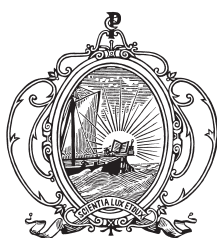


# VAN EYCK STUDIES

Papers Presented at the Eighteenth Symposium for the  
Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting,  
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PEETERS

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# Contents

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Editors' Preface	IX
Notes to the Reader	XI
Abbreviations	XIII

## PART I. THE GHENT ALTARPIECE

1	<b>The <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i> Revisited: 2012-2017</b> Anne van Grevenstein-Kruse and Hélène Dubois	3
2	<b>Gems in the Water of Paradise. The Iconography and Reception of Heavenly Stones in the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i></b> Marjolijn Bol	35
3	<b>The Adoration of the Lamb. Philip the Good and Van Eyck's Just Judges</b> Luc Dequeker	51
4	<b>'Revenons à notre Mouton'. Paul Coremans, Erwin Panofsky, Martin Davies and the <i>Mystic Lamb</i></b> Hélène Dubois, Jana Sanyova and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe	67
5	<b>Results of Three Campaigns of Dendrochronological Analysis on the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i> (1986-2013)</b> Pascale Fraiture	77
6	<b>Research into the Structural Condition and Insights as to the Original Appearance of the Panels and Frames of the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i></b> Aline Genbrugge and Jessica Roeders	97
7	<b>Small Hairs. Meaning and Material of a Multiple Detail in the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i>'s Adam and Eve Panels</b> Ann-Sophie Lehmann	107
8	<b>Le rôle du dessin sous-jacent et de l'ébauche préparatoire au lavis dans la genèse des peintures de l'<i>Agneau Mystique</i></b> Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren	121
9	<b>Art and Compensation. Joos Vijd and the Programme of the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i></b> Bernhard Ridderbos	137
10	<b>John the Baptist and the Book of Isaiah in the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i></b> Patricia Stirnemann, Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Henry Dwarswaard	145

11	<b>La présentation de l'Agneau Mystique dans la chapelle Vijd. Le rapprochement progressif de deux retables</b> Hélène Verougstraete	157
12	<b>The Frames by Schinkel for the Wings of the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i> and the Copies in Berlin</b> Bettina von Roenne	179

## PART II. STUDIES IN VAN EYCK PAINTINGS

13	<b>Van Eyck's Technique and Materials: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Context</b> Marika Spring and Rachel Morrison	195
14	<b>Revelations Regarding the <i>Crucifixion</i> and <i>Last Judgment</i> by Jan van Eyck and Workshop</b> Maryan W. Ainsworth	221
15	<b>Remarks on Character and Functions in Jan van Eyck's Underdrawing of Portraits: the Case of Margaret van Eyck</b> <b>Part 1</b> Rachel Billinge	233
15	<b>Jan van Eyck's Underdrawing of Portraits</b> <b>Part 2</b> Till-Holger Borchert	241
16	<b>The Speed of Illusion</b> Lorne Campbell	257
17	<b>Les autoportraits présumés de Jan Van Eyck et la date approximative de sa naissance</b> Pierre Colman	263
18	<b>Pigments, Media and Varnish Layers on the <i>Portrait of Margaret van Eyck</i></b> Jill Dunkerton, Rachel Morrison and Ashok Roy	271
19	<b>New Findings on the Painting Medium of the Washington <i>Annunciation</i></b> Melanie Gifford, John K. Delaney, Suzanne Quillen Lomax, Rachel Morrison and Marika Spring	281
20	<b>Jan van Eyck's Greek, Hebrew and Trilingual Inscriptions</b> Susan Frances Jones	291
21	<b>Early Texts on Some Portraits by Jan van Eyck</b> Stephan Kemperdick	311
22	<b>Jan van Eyck and his 'Stereoscopic' Approach to Painting</b> Renzo Leonardi	327
23	<b>The Development Process of the <i>Dresden Triptych</i>. News and Questions</b> Uta Neidhardt	351
24	<b>Voyager dans les tableaux de Van Eyck</b> Jacques Paviot	367

25	<b>Replications of Exemplary Form. New Evidence on Jan van Eyck's <i>St Francis Receiving the Stigmata</i></b>	
	Jamie L. Smith	375
26	<b>Questioning the Technical Paradigm of the <i>Ghent Altarpiece</i></b>	
	Noëlle L.W. Streeton	389
27	<b>Gold-brocaded Velvets in Paintings by Jan van Eyck. Observations on Painting Technique</b>	
	Esther E. van Duijn	403
28	<b>Surface Effects in Paintings by Jan van Eyck</b>	
	Abbie Vandivere	417

