

A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden

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IN 1984 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM received, in an anonymous bequest, a group of sixteen panel paintings by an unknown sixteenth-century Flemish artist. Fifteen of the panels depict events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin; the sixteenth, larger than the others, represents the Virgin of the Rosary. She is flanked on the left by St. Dominic, behind whom are a pope, an emperor, and a king, and on the right by a kneeling gentleman, who is attacked by three men in armor. Except for their inclusion in various sale catalogues, the paintings were unpublished.¹

The pictures arrived at the Museum in individual twentieth-century tabernacle frames mounted in no particular order within a large shadowbox frame. Once they were removed from their frames, it was discovered that the combined widths of five of the smaller panels equal almost exactly that of the larger one.² When the fifteen small panels were arranged in narrative order in three registers of five and placed above the larger panel, it was apparent that their original configuration had been discovered (Figure 1). It was also evident from the condition of the panels that all sixteen scenes had been painted initially on a single panel, which only much later was cut into parts.³ A nearly vertical split just to the left of center in the once-single wooden support runs continuously (on a slight diagonal to the left) through the three central small panels and on down through the larger one, along the left side of the arch of roses framing the Virgin.

With the intended arrangement restored, the sense of the work becomes manifest. The small pan-

els represent the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. The first register depicts the five Joyful Mysteries: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple; the second register depicts the five Sorrowful Mysteries: the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Scourging of Christ, the Mocking of Christ (Crowning with Thorns), Christ Carrying the Cross, and the Crucifixion; the third register depicts the five Glorious Mysteries: the Resurrection, the Ascension of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Death (rather than the more usual Assumption) of the Virgin,⁴ and the Coronation of the Virgin.

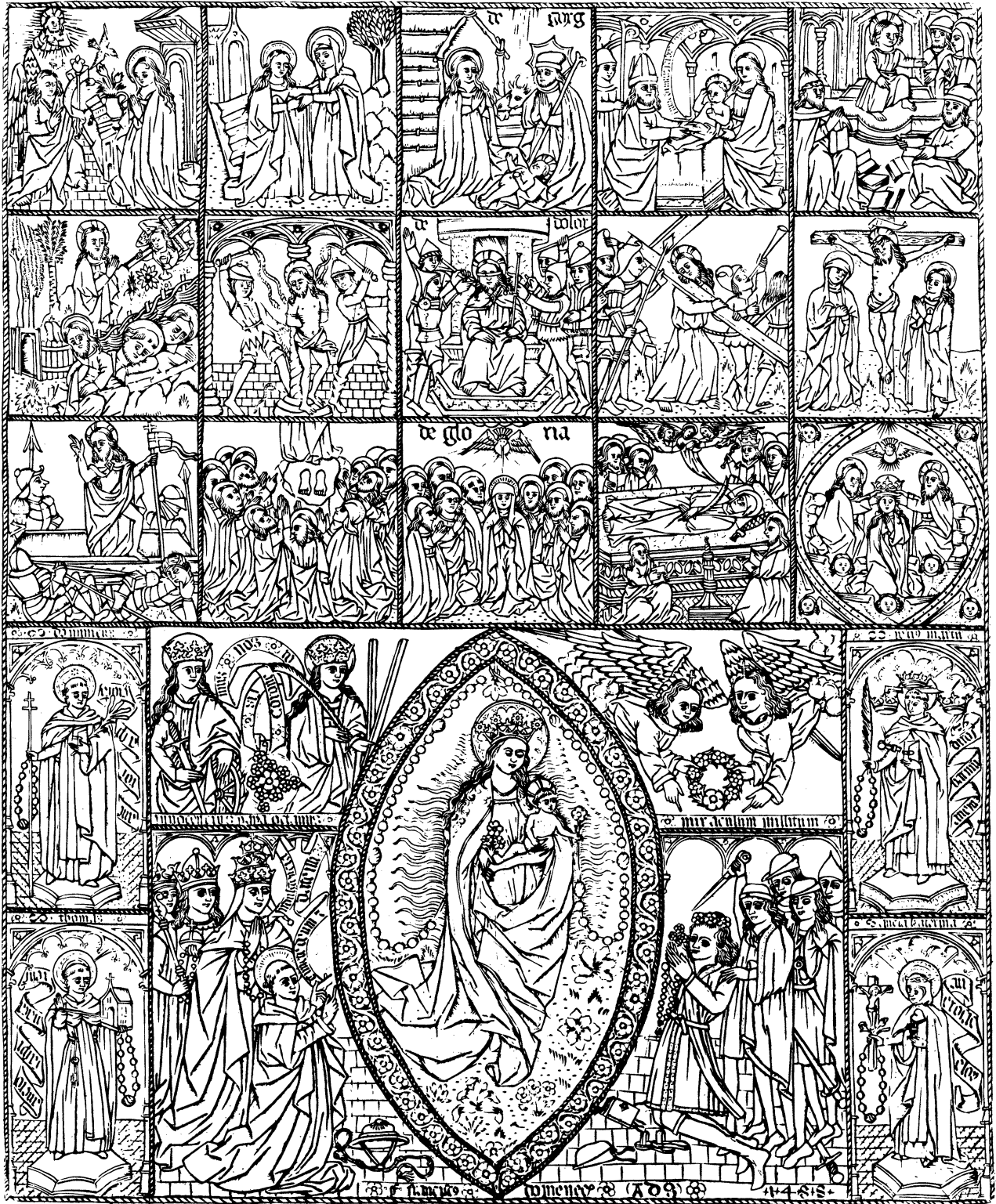
At the center of the larger panel below, the Virgin of the Rosary stands on a tiled dais beneath a red-canopied baldachin. She is crowned as Queen of Heaven. The Christ Child in her arms makes a gesture of benediction with his right hand and in his left holds one end of an oversized chaplet (one-third of a full rosary), which hangs down and arches back up over the Virgin and Child. The chaplet is depicted literally as a garland of roses; in German the word *Rosenkranz* means both a rosary and a wreath of roses. It is made up of fifty white roses in rows of ten, or decades, separated by five larger red roses.⁵

