another grabs its hilt.



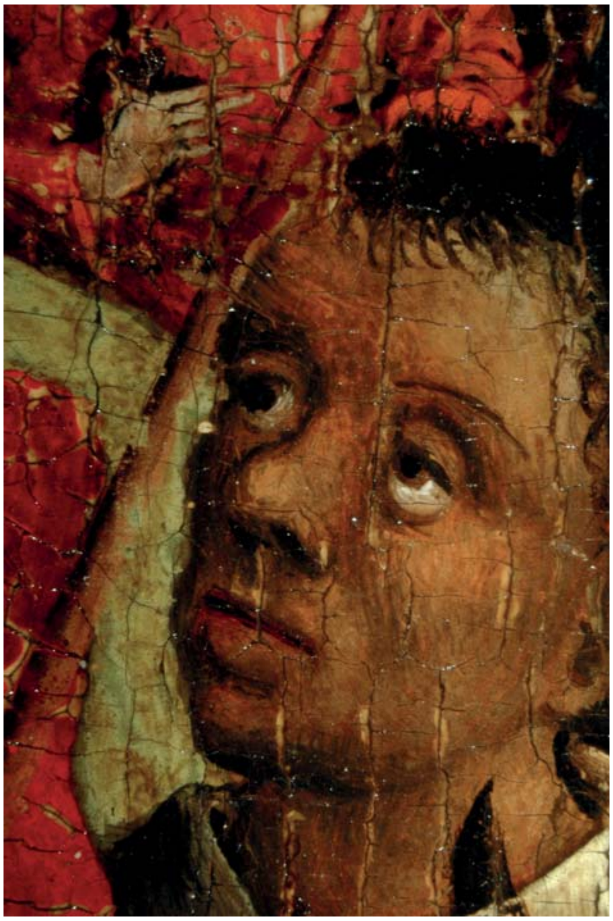
11. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion,* detail, head of thief

To the far right, a horrific double-horned demon with a long spiky tail and three sets of arms, opens wide his ferocious mouth and bares his teeth as he sits atop a cage-like structure composed of burning red bars that he grasps with his clawed feet (fig. 7). In one hand he holds a burning red shepherd's crook and in several others he grasps damned souls, some of whom he appears ready to eat. Two souls hang from the upper level of the structure. Below, a glowing light envelops souls who cook in a red cauldron licked by flames. To the left, four souls tumble into hell.

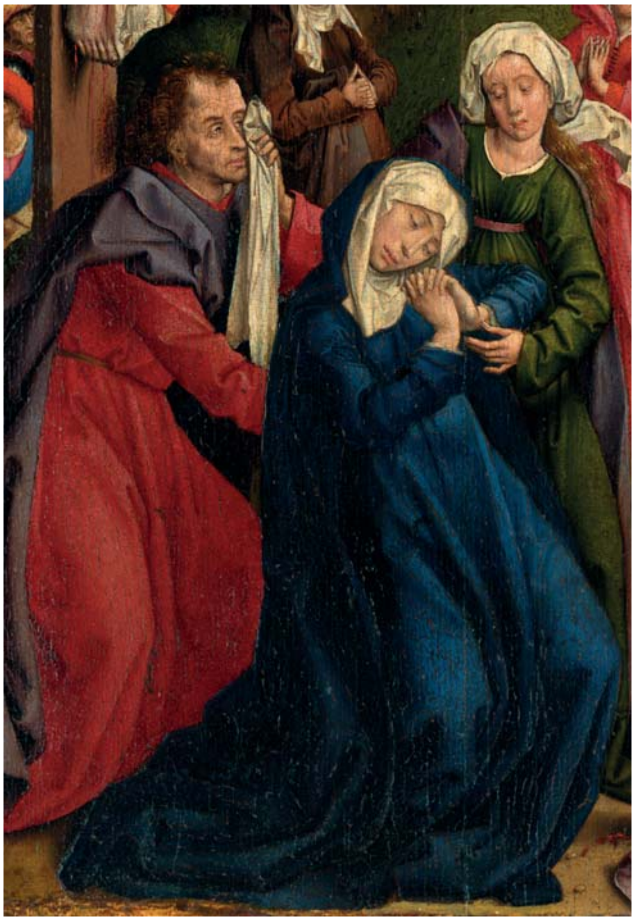
Below this vignette, Christ, wearing a long white cloak and holding a staff with a double cross bar, lightly touches Adam's hand to free him, while Eve, at his side, opens her hands in a gesture of wonder (fig. 14). Just behind the bearded Adam, two other men are visible in the dark cave. Christ stands on the detached wooden door of hell, while its upright metal gate is attached and open. The lower end of Christ's staff is grasped by a grimacing demon who lies in a dark abyss of hell.

Late medieval painters introduced an expressive intensity into Calvary scenes, which often include a multitude of episodes and crowds of closely packed figures, all depicted in great detail so that the spectator would experience the excruciating pain and searing grief of the holy figures. Painters drew on texts filled with realistic descriptions of the Passion, such as the very popular *Meditationes vitae Christi,* as well as on Passion plays, in which the local population took part.[25] Multi-episodic Calvary scenes were especially common in Westphalia. Several examples from the mid to late-fifteenth century show Christ carrying the Cross at the left, the Crucifixion of Christ and the thieves in the center, and the Harrowing of Hell on the right.[26] A tapestry woven at Arras ca. 1410-1420 shows the same general arrangement of scenes (fig. 6), which suggests that this combination of themes was also known in northern France, and perhaps earlier than in Westphalia.

12.



13.



6. Comparative Material

- Arras Work, *The Crucifixion Tapestry*, 119 × 224 cm., Zaragoza, Cathedral, Museo de Tapices (fig. 6)
- Johann Koerbecke, *Amelsbürener Altar*, 152 × 211 cm., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, cat. no. 36[27]
- Master of Schöppingen, *Calvary*, present location unknown, formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum[28]
- Master of Schöppingen, *Calvary*, 179.5 × 295.5 cm. (central panel), 179.5 × 136 cm. (wings), Schöppingen, Parish Church[29]
- Master of Liesborn, *Calvary*, 176 × 264 cm., Soest, Hohekirche[30]
- Master of Liesborn and shop, *Calvary* (*Lipborg Altar*), 174.5 × 175.5 cm., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, cat. no. 10[31]

12. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, detail, figure of small person behind and right of Christ's cross

13. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, detail, holy figures at foot of cross

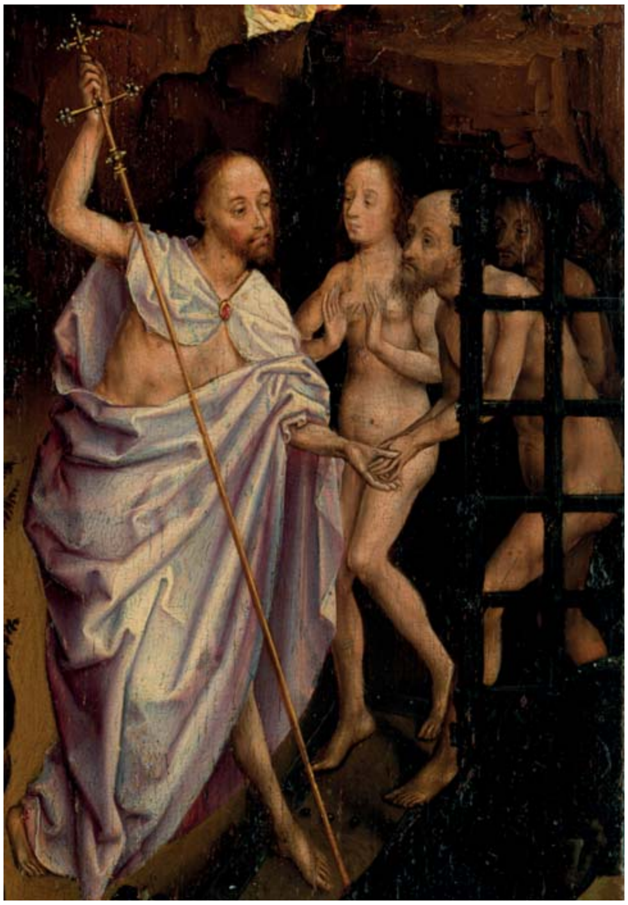
7. Comments

Almost all scholars today believe that the Getty *Crucifixion* formed a triptych with the *Resurrection* and *Betrayal of Christ* (figs. 1, 3-4), but there is reason to doubt this hypothesis. Although their sizes and iconography are possible for a triptych, the three panels do not form a coherent whole. Whereas the central panel is largely dependent on works by Rogier van der Weyden and his shop, the wings more closely recall the style of Dirk Bouts, as C. Sterling (1990) observed. More importantly, not only is the landscape discontinuous from panel to panel, but no motif – no drapery or building – visually links two adjacent panels. Quite the contrary, large figures at the inner edges of the wings would cause a pronounced disjuncture with the much smaller figures at the borders of the central panel if they were joined. A similar jump in scale occurs in the figure of Christ, who is shorter and has a proportionately smaller head in the central panel. But since this panel is the most significant from a liturgical point of view, its figure of Christ should be the most visually prominent.[32]

Although the Getty *Crucifixion* and the two panels commissioned by Dreux I Budé may not have originally formed an altarpiece, they are by the same artist. In all three panels the fingers are tapering and slender, and the thumbs tend to flex so that they separate from the rest of the hand. Furthermore, the sword held by the gambling soldier in the *Crucifixion* is strikingly similar in form to that grasped by the guard in the *Resurrection* (figs. 1, 4). In addition, the figures in all three panels generally show heavy eyelids and arched eyebrows.

The character of the underdrawing of the Getty *Crucifixion* suggests that it may have been copied, and the cut-off legs of Longinus' horse suggest that the original model was larger. What is certain is that works of Rogier van der Weyden strongly influenced the painting. The calligraphic line and diagonal slant of Christ's loincloth, with the resulting exposure of his left hip ultimately derive from Rogier's Vienna *Crucifixion,* ca. 1440. The position of the Virgin's legs, bent at the knees and with folds of drapery forming between the legs, is somewhat reminiscent of the Magdalen in Rogier's *Descent from the Cross,* ca. 1435, in the Prado[33]. Furthermore, St. John reaches out to the Virgin with an outstretched arm in several Rogierian paintings, although in the Getty panel the gesture is cut off by the Virgin's body and so seems ineffectual. The foreground group in the Getty *Crucifixion* is reminiscent of the same figures in the Munich *Descent,* which may stem from Rogier's shop. The posture of the Virgin at the left edge of the Getty *Crucifixion,* who weeps into her hand, which is covered by drapery, is reminiscent of the Magdalen in his Vienna *Crucifixion* triptych and especially the Virgin in Rogier's Scheut *Crucifixion*, ca. 1455. The gesture of the holy woman in red who threads her fingers together resembles that of the middle-aged Magus in Rogier's *Bladelin Altarpiece*, ca. 1445-1450.[34] Because the influence of Rogier seems so strong and so varied, the painter of the Getty *Crucifixion* was probably in direct contact with Rogier in the 1440s.

The Getty *Crucifixion* is linked iconographically to images showing the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Harrowing of Hell staged in a single landscape setting. Most are Westphalian and date from the mid or late-fifteenth century. However a tapestry showing a similar composition woven in Arras and today in Zaragoza, may date as early as 1410-1420 (fig. 6).[35] None of these images shows Hell,

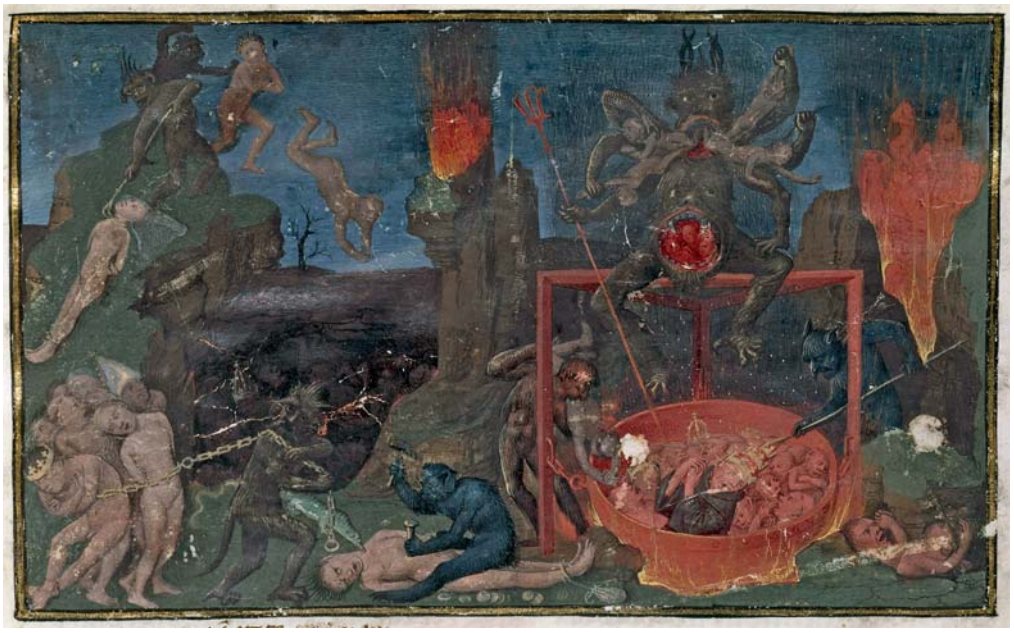


14. Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion*, detail, Descent into Limbo

however, which seems to be an iconographic innovation of the painter of the Getty *Crucifixion.* Similarly, the painter seems to have been inventive both in the way Hell is portrayed and in the exchange between St. Veronica and Christ.

Is the Getty *Crucifixion* painted by the same artist as the Parlement *Crucifixion* (figs. 1-2)? This is difficult to determine with certainty because the scale of the paintings is so different; the latter measures 136.8 and 226.5 (gable) × 270 cm., about three times the size of the former, which measures 48.7 cm. × 71.5 cm. The faces of the two Madonnas, however, are very close even to the curve in the white linen head cloth across the forehead. Both paintings also show the titulus in three languages, an unusual feature. The portrayal of Christ, particularly the way the loincloth crosses his body so as to reveal his left hip, is quite similar in both. Perhaps the most striking resemblance is that in both paintings the hands lightly touch, rather than firmly grip. This is visible in the Getty *Crucifixion* in the interaction between Christ and Adam in the scene of Limbo and the Madonna and the holy woman at the foot of the cross (figs. 13-14). Similarly, Charlemagne lightly holds the orb with his fingertips and St. Denis barely touches his decapitated head (fig. 2). In neither case do these objects firmly rest in the palm of the hand. In addition, just as St. John in the Getty *Crucifixion* stretches his arm out towards the Virgin, but we do not see him touching her, so a holy woman comforts the Virgin in the Parlement *Crucifixion,* but we do not see her hand. Although the brushstrokes are much lighter and sketchier, more impressionistic, and suggestive of the Northern Netherlands in the Getty *Crucifixion*, and the forms more solid and three-dimensional in the Parlement *Crucifixion*, these differences could well be due to their vast difference in size. The preponderance of evidence supports an attribution to the painter responsible for the *Crucifixion* in the Parlement of Paris. D. Vanwijnsberghe (2000) presents strong circumstantial evidence for identifying this master with André d'Ypres, but the question remains whether others, not yet discovered, may also fit the bill of a painter who intimately knew the art of Rogier van der Weyden's early period and then was active in Paris at mid-century.

With the Getty *Crucifixion* severed from the *Resurrection* and *Betrayal of Christ,* it must be dated on its own terms. The haircut of the gambler wearing red resembles that of the donor in the *Edelheere Triptych*, dated 1443.[36] The fur hat of Longinus recurs in works produced in Rogier's shop, including the *Abegg Triptych*, dated ca. 1438-1440[37] and right panel of the *St John Altarpiece*, dated ca. 1453-1455,[38] but also the eponymous work of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, dated ca. 1480.[39] If costume suggests any time between the 1440s and 1480s, then dendrochronology



15. Master of Coëtivy (?), *Hell,* in Dante, *Divine Comedy*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Italien, 72, fol. 1

indicates a *terminus post quem* of 1438 for the painting. Moreover, the Getty *Crucifixion* is by the same artist who painted the *Resurrection* and *Betrayal of Christ,* dated ca. 1454, and the Parlement *Crucifixion,* which was begun in 1449, and its style seems close to those works. For these reasons, the Getty *Crucifixion* should also be dated mid-century, probably in the 1450s, and for this reason, it was likely produced in Paris, like his other panels.

The dates of the panels by the Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris makes it unlikely that he was André d'Ypres, since he died in 1450. The only documented work involving his son Colin d'Amiens is an *Entombment*, which he designed but which Adrien Wincart executed.[40] There are enormous difficulties in attributing a work transposed by another artist into another medium that was later heavily restored. For these reasons the identity of the Master of the Crucifixion of the Parlement de Paris cannot yet be ascertained.

Scholars have noted stylistic similarities between the Master of the Coëtivy and the painter of the Getty *Crucifixion,* and some have suggested that the former was the son of the latter. But since there is no agreement as to the identity of the Master of the Coëtivy and there has been no systematic study of his œuvre, no firm conclusions can be drawn concerning his relationship to the painter of the Getty *Crucifixion*. On the one hand, the panel bears a strong resemblance to some of the illuminations that have been attributed to the Master of the Coëtivy. For example, the iconography in an image of Hell in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which was illuminated for Charles de France in Paris ca. 1460-1465 (fig. 15), is quite close to the unusual vision in the Getty *Crucifixion*.[41] Both show a six-armed devil with a second abdominal mouth, who grasps and eats souls while seated on a cage composed of red-hot bars, within which the damned simmer in a bowl. On the other hand, if the *Crucifixion* in the Book of Hours of Isabella of Roubaix or the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (fig. 9), other works attributed to the Master of the Coëtivy, are compared to the Getty panel, there are few points of similarity. Certainly the Master of Coëtivy, like the Parlement Master, share influences from both French and Flemish paintings, but our knowledge at this time is insufficient to either confirm that the two masters are one and the same artist or that they are father and son.

8. Bibliography

1914: *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées dans les galeries du Musée Fabre de la Ville de Montpellier*, p. 272-273.
1926: Joubin, p. 247.
1927: Jamot, p. 20, 25.
1927a: *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 17.
1929: Joubin, p. 15, 33.
1957-1958: *Dieric Bouts* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, p. 168.
1978: *Miniatures, porcelaines, livres, objets d'art, tapisseries, tapis* (sale cat.), Versailles, no. 88.
1980a: Fredericksen, p. 60.
1980b: Fredericksen, no. 25.
1983: Fredericksen, p. 183-196.
1990: Sterling, II, p. 54-75.
1993: *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (exhib. cat.), Paris, p. 53, 58-59.
1996: Cardon, p. 83.
1997: Dijkstra, p. 57, 59 n. 13.
1997: Jaffé, p. 82.
1998: *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475) een Vlaams primitief te Leuven* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, p. 394.
1998a: Lorentz, p. 309-311.
1998b: Lorentz, p. 113-114.
1999: De Vos, p. 163.
1999: Smeyers, p. 255-356.
2000: Vanwijnsberghe, p. 365-369.
2001: Lorentz and Comblen-Sonkes, p. 81-132.
2002: Lorentz, p. 69-71.
2003: Vanwijnsberghe, p. 274-275.
2004: Elsig, p. 27.
2004a: Lorentz, p. 92-96, 100-101.
2004b: Lorentz, p. 40-41.
2011: Lorentz, p. 52-55.

Notes

1. The undated condition report by David Bull was probably written in 1979 at the time of acquisition.
2. Andrea Rothe Condition report 30 June 1982.
3. Sale, Palais des Congrès, Versailles, 19 November 1978, no. 88. For the Parlement Master's Flemish roots, see D. De Vos, 1999, p. 163. For the *Crucifixion* painted for the Parlement, see P. Lorentz and M. Comblen-Sonkes, 2001, p. 81-132.
4. Rogier van der Weyden, *Crucifixion Triptych*, 96 × 69 cm. (central panel), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 634.
5. Rogier van der Weyden, *Deposition*, 57 × 52 cm., Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 104.
6. Rogier van der Weyden, *Columba Altarpiece*, 138 × 153 cm., Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 1189.
7. For the *Resurrection*, see *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées dans les galeries du Musée Fabre de la Ville de Montpellier*, 1914, p. 272-273; P. Jamot, 1927, p. 20, 25; A. Joubin, 1929, p. 15, 33; *Dieric Bouts* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1957-1958, p. 168; *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475) een Vlaams primitief te Leuven* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, 1998, p. 394; B. Cardon (1996, p. 83) discussed the sources for the *Resurrection* in Montpellier, noting that there arose from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden and Albrecht Bouts a type of Resurrection that showed the tomb set diagonally in space and the Risen Christ already standing outside it.
8. B. Fredericksen, 1983, p. 184, 187.
9. B. Fredericksen, 1983, p. 187.
10. *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées dans les galeries du Musée Fabre de la Ville de Montpellier*, 1914, p. 272 (Albrecht Bouts); A. Joubin, 1929, p. 15, 33 (French); A. Joubin, 1926, p. 247 (French); P. Jamot, 1927, p. 20, 25 (Master of Saint Giles); *Dieric Bouts* (exhib. cat.), Brussels, 1957-1958, p. 76 (Dirk Bouts). V. Henderiks, 2011, p. 370, no. 45, rejects attributing the *Resurrection* to Albrecht Bouts. For the attribution to Rogier's

workshop of the St. Catherine, see *Rogier van der Weyden. 1400-1464. Master of Passions* (exhib. cat.), Leuven, 2009, p. 450-451.

11. *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927a, p. 17.
12. D. Jaffé, 1997, p. 82.
13. C. Sterling, 1990, p. 54-75.
14. For documents relevant to Dreux I Budé's biography, see C. Sterling, 1990, p. 50-53.
15. Master of Flémalle, *Seilern Triptych*, 65.2 × 53.6 cm. (central panel), London, The Courtauld Gallery, inv. no. P.1978.PG.253.
16. Master of Flémalle, *Deposition* (fragment), 33 × 91 cm., Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, inv. no. 105.
17. C. Sterling, 1990, p. 64 ("le foisonnement papillotant").
18. He proposed that the *Crucifixion* for the Parlement of Paris should be attributed to Rogier's nephew Louis le Duc, a native of Tournai who was active in Paris. See C. Sterling, 1990, p. 47-49.
19. *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (exhib. cat.), Paris, p. 53.
20. *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (exhib. cat.), Paris, p. 58-59.
21. P. Lorentz, 1998a, p. 309-311; P. Lorentz, 1998b, p. 113-114; P. Lorentz and M. Comblen-Sonkes, 2001, p. 98, 102, 105-112; P. Lorentz, 2002, p. 67-71; P. Lorentz, 2004a, p. 92-96; P. Lorentz, 2004b, p. 40-41; P. Lorentz, 2011, p 52-55.
22. D. Vanwijnsberghe, 2000, p. 365-369; P. Lorentz, 2001, p. 108-112. The mixed reactions to Reynaud's attribution are summarized by D. Vanwijnsberghe, 2000, p. 366, who in 2003 identified what he considers the major problem with Lorentz's theory, that it entails attributing the works assigned to the Master of Coëtivy, in particular the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, to the painter of the Parlement *Crucifixion*. However, he argued that Louis le Duc cannot be the painter of that *Crucifixion*, as C. Sterling had proposed, since the project for the Parlement was begun in 1449, but Louis only became a master painter four years later. By contrast, J. Dijkstra (1997) preferred the attribution to Louis le Duc. More recently, D. De Vos (1999) also supported the attribution of the Parlement *Crucifixion* to Louis, pointing to its similarities to works from Tournai and Brussels, both places where he was active. M. Smeyers (1999) agreed that the master who painted the panels for Dreux Budé also worked as an illuminator, but argued that both André d'Ypres and Conrad de Vulcop are good candidates for his identity. See also F. Elsig (2004) for additional views.
23. P. Klein letter 09.10.2000 to J. Paul Getty Museum.
24. See the detail of *The Betrayal of Christ* in *Kings, Queens, and Courtiers. Art in Early Renaissance France* (exhib. cat.), Chicago, 2011, p. 54, fig. 25, and P. Le chanu, 2001, p. 172, fig. 2.
25. G. Schiller, 1971, 2, p. 11-12, 16, 151-157.
26. See the list in the comparative material section. These paintings often served as the central panel of a winged altarpiece, but the subjects and their organization on the wings show considerable variety.
27. P. Pieper, 1986, p. 189-196.
28. A. Stange, 1954, 6, fig. 5. This painting may have been destroyed during the Second World War.
29. A. Stange, 1954, 6, fig. 4.
30. A. Stange, 1954, 6, fig. 51.
31. A. Stange, 1954, 6, fig. 63; P. Pieper, 1986, p. 236-239.
32. Even the cross with double transverse held by Christ in Limbo differs from its counterpart in the *Resurrection.* The first staff is solid gold, the second transparent.
33. Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*, 220 × 262 cm., Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02825.
34. Rogier van der Weyden, *The Bladelin Altarpiece*, 91 × 89 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemaldegalerie, inv. no. 535.
35. For this tapestry, see K.M. Dimitroff, 2008.
36. Rogier van der Weyden, *Triptych of the Descent from the Cross* (*Edelheere Triptych*), 99 × 199 cm., Louvain, Saint Peter Church.
37. Rogier van der Weyden workshop, *Triptych of the Crucifixion with a Donor* (*Abegg Triptych*), 103.5 × 72.4 cm. and 103.5 × 32.8 cm. (wings), Bern, Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 14.2.63.
38. Rogier van der Weyden, *The Beheading of St John the Baptist* (*The St. John Altarpiece*), 77 × 48 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 534B.
39. Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and collaborator, *Scenes of the Legend of St. Barbara*, Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 6149; Bruges, Basilica of the Holy Blood.
40. C. Grodecki, 1996, p. 329-342.
41. Robert Schindler suggests this in the unpublished Getty Museum files.