### PART III. VAN EYCK IN CONTEXT: OTHER MEDIA, RECEPTION AND LEGACY

29	<b>Mural Paintings before Jan van Eyck. A Remarkable Discovery from around 1400 in St John's Church in Mechelen</b>	
	Marjan Buyle and Anna Bergmans	437
30	<b><i>The Fishing Party</i> by Jan van Eyck (?). A Technical Analysis</b>	
	Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, with Matthias Alfeld, Koen Janssens, Geert Van der Snickt, Peter Klein, Micha Leeftang, Margreet Wolters, Carel Van Tuyll van Serooskerken and André le Prat	455
31	<b>Van Eyck in Valencia</b>	
	Bart Fransen	469
32	<b>Jan van Eyck's Genoese Commissions. The Lost Triptych of Battista Lomellini</b>	
	Maria Clelia Galassi	481
33	<b>Jan van Eyck, Polychromer (and Designer?) of Statues</b>	
	Ingrid Geelen	495
34	<b>Les copies de la <i>Vierge à l'Enfant dans une église</i> de Jan van Eyck et le rôle de la version dessinée du <i>Grand Curtius</i></b>	
	Valentine Henderiks	509
35	<b>Jan Van Eyck as Illuminator? Hand G of the Turin-Milan Hours</b>	
	Catherine Reynolds	519
36	<b>The Tomb-Slab of Hubert Van Eyck and Gerard Horenbout. A Tribute to the Great Ghent Master</b>	
	Ronald Van Belle	535
37	<b>A Note on Gold and Silver in a Metalpoint Drawing by Jan van Eyck</b>	
	Arie Wallert	547
	<b>Bibliography</b>	557
	<b>Illustration Credits</b>	597



Fig. 4.1 Paul Coremans

# ‘Revenons à notre Mouton’.

## Paul Coremans, Erwin Panofsky, Martin Davies and the *Mystic Lamb*

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*Hélène Dubois, Jana Sanyova and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe*

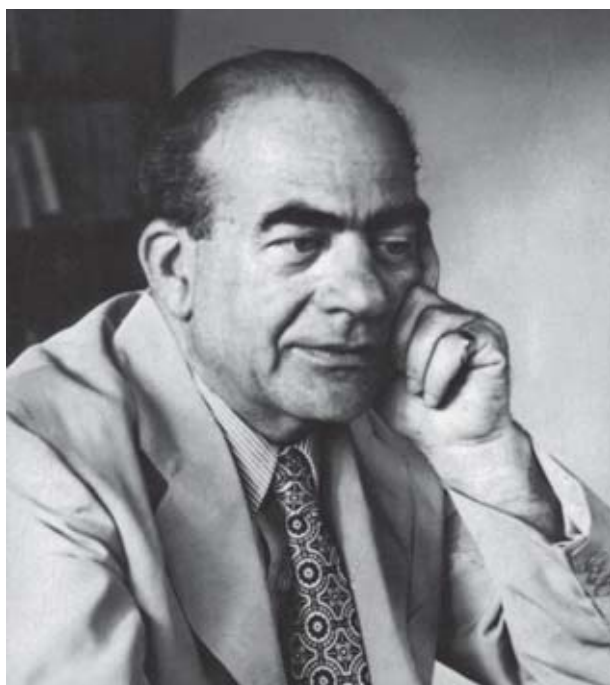
ABSTRACT: In 1953 two major books came out that were to contribute greatly to the understanding of the *Ghent Altarpiece* – Paul Coremans’s *L’Agneau Mystique au laboratoire* and Erwin Panofsky’s *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Before becoming the best of friends, the scientist and the scholar had learned to know and appreciate each other. They soon realized that their different approaches – technical and art historical – were complementary. To bring about a close collaboration, they set out to organize in Brussels a seminar entirely devoted to the polyptych. It gave a team of leading experts ample opportunity to discuss the new findings and interpretations using laboratory documents and scientific imagery, before examining the altarpiece in situ. The results of these interdisciplinary *moutonnements* were carefully recorded but never published. They are nevertheless an inspiration and food for thought for all those who are currently involved in the research and the treatment of the *Ghent Altarpiece*.

—o—

The year 1432, mentioned in the quatrain on the frames of the *Ghent Altarpiece*, is of paramount importance for the history of the polyptych, as scholars have repeatedly shown. In the more recent past another date can be associated with a turning point in its critical appraisal. In 1953, within the space of a few months, two major books appeared that were to contribute greatly to the understanding of the polyptych. The first, *L’Agneau Mystique au laboratoire*,<sup>1</sup> was produced by an interdisciplinary team led by Paul Coremans (fig. 4.1), the director

of what would later become the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, more familiarly known from its Dutch and French acronyms as the KIK-IRPA.<sup>2</sup> It describes the examination and conservation treatment of the panels carried out in 1951 and reflects the collaboration with the international advisory commission. It was one of the very first publications devoted entirely to the technical analysis of a masterpiece and, as such, it served as a model. The second publication, *Early Netherlandish Painting*,<sup>3</sup> was written by one of the most influential art historians of his time, Erwin Panofsky (fig. 4.2). In a long chapter entirely devoted to the *Ghent Altarpiece*,<sup>4</sup> Panofsky reveals his revolutionary views on the polyptych with a particular focus on the complex evolution of its iconographic concept.