St. Dominic, who traditionally was credited with instituting rosary devotion, kneels in prayer to the left of the Virgin; beside him is his attribute, a dog holding a flaming torch in its muzzle.⁶ Dominic is accompanied by representatives of the Christian estates: a pope, an emperor, and a king. The group of

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1. *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*, Flemish. Tempera and oil on wood, overall $24\frac{7}{8} \times 21$ in. (63.2 \times 53.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Bequest, 1984, 1987.290.3a-p



2. Francisco Doménech (b. ca. 1460, d. after 1494), *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*, Spanish, 1488. Engraving, 16 × 12 in. (40.6 × 30.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957, 57.526

figures at the right—three armored assailants and a kneeling gentleman, from whose mouth issues a stem of three roses—illustrates an early miracle associated with the origin of the rosary.

The rosary has a long and complicated history.⁷ The use of strung beads to count recitations of prayer is nearly as ancient as religion itself and is hardly peculiar to Christianity. In English, the very word *bead* (or *bede*) initially meant “prayer,” and only later came to denote the object that was used in conjunction with devotions. Already in the fourth century the hermit Paul of Thebes was using small stones to keep track of his daily recitation of three hundred Pater Nosters. A type of prayer to the Virgin Mary consisting of the recitation of 150 Angelic Salutations (Ave Marias) in three groups of fifty was common by the twelfth century. The number 150 derived from the number of Psalms of David, so the rosary also came to be known as Our Lady’s Psalter. The introduction in about 1360–65 of the practice of reciting a Pater Noster between each two decades of Ave Marias is generally credited to Hendrik Egheer van Kalkar (1328?–1408), a Carthusian who in 1373 founded a cloister in Roermond, in the southern Netherlands. In about 1410, in Trier, Dominikus of Prussia (died 1461), another Carthusian, appears to have been the first to propose the contemplation of fifty different events (Mysteries) from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, one for each Ave Maria in a chaplet.