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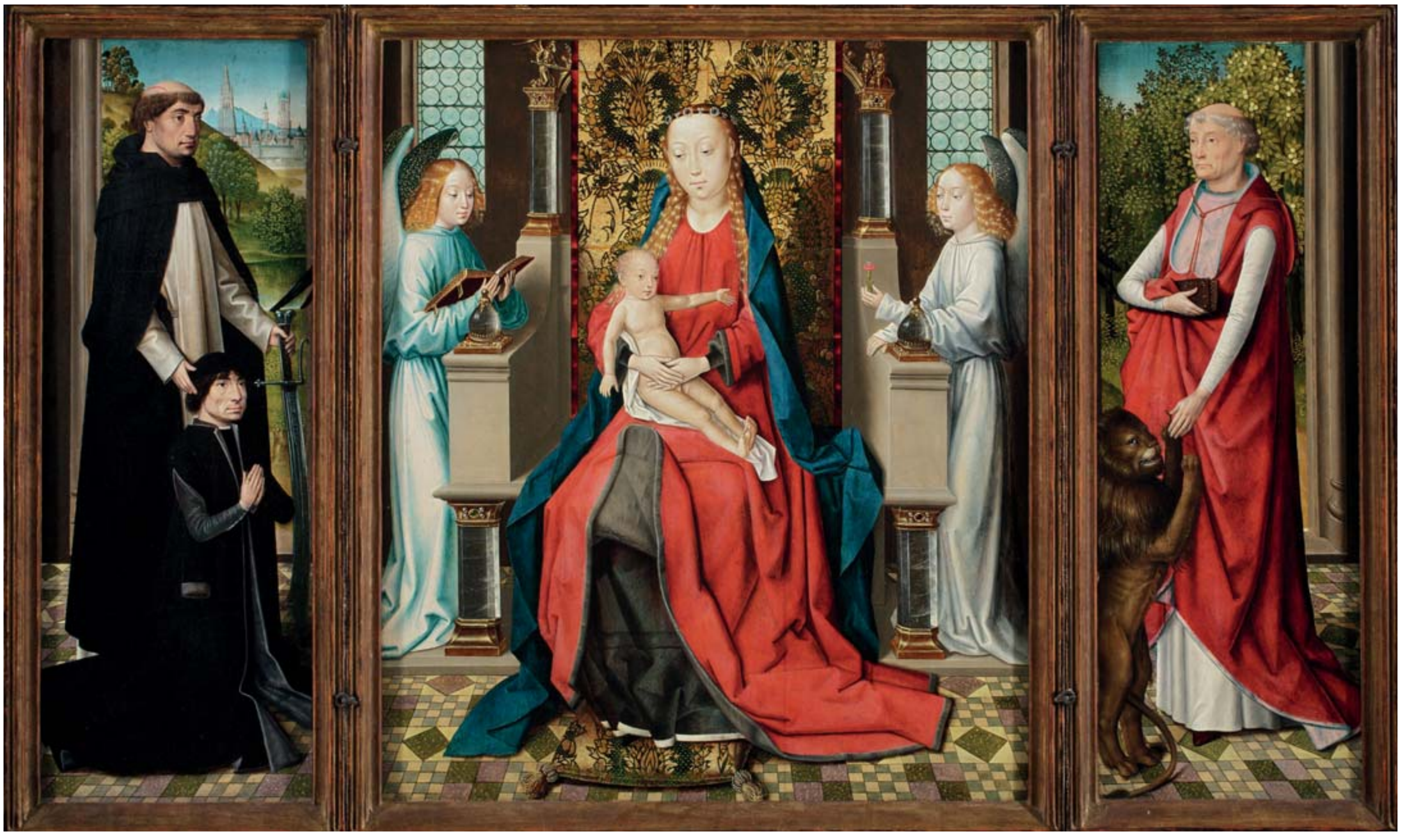

Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy

Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints

1. IDENTIFICATION

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, inv. no. M.69.54

Group: Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy
No. Corpus: 256

2. HISTORY OF THE WORK

ORIGIN AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Anonymous Flemish woman who married into the Cittadella family[1]
Ca. 1880: Lucca, Marchese Cittadella
1883: Florence, Giuseppe Toscanelli
1883: Pisa/Lucca, Giuseppe Toscanelli (Sambon, Florence, Sale, 9 April 1883, no. 0152)
1900: Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer Gallery (as Flemish 15th century)
By 1927-ca. 1968: Paris, Henri Heugel and heirs[2]
1969: Paris, François Heim Galerie
1969: Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

EXHIBITIONS

1927 London, Burlington House, *Flemish and Belgian Art,* no. 73
1930 Antwerp, *Exposition internationale coloniale, maritime et d'art flamand. Exposition d'art flamand ancien,* no. 179

1. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* 80.5 cm. × 69.5 cm. (central panel) and 80.5 cm. × 28.5 cm. (wings), Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. no. M.69.54

3. HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

This triptych was first assigned to Hugo van der Goes and then more broadly to the Flemish fifteenth-century school before M.J. Friedländer (1928) declared it a work by the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, an attribution that has gained wide support (fig. 1).[3] Only W. Schöne (1938) and P. Bautier (1956) dissented. The first ascribed the triptych to a student of Dirk Bouts; the second assigned it to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, except for the landscape, which reminded him of the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. In 1976 D. De Vos noted technical evidence for attributing the triptych to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy: "a uniform band of blue to separate his landscapes from the sky, the actual horizon being sometimes indicated by a line incised in the ground, which often passes through rocks or buildings placed in front of it" (fig. 5).[4]

A.M. Roberts (1982) related the triptych to other works attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy. She noted that in his triptychs, he often includes figural elements that spill from one panel to the next, thereby linking them, like the tip of the angel's wing in the right wing of the Los Angeles triptych (fig. 1).[5] Roberts also observed that the way St. Jerome's robe is tucked under his arm is similar to the drapery of St. Lucy's mother in the left section of the master's eponymous work (figs. 4, 19).[6] She further pointed to the resemblance between the face of St. John in the Frankfurt *Lamentation*[7] and those of the angels in the central panel of the Los Angeles triptych, between St. Anthony of Padua in Amsterdam and St. Peter Martyr in the left wing (figs. 5-6), and between the "pointy chin, defined by a crescent-shaped line" in the Madonnas in Berlin[8] and Los Angeles.[9] Finally, she noted that the thin highlight that emphasizes the silhouette of the upper contour of Christ's body is typical of the master.[10] Roberts, however, also observed numerous stylistic differences among works ascribed to the master, which she attributed to a difference in date.[11]

N. Verhaegen (1959) was the first to date the triptych before 1483 based on the stage of the construction of the Belfry of Bruges, which appears in the background of the left wing (fig. 5). Since then others have agreed, but Roberts (1982) dated it before 1487.[12] G. Michiels (1964) identified the buildings shown in the background of the left wing as the Belfort, Our Lady Church, and the Poortersloge.

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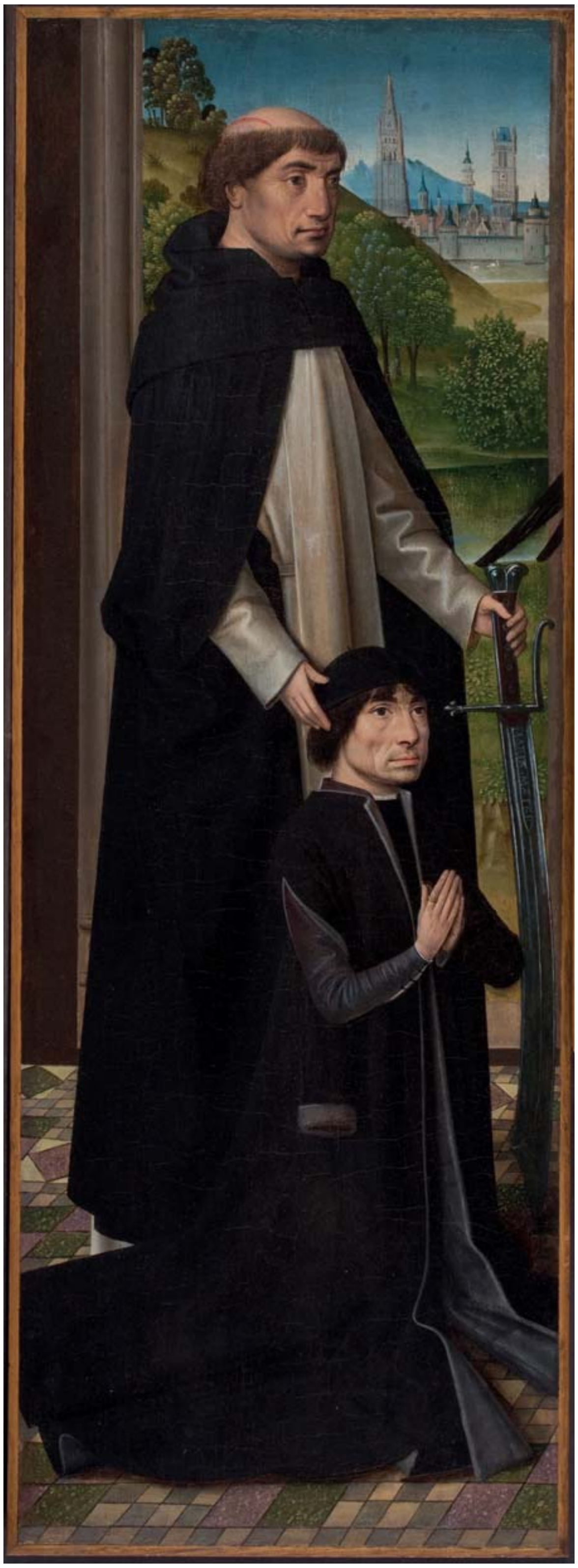

2. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* left wing

3. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* central panel

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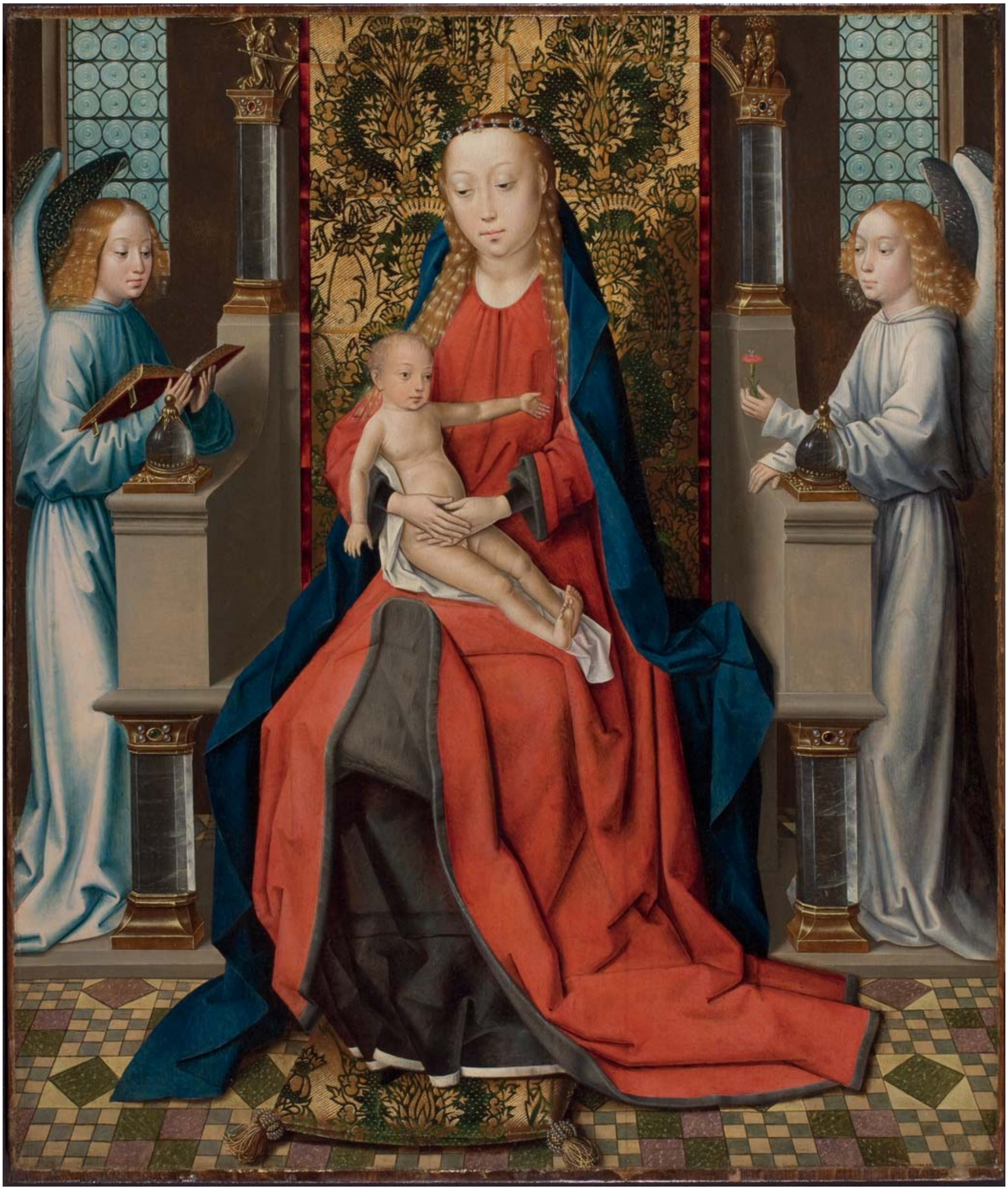

Verhaegen (1959) also observed that the composition of the central panel recurs in a painting in Granada (figs. 3, 7). Subsequently R. Van Schoute (1963) and G. Carandente (1968) added seven other versions: those in Berlin, Geneva, Hayward's Heath,[13] Ragusa Ibla,[14] and Toronto, and those formerly in Cologne and Messina. Finally, D. Martens (1993, 1998, 2001) expanded the list to more than twenty paintings that he believed reflected a lost prototype by Dirk Bouts, which showed a Madonna and Child on an arched throne. He proposed that the original, best reflected in the Granada version, depicted the Madonna wearing a blue mantle and a red dress lined with fur. The hem of this dress was lifted onto her right knee, thereby revealing a purple garment underneath. Her stone throne was supported by short columns in the front and a wall in the back. At the top was a metallic arch that sprang from columns whose capitals were crowned by two small sculptural groups, an expulsing angel and Adam and Eve. Most of the versions of the *Madonna and Child with an Arched Throne* were painted in Bruges, which led Martens to suppose that the original was displayed there in a public setting, probably a church. Furthermore, many of these variants have been attributed to Dirk Bouts or his followers.[15] When De Vos (1976) explored the dependence of the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy on Bouts, he cited as a chief example the Los Angeles triptych.

Martens (1993) observed that the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy is the painter who was most frequently inspired by the lost composition, yet he was also less faithful to the model than other painters. When Martens compared the Los Angeles triptych to the Granada version, he noted many deviations, for example in the position of the windows, in the three-quarter view of the angels and in the framing of the composition. Martens believed that these modifications proclaimed the decorative tendencies of the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy. He also noted that the figures in the triptych appear flatter and more rigid than their model, and that their gestures seem more like marionettes. In addition to the general characteristics shared with the copy in Granada, Martens observed a series of very specific motifs that were drawn from the lost Bouts original: the capitals adorned with four pearls surrounding a stud, the bull's-eye stained glass windows, and the transparent finials attached to the armrests.

Martens also noted that the Madonna and Child form an isosceles triangle, compared to the right triangles on

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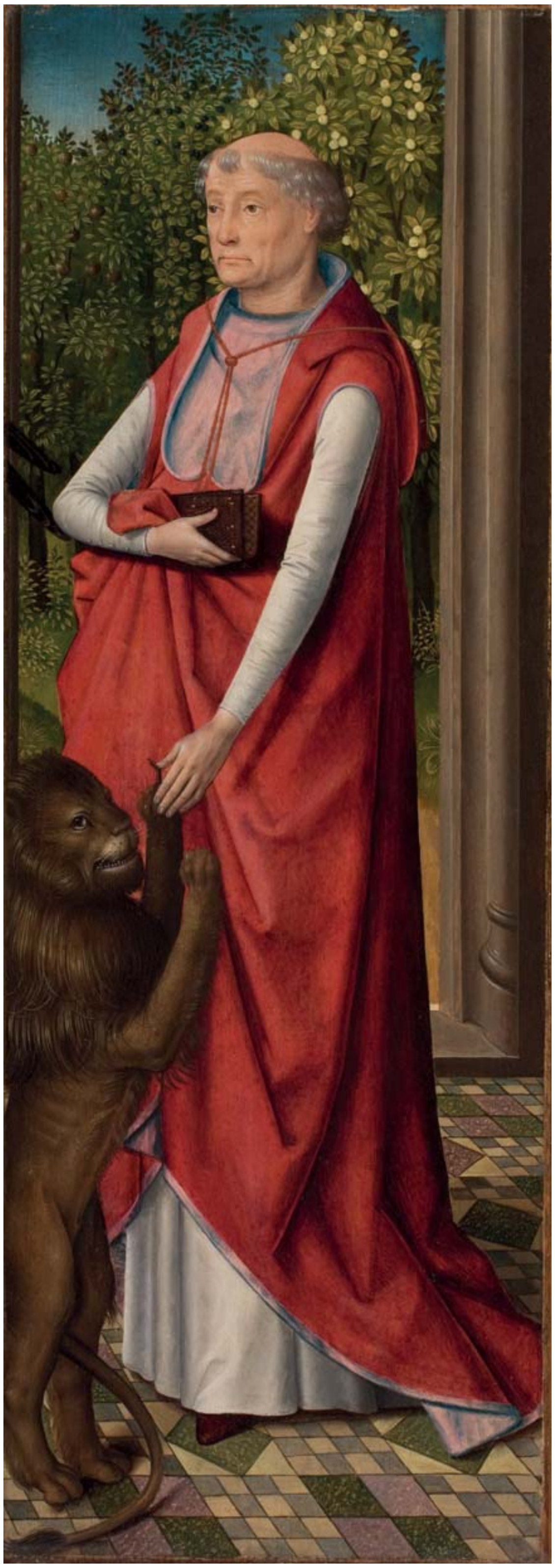

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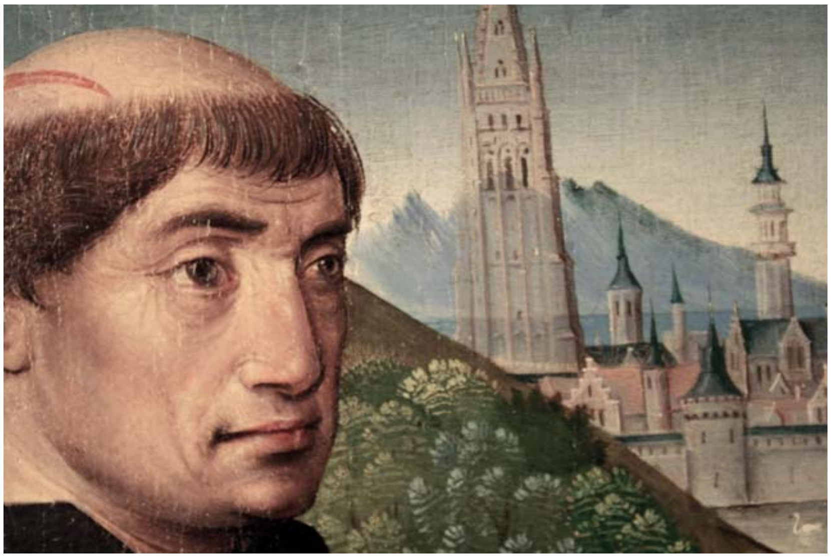


the wings formed by St. Jerome and his lion, on the one hand, and St. Peter and the donor, on the other. Martens detected a second rhythmic sequence of shapes. The embrasures on the wings that open onto a landscape and the Madonna's cloth of honor at the center form large rectangles that alternate with the smaller rectangles of the windows. Martens even pointed to two sets of round shapes within a rectilinear framework, the bull's eye glass held together by strips of lead, and the cloth of honor, with its circular forms contained within a network of the fine lines of its folds.

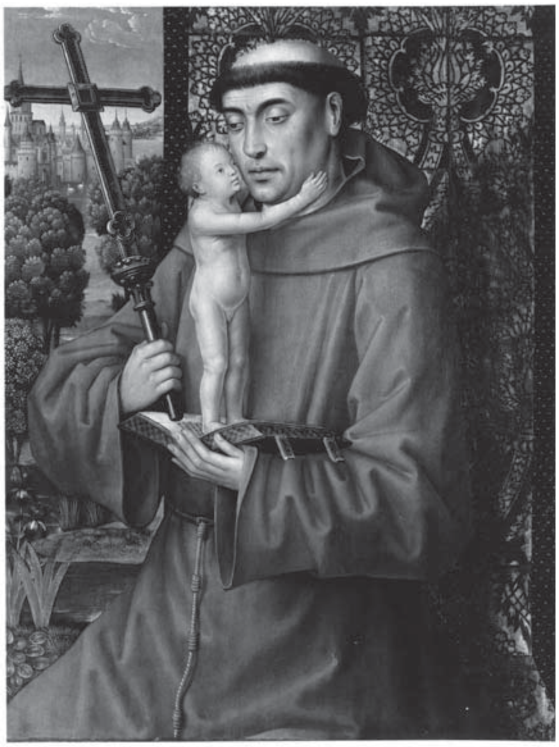
The *Illustrated Handbook* (1977) discussed the central panel's symbolism, viewing the crystal columns and finials as signs of Mary's virginity, the throne as a reference to her role as Queen of Heaven, and the depiction of Adam and Eve, on the one hand, and the holy book and Christ Child, on the other, as visualizing the contrast between the Old and New Testaments. Roberts viewed the scenes of the first parents as instead signifying the "precursors to Christ's sacrifice."[16]

At first the saint portrayed in the left wing was identified as St. Dominic, then as St. Stephen, and finally in 1927 as St. Peter Martyr (fig. 2).[17] Since this saint rarely appears in northern European art, but is common in Mediterranean imagery, Roberts wondered if the patron might be Italian.[18] Based on his clothing, M. Gómez-Moreno (1908) believed that he was Spanish.[19] Roberts (1982, 1996) observed that the patrons of the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy were often foreign, including both Italians and Spaniards. Martens (1993), noting that he knew no other Flemish altarpiece that included an image of St. Peter of Verona, agreed that the donor was probably Mediterranean.

4. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* right wing

5. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints*, detail of the left wing showing the head of St. Peter Martyr and the cityscape

6. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *St. Anthony of Padua*, Amsterdam, Private Collection



6.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support:
Central panel: 82 × 71.5 cm.
Wings: 82 × 30.6 cm.
Painted Surface:
Central panel: 80.5 × 69.5 cm.
Wings: 80.5 × 28.5 cm.

Support

The central panel is comprised of three planks butt-joined and aligned with pins.[20] Each wing was originally on a single plank, but the left wing was transferred and is now on a light-colored wooden support. The X-radiograph of the left wing shows a fabric weave, indicating the use of fabric interleaf, and thin strips of wood attached at all sides with brads (figs. 8-10). All three panels have a cradle attached to the reverse (fig. 11).

Frame

Not original.

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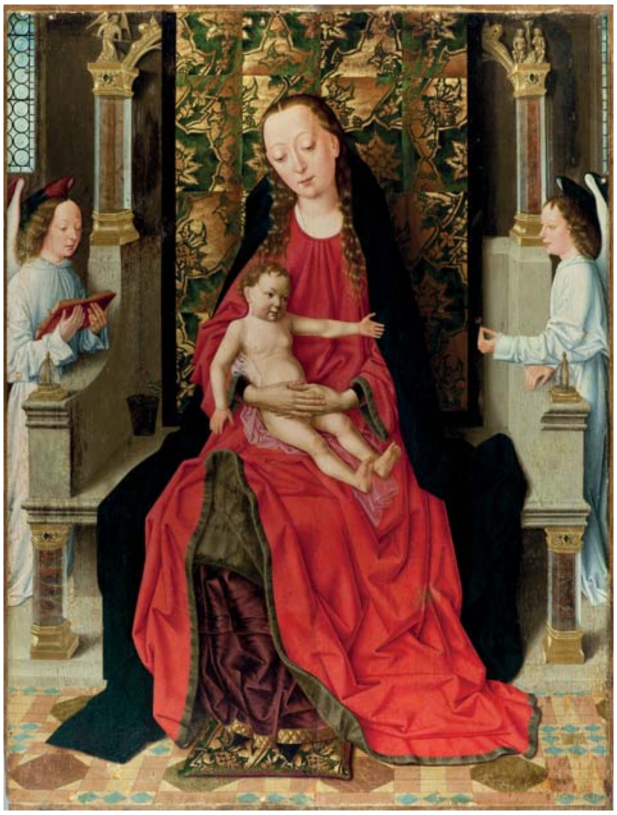

Marks

The reverse of the central panel and right wing has been planned to facilitate adding the cradle, and the left wing is missing all original wood. There are no marks and no signature.

7. Dirk Bouts follower, *Virgin and Child,* 53.8 × 39 cm., Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real

8. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* X-radiograph, left wing

Ground

The ground is white, smooth and thin. Unpainted borders are visible on all four sides of the central panel and such borders were originally present on the wings, but they have been largely cut off. On the central and right panels a barbe, with extruded ground extending beyond it, is seen at the perimeter of the paint. The left wing is trimmed to the paint; therefore the barbe is now missing. The lines of the tile in the floor are incised, and possibly the vertical lines of the architecture as well.

Underlying Drawing

The underdrawing in all three panels is faintly visible through the paint, but is also imaged with infrared reflectography (figs. 12-14). It consists of a liquid material that was applied with a brush of relatively large size. The drawing is freehand but not spontaneous; the location of outlines and shading is sure rather than searching.

In the left wing, the face of St. Peter Martyr is underdrawn in broad strokes, with hatching on the cheek under the proper left eye (fig. 12). His nose is painted more prominently than it is underdrawn. Another change is seen at the left, where the

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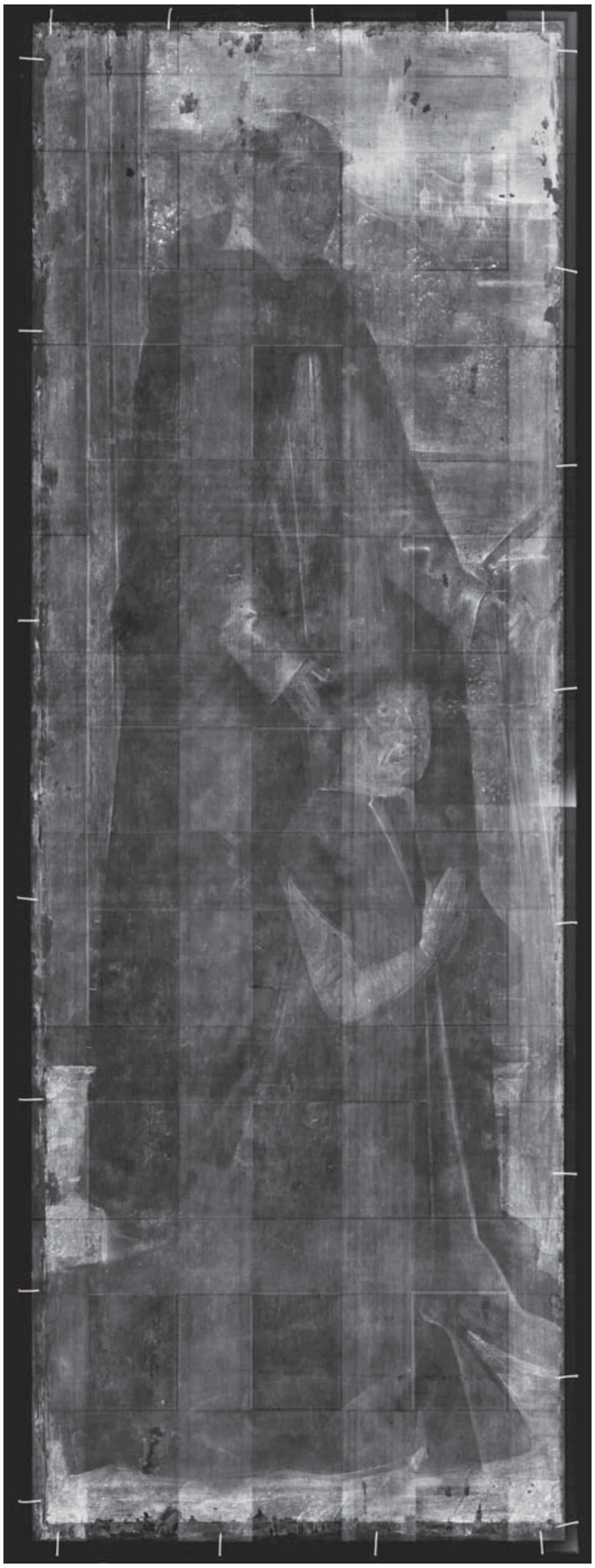
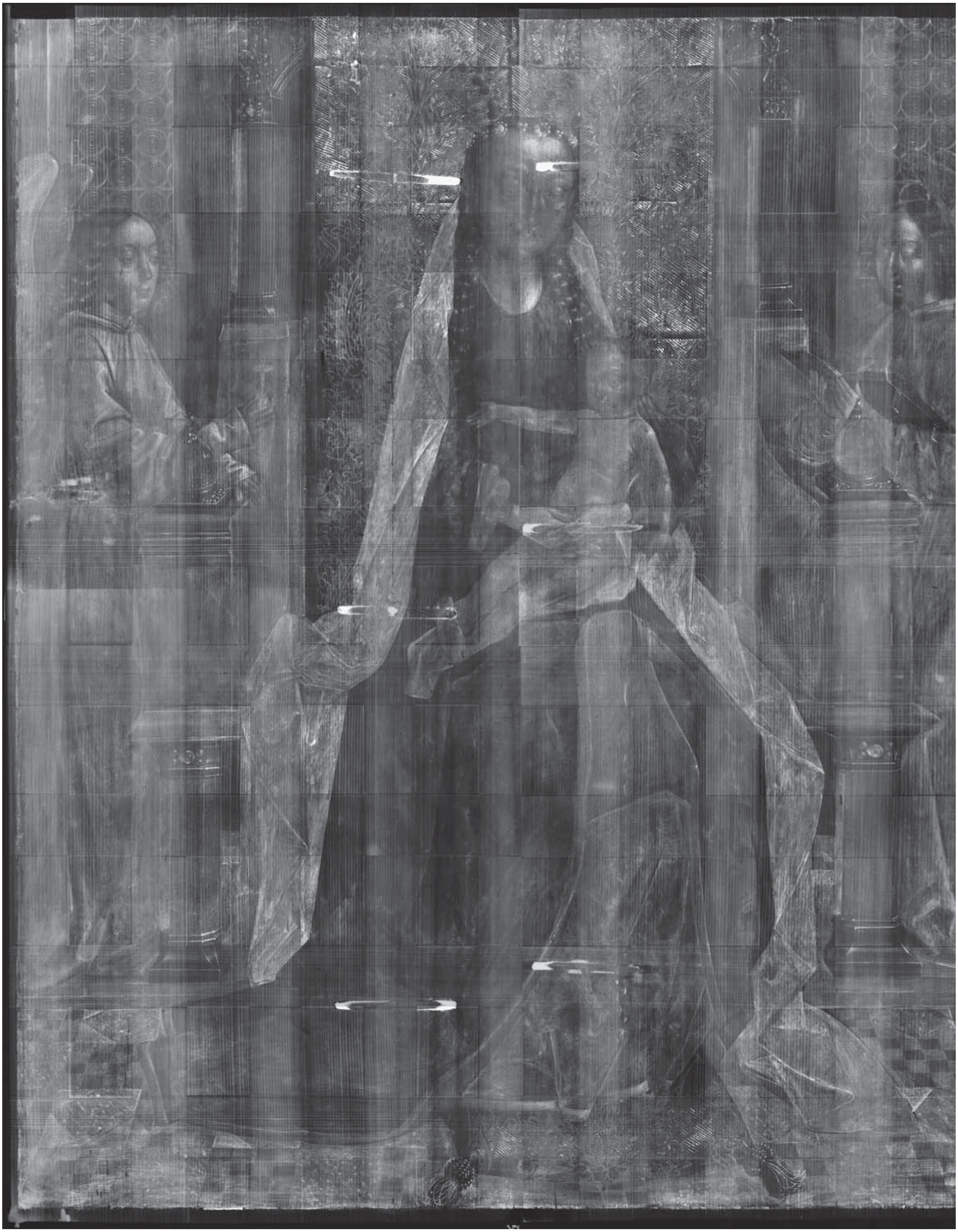


underdrawing for the hair extends further left than the painted coif. The underdrawing of the donor's face is not elaborate, consisting of contour lines for the eyes, nose, and lips with hatching present only under the chin. The few marks for the folds of his proper right sleeve, painted in purple, are visible but if underdrawing exists for the dark overgarment it is disguised beneath the black paint of the garment. A few wide lines on the floor can be seen at the edges of this garment.

In the central panel, a pale underdrawing describes the angel on the left in contour and interior fold lines with regular, even left-to-right hatching that elaborates the shading of the folds of the angel's garment below the waist (fig. 13). The wings and their large feathers are defined and the waistline is higher in the underdrawing and the folds of the sleeve are arranged in a slightly different way. The angel on the viewer's right is similarly drawn with broad, soft contour and drapery fold lines, and here, too, the wings are marked out in the underdrawing. The eyes of both angels are painted below the underdrawn location. The face of the angel on the right is moved lower overall, with the hair and nose shifted as well. Hatching denotes a shadow just below the waist on the backside of the robe, and a large, somewhat messy wash marks a broad area of shading in the lower folds of drapery at the back. The Virgin and Child are indicated in the underdrawing with the same wide linear outline, which places the contours and folds with a fair degree of accuracy. Again hatching is seen in the drapery below the knees, and minor deviations from the prescribed folds in the cloth are seen. No clear indication of underdrawing appears in any of the brocades.

In the right wing, St. Jerome's face is underdrawn with neat, regular hatching indicating shading of the proper left cheek (fig. 14). The underdrawing places the head lower than it was painted; the nose is much longer than it is painted. The saint's cowl, in the paint, covers the undergarment that is drawn in the underdrawing, and the painted folds are altered somewhat from the drawn proposal. The drawing of the shaded far right side of the red robe has the folds in a more vertical orientation than they are painted, and there is a fair amount of diagonal hatching in a left-right orientation for the shading of the robe, with



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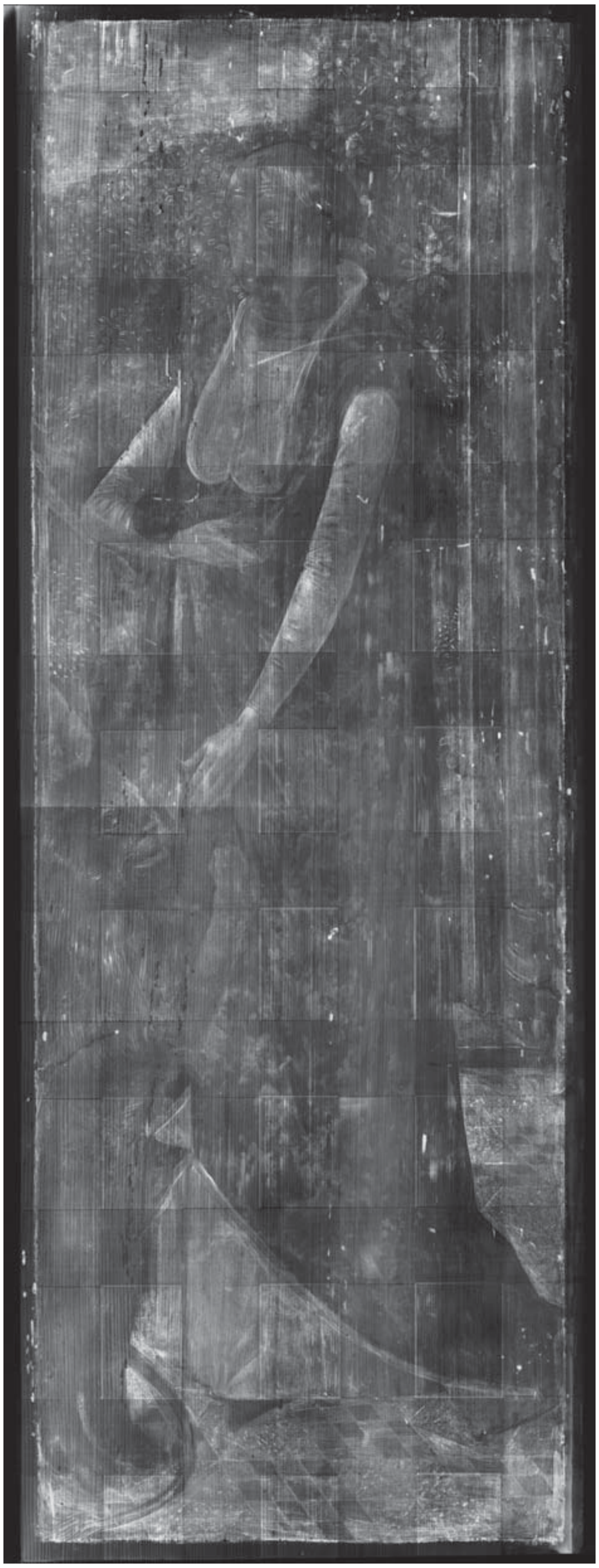


the hatching in the wide plane just right of the lion's paw curved in a "C" shape. The position of the saint's thumb on the book is shifted from the underdrawing. The underdrawing of the saint's shoe is more pointed and longer than it was painted.

Paint Layer

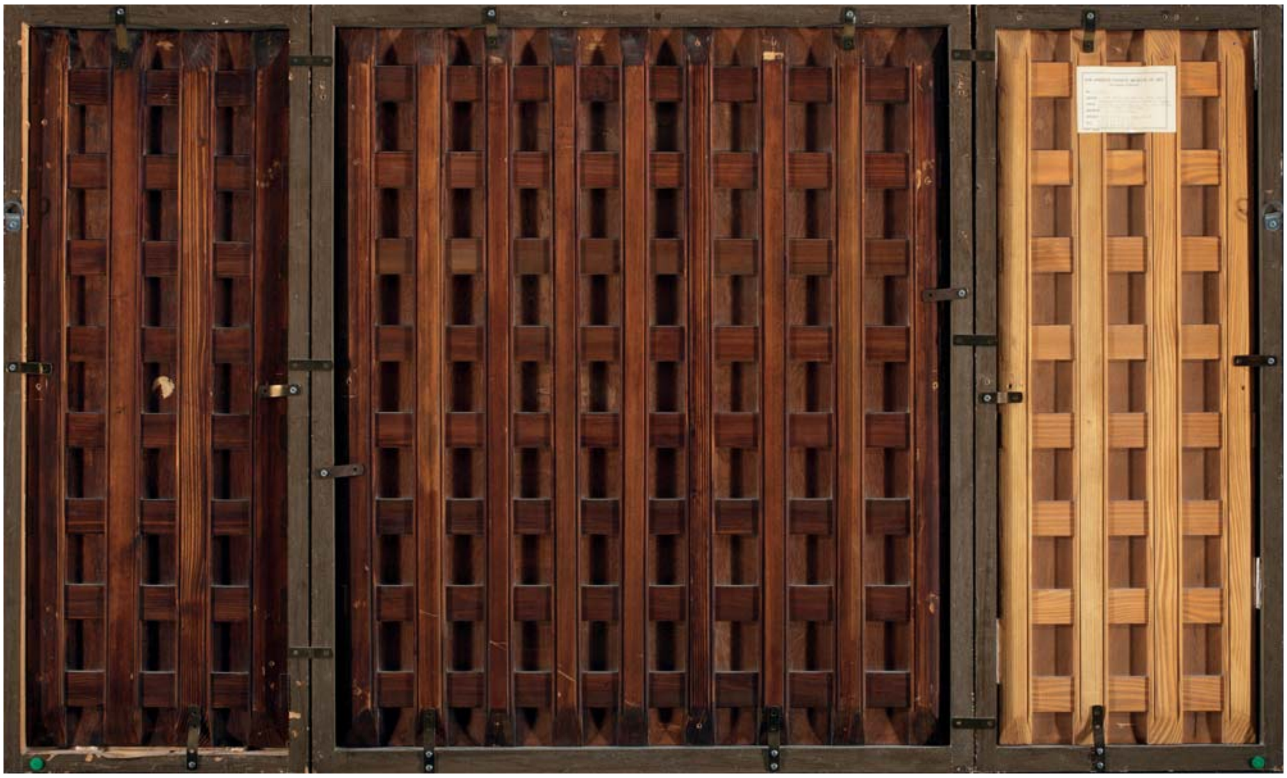
No isolation layer is visible in the x-radiograph, but striations across the top of the book held by the angel on the left are visible with a binocular microscope and may indicate a loosely brushed underlayer. The paint is thinly applied such that underlying layers are faintly visible through the surface paint. The handling of the paint in the central panel is stiffer and somewhat formulaic, while the faces of the saints on the wings are more individuated, and the technique is more idiosyncratic. In the left wing there is a band of blue, its position marked with an incised line, separating the horizon from the sky, typical of the master, according to De Vos (1976) (fig. 5). This band underlies the buildings and can be seen through them. The garments of St. Peter and the donor are painted prior to the flesh, leaving reserves for the flesh, which is visible in St. Peter's hand over the hilt of the sword, and in his face, which is larger than the reserve left for it. The reserve for the donor's hands is smaller than the hand was painted, so that the fingers extend over the paint of his garment. The tree trunks on both wings were painted first, then the leaves added over them.

X-ray fluorescence detected the presence of copper in the blue robe of the Virgin, which under binocular microscopy appears to be azurite. Lead and mercury are the principal components of the Virgin and of St. Jerome's red robes, signifying a mixture of white lead and vermilion.

9. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* X-radiograph, central panel

10. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* X-radiograph, right wing

11.



11. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* reverse

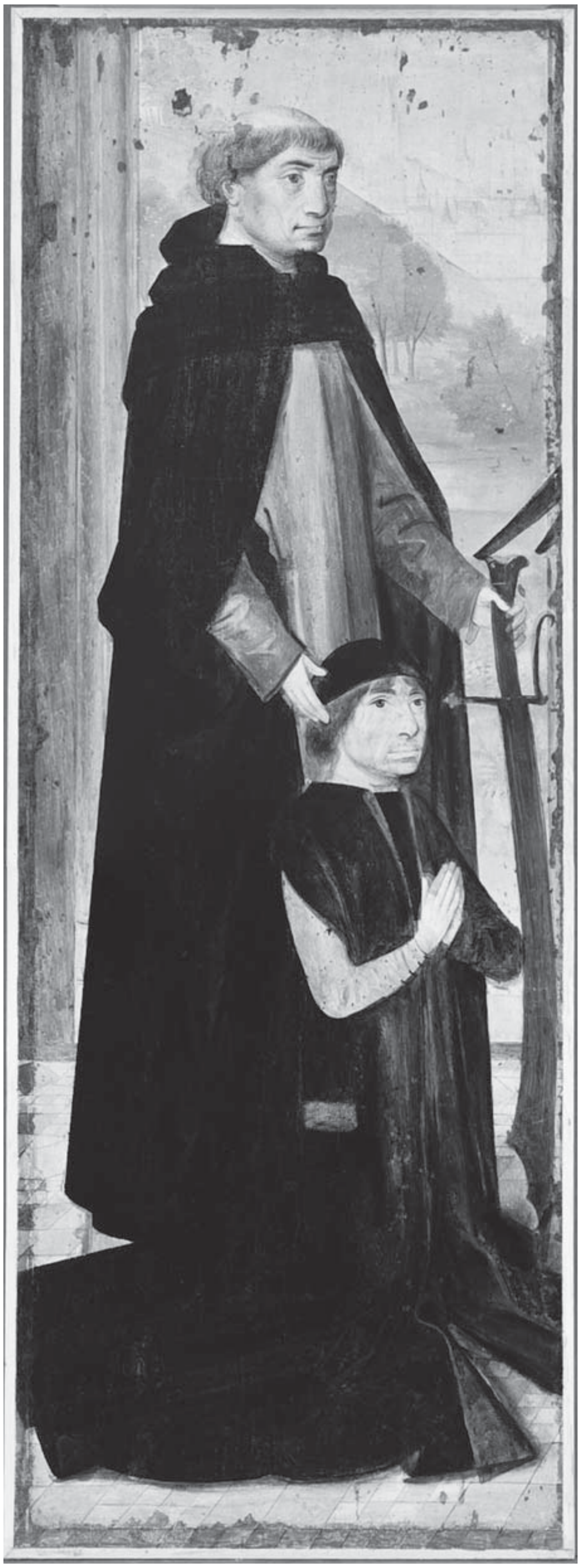
12. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* infrared reflectogram, left wing

A thin, light splatter of white paint that seems to be over the varnish is found overall, but is especially visible on the left panel. This may have been sprayed on following restoration to "unify" the appearance of the triptych. The result at present is a slightly flat, "dusty" appearance.

5. Pictorial Analysis

The triptych shows an enthroned Madonna and Child with angels in the central panel, St. Peter Martyr and a donor on the left wing, and St. Jerome on the right wing (fig. 1). All share the same space, as indicated by the continuous tiled floor and the tips of the angels' wings that protrude into the side panels. The wings, however, are open to the outdoors, whereas the central panel is closed off by a wall and two windows glazed with bull's eye glass. A magnificent cloth of honor, made of a golden floral brocade trimmed with a red border, hangs behind the Madonna, its folds clearly delineated (fig. 15). Her feet rest on a matching cushion, its corners adorned with tassels encircled with pearls. The Virgin sits on a broad, luxurious throne adorned with columns and finials, which are mounted in gold and enriched with pearls and gems. At the top right of the throne is a golden sculpture showing Adam and Eve sitting on a mound of earth and separated by the tree of knowledge around which a human-headed snake coils (fig. 16). Eve holds an apple while covering herself in a Venus Pudica pose. Adam's left hand covers his genitals, and his right hand encircles

12.