Coremans and Panofsky actually knew each other and even shared their findings before the publication of their respective works. Their views were fairly compatible and over the years they developed a close friendship. They were both very conscious of the limits of their investigative methods and acknowledged that they were far from solving all the questions raised by the altarpiece. They were aware of the provisionality of their conclusions and were convinced that they would make considerable progress if they united forces and continued the discussion with other experts. This is



**Fig. 4.2** Erwin Panofsky (M.A. Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, 1984)

what inspired them to organize what they called a 'symposium', a series of scholarly meetings entirely devoted to the *Ghent Altarpiece*.

This paper is devoted to those sessions, the records of which were never published.<sup>5</sup> It is also meant as homage to the scholars who were involved in this fascinating chapter of research on the *Ghent Altarpiece*. A large number of records that are used here are kept in the archives of KIK-IRPA, currently being catalogued by Dominique Deneffe. These include many of Panofsky's letters to members of the Institute and, above all, to his 'dear friend and colleague' Paul Coremans.<sup>6</sup>

It all starts with a letter from Panofsky to Coremans, dated June 13, 1949.<sup>7</sup> Panofsky has consulted Coremans' recent monograph on the *Ghent Altarpiece*.<sup>8</sup> It is in the first place a 'picture book' with dozens of photographic details of the altarpiece taken after its return from the salt mines of Altaussee in 1945. Panofsky is puzzled by the Mediterranean vegetation in the background of the Adoration of the Lamb panel and wants to know if it is 'consistently superimposed (on the paint layer)

throughout, or only partly superimposed, or partly not'. Coremans' reply is brief: it would take weeks of continuous work to answer this apparently simple question.<sup>9</sup> Panofsky also enquires about the possibility that the upper side of the Adoration panel might have been cut, as suggested by Beenken.<sup>10</sup> One feels a certain unease on the part of Coremans. Obviously he was not acquainted with his celebrated American colleague's bibliography and he asks for a complete list of publications, 'to be sure of knowing completely your scientific work on this subject.'<sup>11</sup>

The ice is broken between the scientist and the scholar after Panofsky's visit to Brussels in 1951. In a letter to Carl Nordenfalk,<sup>12</sup> Panofsky reports that Coremans presented him with the latest results of his investigations. From then on, the two men get to know and appreciate each other. Panofsky – Pan to his friends – returns to Brussels in 1952 and meets the team that has been working on the restoration of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. In a lyrical letter addressed from Sweden to René Sneyers, Coremans' right-hand man, Panofsky uses for the first time what would become the code name of the altarpiece: the 'Mouton' (fig. 4.3).<sup>13</sup>

In 1953, both Coremans' and Panofsky's manuscripts are about to be sent to press and Panofsky invites his Belgian colleague to Princeton to lecture on his 'startling revelations' as he calls them, probably to anticipate any nasty surprises since his book is due to come out after Coremans':

I pray to God that you have not made any discoveries in the meantime which may explode my new theories just as your previous findings did my other ones.<sup>14</sup>

Coremans spends two months in the United States, giving no less than twenty-one lectures in eight different locations! On 12 March he gives a paper at the University Museum of Art in Princeton and is invited to the Panofsky's home, where he meets other scholars. From now on, the 'Dear Friend and Colleague' simply becomes 'Dear Paul'.



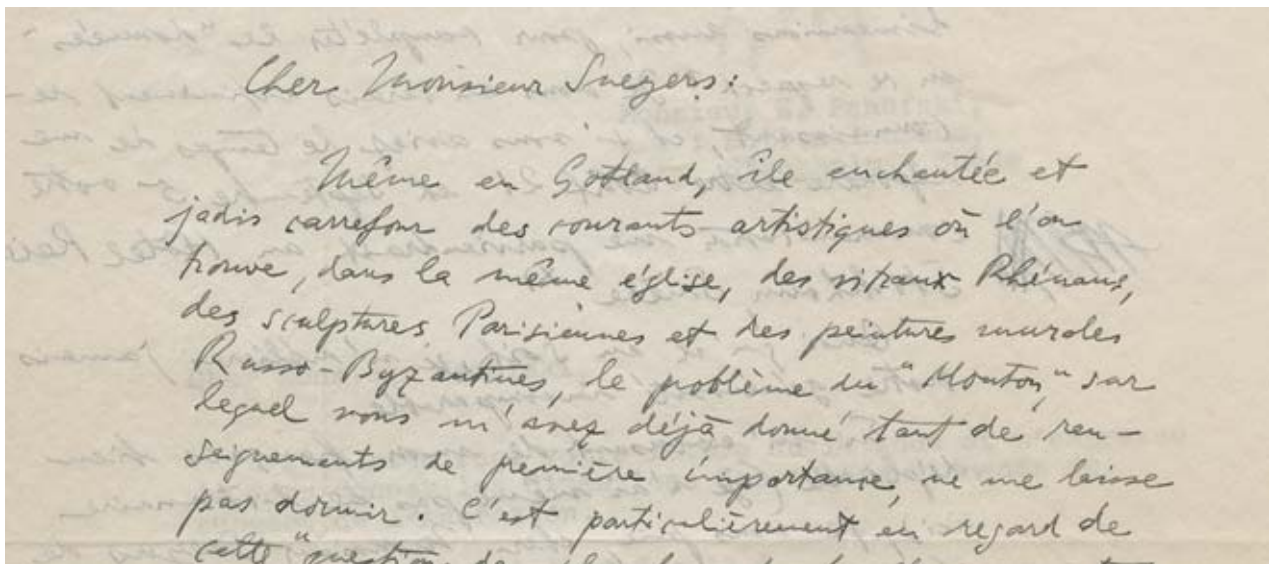


Fig. 4.3 First mention of the 'Mouton' in a letter from Erwin Panofsky to René Sneyers, dated 14 August 1952