However, it was a Dominican, Alanus de Rupe (1428–75), who was most fully responsible for the subsequent widespread popularity of the rosary as an expression of individual piety. In 1470 he established in Douai the first confraternity of the rosary, and in 1475 his disciple, Jacob Sprenger, founded the second in Cologne. To become a member of the confraternity, all that was required was to inscribe one’s name in a book and to practice the private devotion. The cult grew quickly, and in 1478 Sixtus IV became the first pope to grant indulgences to members of the Cologne confraternity for reciting the rosary. Confraternities soon sprang up in cities throughout Europe—in Lisbon in 1478, Venice in 1480, Florence in 1481.

Evidently it was Alanus de Rupe who originated the notion that the founder of his order, St. Dominic (1170–1221), had instituted the rosary. (It has been suggested that the rivalry between the Carthusians

and the Dominicans led de Rupe, in his zeal, honestly to confuse the name of the founder of his order with that of Dominikus of Prussia.) De Rupe’s influence was so pervasive, and the Dominicans subsequently identified themselves so closely with the rosary, that the myth has adherents to this day.

De Rupe advanced various methods of rosary recitation. (It should be stressed that until well into the sixteenth century an abundance of differing methods flourished; only in the seventeenth century did the practice become more or less standardized.) In the earliest printed manual of the confraternity of the rosary, the *Quodlibet de veritate fraternitatis Rosarii* . . . (Cologne, 1476), no contemplation of the Mysteries is mentioned. Instead, the devotee is advised to call to mind the five wounds of Christ (the nail holes in his hands and feet and the lance wound in his side), one for each of the five decades in a chaplet. However, in a later rosary handbook, the *Unser lieben Frawen Psalter* (Ulm, 1483), which was composed under de Rupe’s influence, this manner of prayer is referred to as the “second” method. The primary method put forward therein recommends that the first chaplet of the rosary be said in honor of the Incarnation, the second in honor of the Passion, and the third in honor of Christ’s Resurrection, Ascension, and Glory. Three woodcut illustrations, each showing five Mysteries, are accompanied by instructions directing the devotee to say one Pater Noster and ten Ave Marias for each Mystery.⁸

The *Unser lieben Frawen Psalter* of 1483 contains the earliest known formulation of the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. The original copper plate for a little-known engraving, made just five years later, is an important document in the history of the dissemination of the concept of the fifteen Mysteries. Curiously, all extant impressions of the plate, which is preserved in the Chalcographie Royale de Belgique in Brussels, are modern; one is in the Department of Prints of Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). It is signed and dated at bottom center: fr[at(er) (or fray)] francisco domenech (A[nno] d[ivine] g[ratie]) + 1 + 4 + 8 + 8 + (Brother Francisco Doménech, in the year of divine grace 1488).⁹

Doménech, who was probably born about 1460, was a Dominican monk first documented in 1487—one year before the plate was engraved—when he was assigned by the Dominicans of Játiva to the Estudio General dominicano de Santa Catalina virgen y

màrtir in Barcelona as a student of theology.¹⁰ He appears to have completed his course of study in 1489, and it seems from documents of 1491, 1493, and 1494 that he subsequently was attached to the cloister of Valencia. As he is not mentioned in documents after 1494, he may have died at an early age.