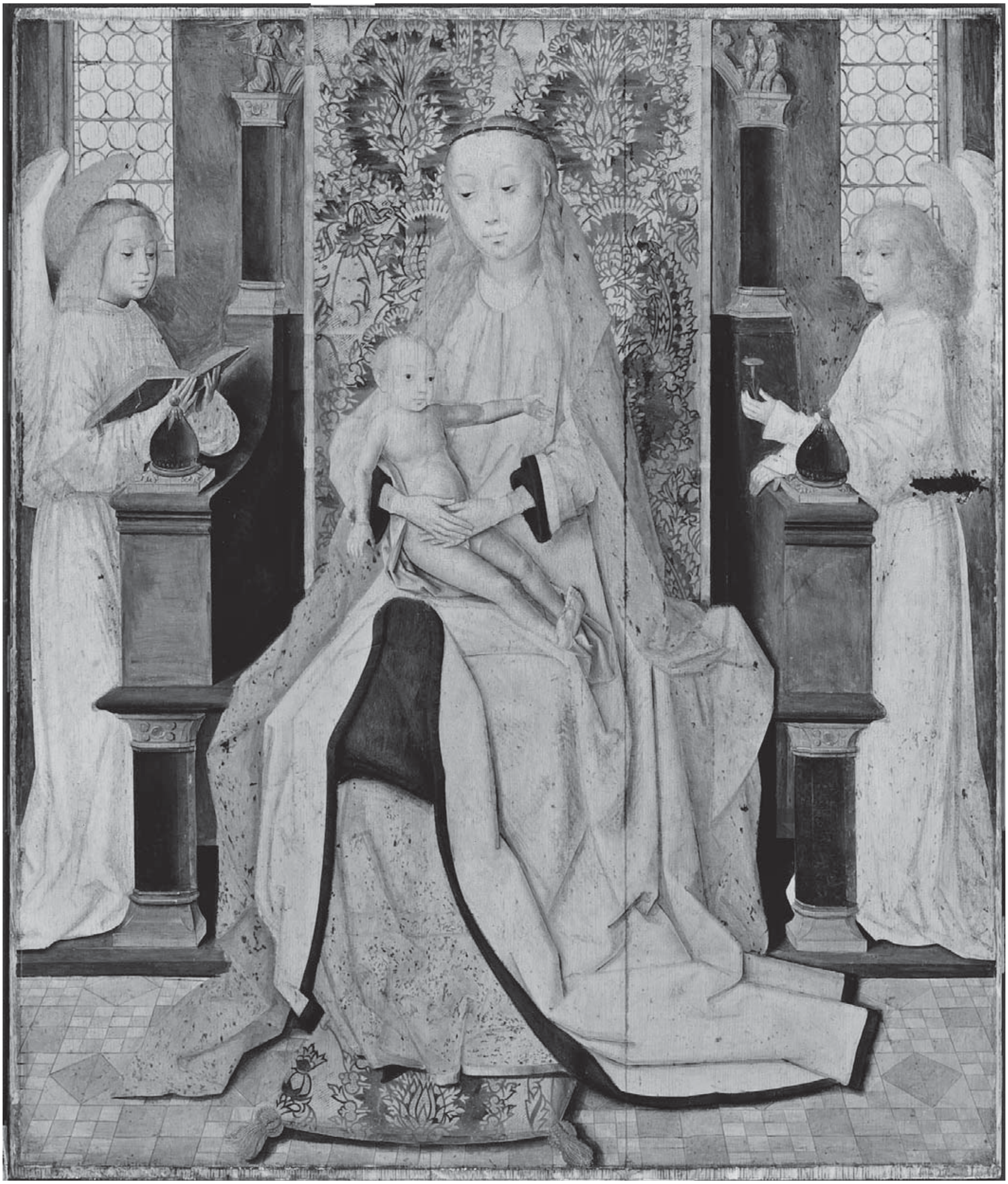
his neck in an unusual gesture. On the left side a golden angel energetically brandishes his sword to banish Adam and Eve from Paradise.

The Madonna wears a white chemise, blue mantle, garment with grey sleeves, and red robe lined with grey fur, which is turned out to trim her hem and wrists (fig. 3). Her robe is lifted up and folded back on her lap to reveal a grey kirtle trimmed with white fur below. Her long, wavy blond hair, falling over both shoulders, is adorned with a headband decorated with pearls and gems. The solemn, nude Child, who has sparse hair, raised eyebrows, and an unfocused gaze, sits on his mother's lap. His legs are straight and his feet flexed as he faces towards the right, stretching his left arm towards the dianthus offered by an angel in a white alb standing on the right. The angel on the left reads from an open book that has gauffered pages and two golden clasps.

On the right wing St. Jerome wears a white garment below his cardinal's crimson robe, cowl, and hat (fig. 4). In his right hand he holds a book, and with his left he touches a long thorn that pierces the paw of a lion who stands upright on his hind paws. On the left wing is St. Peter Martyr, whose scalp shows a thin, bloody gash (figs. 2, 5). He wears the black and white robes of a Dominican monk, and carries a sword inscribed "MARIA MATER." He presents the donor to the Virgin and Child by lightly touching his head. The donor, who is elegantly dressed in shades of white, grey, and black, wears a long black mantle trimmed with grey, a black doublet, a black bonnet, grey sleeves, and a white shirt that is visible at the neck, wrist, and forearm (fig. 16). His rugged face shows a strong jawline, thick eyebrows, large brown eyes, large nostrils, firmly shut lips, a day's growth of beard, and deeply incised wrinkles around the mouth, at the corner of the eye, and along his lower cheek. He wears a ring on his right index finger. In the background of the left wing is a cityscape of Bruges, including a view of the Belfort, the Our Lady Church, and the Poortersloge (fig. 5).

Both saints are shown with their usual attributes. As is typical, St. Peter Martyr wears a Dominican habit, appears with a gash on his head, and holds the instrument of his martyrdom. St. Jerome wears cardinal's vestments, holds his Vulgate, and is accompanied by the lion from whose paw he extracted a thorn. Since

13.



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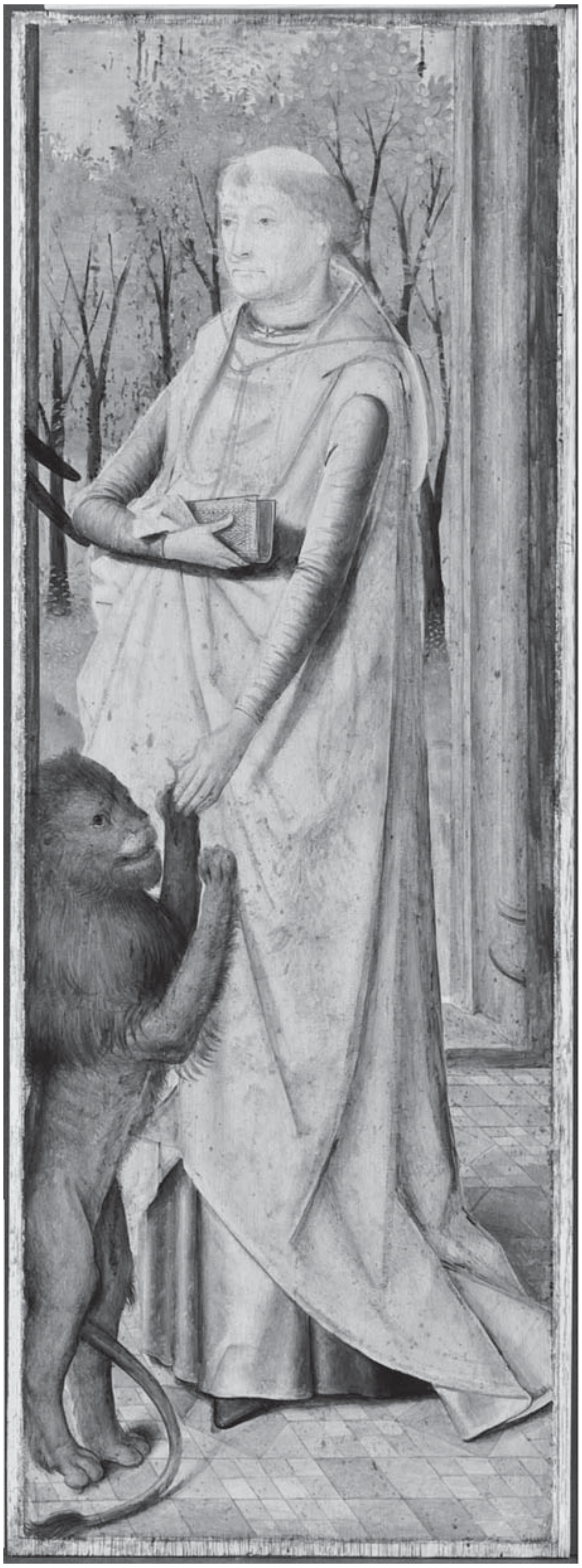


St. Peter Martyr was born in Verona and his cult centered in Italy, he rarely appears in Flemish imagery. For this reason the donor could be from a Mediterranean region; presumably his first name is Pietro or Pedro.

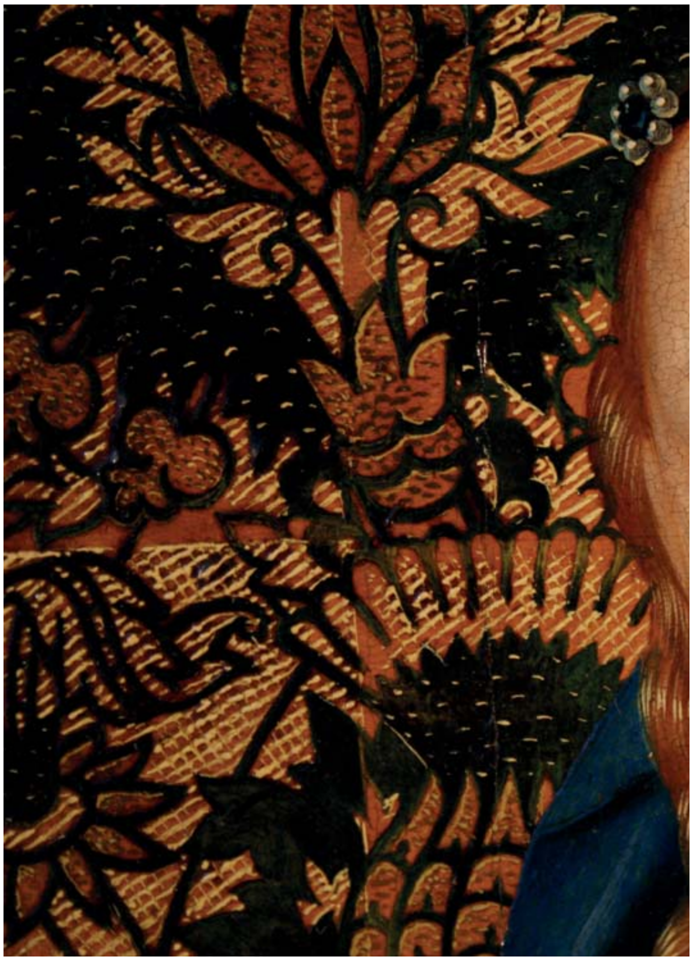
The Virgin is shown regally, enthroned and with a cloth of honor, as Queen of Heaven. Her throne may also refer both to that of Solomon and to Mary as the seat of knowledge, the *sedes sapientiae.* The exposure of Christ's genitals may serve to make clear the dual nature of Christ, since it is his human aspect that will make possible his future passion. It may also allude to the ritual of displaying to the general public the full nudity of a newborn heir to the throne.[21] The pink, or dianthus, is a flower of love that often appears in devotional imagery.[22] The triptych also includes Eucharistic symbolism. The angels wear the ecclesiastical vestments of assistant priests.[23] The Child sits on a white cloth placed on the Virgin's horizontal lap much as the host rests on the corporal that is placed on the altar during Mass.[24] Judging by its size, the triptych was not destined for a high altarpiece, but rather for a private chapel.

In 1903 Friedländer was the first to group together a few panels that he believed were painted by the same artist, whom he christened the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy.[25] The two key works were the eponymous *Legend of St Lucy* in Bruges and the *Virgin and Child among Female Saints* in Brussels (figs. 19-20). Later scholars added to his catalogue without questioning Friedländer's basic assumptions, until Verhaegen (1959) noted that the group was diverse in style and quality.[26] De Vos (1976) attempted to define the essential stylistic features of the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy but, in 1995, M.R. De Vrij once again called attention to the lack of homogeneity among the works assigned to this master. He noted, however, that certain paintings within the group were closely related. P. Syfer-D'olne,

13. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* infrared reflectogram, central panel

14. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints,* infrared reflectogram, right wing

15.



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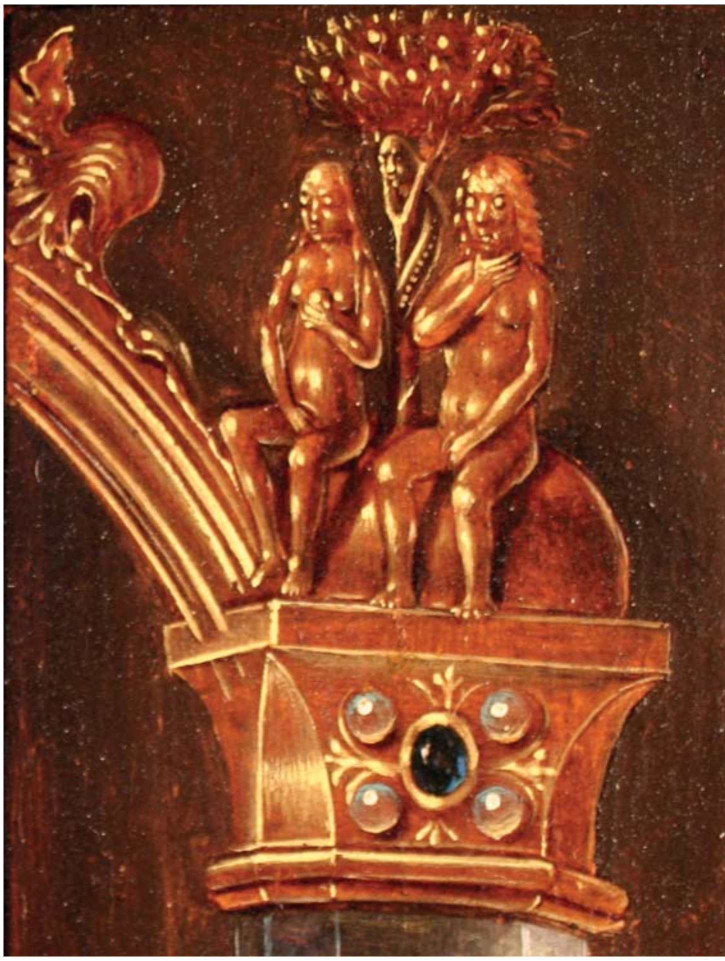


15. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints*, detail of brocaded cloth of honor

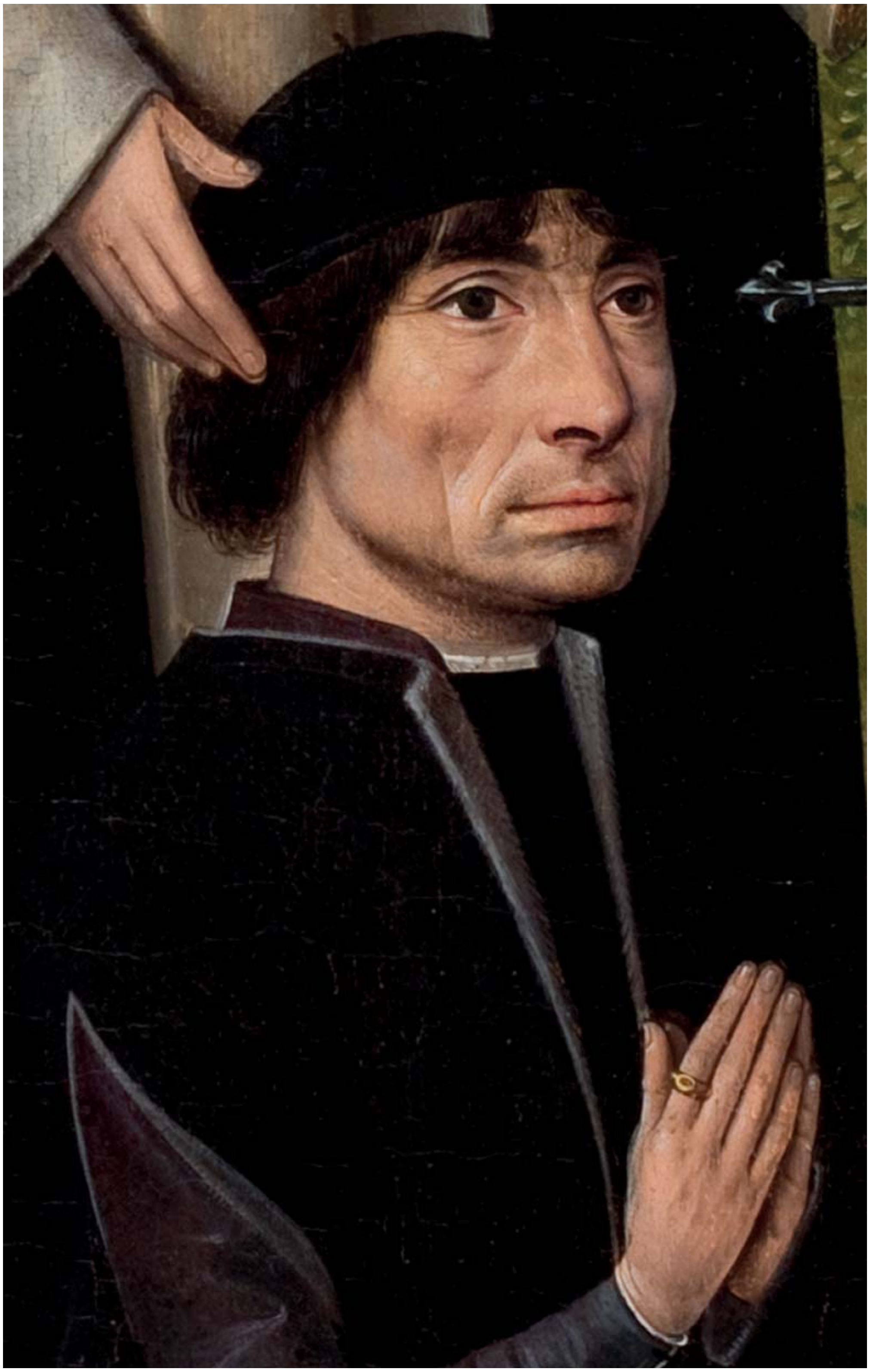
16. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints*, detail of sculpted Adam and Eve capital

R. Slachmuylders, A. Dubois, B. Fransen and F. Peters (2006) established that the two key works attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy were, in fact, not by the same hand.[27] Several attempts have been made to identify the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, but none has gained wide acceptance.[28]

6. Comparative Material

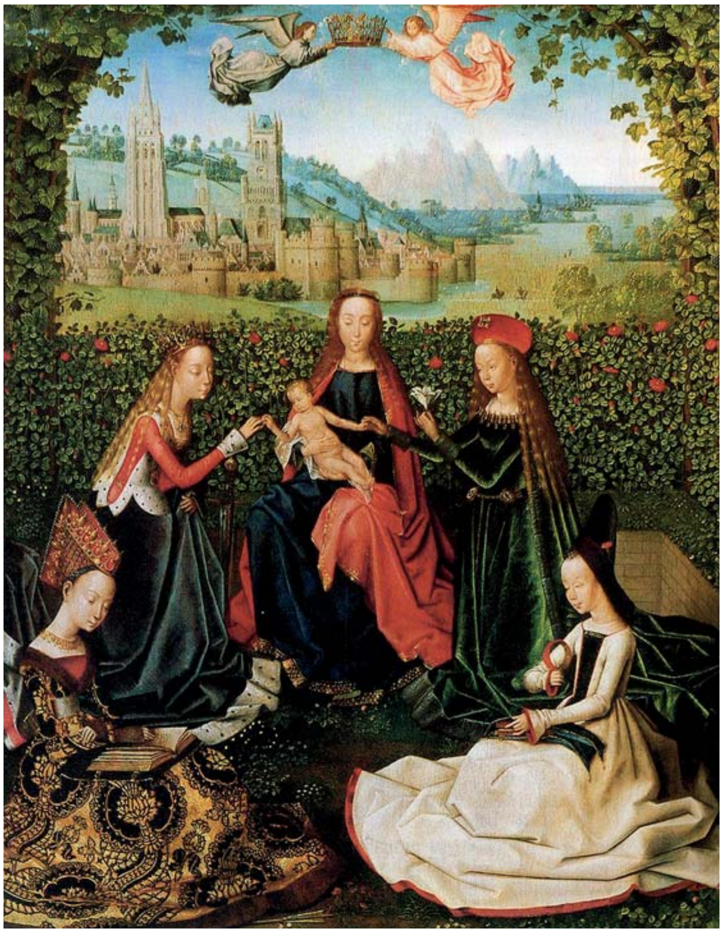
- Dirk Bouts follower, *Virgin and Child*, 53.8 × 39 cm., Granada, Cathedral, Capilla Real (fig. 7)
- Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, 80 × 68 cm., formerly Paris, Heugel Collection[29]
- Flemish Master, *Virgin and Child with Musical Angels*, 73 × 98 cm., Messina, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 550
- Anonymous Master, *Triptych with Madonna and Child, Angels and Saints*, 72.5 × 55 cm., Sold at Cologne, Kunsthaus Lempertz, 22 November 1973, lot no. 95[30]

17.



17. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Triptych of the Virgin and Child and Saints*, detail of the donor

- Attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *Virgin and Child,* 35 × 23 cm., Toronto, Hosmer-Pillow Collection, formerly Montreal, on loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario
- Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Madonna and Child with Angels,* 44 × 33.5 cm., formerly in New York, the Sachs Collection (1928 or before); Geneva; London, Sotheby's, 12 July 2001, lot no. 12; in 2002 in Paris at the De Jonckheere Gallery [31]
- Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin and Child with two angels,* 79 × 52 cm., San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor
- Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin and Child with two angels,* 59 × 53 cm., Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, inv. no. 69.53
- Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin of the Rose Garden,* 79.1 × 60 cm., Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 26.387, detail of cityscape (fig. 18)

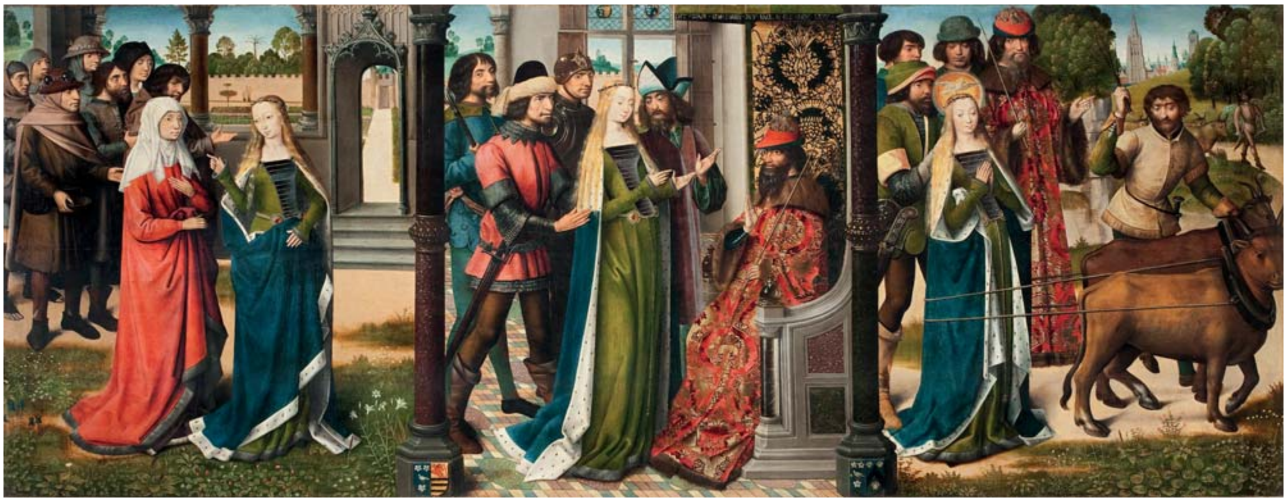


18. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin of the Rose Garden,* 79 × 60 cm., Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 26.387

7. Comments

The core of the composition – the enthroned Madonna with her feet resting on a pillow and her seated Child facing to the right with his left arm stretched out, his right arm relaxed at his side, his legs straight, and his feet flexed – appears in six other works (fig. 7). These paintings also show the hem of the Virgin's dress pulled up to her lap, with the lining displayed. Furthermore, angels appear to either side of the throne in five of these paintings and in each of these the angel on the right offers the Christ Child a flower. A painting in the San Francisco Legion of Honor Museum of Fine Arts shares many of these compositional elements, although the pose of the Child differs slightly. This repetition of compositional motifs and their dispersal among several workshops is typical of late fifteenth-century artists active in Bruges and Brussels. However, this same compositional type spread beyond Flanders; its echo is seen in a triptych produced by a Spanish painter.[32]

The date of the triptych can be established with certainty. On the basis of its depiction of the Belfry of Bruges, Verhaegen (1959) dated the Los Angeles triptych before 1483 (fig. 2), but later scholars more accurately established the dates of the various stages of construction. Since the Belfry in the Los Angeles triptych lacks the red paint surrounding the tower's clock that was applied in January 1482, as well as



19. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Legend of St. Lucy*, 79 × 183 cm., Bruges, Saint James Church

the octagonal lantern that was completed in October 1483, the painting must date before 1482.[33] The presence of the Belfry, the tower of Our Lady Church, and the turret of the Poortersloge confirm that the painter of the Los Angeles triptych was active in Bruges, and, indeed, the cityscape closely resembles that in the *Virgin of the Rose Garden* in Detroit, also by the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (figs. 5, 18).

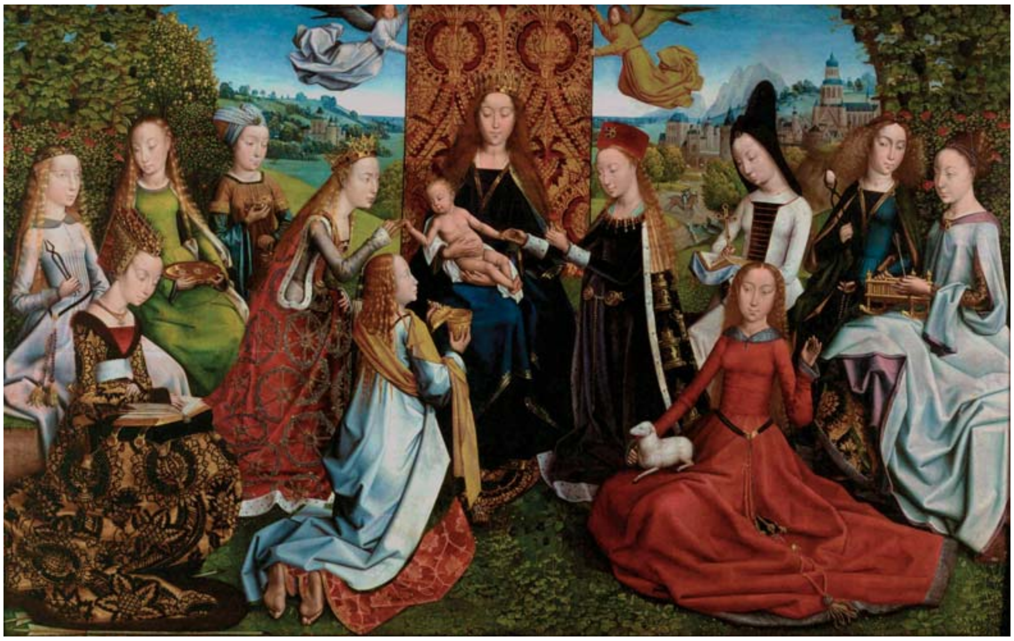
Moreover the blue band at the horizon, described by De Vos (1976), and the varied links described by Roberts (1982) add further evidence of a connection to the group of paintings traditionally assigned to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (fig. 5). Syfer-D'Olne, Slachmuylders, Dubois, Fransen and Peters (2006) list a series of stylistic elements that characterize the master's eponymous work in Bruges and separate it from another panel long attributed to him, the *Virgin and Child among Female Saints* in Brussels (figs. 19-20). Like the eponymous painting, the Los Angeles triptych shows stiff arms, elongated figures with relatively small heads (especially the saints on the wings), and male figures with "fleshy mouths and protruding noses" (especially St. Peter Martyr and the donor).[34] Similarly, the colors used in the eponymous panels and the one in Los Angeles are the traditional saturated reds and blues, rather than the pale, delicate tones seen in the Brussels painting. Furthermore, the Virgin's headband and the pattern of the cloth of honor in the Los Angeles triptych are quite close to those in the eponymous work. The triptych, in short, shows a popular composition for the central panel, and was produced in Bruges before 1482 by one of the painters grouped under the rubric of the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy.

8. Bibliography

1883a: *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art d'art formant la Galerie de M. le Chev. Toscanelli avril 1883* (sale cat.), Florence, p. 25, no. 152.

1883b: *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art formant la galerie de Mr. Le Chevr. Toscanelli député du parlement* (sale cat.), Florence, p. 40, no. 152.

1900: *Illustrated Catalogue of the sixth series of 100 paintings by old masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English Schools* (sale cat.), Paris, p. 20, no. 14.



20. Bruges Master (formerly Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy), *Virgin and Child among Female Saints,* 105.5 × 168 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 2576

1905: Reinach, 1, p. 182, 566.
1908: Gòmez-Moreno, p. 299.
1925: Friedländer, III, p. 126, no. 91a.
1927b: *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. Burlington House. A Memorial Volume* (exhib. cat.), London, p. 34, no. 73.
1928: Friedländer, VI, p. 140, no. 140.
1930: *Exposition internationale coloniale, maritime et d'art flamand. Section d'art flamand ancien* (exhib. cat.), Antwerp, p. 69, no. 179.
1938: Schöne, 1938, p. 212, no. 140a.
1956: Bautier, p. 9, no. 18.
1959: Verhaegen, p. 80-81.
1963: Van Schoute, p. 25.
1964: Hughes, p. 19, 39, 60, 99.
1964: Michiels, p. 147, no. 60d.
1968: Carandente, p. 33.
1968: Friedländer, III, p. 72, 88, n. 72.
1971: Friedländer, VIa-VIb, p. 62, no. 140, pl. 151 and p. 131, no. 89.
1975: *A Decade of Collecting 1965-1975* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, p. 60-61.
1976: De Vos, p. 139, 155, 159-160.
1977: Los Angeles County Museum Of Art*,* p. 64-65, 167-168.
1980: Friedmann, p. 242-243.
1982: Roberts, p. 13, 15-16, 23-24, 27, 33, 35, 36, 38-39, 41-42, 71, 83-84, 86, 132-133, 152-153, 163, 205, 230-231.
1993: Martens, p. 155-158.
1995: Brejon De Lavergnée, p. 223.
1996: Roberts, p. 715.

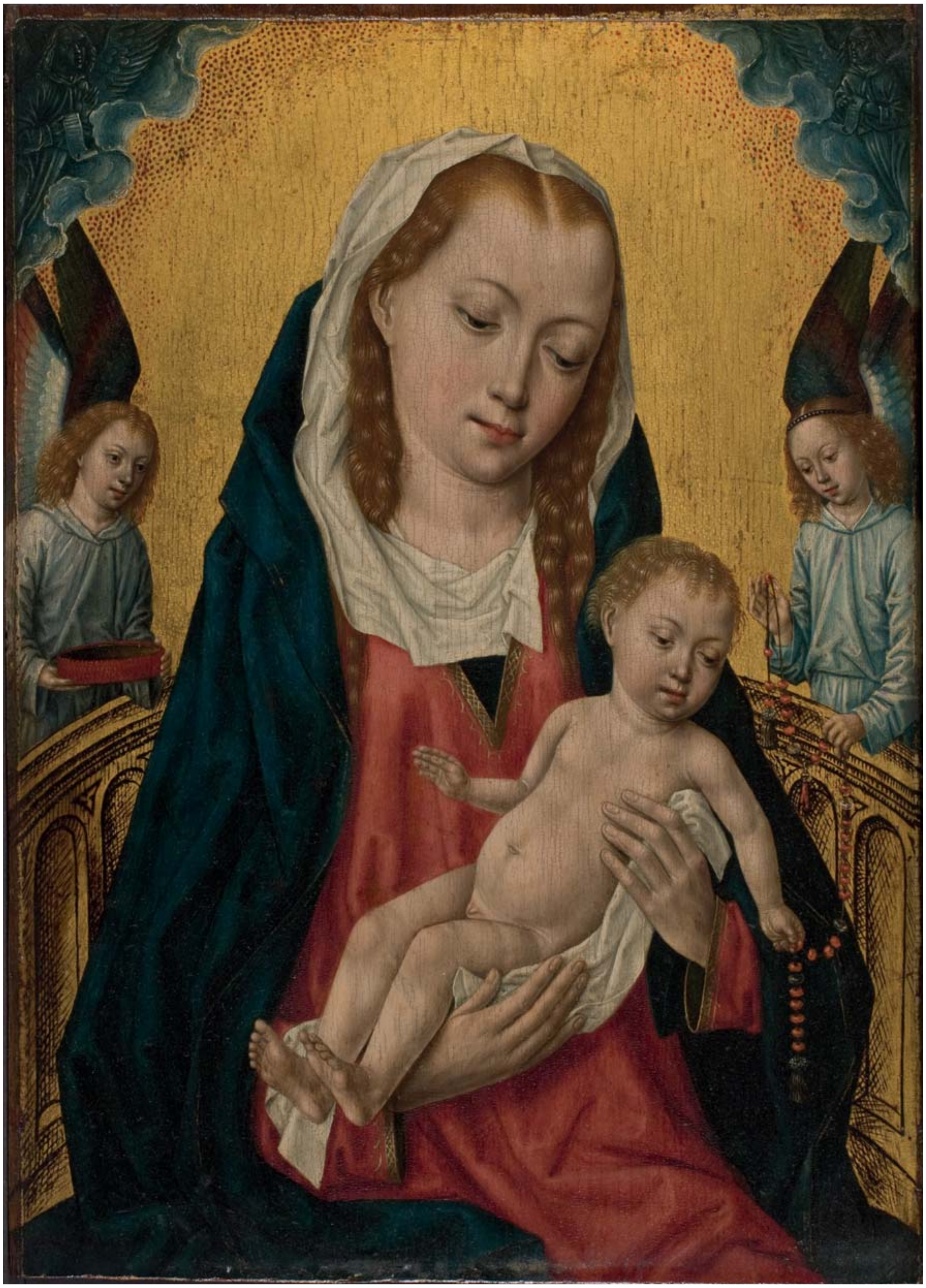
Notes

1. *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art formant la galerie de Mr. Le Chevr. Toscanelli député du parlement* (sale cat.), Florence, 1883b*,* p. 40.
2. For the Heugel collection, see A. Brejon De Lavergnée, 1995, p. 215-238, especially p. 223 for the Los Angeles painting. According to W. Schöne, 1938, p. 212, no. 140a, the painting belonged to the Van der Elst collection. This is apparently a mistake.
3. Attribution to Hugo van der Goes: *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art formant la galerie de Mr. Le Chevr. Toscanelli député du parlement* (sale cat.), Florence, 1883b*,* p. 40; *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art d'art formant la Galerie de M. le Chev. Toscanelli avril 1883*, Florence, 1883a, p. 25; S. Reinach, 1905, 1, p. 182, 566. Attribution to the Flemish school: *Illustrated catalogue of the sixth series of 100 paintings by old masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English Schools* (Sedelmeyer Gallery) (sale cat.), Paris, 1900, p. 20. M.J. Friedländer, 1925, III, no. 91a, attributed

it to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy. Those following this judgment are: *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927b, p. 34; M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, no. 140; *Exposition internationale, coloniale, maritime et d'art flamand* (exhib. cat.), Antwerp, 1930, p. 69, no. 179; N. Verhaegen, 1959, p. 80-81 ; R. Van Schoute, 1963, p. 25 ; M.J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 72, no. 91a ; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 62, no. 140, pl. 151; *A Decade of Collecting 1965-1975* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1975, p. 61, 167; D. De Vos, 1976, p.159; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1977, p. 64-65; H. Friedmann, 1980, p. 242-243; A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 13, 24, 41, 71, 83-84 230-231; A. Brejon De Lavergnée, 1995, p. 223; A.M. Roberts, 1996, p. 715.

4. D. De Vos, 1976, p. 159.
5. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 24, 63, n. 18.
6. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 15.
7. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *The Lamentation over Christ*, 70 × 50.5 cm., Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, inv. no. 97a.
8. Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, *Virgin and Child*, 28 × 19.5 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 545c.
9. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 26-27, 33, 41.
10. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 33.
11. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 83-84.
12. Dating it before 1483: C. Hughes, 1964, p. 99; *A Decade of Collecting 1965-1975* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1975, p. 61; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1977, p. 64-65; D. Martens, 1993, p. 136. For an alternate date, see A.M. Roberts, 1983, p. 71.
13. W. Schöne, 1938, p. 213 no. 142; R. Van Schoute, 1963, p. 26.
14. Dirk Bouts, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with two Angels*, 66.5 × 48.2 cm., Ragusa Ibla, Arezzo Giampiccolo di Donnafugata.
15. See, for example, M.J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 68, no. 65, pl. 79; R. Van Schoute, 1963, p. 26; G. Carandente, 1968, p. 33.
16. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 231.
17. St. Dominic: *Catalogue de tableaux, meubles et objets d'art formant la galerie de Mr. Le Chevr. Toscanelli député du parlement* (sale cat.), Florence, 1883b, p. 40 and S. Reinach, 1905, 1, p. 566. St. Stephen: *Illustrated Catalogue of the sixth series of 100 paintings by old masters* (sale cat.), Paris, 1900, p. 20. St. Peter Martyr: *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art* (exhib. cat.), London, 1927, p. 34; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p.131, n. 89; *A Decade of Collecting 1965-1975* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, 1975, p. 61; A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 152, 231; A. Brejon De Lavergnée, 1995, p. 223 (Peter of Verona); Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1977, p. 64, 167. P. Bautier, 1956, p. 9, states that the triptych shows either St. Dominic or St. Peter Martyr.
18. A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 152. For the Mediterranean focus of the cult of the saint, see D. Prudlo, 2008, p. 147, 173.
19. M. Gòmez-Moreno, 1908, p. 299.
20. The plank widths are, from the left, 30 cm., 14.5 cm. and 27 cm.
21. L. Steinberg, 1983; B. Simmich, 1997, p. 121.
22. For the dianthus, see entry no. 258.
23. For this idea, see McNamee, 1972, p. 263-278.
24. B.G. Lane, 1984, p. 16.
25. M.J. Friedländer, 1903.
26. For a recent summary of the scholarship on the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, see P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 291-293.
27. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 293, concluded, "We… agree with N. Verhaegen (1959) on the need to restart the objective examination of the paintings one by one, failing which it would be just as arbitrary to dismantle the group too quickly and without solid reasons."
28. J. Versyp suggested that the painter could be Jan Fabiaen and A.M. Roberts (1982) proposed that he might be Jan I de Hervy. For a summary of these arguments and their rebuttals, see P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, p. 292.
29. M.J. Friedländer, 1968, III, p. 72, no. 91a.
30. For this painting, see A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 233, cat. 16a.
31. For this painting, see W. Schöne, 1938, p. 212 no. 140b; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 63, no. 152; A.M. Roberts, 1982, p. 232, cat. 16.
32. This triptych is in the Lee Collection of the Courtauld Institute, London. See A.M. Roberts, 1982, fig. 77.
33. See A. Janssens, 2005b, especially p. 157, 160; D. Martens, 2000, p. 61, asserts that there was no octagon before 1482.
34. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 292.

I.



Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group

Virgin and Child with Two Angels

1. Identification

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, inv. no. M.44.2.6

Group: Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula
No. Corpus: 257

2. History of the Work

Origin and Subsequent History

By 1912: Haarlem, J.B. van Stolk[1]
Madrid, Schlayer (?)[2]
Amsterdam and Brussels, Art trade (?)[3]
1925: London and Brussels, Max Rothschild (art dealer)
1925-1927: New York, Knoedler Gallery
1927-1944: Los Angeles, Mr. and Mrs. Allan Balch
1944: Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum

Material History

1988: Unsigned condition report with record of X-radiography
1988: Cleaned and restored by E. Bosshard at the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum

Exhibition

1944 Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, *The Balch Collection and Old Masters from Los Angeles Collections,* no. 20.
2013-2014 San Marino, The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting,* pl. 5.

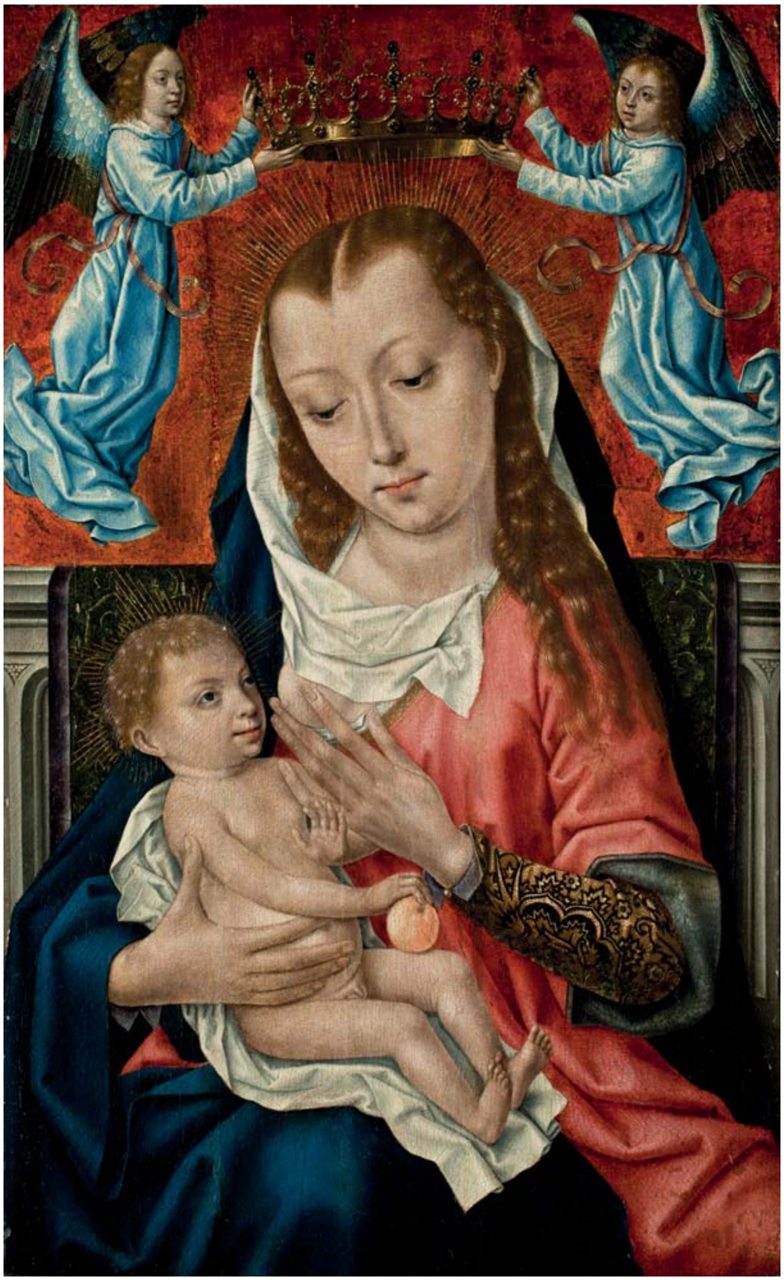
3. History of the Research

This painting was assigned to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula the first time it was published, in 1912 (fig. 1). This attribution has been widely accepted.[4]

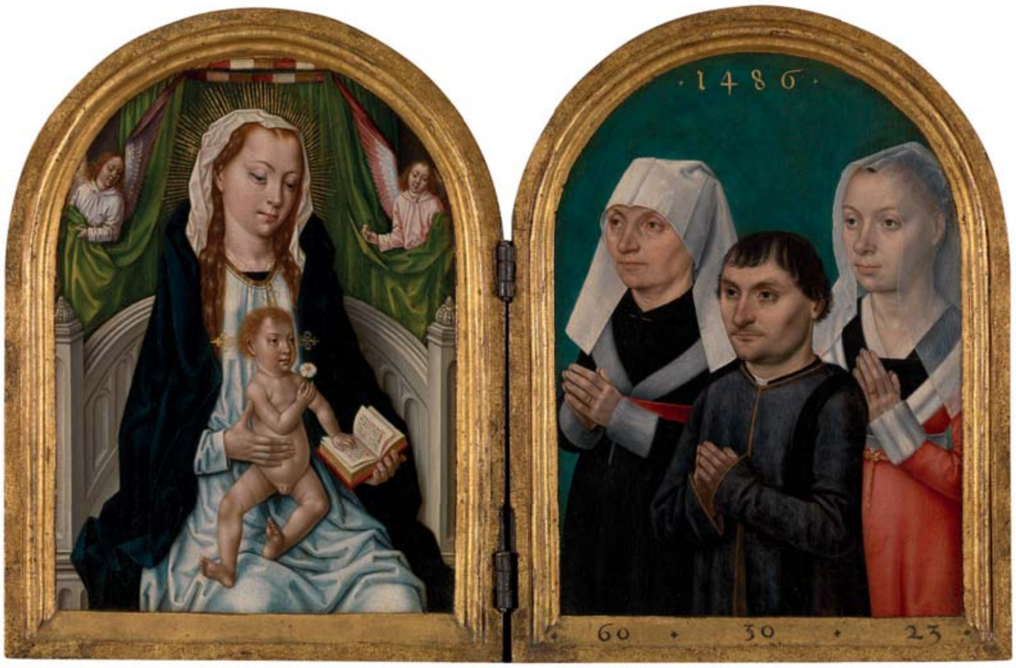
1. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels,* 33 × 23.5 cm., Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. no. M.44.2.6

However, a certain amount of confusion arose when M.J. Friedländer, in the sixth volume of his foundational series *Die altniederländische Malerei*, published in 1928, discussed this painting in two separate entries. In the process he attributed the same panel to two different artists and assigned it two different provenances.[5] His first entry, no. 125, states that the painting should be attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, and that it had been in the Van Stolk collection before it was sold in 1907. This cannot be true, since the panel appears in the catalogue of that collection that was published in 1912. Friedländer then relates that the painting was subsequently on the art market in Amsterdam and Brussels, but cites no proof for this assertion. By contrast, he assigns no. 156, a painting with virtually the same size and description, to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, and notes that it is in the Schlayer Collection in Madrid.[6] He nevertheless observes that the throne is similar to those seen in paintings by the Saint Ursula Master. In 1937, Friedländer partially corrected his mistake. He reattributed no. 156 to the Saint Ursula Master, but still asserted that it was in the Schlayer Collection. Since so many scholars have relied on Friedländer, the provenance of this painting is still unclear.