*L'Agneau Mystique au laboratoire* rolls off the press a few weeks later and is sent right away to Princeton, with a letter inviting Pan to come to Belgium to re-examine the *Ghent Altarpiece* with the support of the Belgian American Educational Foundation (BAEF).<sup>15</sup> These meetings will allow them to share their views on the 'Mouton' – to *moutonner* as they call it. Later on, as their partnership deepens, the two men will display an amazing linguistic creativity, labelling their encounters as *séances Mouton*,<sup>16</sup> *Commission de moutonnements internationaux*,<sup>17</sup> *recherches moutonnières*,<sup>18</sup> *palabres moutonnants*<sup>19</sup> or, very modestly, *gazouillements Mouton*.<sup>20</sup> Up until the end, they will dream of being able to 'finish up the Mouton'.<sup>21</sup> And as Coremans confesses in 1960:

*Ce sacré animal me donne des démangeaisons [...] Plus je pourrais moutonner, plus je serais heureux* ('This bloody animal gives me an itch. The more I could 'lamb', the happier I would be').<sup>22</sup>

On 1 June, Panofsky acknowledges the safe arrival of Coremans' book and readily accepts his invitation to take part in the *moutonnements*:

I cannot imagine a more useful and, at the same time, more pleasurable vacation than a sojourn in Brussels enlivened by *moutonnements* with you and your associates.<sup>23</sup>

The idea takes shape in the summer of 1953 and materializes a year later. The first challenge is to set up a small group of international experts, *advocatus diaboli* as Panofsky calls them. One name emerges: Martin Davies (fig. 4.4), the future director of the National Gallery in London. According to Panofsky, he will be a perfect antidote to his vivid imagination: 'he seems to be a man who does not believe anything [...] he will reduce me to order'.<sup>24</sup>

*Early Netherlandish Painting* appears at the beginning of 1954. The very first copy is sent to Coremans, who, right away, reads the chapter on the 'Mouton'. He is absolutely convinced by the whole theory.<sup>25</sup> But Panofsky sends him new protestations of modesty:

I am only too conscious of the fact that much more might be done and that a great many details stand in need of correction. To discuss all these points with you and to make all the necessary corrections is the main purpose of our forthcoming visit.<sup>26</sup>





Fig. 4.4 Martin Davies

Now that the two books are out, now that they are in the hands of reviewers and fellow scholars, the urgent need for new *moutonnements* becomes obvious.

Coremans takes the initiative to define the theme of these study days. They will tackle the 'Eyckian phase of the Ghent polyptych'<sup>27</sup> i.e. Panofsky's theory according to which the altarpiece is composed of originally unrelated elements left behind by Hubert, transformed or finished by Jan. They will also examine the alterations that each panel or group of panels underwent during the Eyckian phase. And he goes on by proposing to go further and explore other important issues such as the different types of tile in the upper part, Beenken's theory of an original altarpiece in inverted T-shape, the tower of Utrecht Cathedral, and the quatrain.<sup>28</sup> A last thorny issue (perhaps even a moot point), is the respective share of Hubert and Jan van Eyck in the altarpiece. Coremans proposes an odd compromise:

*Je suggère tout simplement que chacun garde son opinion et que l'on délimite deux phases dans la création et l'aménagement du polyptyque – phases que nous appellerions A et B.*<sup>29</sup>

It takes another few weeks to agree on the members of the scientific committee. The core members, Coremans, Panofsky and Davies, will be joined punctually by Hélène Adhémar, curator at the Louvre, and Karel G. Boon from the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.<sup>30</sup> The *Salon des refusés* can boast such prominent personalities as Friedrich Winkler<sup>31</sup> and Otto Pächt.

Before heading off to Europe, Panofsky lists the specific points he wants to discuss in order of priority: 1. What he calls the 'transitional zone' in the lower register of the painting in which changes are visible to the naked eye; 2. The original shape of the panels, more specifically whether the *Angel Musicians* might have been cut round on top; 3. The changes in the lower part of the 'upper triptych'.<sup>32</sup>

The working sessions with Davies and Coremans start on 6 July in the premises of the Laboratoire, where all the technical documentation – X-radiographs, ultraviolet and infrared photographs – has been gathered. They can be compared to large photographs and close-ups of the altarpiece. Cross sections of the paint layer can also be re-examined by the laboratory. During the second week, Adhémar, Boon and Lavalleye join them.