Doménech's engraving is remarkably similar in design to the Museum's painting and may have served as a model for the later artist. It is the only prototype known to this author for the format and iconography of the Metropolitan's paintings. The engraving contains the fifteen Mysteries arranged in exactly the same way—in three registers of five—above a larger horizontal compartment. Each row of five is labeled, on the central scene, in Catalan: *de goig* (of joy) for the first; *de dolor* (of sorrow) for the second; and *de gloria* (of glory) for the third. The Death and Assumption of the Virgin, with the Death the more salient, is represented as the fourteenth Mystery, establishing a close precedent for the depiction of the Death of the Virgin without the Assumption, as occurs in the Museum's painting. The central part of the engraving's large lower compartment prefigures the large panel in the Museum's series as well. The Virgin of the Rosary, holding the Christ Child, appears in the center, set off within a mandorla to indicate her miraculous apparition. The mandorla is composed of fifty small and five slightly larger roses intertwined by a sinuous vine. This literal representation of a rosary is echoed within by a second, beaded rosary, one end of which is held by the Christ Child; it falls down, then arches back up and over the Virgin, as in the Museum's painting. The end of the rosary held by the child terminates in a single rose, and the Virgin holds a stem of three roses.

Portrayed to the left of the Virgin is not St. Dominic, as in the panel painting, but St. Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), who was canonized just thirty-three years before the print was made. He is depicted on his knees, his cardinal's hat before him. He points with one hand to the Virgin and Child; in the other he holds a phylactery, its inscription the Latin phrase with which he habitually began his sermons: *Time deum et date illi [honorem]* (Fear God and honor Him). Perhaps Vincent is featured in the print rather than Dominic because the engraving was made at the Dominican university in Barcelona, where Vincent, who had been active there, was a particularly important figure. Standing behind Vincent, as behind Dominic

in the Museum's painting, are a pope, an emperor, and a king. The pope is identified in the print by an inscription in the band which runs across the top of the lowermost scene: *innocentius papa octavus* (Pope Innocent VIII). Innocent VIII was elevated to the Holy See in 1484. In a bull dating from that first year of his papacy he added new indulgences for saying the rosary to those already granted by his immediate predecessor, Sixtus IV. A phylactery engraved beside the figure of the pope is inscribed *indulgentia* (indulgence).

To the right of the Virgin the print illustrates a version of the same early miracle of the rosary found in the Museum's painting. The inscription in the band overhead identifies it as the *miraculum militum [sic]* (Miracle of the Knights). A gentleman (a knight or nobleman), having removed his sandals, hat, and sword, which lie on the floor along with his prayer book, kneels with a rosary in his hands. A stem of three roses emerges from his mouth and a garland of roses rests on his head. Standing behind him are four assailants, one of whom is poised to strike with a dagger, in a composition similar to that in the Museum's painting.

Unlike the painting, the engraving contains elements that amplify the legend of the "Miracle of the Knights" and that underscore the Dominicans' involvement in rosary devotion. The upper register of the engraving's large lower compartment includes, on the right, two angels who point to the knight and hold a rose garland with which to crown him. At the left are Catherine of Alexandria (putatively a fourth-century saint) and Eulalia of Mérida (died ca. 304), then believed to be of Barcelona; between them are a plate of roses and a phylactery inscribed *coronemus nos rosīs* (let us crown ourselves [or him?] with roses). The inclusion of Catherine and Eulalia is natural, since the first was the patron of the Dominican university in Barcelona to which Doménech was assigned and the second was the patron of Barcelona itself. But in addition, specific legends link them to the theme of the rosary. The sermons of Vincent Ferrer include an account of a knight who had been taken prisoner. He began to recite the rosary, and Sts. Catherine and Agnes, together with the Virgin, appeared before him. Catherine held a plate of roses, Agnes a needle and thread. The knight's Ave Marias changed wondrously into roses, which were strung together to form a garland with which he was



3. *The Miracle of the Gentleman of Cologne*, Spanish (Aragonese), upper left panel of a retable dated 1483. Tempera on wood, 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (133.7 × 81.9 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Herbert Shipman in memory of her father and mother, Edson and Julia Wentworth Bradley, 1938, 38.141e

crowned. This so astounded the knight's captors that they released him and became converts to Christianity.¹¹ Another legend of the rosary tells of the Virgin's appearance before Eulalia to suggest that the saint might better say fifty Ave Marias slowly and reverently than thoughtlessly rush through an entire 150.¹²