P. Bautier (1956) noted that this painting is further from Rogerian models than some of the other works by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula.[7] E. Feinblatt (1948) observed that the semi-circular back of the throne is a Byzantine feature that rarely appears in western art. C. Eisler (1961) interpreted the objects held by the angels as gifts for the Christ child and pointed to stylistic similarities with a panel in Worcester (fig. 2). By contrast J.O. Hand, C. Metzger and R. Spronk (Washington and Antwerp, 2006-2007) thought the panel in Los Angeles resembled the *Madonna* in Antwerp (fig. 3). S. Schaefer (1987) and D.M. Levine (1991) dated the painting ca. 1484. P. Nuttall in Los Angeles (2013-2014) dated the painting ca. 1485.



2. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, 48 × 30 cm., Worcester, Worcester Museum of Art, inv. no. 1936.6



3. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *Diptych with The Virgin and Child with Two Angels and Three Donors*, 1486, 28 × 21 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 5004-5004bis

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: H.: 33.4 cm. left side, 33.7 cm. right side, W.: 24.5 cm, and T.: 1 cm.
Painted Surface: H.: 33 cm. left side, 33.1 cm. right side, W.: 23.5 cm.

Support

The painting is on a single plank of oak with vertical grain. The bottom edge has most likely been trimmed, as it is missing the unpainted borders present at the top and sides. The support is without cracks or checks. The plank has a slight convex warp, about 0.5 cm. in depth at the center.

Frame

Not original.

Marks

Although the back has random gouge losses, none appears to be an organized mark. There is a red wax seal on the reverse, as well as various paper labels.

Ground

The thin white ground is smoothly applied. With 40× magnification it has the characteristic appearance of chalk. There is a raised barbe at top and bottom, but the extruded, exposed ground on each side does not form a ridge.

Underlying Drawing

The entire composition is drawn freehand, but as there are very few changes and the drawing is completed without corrections, it may replicate an existing prototype (fig. 4). There is a small change in the Virgin's proper right hand, where the little finger was added over the strip of white drapery under the child. The drawing is visible with infrared reflectography. The drawing of the Virgin and Child consists of contour lines made with multiple overlapping strokes in some areas, elaborated by hatch marks that are roughly parallel, laid in bunches to indicate shading. The angels are drawn with single contour lines and do not have hatched shading. The underdrawing is freer and less strictly organized than the lines over the gold leaf that articulate the form and shading of the throne. There are many small, slight alterations to the drawn contour in the paint. Both the upper contour of the child's legs and the lower contour of his arms were drawn higher. The white cloth was drawn to hang down further than it was painted.

4. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, infrared reflectogram

Paint Layer

The gilding is ground gilding, without a bole. Tiny dots of white paint embellish the gold leaf near the Virgin's head, and larger dots of red glaze decorate the leaf near the blue clouds in the upper corners. There is an overall thin white imprimatura, as viewed with a microscope at the paint edges and losses, which is not visible in X-radiographs (fig. 5). One small area of striations in an underlayer can be seen in the gold leaf at the top of the Virgin's head, continuing into her head (figs. 6 a.-b.). The paint is thin and smooth, with the darkest blue folds and the whitest whites the most thickly painted. It is mixed to a creamy but not liquid consistency. Flesh is shaded with scumbles of azurite, also used in the eyeballs (fig. 7). Modeling of the flesh is achieved with thin layers of color over a base tone rather than blended. The Virgin's robe is painted with a light blue underlayer followed by a dark blue second layer, and finally a glaze of disperse blue pigments. Small details are painted in a summary fashion (fig. 8).

The painting is in good condition. There is a small loss on the Virgin's proper right eyelid, and two small losses near the bottom edge. Very small retouchings are found in the Virgin's robe. Discolored residues of varnish are caught in the paint. The varnish overall is slightly matte, with a line of varnish abrasion at the bottom edge.

5. Pictorial Analysis

An enthroned half-length Virgin, accompanied by four angels, holds the Christ Child in both arms. She sits on a golden, curved-back throne adorned with an arcade, whose shadowy recesses are modeled with black crosshatching. She wears a white head cloth, a blue mantle, a red robe adorned at the wrists and along the V-shaped neckline with gold trim, and a blue undergarment. The Madonna's wavy, auburn hair with blonde highlights forms a pronounced widow's peak (fig. 9). Parted at the center and deeply recessed at the corners of the forehead, her hair falls over her shoulders, and is partially covered by a head cloth. The Virgin bends her head to her left and casts her brown eyes down towards her child. She holds a white cloth beneath him,

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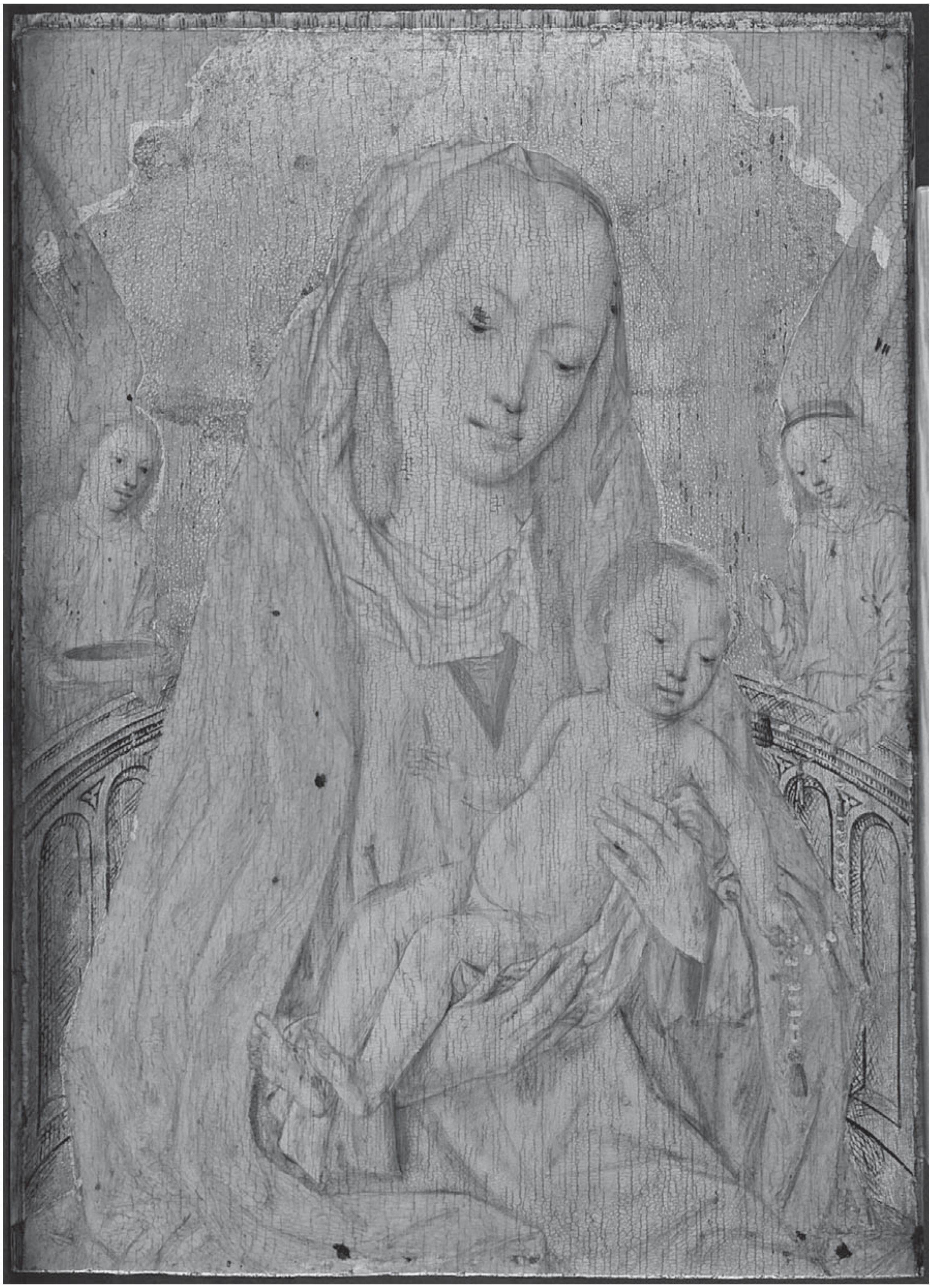

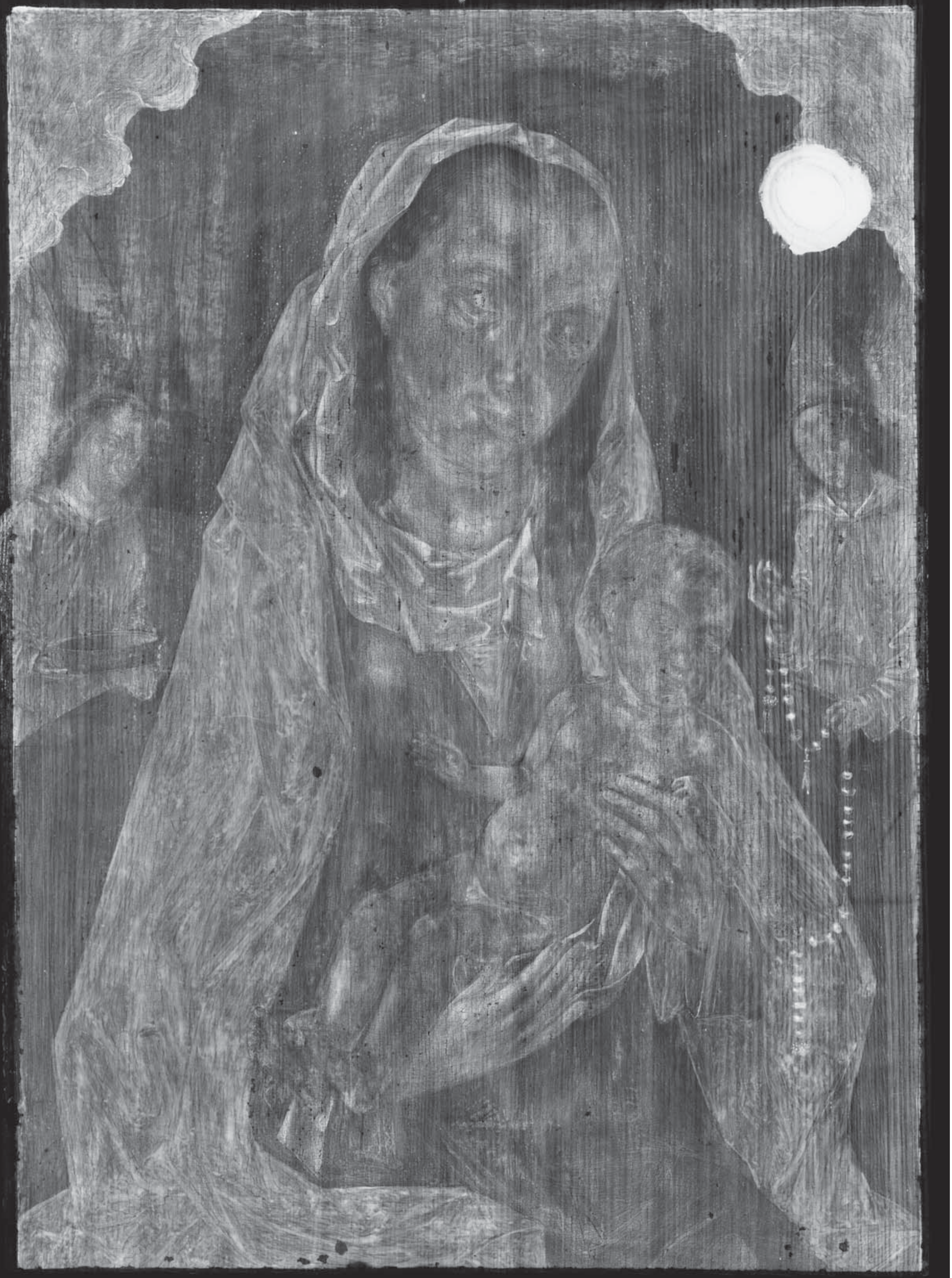

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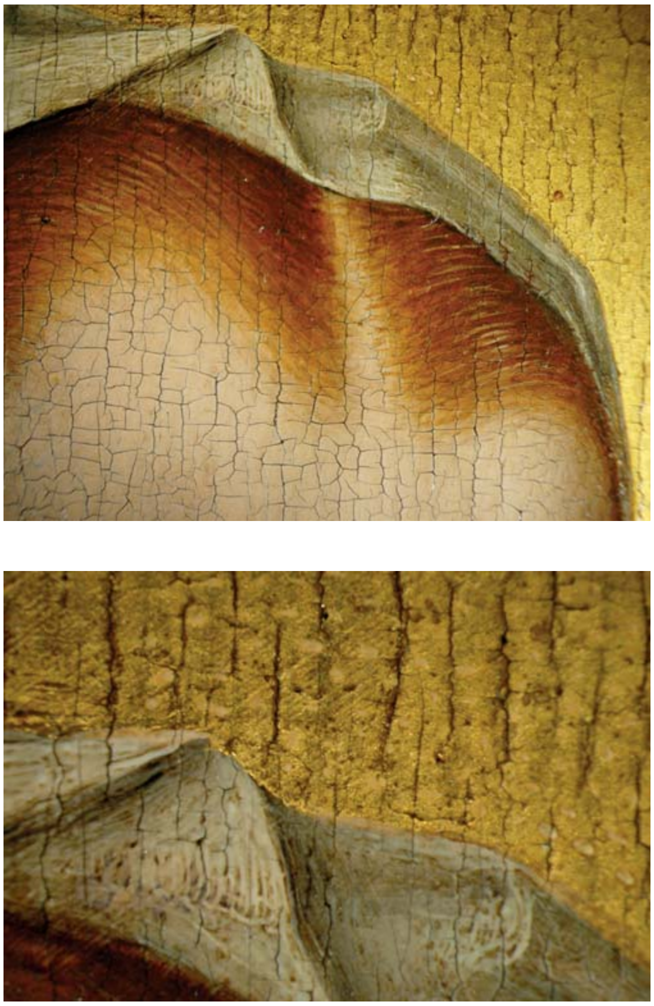


5. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, X-radiograph

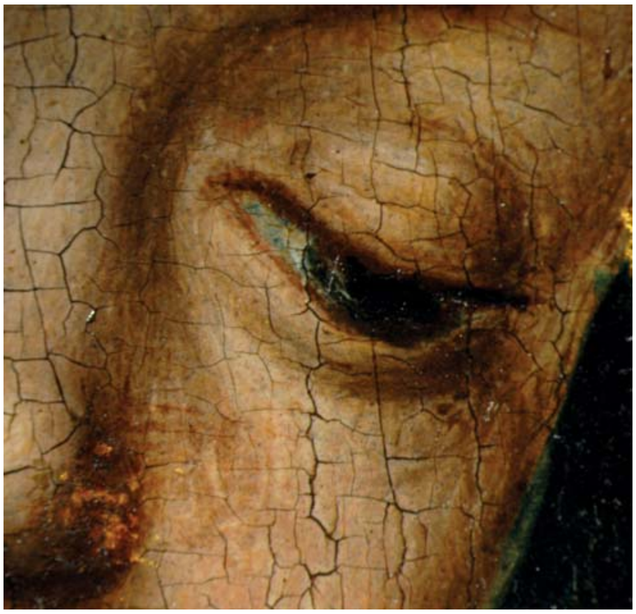
6. a.-b. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, details of Virgin's head with striations

but the upper part of his nude body, including his genitals, is exposed. The child gazes down to his left towards a string of prayer beads, which consists of three to eight bright red, loosely strung beads alternating with a larger transparent bead, and adorned with a tassel at each end (fig. 10). The Child grasps one of the beads, while an angel standing behind the throne at the right holds a section of the string with both hands. A twig of coral mounted in gold is attached to the string near the angel's lower hand. The angel wears an alb as does his counterpart on the left, who holds an empty, open, red, oval container.[8] The Madonna is set against a gold background modeled at the top with dark red dots. In each upper corner of the panel is a small angel, painted in monochrome, holding a scroll, and surrounded by wavy clouds.

This painting has been attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula. Friedländer (1903) was the first to gather together a group of stylistically similar paintings, relate them to an altarpiece in Bruges that was dedicated to St. Ursula, and baptize their painter the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula.[9] Friedländer believed that the master was active in Bruges between 1470 and 1490 and was influenced by Hans Memling and Rogier van der Weyden. G. Marlier (1964), followed by A. Janssens (2004a, 2004b, 2005a), attempted to arrange the painter's works chronologically based on the changing appearance of the Bruges belfry tower, which was erected over the course of the fifteenth century.[10] Early on M. Conway (1921) had proposed that the master should be identified as the Bruges painter Pieter Casenbroot; recently Janssens (2004b, 2005a) supported this theory.[11] In 1991, D.M. Levine noted that the works attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula do not form a coherent group.[12] B. Fransen and P. Syfer-d'Olne (2006) and P. Syfer-d'Olne *et al.* (2006) went further by questioning the assumptions by which scholars assign paintings to the master.[13] They noted that many works attributed to him bear little resemblance to his eponymous work, but that some are "interlinked stylistically and typologically."[14] Syfer-d'Olne *et al.* observed, for example, that some show "broad hair partings, leaving the forehead and temples uncovered, and … narrow crescent-shaped ears."[15] For these reasons, they called for "a reassessment of the entire corpus [that] could lead to the establishment of new groupings to which new attributions could be given."[16]

The exposure of Christ's genitals may refer generally to his human aspect and therefore to his ability to be sacrificed at the Crucifixion or specifically to the ritual

7.



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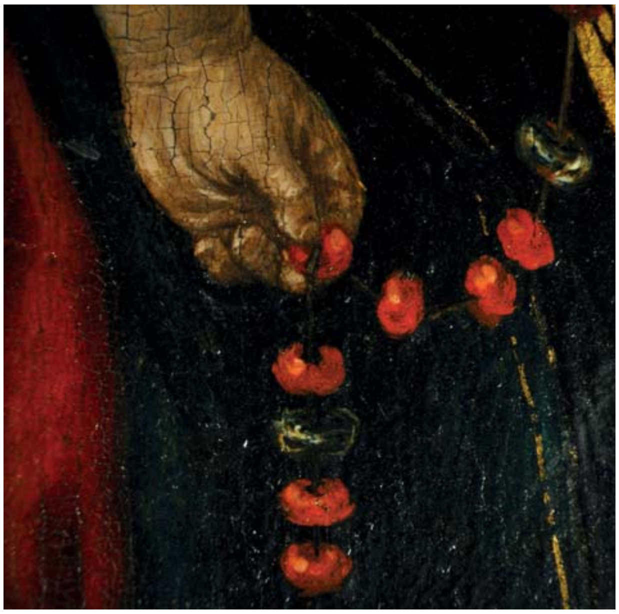


7. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, detail of the eye of the Child

8. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels,* detail of Child's hand with a few prayer beads

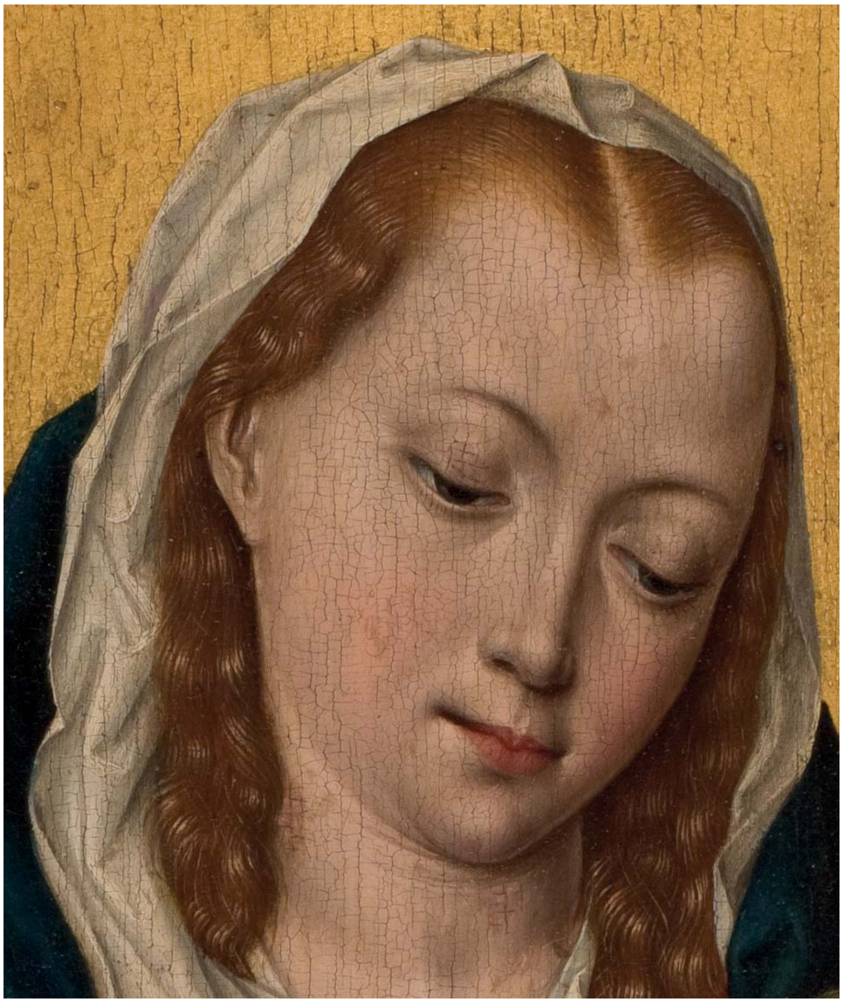
of displaying to the general public the full nudity of a newborn heir to the throne.[17] The curved-back golden seat may allude to the throne of Solomon and to Mary as the seat of knowledge, the *sedes sapientiae.* It derives ultimately from such Byzantine works as a late-thirteenth century panel in Washington D.C., which shows a Madonna and Child seated on such a throne, surmounted by two angels.[18]

Rosaries were common in the fifteenth-century Lowlands. Produced either in the form of a string or a circle, they consisted of two types of beads, one associated with the Hail Mary prayer, the other with the Our Father. The panel in Los Angeles is of the string type and shows red and transparent beads, probably to differentiate those linked to each form of prayer. A string of prayer beads appears in other early Netherlandish paintings, most notably Jan van Eyck's *Madonna at the Fountain*[19] and *Arnolfini Portrait*,[20] but also in eight other works by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula or closely related to him (figs. 11-12).[21] Men tended to use a short, open string of prayer beads.[22] Such rosaries were associated with betrothals and weddings, and by extension to conception and safe childbirth.[23] For this reason in the painting in Los Angeles they may refer to Christ as the bridegroom of Mary or may have been employed because the devotee wanted children. The coral twig hung on the string of beads was believed to be apotropaic, and was used to keep infants safe.[24]

6. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

- Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels,* 48 × 30 cm., Worcester, Worcester Museum of Art, inv. no. 1936.6 (fig. 2)
- Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *Diptych with The Virgin and Child with Two Angels,* 1486, 28 × 21 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 5004 (fig. 3)

9.