Every word is carefully transcribed in circumstantial reports made by the secretaries of the Centre for the Study of Flemish Primitives – the 'three recording angels' as Panofsky kindly calls them,<sup>33</sup> Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, Jacqueline Folie and Anne Carton de Wiart. The reports are then handed over to each participant and further discussed in subsequent meetings. All these notes and documents are kept in the archives of the Institute.<sup>34</sup>

During those discussions Panofsky's ideas are submitted to a critical examination. According to him, Hubert's contribution included the lower tier, the enthroned figures above, as an autonomous Deisis, and the Singing and Musician Angels,

initially designed as organ shutters. Jan would have adapted and completed these panels, while painting on his own Adam and Eve and all the reverse sides of the wings. A particularly critical area in this theory is the famous 'transitional zone' with the landscape and the sky in the lower register. It was of vital importance in Panofsky's concept, as according to him it would have been remodelled when the polyptych was assembled.

The observation was not new: several changes in this area had been noted before the laboratory examination of 1951.<sup>35</sup> It was already obvious at that time that many elements of the landscape had not been planned initially. Indeed, they had not been prepared by an underdrawing and they were not blocked out from the underlayers of the background and of the sky, but rather painted on top of them.

The whole, still unresolved question was of course to establish whether these revisions were Eyckian – presumably Jan transforming Hubert's work – or rather subsequent changes. And it is worth noting that, independently of Panofsky, Coremans and his team had associated the weaker pictorial quality of several zones, unworthy of Van Eyck's typical accuracy, with very old restoration repaints.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, these *problèmes particuliers* as Coremans called them<sup>37</sup> – and especially the 'transitional zone' – dominated the 1954 summer sessions. It was then essential to decode the important compositional changes in this critical area, in particular the dove and the landscape, while situating the material data in a historical and stylistic context.

Indeed, the first six sessions, organized *en petit comité* (Coremans, Panofsky and Davies), were devoted to the study the Adoration of the Lamb and its wings. But even during the study of other parts the following week, the 'transitional zone' regularly crops up in the discussions. Most questions are directed to Coremans and his laboratory as the art historians seek to understand the interpretation of the technical documents Coremans had presented in *L'Agneau Mystique au laboratoire*, and to check its validity.

When, on 16 July, they all go to Ghent to devote one day – just one! – to the study of the polyptych in situ, the guests are forced to acknowledge, not without frustration, that the surface appearance of the paint does not match the deep structure observed in the X-radiographs.<sup>38</sup> Faced with this evidence, they qualify some of their findings and request additional laboratory documents for the future *moutonnements*.

Panofsky returns to Princeton visibly satisfied with his Belgian adventure, disapproving only of the very Belgian tendency 'to kill one by kindness'.<sup>39</sup> He welcomes the fact that his theory fared rather well in the discussions. To continue:

[...] our 1001 desiderata have still to be dealt with, and God knows what your next exploration in October will bring to light. Yet the evidence already on hand seems to converge, more or less, in one direction, and when we meet again, like witches of Macbeth, we may be ready for some kind of public announcement.<sup>40</sup>

There will be no second time. From 1955, Coremans is caught up in the case of the fake Vermeer and the lawsuit filed by the Dutch art collector D.G. Van Beuningen,<sup>41</sup> a difficult situation that will only be resolved in 1957. Panofsky invites his friend Paul to spend several months at Princeton to complete the work.<sup>42</sup> But Coremans, faced with mounting responsibilities, is unable to take a long sabbatical. In Belgium his presence is needed to co-ordinate the construction of the new building of the Institute, which will open in 1962. So that when he sombrely turns down a trip to Princeton in October 1959, Coremans signs *de facto* the death warrant of the *moutonnements*.<sup>43</sup>

The very promising seminar of 1954 has never led to a publication. And the implications of the findings by Coremans and his team on the technical execution and the genesis of the *Ghent Altarpiece* were rarely revisited.

One of the few attempts in this direction is the fundamental article by J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer,





In any case, it is highly probable that the dove already appeared in the painting in 1458, since in that year the Adoration of the Lamb, complete with dove, was reproduced in the form of a tableau vivant as part of the pageant organized in Ghent for the Joyous Entry of Philip the Good<sup>57</sup> (fig. 4.6). But is it part of an Eyckian revision or, as Van Asperen de Boer suggested, of a non-Eyckian intervention prior to 1458?<sup>58</sup> In 1951, the detailed description of the pageant, although published in 1839-1840, had not attracted the attention of the scholars who followed the treatment.<sup>59</sup> Coremans, his colleagues and the commission agreed that the heavily executed dove, the crown of the Enthroned Deity and the inscription on the steps below that figure were the result of a very old restoration, carried out before Coxcie's copy of 1557, which displays these details.<sup>60</sup> The 1550 intervention by the painters Jan van Scorel and Lancelot Blondeel, although only mentioned by the Ghent historian Marcus van Vaernewyck in 1568,<sup>61</sup> appeared as a likely candidate. The addition of the tower of Utrecht Cathedral and old revisions in the landscape in the Adoration of the Lamb were naturally associated with Van Scorel's position as a canon of Utrecht, even though this very detail also appears in the landscape of the *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin* in the Louvre.<sup>62</sup>