The lower compartment of the engraving is bracketed by Dominican saints, two at each side. All four

are identified by inscriptions in the bands overhead, and each holds a rosary and is flanked by a phylactery containing an epithet of the Virgin of the Rosary. At the upper left is the founder of the order, Dominic, with the salutation *ave rosa speciosa* (hail, lovely rose); at the upper right Peter Martyr (1205–52) with the salutation *ave juvar mundi rosa* (hail, rose, radiance of the world). At the lower left is Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–74) with the salutation *ave rosa spina carens* (hail, rose without thorn); at the lower right Catherine of Siena (1347–80) with the salutation *ave rosa coelorum* (hail, rose of the heavens).

The *miraculum militum*, the miracle of a gentleman or knight whose utterances of Angelic Salutations become wondrously transformed into flowers, is a legend that can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century, when versions of the story appeared both in Germany and in the Iberian peninsula.¹³ By about 1500 the story had circulated so widely and for so long that it existed in many differing forms. In one version, particularly popular in Spain, the knight is said to be of Cologne; hence in art-historical literature the legend is sometimes referred to as the miracle of a gentleman of Cologne. As we shall see, this can be a misnomer.

The miracle of the gentleman of Cologne is illustrated in a painting at The Cloisters (Figure 3), the upper left panel of a retable dated 1483, by an unknown Aragonese painter.¹⁴ This variant of the legend tells of a gentleman in Cologne who killed a comrade in a quarrel. When the dead man's brother sought to avenge the murder the gentleman took refuge in a church, and there began fervently to recite the rosary on his knees before an image of the Virgin. The vengeful brother and his family burst in, intending to kill the gentleman, but they were constrained by their astonishment at the miraculous appearance of the Virgin, whom they saw take roses from the mouth of her devotee and bind them into a wreath which she placed on his head.¹⁵

The Museum's rosary painting appears to illustrate a different version of the story, one more prevalent in the Lowlands and Germany. The tale is recounted in two little rosary pamphlets, printed in Strasbourg about 1480, which are preserved in the British Library in London.¹⁶ They each contain, in slightly differing forms of a Rhenish dialect of medieval German, the same two stories, each story being accompanied by a woodblock illustration. The first

story and woodcut (Figure 4) concern the miracle under discussion. This narrative is a nearly contemporary textual source for the image in the Museum's painting, and as previously it has never been more than paraphrased, the relevant passage deserves full quotation here. The text begins:

This is Our Lady's rosary and how it first came about. A while ago there was a man whose custom it was to make each day for Our Dear Lady a wreath of roses or flowers or whatever else he might then have had at hand. This man entered a religious order. He was a lay brother in the order and he had so much to do there that he was not able to make each day for Our Dear Lady her wreath, as was his custom. He was so troubled by this that he wanted to leave the order. There was there an old father who asked him what was the matter. The lay brother bemoaned his troubles to him. The old father then said, "Do not trouble yourself. I will teach you how to make each day for Our Dear Lady a wreath of roses that will be dearer to her than if you were to gather all the flowers on earth." And he taught him to say fifty Ave Marias in place of a wreath of roses. The lay brother was then glad, and prayed thus the rosary each day.

One day he rode out on behalf of the monastery and came into a forest and thought of his rosary, which he had not yet said. He dismounted and said the rosary to Our Dear Lady on his knees. Cutthroats were there who wanted to kill him. But they saw how a beautiful maiden holding a circlet with which one makes a little wreath stood before him, and no sooner had he said an Ave Maria than she took from his mouth a rose and bound it to the circlet until the wreath was full. She then took the wreath and set it on her head. And then she vanished, so that the cutthroats could no longer see her, and the lay brother, he had not seen her at all. The cutthroats went to him and asked who the beautiful maiden was who stood before him. The brother answered them saying there was no maiden with him. They insisted there was one with him and asked what he had been doing. Then they perceived for the first time that it was the dear Mother of God who had been with him and who had fetched her wreath from him and they did not kill him. [Author's translation]¹⁷