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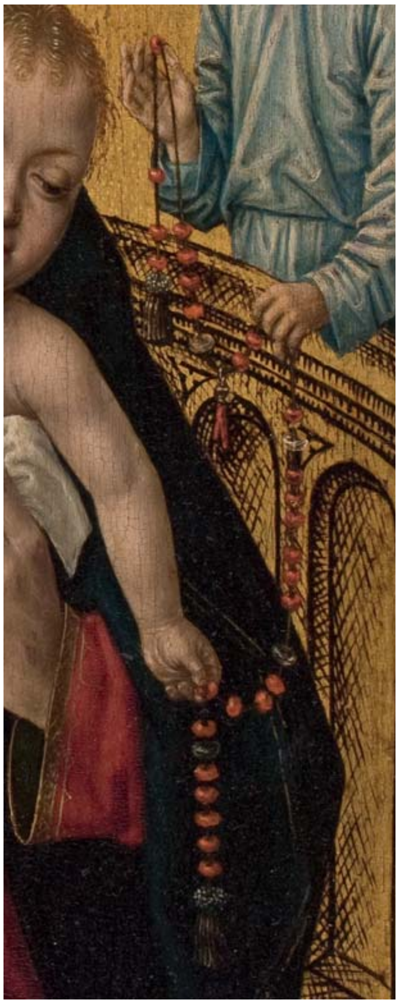


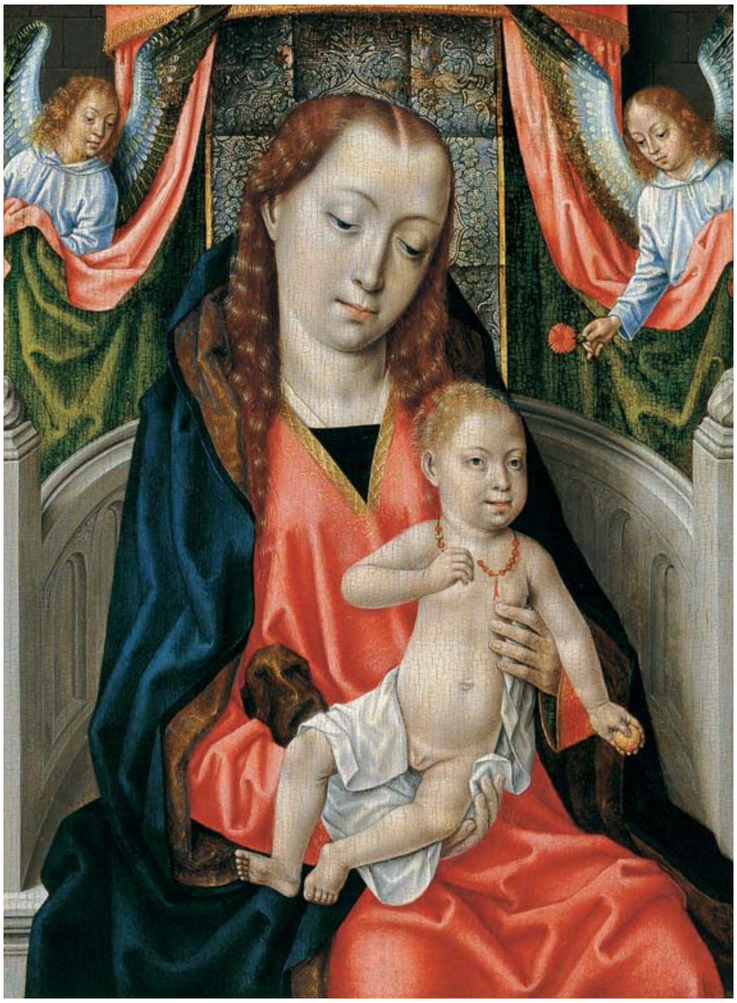
9. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels,* detail of Virgin's head

10. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, detail of rosary

- Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula group, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels,* Private Collection (fig. 13)
- Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula group, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, 36.6 × 27 cm., Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. no. 253 (1934.14) (fig. 11)

7. Comments

This painting is by the same hand as many others that have been attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (figs. 2, 3, 11). It shows features that Friedländer (1928) termed essential to the master: the broad part to the hair, the deeply recessed hairline at the corners of the forehead, and the narrow crescent ears.[25] Friedländer even mentioned as typical of this master the "shading in black over the gilt ground" that is visible on the throne.[26]

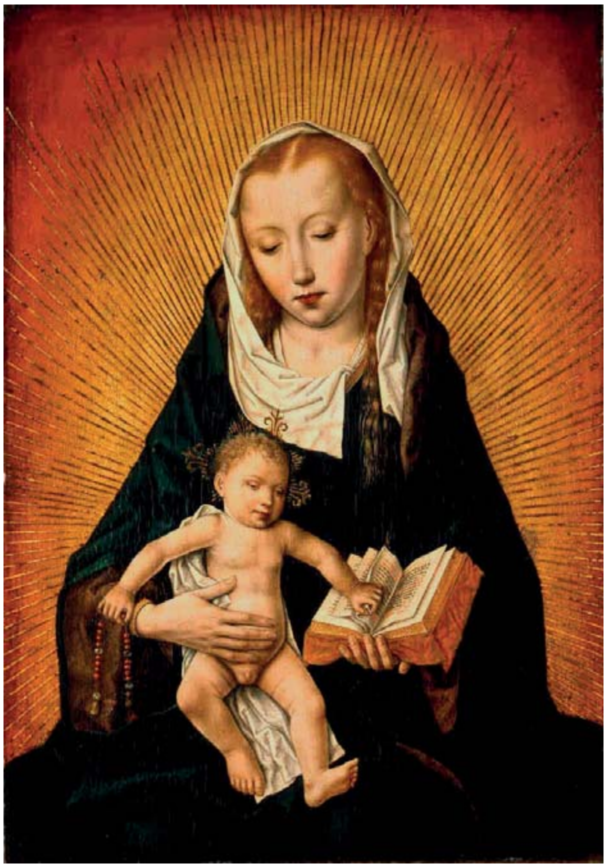


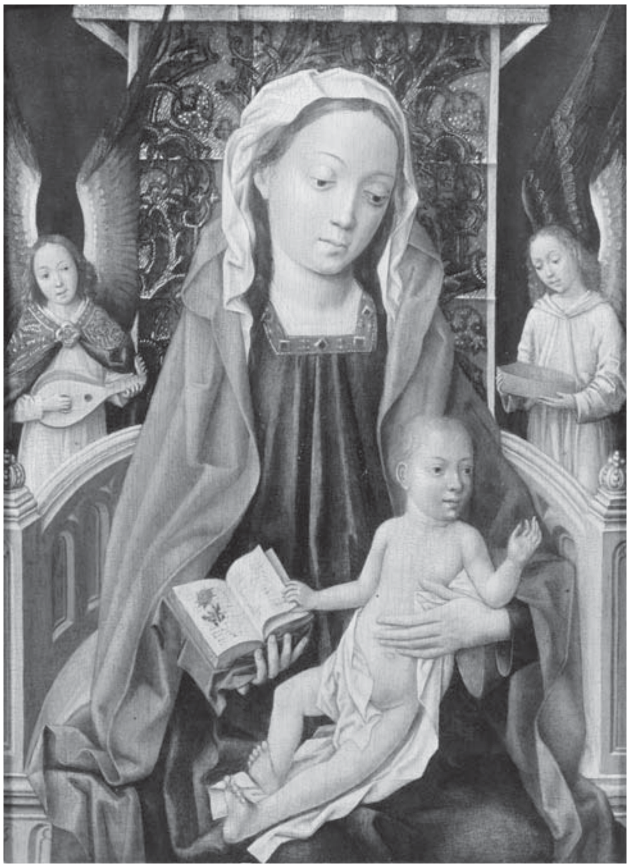
11. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, 36.6 × 27 cm., Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. no. 253 (1934.14)

Friedländer (1928) also characterized the master as having a "monotonous style" and a poverty of ideas.[27] Indeed many of the motifs in this painting recur in other works attributed to him. A curved-back arcaded throne appears in at least three other paintings of this group, although in those instances it is depicted as if made of a light-colored stone (figs. 3, 11, 13). Friedländer remarked on the master's preference for angels, and they appear in the Los Angeles painting, as well as in many of his other works, often standing behind the throne (figs. 2, 3, 11, 13). The motif of the Child grasping the string of prayer beads recurs in a *Madonna and Child* in Brussels that has been attributed to the master in the past and is now closely related to his oeuvre (fig. 12). Both instances show an open string with groups of red beads separated by a translucent bead and a tassel at either end. Similarly, an angel in another work attributed to the master holds an empty, oval container (fig. 13). Even the twig of coral recurs in at least one other painting attributed to him (fig. 11). The arrangement of the white head cloth also agrees in large part with that in several of his other paintings and may ultimately be derived from a work by Rogier van der Weyden.[28] In all these examples the cloth swings across the Madonna's upper chest from left to right, exposing much of her neck, overlapping part of her hair on the left, but partly covered by her hair on the right. In all these cases the cloth is tucked into the edge of the Virgin's neckline on the right so that one of its corners is visible at the lower right. This suggests that the master repeatedly used the same patterns. Furthermore, the underdrawing in this panel resembles that in the master's *Madonna and Child* in Antwerp in its parallel hatching, short strokes, and somewhat weak contours.

The position of the cloth below the Christ child as well as his flexed feet are reminiscent of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin* in Boston, and the Los Angeles panel, with its half-length Madonna and Child, golden background, and curved-back throne, may have been meant to recall Byzantine icons, such as those attributed to St. Luke.[29]

The painting may originally have served as a left wing of a portrait diptych, like the arrangement in the master's other diptychs (fig. 3). As Hand, Spronk, and Metzger observe, "Often in a devotional portrait diptych the donor is shown in the act of prayer on the right wing, with the Virgin and Child on the left. The donor's attention





12. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels,* 43 × 31 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 10.816

13. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, group, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels,* 33 × 24 cm., Private Collection

is directed not at the Christ child but at the Virgin. The Virgin herself, in her role as mediatrix, looks down at the Child on her lap, who in turn often looks toward or points to the donor."[30] In fact the *Madonna and Child* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula may well have been a stock panel that could have been later joined with a portrait.[31]

Whether a wing to a diptych or an independent panel, this painting includes a constellation of motifs that point to its use in private devotion: its small size, the prayer beads, its close-up view of the Madonna and Child, its calm and meditative mood, its timeless golden background, and its lack of any reference to the contemporary world. Because the paintings closest to it are dated in the 1480s (that in Antwerp bears a date of 1486, that in Worcester, 1485), the version in Los Angeles may well date from approximately the same time.

8. Bibliography

1912: *Catalogue des sculptures, tableaux, tapis, etc formant la collection d'objets d'art du Musée Van Stolk*, The Hague, p. 74, no. 444.
1921: Conway, p. 250.
1928: Friedländer, VI, p. 63, 138 (no. 125), 142 (no. 156).
1929: Fierens and Fierens-Gevaert, III, p. 75.
1934: De Jong, p. 22-23.
1937: Friedländer, 14, p. 104, no. 127.
1944: *The Balch collection and Old Masters from Los Angeles collections Assembled in Memory of Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, no. 20.
1944a: McKinney, p. 3.
1944b: McKinney, p. 11.
1948: Feinblatt, p. 34-35.
1954: *A Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch, and English Paintings, XV-XVIII Century* (exhib. cat.), Los Angeles, p. 9, no. 3.
1956: Bautier, p. 8 (no. 10), 11 (no. 23b).
1961: Eisler, p. 110, no. 3.
1964: Marlier, p. 36, no. 14.
1971: Friedländer, VIa, p. 40, 61 (no. 125, pl. 146), 64 (no. 156, pl. 146) and VIb, p. 110 (Supp. 235, pl. 144), 131 (n. 85), 132 (n. 101), 133 (n. 148).
1982: Roberts, p. 48, p. 66, n. 55
1987: Schaefer, p. 67
1991: Levine, p. 44, 54, 70-71, 103, 142, 219-220.
2006-2007: *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington and Antwerp, p. 165.
2012-2013: *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, p. 54, 107, 108.

Notes

1. See the section on the history of the research to understand the confusion about this painting's provenance. For this provenance, see *Catalogue des sculptures, tableaux, tapis, etc*, The Hague, 1912, no. 444.
2. Reported by M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 142, and M.J. Friedländer, 1937, XIV, p. 104 and occasionally repeated thereafter, without any scholar citing any evidence.
3. M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 138.
4. W.M. Conway, 1921, p. 50; *The Balch collection and Old Master from Los Angeles collections*, 1944, no. 20; R. McKinney, 1944a, p. 3; R. McKinney, 1944b, p. 11; E. Feinblatt, 1948, p. 34; *Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch, and English Paintings, XV-XVIII Century,* Los Angeles, 1954, p. 9; P. Bautier, 1956, p. 8, 11; G. Marlier, 1964, p. 36; S. Schaefer, 1987, p. 67; *Face to Face. Flanders, Florence, and Renaissance Painting* (exhib. cat.), San Marino, 2013-2014*,* p. 107, 108.
5. M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 138, 142.
6. No. 125 is described as a "Maria mit dem Kind mit zwei Engeln" that measures 32.5 × 23.5 cm. No. 156 is a "Maria mit dem Kind in Halbfigure und zwei Engeln" that measures 33 × 24 cm.
7. The discussion by P. Bautier, 1956, p. 8 and 11, is a bit confused, however, since he follows Friedländer and lists the painting under two separate entries that appear in two different categories.
8. Such oval containers in other works hold a variety of objects including coins and papers. See E. Uitz, 1988, p. 135, fig. 50 and p. 31, fig. 7. Perhaps the container in this painting originally held the string of prayer beads.
9. M.J. Friedländer, 1903, p. 15.
10. G. Marlier, 1964, p. 13-16; A. Janssens, 2004a, p. 67-81; A. Janssens, 2005b, p. 157-162.
11. A. Janssens, 2004b, p. 289-290, 312-14; A. Janssens, 2005a, especially p. 152, 156.
12. D.M. Levine, 1991, p. 5.
13. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 322; B. Fransen and P. Syfer-D'Olne, 2006, p. 321-322.
14. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 322.
15. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 322.
16. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 322.
17. L. Steinberg, 1983; B. Simmich, 1997, p. 121.
18. For this and other examples, see *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 27, 278, 476-477.
19. Jan van Eyck, *Madonna at the Fountain*, 1439, 19 × 12 cm., Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, cat. no. 411.
20. Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Portrait*, 1434, 82.2 × 60 cm., London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG186.
21. The list of works by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula that include rosaries, which was compiled by D. Levine, 1989, p. 44 includes: M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa-VIb,

Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, nos. 114, 115, 124, 126, 127, 128, Add. 268, Add. 273 and a replica of no. 115 once in Minneapolis.

22. P. Syfer-D'Olne *et al.*, 2006, p. 332; W.H.T. Knippenberg, 1985, I, p. 14.
23. C. Purtle, 1982, p. 162; R.A. Wise, 2013.
24. For coral as an apotropaic element used in rituals involving the newborn, see J.M. Musacchio, 1999, p. 131-132, 137; C. Purtle, 1982, p. 162.
25. M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 61-62; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 39.
26. M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 63; M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 40.
27. M.J. Friedländer, 1928, VI, p. 61, M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 39.
28. See also M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 60, nos. 121, 121a, 121b, pl. 142. For Rogier's painting, see D. De Vos, 1999, p. 355.
29. C. Eisler, 1989, p. 104, and M. Ainsworth, in *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhib. cat.), New York, 2004, p. 554, suggested that other paintings by the master take on qualities of Byzantine icons.
30. *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington and Antwerp, 2006-2007, p. 4. One portrait attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula shares the same size, but the sitter's face is much too large to have been joined with the Los Angeles painting. See M.J. Friedländer, 1971, VIa, p. 61, no. 135, pl. 147.
31. *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington and Antwerp, 2006-2007, p. 24.

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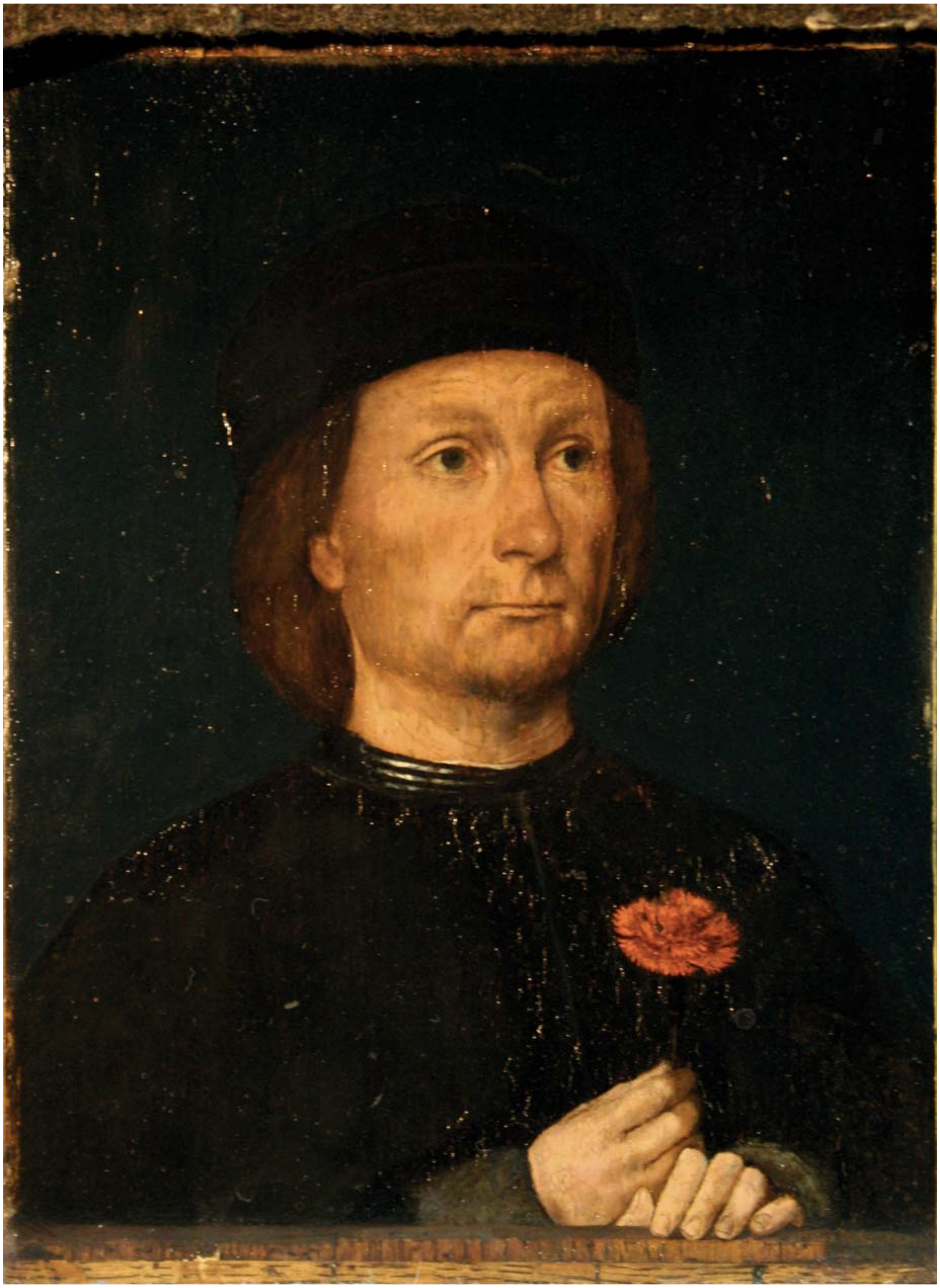


Anonymous Flemish Master

Portrait of a Man with a Pink

1. Identification

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 69.PB.9

Group: Michel Sittow
No. Corpus: 258

2. History of the work

Origin and Subsequent History

Maziet[1]
By July 1938: Paris, G. Floriet[2]
December 1938: London, Art dealer Rosenberg[3]
1952: London, Private Collection, sold to Wildenstein & Co.
1952/53-1969: London, Wildenstein & Co.
1969: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum

Material History

Undated: William Suhr, treatment (fig. 4)
1981: Yvonne Szafran, Jet Propulsion Lab study, unpublished

Exhibitions

1963 New York, Wildenstein Gallery, *Portraits: 15th to 19th Centuries*, no. 11 (as Vermeyen)

3. History of the Research

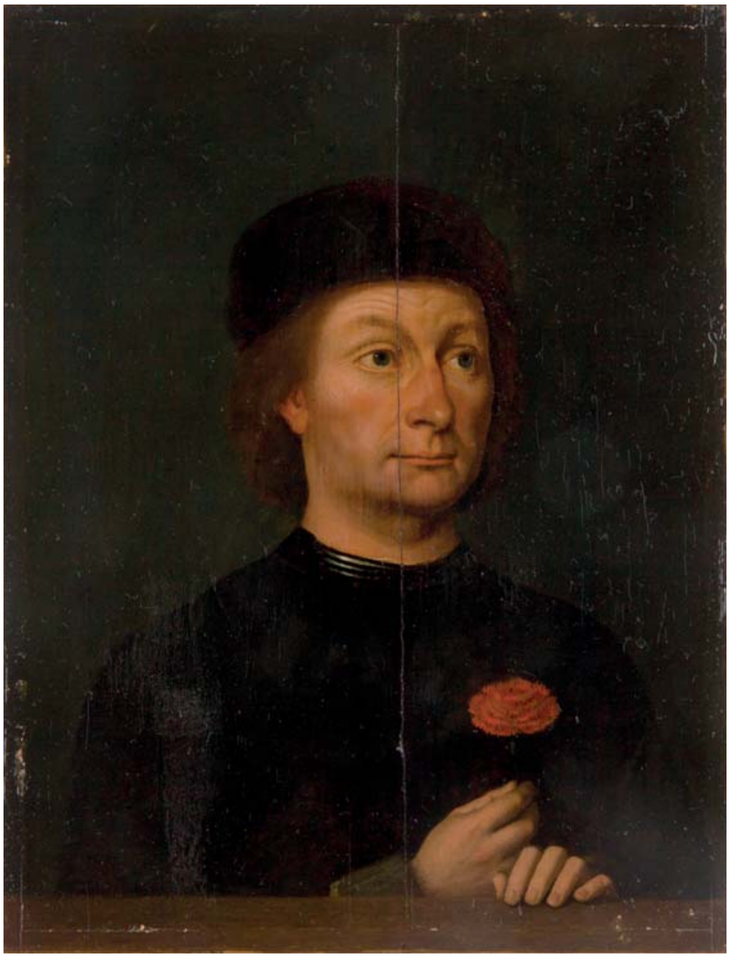
1. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink,* 20.32 cm. × 15.8 cm., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 69.PB.9

Little has been written about this portrait (fig. 1). In 1963 the Wildenstein Gallery exhibited the painting as a work by Jan Cornelis Vermeyen.[4] When it was purchased by the Getty Museum, B. Fredericksen (1972) assigned it instead to Michel Sittow and dated it tentatively around 1515. D. Jaffé (1997) supported this attribution, but dated it ca. 1500. After very carefully studying earlier photographs of the painting that show extensive damage and comparing it to another version of the portrait, today in Cracow (fig. 2), M. Weniger (2011) concluded that the painter of the Getty panel belonged to the generation after Sittow. He noted that the laced collar and the pose of the hand on the ledge are reminiscent of fifteenth-century paintings, but the proportion of figure to ground, the fluid application of paint, and the brown ground suggest instead the sixteenth century. He further observed that the painter of the Getty panel, whom he did not identify, shows immense, wide-open, firmly outlined eyes and distinctive shadows that are also present in the Polish version.

4. Physical Analysis

Dimensions

Support: 24.1 × 17.8 × 0.3 cm.
(current dimensions)
Painted Surface: 20.32 × 15.8 cm.
(original)
20.32 × 17.5 cm. (including restoration)



2. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, 25.4 × 19 cm., Cracow, Prinz Czartoryski-Stiftung, inv. no. FCZ XII-253

Support

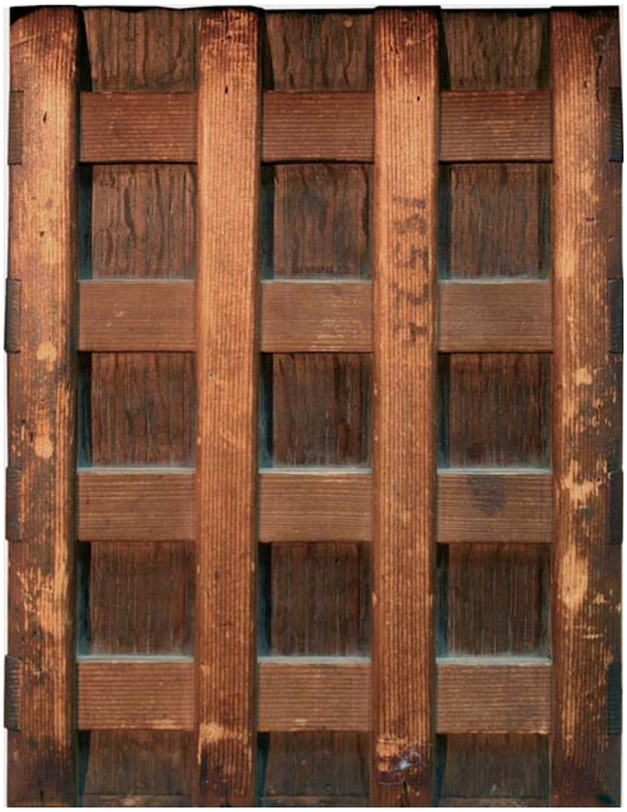
The original panel is augmented at the right side and bottom with added strips of wood, 1.7 cm. on the right side and approximately 0.5 cm. at the bottom. The reverse has been planed and an eight-member cradle attached. The four vertical cradle members are glued to the panel and the horizontal members were originally intended to slide but are now frozen in place (fig. 3). There is a round hole filled with x-ray opaque material (now painted over) in the top center of the original panel (measured without the addition on the right side), which is visible in the X-radiograph (fig. 5).