In 1951, the commission concluded that the Adoration of the Lamb, the Enthroned Deity and the Singing Angels had been largely overpainted in

the sixteenth century. Coremans and his colleagues also based their conclusions on the fact that the stratigraphy of the areas containing elements unworthy of Van Eyck included opaque paint layers on top of very thin, presumably worn finishing glazes and the presence of thin unpigmented 'transition varnish layers' in between the top glazes in the red mantel of the Enthroned Deity.<sup>63</sup> According to Coremans, these varnish-like layers separate the original from two later overpaints. This stratigraphy, recently re-examined in the laboratory, turns out to be even more intricate: a microscopic thin section prepared from a paint sample from this area shows at least three levels of red glazes, some of them separated by thin, varnish-like layers (fig. 4.7). This paint build-up that, in 1951, appeared atypical of Van Eyck, requires careful interpretation, as recent technical examinations of Van Eyck's paintings have shown that the artist indeed applied intermediate, transparent, varnish-like layers between glazes<sup>64</sup> which may have been used to saturate a matte surface in order to finalize the modelling or modify the form.<sup>65</sup> Van Eyck finished his paintings to perfection and paint samples of the *Ghent Altarpiece* often show a complex stratigraphy, alternating opaque, semi-opaque and transparent layers, which, as already concluded by Brinkman, Kockaert and their co-authors, belong to the same paint build-up.<sup>66</sup> Glazes of different compositions overlap, as in other Flemish and German paintings of the same period.<sup>67</sup>

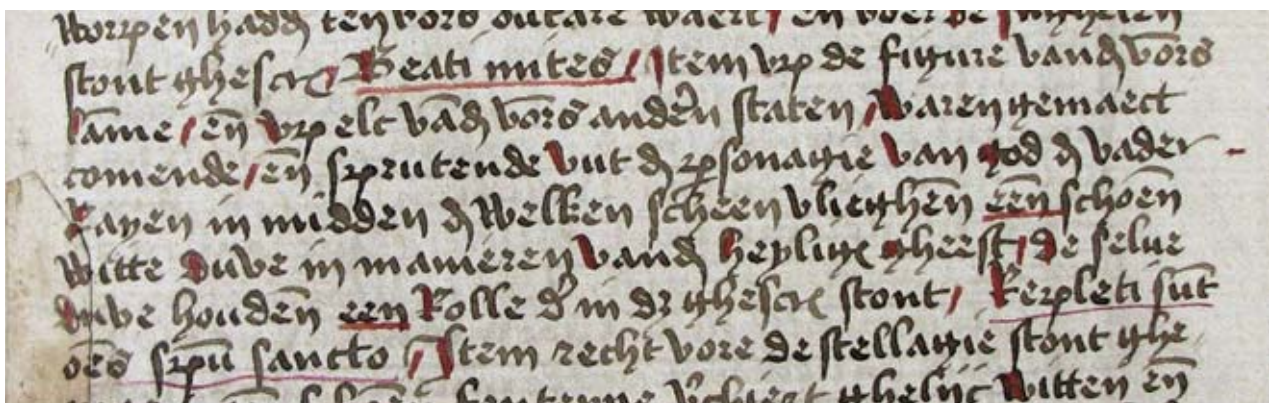
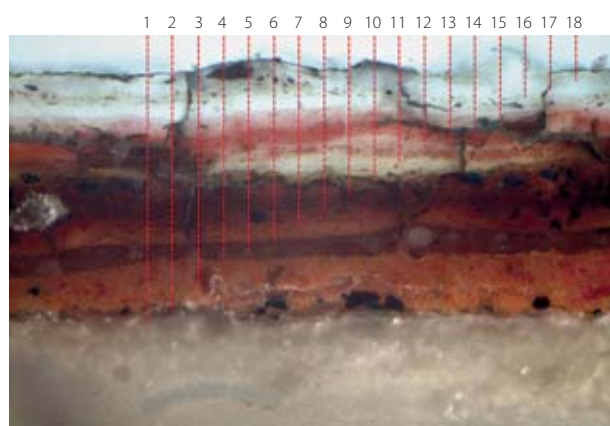


Fig. 4.6 Reference to the dove in the description of the pageant in Ghent in 1458



**Fig. 4.7** Paint thin-section from the red mantle of the Deity Enthroned. Microphotographs in transmitted light with bright field illumination showing the layer structure composed of three opaque and semi-transparent red layers (nos 3, 4, 6), several red glazes (5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15) and varnishes (11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19)

The scholars who met in the summer of 1954 knew the description of the 1458 pageant and were faced with a dilemma since the apparently irrefutable material evidence contradicted the historical description. Their conclusion is a puzzling compromise: if these elements actually existed before 1458, they must in any case have been repainted in the sixteenth century!<sup>68</sup> Obviously, the distinction between original features and very old overpaint needs to be addressed cautiously. Renewed examination of cross sections using highly sophisticated techniques should help to characterize these many individual layers. This interpretation must be carried out, as noted by the participants of the *moutonnements* in 1954, by comparing the analytical results with observations on the panels. The interpretation of changes in style and iconography should also be considered by highly specialized art historians.