In this account, it should be noted, there is no mention of Cologne. Indeed, this version of the miracle seems to be the one most fully in agreement with the image in the panel painting (Figure 6). In the painting, as in the story, the action is set out of doors (not within a church, as in the Aragonese painting); the kneeling gentleman is not crowned with a rose garland (as in Doménech's engraving); and the armored assailants appear to be brigands rather than



Is ist vnser liebē fra-
wen rosenkrantz vnd
wie er von ersten ist
vffkummē. Die vor
einer tzt Ein mā hat
die gewonheit Das
er alle tag vnser liebē

4. *Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz*, fol. lv (Strasbourg: H. Knobloch-ter), 1480? London, The British Library, IA.2506 (photo: British Library)

knights. Helmut Nickel has kindly informed the author that their armor is fantastic and deliberately archaizing in design. It serves to evoke the storybook quality of the subject, as if to say "in days of yore . . ." The clothing of the kneeling devotee, on the other hand, is contemporary and secular. He wears an ermine-lined mantle, with slits for the arms and an open cowl, over a black bodice with a red border and sleeves, and a linen shirt. It is the costume of a gentleman or nobleman and conceivably accords with the legend, since in this telling the protagonist is a lay brother. Nonetheless, because the clothing is



5. St. Dominic with a pope and an emperor (detail of Figure 1)

modern and because the depiction of the gentleman conforms to the conventions of donor portraiture of the period, it is tempting to speculate that this figure incorporates a portrait of the man for whom the picture was painted.¹⁸

The viewer is also likely to ponder the identities of the pope, emperor, and king represented in the painting. On the evidence of Doménech's engraving it could be argued that this pope is meant to be Innocent VIII. Yet it might equally well be supposed that Sixtus IV, the first to grant indulgences for rosary devotion, was intended, or for that matter Innocent III, who was pope during St. Dominic's lifetime. If the pope, emperor, and king are meant to represent contemporary individuals, then Leo X, Maximilian I, and the youthful Charles V would be likely candidates. However, as the artist made little attempt (or was not able) to portray anything beyond generic