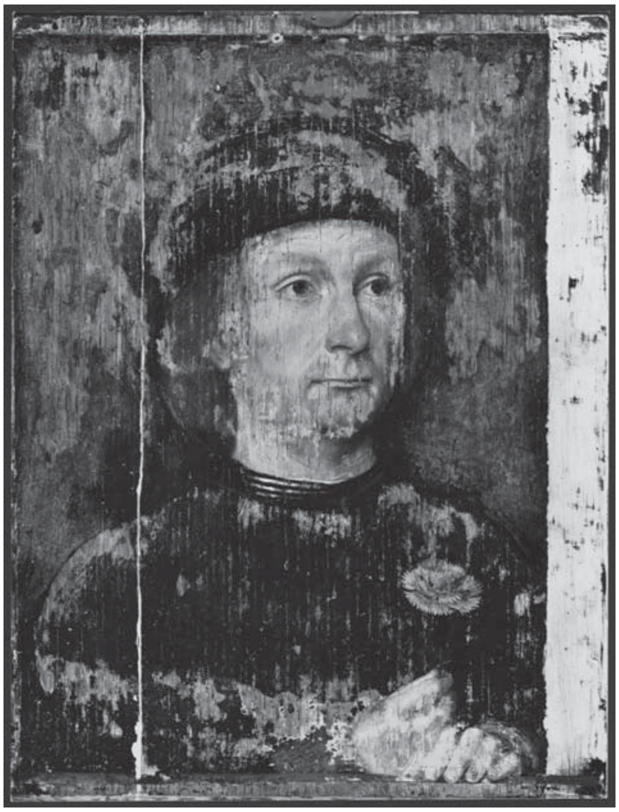
Frame

Modern.

Ground

The X-radiograph shows a slight increase in density in the thin white ground at the original perimeter of the painted surface (fig. 5). From this it can be deduced that the originally unpainted border of the panel on the left side has been trimmed,





3. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, reverse

4. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, during restoration

leaving a thin wedge of originally unpainted wood that widens near the bottom of the panel. The originally unpainted border of wood is entirely removed from the right side. The unpainted border at the top does not have the ridge of a true barbe, nor is a ridge seen at the unpainted border at the bottom of the panel.

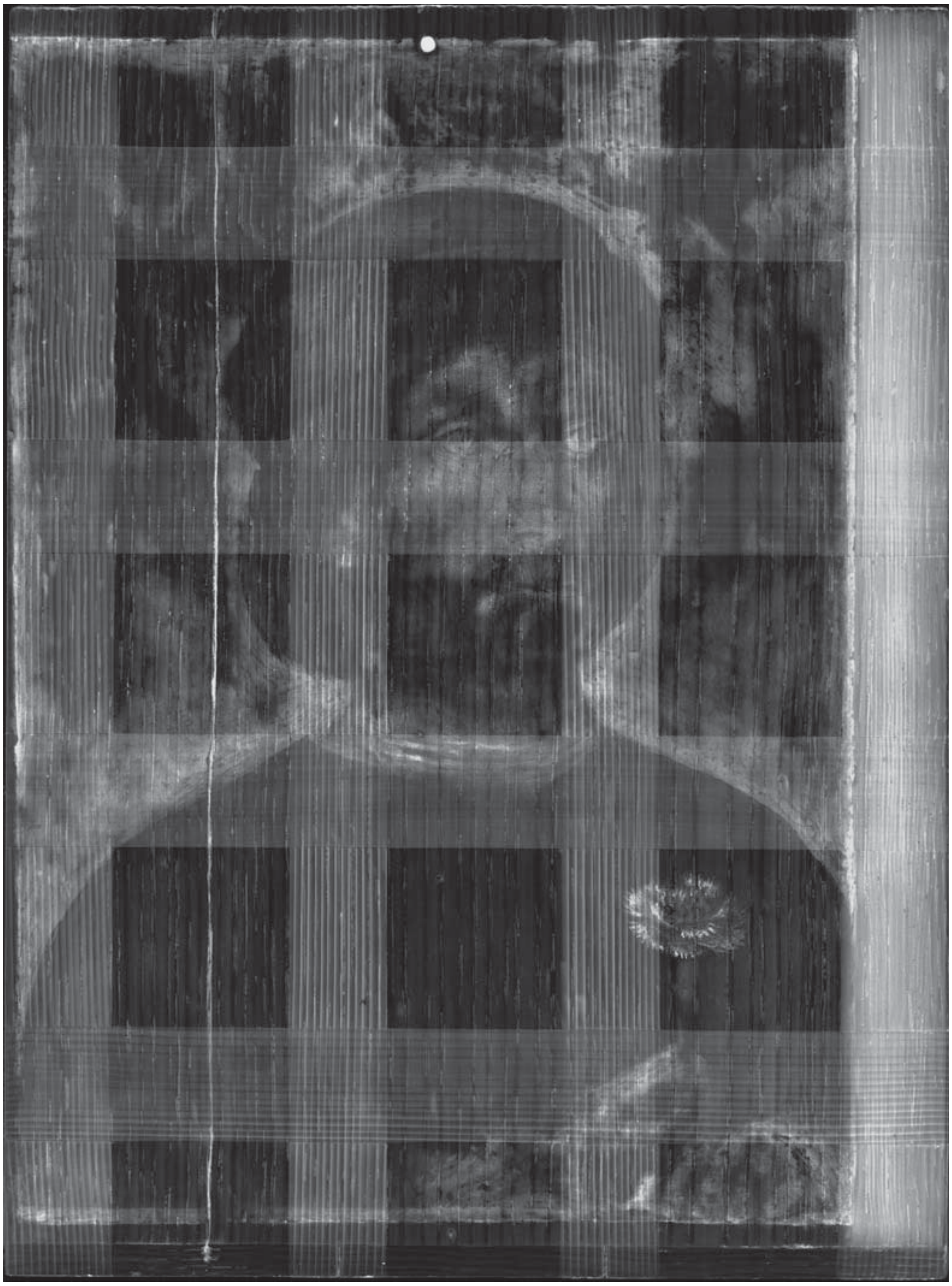
Underlying Drawing

The underdrawing seems to transmit only the essential contours as transferred from an outside source, such as another painting or drawing (fig. 6). Infrared reflectography reveals a very sparse outline, describing the eyes and irises, the edge of the nose and cheek, and a few wrinkles in the neck. The hands are cursorily but accurately indicated and each finger delineated. The drawing substance is not identifiable, although it displays some characteristics of a dry material.

Paint Layer

The paint is quite thin and is efficiently applied, without impasto. The flesh is painted fairly directly, using lighter paint for highlights, with thin outlines of burnt sienna to define contours, red for the deepest shadows, and pink highlights on a base tone of medium value (fig. 7). The blue background lies over an underlayer of salmon pink, which warms the cold blue of azurite and white.[5] The pink is simply painted as well, consisting of a layer of warm medium salmon with defining lines of red lake

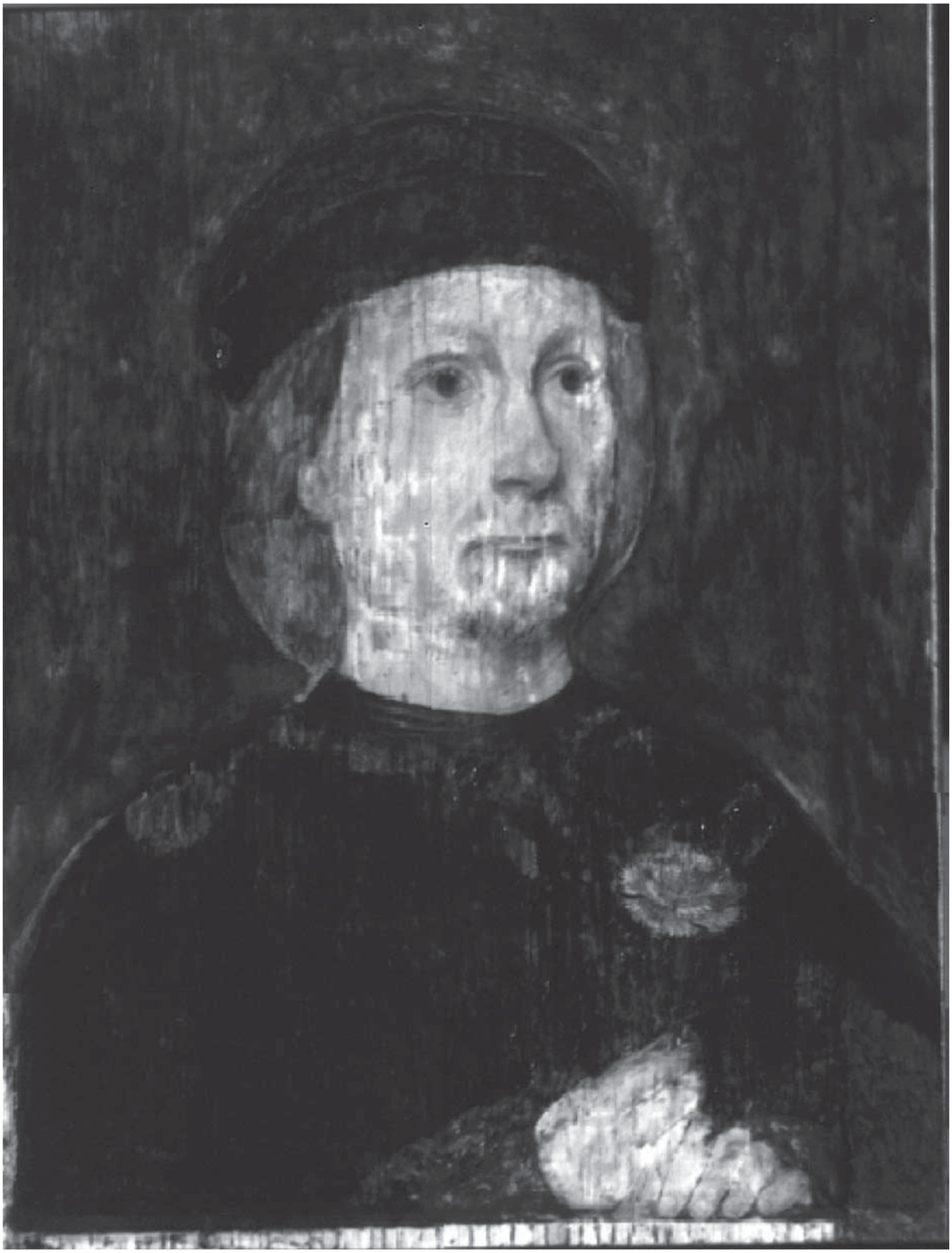
5.



5. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, X-radiograph

6. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, infrared reflectogram

6.



(fig. 8). The sitter's attire is rendered with details added over a thin, fairly uniform base layer of black.

X-ray fluorescence analysis undertaken in 1982 showed that the entire blue background had been repainted, as had large portions of the black attire.[6] The clothing is very thinly painted and there are large areas of restoration. The handling is assured and exact, but not meticulous. No analysis of the painting materials has been made to date.

This painting is in very poor condition (fig. 4), which must be taken into consideration when attribution is considered. However, the eyes, nose, and mouth of the sitter are reasonably well preserved, which may be sufficient for interpretation. The damage to the mouth may be intentional scratches (figs. 6-7). The hair and attire of the sitter are largely modern and should not be taken as indicative of the artist's work. In addition, the heavy, dark retouching on the modeling of the face and the costume is nearly entirely fictional. Of the costume only the collar is original. The hands are flattened by repaint. The added strip of wood on the right, now painted to match the original background, reduces the immediacy of the portrait, giving a more formal aspect to the presentation of the sitter than originally painted.

5. Pictorial Analysis

This badly damaged painting shows a bust-length portrait of a man turned slightly to the right. He holds a red carnation in his right hand (fig. 8), while resting his left on a ledge, a common feature of portraits and even religious paintings of the late fifteenth century (see entry no. 249). He wears a black hat, a white shirt that is visible at the neck, and a black garment with grey cuffs and a collar fastened with three strings that each loop through an eyelet. The blue background, light brown hair, and all the garments (except for the collar) are largely repainted, and the face and hands are severely abraded, leaving only a ghost of a painting. The facial features, which are better-preserved, are carefully observed (fig. 7). The sitter's brown eyes, raised eyebrows, and puckered forehead lend him an alert expression. His thin lips are firmly closed.

The man holds a red carnation, which is well preserved and beautifully rendered (fig. 8). A comparable portrait is Memling's *Portrait of a Man with a Pink* in New York, ca. 1480-1485 (fig. 9).[7] The pink, that is, any of a group of plants belonging to the genus *Dianthus* and including the carnation, was a common symbol of love and fidelity that was often invoked in portraiture to refer to betrothal and marriage.[8] However, the word "Dianthus" means "flower of God," and the pink was also often a religious symbol, even in portraiture.[9]

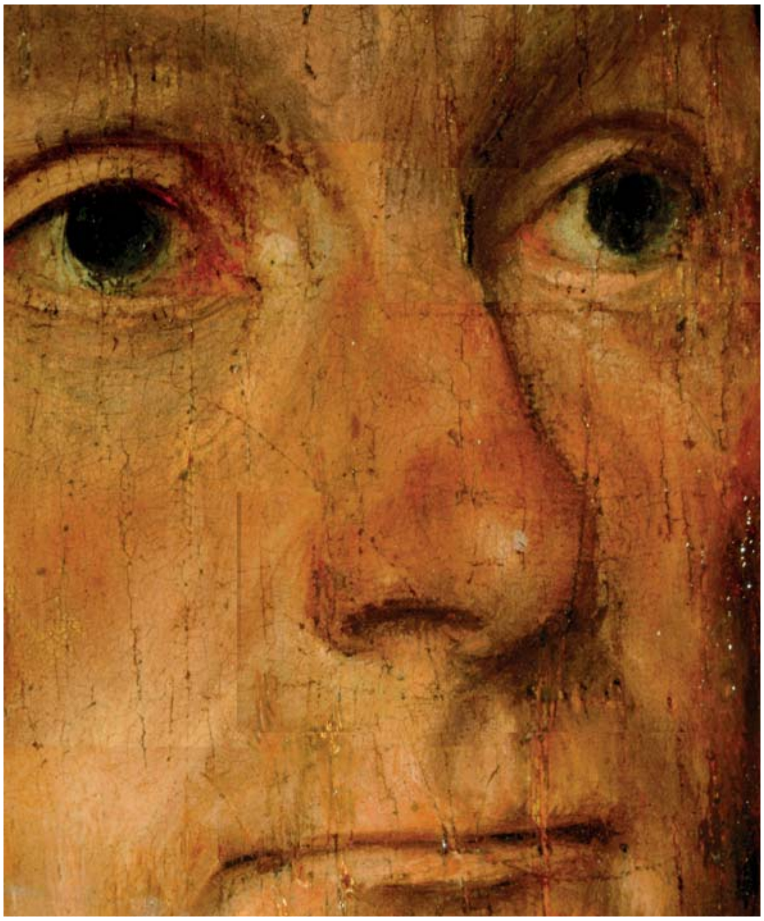
6. Comparative Material

- Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, 25.4 × 19 cm., Cracow, Prinz Czartoryski-Stiftung, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. FCZ XII-253 (fig. 2)[10]

7. Comments

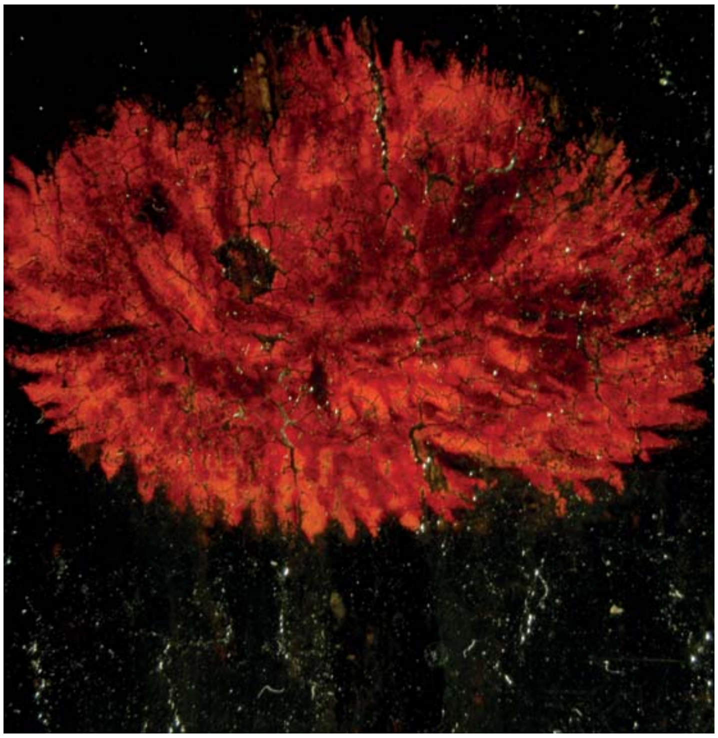
This portrait has nothing in common with those by Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, but should it be attributed to Michel Sittow (1469-1525)? Born in the Hanseatic port of Reval, today in Estonia, Sittow was probably trained first by his father and then in Bruges. This apprenticeship rooted his art in Flanders, but his peripatetic career at the Spanish, Danish, Flemish, and perhaps English courts forged a cosmopolitan style. An unusually highly paid painter to Isabel of Castile and Léon from 1492 to 1502, he also worked for Philip the Fair, Christian II of Denmark, and Margaret of Austria. Towards the end of his career, he spent much of his time in his homeland.[11] Few scholars have studied his work, and of those who have, only M. Weniger (2011) discusses the Getty portrait. He rejects it as a work by Sittow, attributing it instead to a painter of a younger generation.

Besides the poor state of preservation of the Getty portrait, another factor that makes its attribution problematic is the nature of its underdrawing, which is cursory, perhaps because the artist relied on a drawing on paper. The date of the collar, ca. 1475-1485, does not fit Sittow's chronology.[12] Since no works have been securely dated to the very beginning of Sittow's career, when he was still in Bruges, and since the portrait looks like the work of a painter who had already distanced himself from Memling, it is highly unlikely that Sittow painted this work. Unfortunately, its present state makes it impossible to determine which artist painted the Getty portrait.

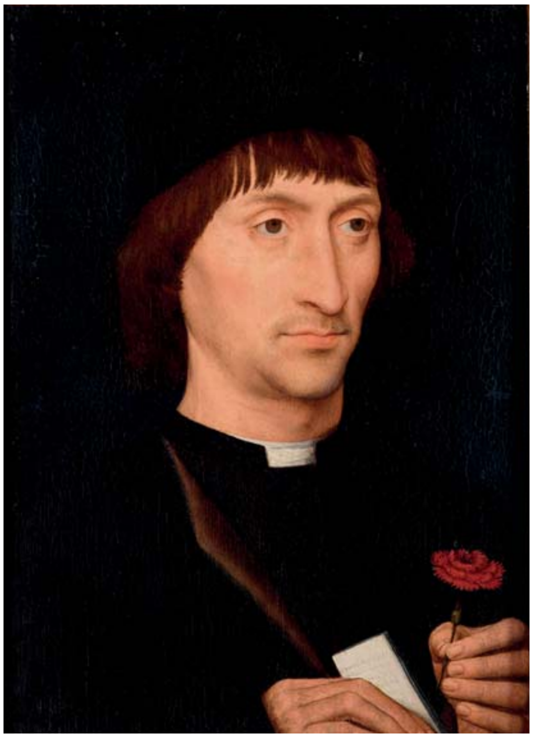


7. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, detail of the face

Since the sitter faces slightly to the right and holds a flower that symbolizes love, this portrait may have served as a left wing, which was accompanied on the right by a portrait of his wife or fiancée facing left on the right wing. A similar pairing, though with a woman holding the pink, has been proposed for the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels[13]. Other portraits of husbands and wives originally formed diptychs (see entry no. 247), such as those of René I, Duke of Anjou and Jeanne de Laval in the Louvre, Paris[14]. If the Getty sitter had been paired with a Virgin and Child, he would have faced left, as in the case of the Rogier van der Weyden's Philippe de Croÿ diptych[15] (see entry no. 251). The Getty panel, however, shows the sitter turned to the right, much like the portrait of the Duke of Anjou. The female portrait that originally served as the right wing to the Getty panel remains unknown.



8. Anonymous Master, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, detail of the pink (Dianthus)



9. Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*, 39.5 × 28.4 cm., New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, inv. no. AZ073

8. Bibliography

1963: *Portraits. 15th to 19th Centuries*, London, no. 11.
1972: Fredericksen, p. 59-60.
1997: Jaffé, p. 118.
2011: Weniger, p. 160-161, 490.

Notes

1. M. Weniger, 2011, p. 161.
2. Letter in museum files from L. Campbell, dated 30 September 1980.
3. M. Weniger, 2011, p. 161.
4. According to a letter from the Wildenstein Gallery to the Getty Museum, dated 24 June 2002, M.J. Friedländer attributed this painting to Vermeyen on 15 March 1954.
5. This underlayer changes the hue of the azurite; Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling use a similar method (see C.A. Metzger and N.R. Palmer, 1998). It is probably adopted to give an appearance closer to that of ultramarine.
6. Frank Preusser, document in the painting conservation dossier, dated 1982.
7. For this portrait, see *Memling's Portraits* (exhib. cat.), Madrid, Bruges and New York, 2005, p. 70 and D. De Vos, 1994, p. 140.
8. For the meaning and use of the pink, see *Memling's Portraits* (exhib. cat.), Madrid, Bruges, and New York, 2005, p. 70; *Prayers and Portraits: Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych* (exhib. cat.), Washington and Antwerp, 2006-2007, p. 186; and H. Mund, C. Stroo and N. Goetghebeur, 2003, p. 194. A particularly striking example of the dianthus as a sign of love is Cranach's *Young Bridegroom* in São Paolo, who wears a wreath of carnations and a necklace in the shape of a heart. See *Museum of Art São Paulo*, Milan, 1981, p. 127-128.
9. I. Bergstrom, 1978, p. 22, 26; S. Segal, 1987, p. 13.
10. For more about this portrait, including its supposed date in the eighteenth century, see M. Weniger, 2011, p. 490, note 752.
11. For Sittow's biography, see C. Ishikawa,

2004, p. 67; J.O. Hand and M. Wolff, 1986, p. 228; M. Weniger, 2011, p. 39-49.

12. For similar collars, see *Memling's Portraits* (exhib. cat.), Madrid, Bruges and New York, 2005, pls. 14, 23, 26. M. Weniger, 2011, p. 490, n. 753, had earlier pointed to *Memling's Portraits* (exhib. cat.), Madrid, Bruges, and New York, 2005, pl. 13.
13. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, *St. Anne with the Virgin, the Child and Saints*, 79.6 × 124 cm., Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 6719.
14. Nicolas Froment, *Matheron Diptych*, 17.7 × 13.4 cm., 13.2 × 9.8 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 665.
15. Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Philippe de Croÿ*, 51.5 × 33.6 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 354.

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