Although the results of extensive discussions in 1954 never led to a publication, the still unanswered questions are an inspiration and food for thought for all those who are involved in the research and conservation treatment of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. The *moutonnements* document all stages of the gradual construction of knowledge, from the questioning of material evidence to the development of explanatory models and theories. The participants pro-

ceeded by trial and error, driven by the dynamics of constantly evolving questioning. Obviously, the interdisciplinary dialogue that started sixty years ago must continue and be part of the advisory process accompanying the treatment. It will benefit from new data on the artist, the art work itself, and the historical records. Above all, it is the direct confrontation of the various theories with the ‘naked’ altarpiece during conservation treatment that will provide new evidence for fresh *moutonnements*.

## NOTES

\* The authors wish to express their gratitude to Alistair Watson and Christina Currie for their careful editing of this paper. Thanks are also due to Dominique Deneffe for facilitating access to the Archives of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA) and to Cécile Glaude for her help with the analysis of paint samples.

- 1 Coremans 1953.
- 2 Masschelein-Kleiner 2000.
- 3 Panofsky 1953.
- 4 Panofsky 1953, pp. 205-232.
- 5 In 1955, Coremans briefly reported on this meeting and expressed the hope that its results would be published in full to advance understanding of this complex painting. See Coremans 1955.
- 6 Some of the letters are published in Panofsky 2006, Panofsky 2008 and Panofsky 2011.
- 7 KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965, II. General Correspondence, C. Foreign Correspondents, Erwin Panofsky (abbreviated 1949-1965 EP).
- 8 Coremans and Janssens de Bisthoven 1948.
- 9 KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/20529/PC/RB and L. 3/2/21570/PC/RB.
- 10 Beenken 1933; Beenken 1933-1934; Beenken 1936.
- 11 KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. L. 3/2/21570/PC/RB.
- 12 Panofsky 2006, pp. 210-212, no. 1486.
- 13 *Même en Gotland, île enchantée et jadis Carrefour des courants artistiques où l'on trouve, dans la même église, des vitraux Rhénans, des sculptures Parisiennes et des peintures murales Russo-Byzantines, le problème du 'Mouton' [...] ne me laisse pas dormir* (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP).
- 14 KIK-IRPA, 1949-1965 EP. Published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 379-380, no. 1580. Panofsky probably refers to the observation made by Coremans, Philippot and Sneyers that the format of the Adoration of the Lamb was never altered (Coremans, Philippot and Sneyers 1951, p. 5), thereby eliminating the key argument in his hypothesis on the genesis of the altarpiece and its relationship to the Washington Annunciation. Cf. Panofsky 1935, pp. 460-461 and Panofsky 1938, pp. 419-429.
- 15 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 13 May 1953 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. L3/2/51611/PC/HD), published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 446-448, no. 1619.
- 16 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 30 September 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/63489/PC/JF).
- 17 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 13-17 August 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 596-598, no. 1708a – on p. 598, read ‘jeunes filles en fleur’ instead of ‘jeunes tilles’).
- 18 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 13 June 1960 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP).
- 19 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 30 September 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/63489/PC/JF).
- 20 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 15 October 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/63759/PC/JF).