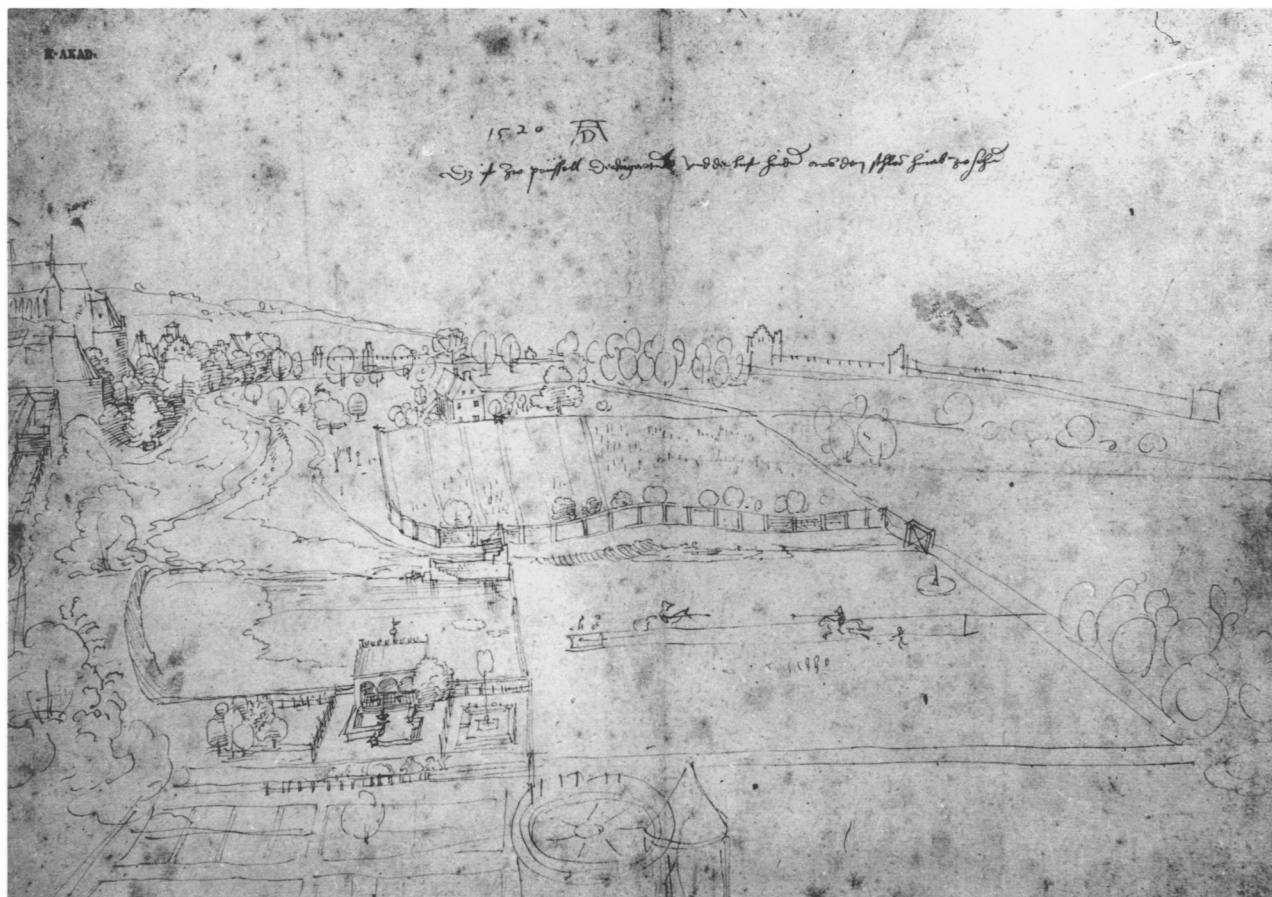


6. The "Miracle of the Knight" (detail of Figure 1)

types, the most prudent conclusion is that these figures are no more than universal representatives of the Christian estates.

Although it is not possible to identify the figures in the foreground of the larger panel, one can identify with remarkable precision the terrain depicted in the background, beyond the parapet. Nearly cartographic and with surprisingly accurate topography for the art of its day, the landscape portrays the park (the *Warande*, or pleasure grounds) of the palace of the dukes of Brabant in Brussels. Commonly known as the Coudenberg, the palace was a residence of the dukes of Burgundy and later of their successors, the Hapsburg regents.

The church at the upper left corner of the painting, clearly recognizable as the cathedral of St. Gudule in Brussels, is reason to suspect that the land-



7. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels*, 1520. Brown ink drawing, $11\frac{3}{8} \times 16\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.8 × 40.9 cm.). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 2475 (photo: Akademie der bildenden Künste)

scape depicts the ducal park as it appeared in the early sixteenth century. But the landscape's identification is conclusively established by the eyewitness record of no less authoritative an observer than Albrecht Dürer. From August 28 to September 1, 1520, during his travels through the Lowlands, Dürer visited Brussels, where he was shown the Coudenberg and its pleasure grounds. He wrote in his journal: "Out behind the royal palace in Brussels I have seen the fountains, labyrinth, and game park. I have never seen more amusing things, things more pleasing to me—like a paradise."¹⁹ Dürer also drew, on the spot, a rapid quill-pen-and-ink sketch which records his view of the pleasure grounds from one of the upper windows at the back of the palace (Figure 7). It is

signed with his monogram, dated 1520, and inscribed in his hand: "Dz ist zw prüssel der dirgartn und die lust hindn aws dem schlos hinab zw sehn" (This is the game park and pleasure grounds in Brussels looking out from the back of the palace).