- 21 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 5 January 1959 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP); Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 28 February 1964 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/157145/PC/LP): *Moi aussi, je voudrais terminer le 'mouton', mais pas sans vous. Sinon, ma foi, le 'mouton' restera dans sa cave jusqu'au moment où, après nous, un autre reprendra les recherches.*
- 22 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 21 April 1960 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/111830/PC/MV).
- 23 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 1 June 1953 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 446-447, no. 1619).
- 24 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 25 January 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP).
- 25 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 5 February 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. L5/0/58437/PC/HD).
- 26 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 1 March 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP).
- 27 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 5 March 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. L3/2/58685/PC/HD).
- 28 *La théorie de l'agencement d'éléments disparates qui forment maintenant le polyptyque de Gand. Elle comprendrait ensuite l'examen de chacun des panneaux ou des groupes de panneaux et des modifications d'état (changements de composition) que ces panneaux auraient pu subir durant cette phase eyckienne. En supplément, nous pourrions aussi essayer de nous mettre d'accord sur quelques points très importants, mais apparemment post-eyckiens: les trois dallages, le couronnement rectangulaire du panneau central, la tour d'Utrecht et l'ordre de succession 'Ermîtes-Pèlerins'; enfin, le quatrain.* Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 5 March 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. L3/2/58685/PC/HD).
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Letter from Coremans to Panofsky, 15 April and 12 May 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, ref. 5/0/59766/PC/JF and 5/0/60400/PC/JF).
- 31 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 6 April 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 557-559, no. 1688a): 'The presence of Winkler would not make me particularly happy, not only on account of the political past but also because, in contrast to Heydenreich, he has done too much work in the Flemish field. His concept of Hubert, like Hulin de Loo's, has crystallized around the "Hand G" miniatures, and I am afraid that he will find it very difficult to make a fresh start. If I had my own way, I should rather eliminate the question of those miniatures altogether and stick to the Monument exclusively'.
- 32 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 21 May 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 579-581, no. 1701).
- 33 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 13-17 August 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 596-598, no. 1708a). See also Folie 1996-1998, p. 225.
- 34 KIK-IRPA, Archives, Dossier Ghent Altarpiece, Comptes rendus du Symposium 'La phase eyckienne du polyptyque de Gand' (abbreviated DGA, Comptes rendus).
- 35 Panofsky mentions studies by de Tolnay and Hulin de Loo (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 13 June 1949). He probably refers to de Tolnay 1939, p. 21, 48 n. 42 and Hulin de Loo 1931, p. 126.
- 36 Coremans 1953, pp. 98, 108, 112, 114.
- 37 Coremans 1953, pp. 98-125.
- 38 KIK-IRPA, Archives, DGA, Comptes rendus, July 16, 1954: *En étudiant l'œuvre même, on a pu se rendre compte que, à de très nombreux endroits, l'aspect de surface ne correspondait pas aux structures telles que celles-ci apparaissent, notamment en radiographie.*
- 39 Letter from Panofsky to Udo von Alvensleben, 19 July 1954 (Panofsky 2006, pp. 594-595, no. 1707).
- 40 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 13-17 August 1954 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP, published in Panofsky 2006, pp. 596-598, no. 1708a).
- 41 ICOM 1956.
- 42 From 11 January 1960 to 8 April 1960. Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 9 December 1958 (KIK-IRPA, Archives, 1949-1965 EP).
- 43 Letter from Panofsky to Coremans, 28 October 1959 (Panofsky 2008, pp. 543-544, no. 2399).
- 44 Van Asperen de Boer 1979.
- 45 Van Asperen de Boer 1979, p. 212.
- 46 See for example Gifford 2000, Brinkman et al. 1984-1985 and Brinkman et al. 1990.
- 47 See for example, the papers by Périer D'Ieteren and Dunkerton, Morrison and Roy in this volume.
- 48 See the keynote paper by Van Grevenstein-Kruse and Dubois in this volume.
- 49 The re-examination of samples taken during the 1950-1951 treatments and in 1986 is the focus of a four-year project (2012-2015) led by Jana Sanyova at KIK-IRPA, supported by BELSPO (Belgian Federal Science Policy) and entitled 'The Mystic Lamb in the laboratory 60 years after Paul Coremans. The contribution of new analytical techniques' (MO/39/011)'.  
50 Panofsky 1953, pp. 218-219.
- 51 KIK-IRPA, Archives, DGA, Comptes rendus, 9-10 July 1954.
- 52 KIK-IRPA, Archives, DGA, Comptes rendus, 12 July 1954.
- 53 KIK-IRPA, Archives, DGA, Comptes rendus, 10 July 1954.
- 54 The international commission was composed of R. Huyghe (Musée du Louvre), H. Plenderleith (representing the National Gallery, London), A. van Schendel (Rijksmuseum) and representatives of St Bavo's Cathedral, civic authorities and museums. A national commission prepared the international meetings and comprised the museum curators P. Fierens and W. Vanbeselaere as well as P. Coremans, R. Sneyers and A. Philippot. The introductory meeting on 10 November 1950 involved representatives from UNESCO, ICOM, curators and scholars, each representing a different approach to painting restoration: C. Brandi, P. Hendy, N. Maclaren (both London, National Gallery) and G.L. Stout (Worcester, Massachusetts): see Coremans 1953, p. 8 n. 2 and Dubois, Van Grevenstein 2011.
- 55 Coremans 1953, pp. 92-93, pls XXXII-XXXIII.
- 56 Van Asperen de Boer 1979, pp. 193-194.
- 57 Serrure, Blommaert 1839-1840. The description of the pageant was analysed in depth in Bergmans 1907. For a more recent survey of the Joyous Entry and its relevance to the arts in Ghent, see Dhanens 1987.
- 58 Van Asperen de Boer 1979, pp. 70-71.
- 59 Although the description of the tableau vivant is mentioned in *L'Agneau Mystique au laboratoire* (in the chapter dealing with the material history of the polyptych, see De Schryver, Marijnissen 1953, pp. 22 and 34), its full implications are not explored in the discussion on the different phases of the polyptych (Coremans 1953).
- 60 These elements are also mentioned in the description of the 1458 pageant.
- 61 Van Vaernewyck 1568, fol. 117 v, as referred to in De Schryver, Marijnissen 1953, no. 11, p. 36.
- 62 Pächt 1956, p. 268.
- 63 Coremans 1953, p. 105, pls XIX.3, XXIVbis.4.
- 64 A thin transparent layer sandwiched between two layers of red glaze was observed in a cross section taken from the red dress of the *Portrait of Margaret van Eyck* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum). This painting was restored and studied at the National Gallery, London: see the contribution by Dunkerton et al. in this publication.
- 65 They may also be an exudate of binding medium or a substance formed over the years through the interaction of pigments and binding media.
- 66 Brinkman et al. 1990, pp. 32, 37.
- 67 For example Dunkerton 2008 and Sauerberg et al. 2009.
- 68 KIK-IRPA, Archives, DGA, Comptes rendus, 12 and 14 July 1954.