The landscape background in the Museum's painting (Figures 5, 6) agrees in every detail with the view in Dürer's drawing, the topography of which has been thoroughly studied by Fedja Anzelewsky.²⁰ Each element in the landscape can be identified precisely. In the painting, the low wall behind the figures obscures the view shown in the foreground of the drawing, which includes the park's flower garden and pavilion at the left and its tournament field at the right. Clearly visible in both works, however, are the old twelfth-century town wall and the back of the cathedral of St. Gudule, at the left, and the body of water called the Clutinck. The Clutinck terminates on the right at a wall, which separates it from the tournament field and which meets at right angles a

second wall parallel to the picture plane. In the corner juncture is a stone gate giving access to paths on the far side of the Clutinck that curve up the steep hillside and into the game park. In both the drawing and the painting, trees on the slope are shown to have been felled; in the painting deer graze at the foot of the hillside. The embankment behind the wall, traversed by rows of steep steps, is the vineyard planted by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy with seedlings imported from his homeland. In the painting a small wooden door that provides access to it is shown in the lower wall, next to the stone gate. At the top of the steps just behind the door, the gable-roofed gardener's house nestles in trees. In the distance on the right—better seen in Dürer's sketch, which was drawn from a higher vantage point, but also clearly evident in the painting, between the heads of the first and second assailants—is the *Porte de Louvain*, one of the gates in the town's newer fourteenth-century fortifications. Farther to the right in both views (over the head of the third assailant in the painting) is one of the wall's gabled turrets.

The vantage points in the two works are distinctly different. Dürer's position was not only higher than that of the panel painter, but also farther to the left; the difference is seen most clearly in the depictions of the stone gate, which is observed from the rear in the drawing but from the front in the painting. The discrepancy between the viewpoints demonstrates that the painting was made independently of the drawing and bespeaks first-hand observation of the site on the part of both artists. There are also clear indications that the drawing and the painting are very near in date, such as the appearance of felled trees in both works.

Later pictorial records of the ducal palace and its grounds, including a drawing by Bernaert van Orley made not long after 1538 (Figure 8), make it possible to locate the very positions from which the drawing and painting were executed. Van Orley's drawing, which is inscribed "*La court de bruxelles quand on voit par derriere dedans La parck*" (the court of Brussels as one sees it from the rear within the park), looks west toward the heart of the town—the spire of the town hall appears in the center—whereas Dürer's drawing and the Museum's painting look to the north. Just one of the towers of St. Gudule is glimpsed at the far right edge of van Orley's drawing. The twelfth-century town wall runs across the

middle of the drawing; Philip the Good's vineyard and the stone gate in front of the Clutinck are just to the left of the two mounted noblemen in the lower right corner.

The imposing edifice at the left of van Orley's drawing is the palace of the dukes of Brabant. At its far right corner stands the chapel added by Charles V, appearing as it did during the years 1538–48, between its initial and secondary phases of construction. At the base of the Coudenberg, parallel to the tournament field, is a flat building, the enclosed tennis court (*jeu de paume*). Above it is a terrace, and just behind that the back entrance to the palace from which a ramp curves down to the tournament field. It must have been from the center of this terrace that the painter of the Museum's panel observed the view toward the vineyard.

Van Orley's drawing shows a small turret at the far end of the tennis court. One sees, from the center foreground of Dürer's drawing, that he looked down onto this same turret. A crenelated roundtower also appears in Dürer's drawing and, partially, in van Orley's (to the immediate right of the turret). As Anzelewsky has observed, Dürer's vantage must hence have been from one of the farthestmost windows in an upper story of the wing of the palace adjacent to the chapel.

Its depiction of the park of the ducal palace from so privileged a vantage point as the palace terrace suggests that the Museum's painting was commissioned by someone in Brussels closely connected to the Hapsburg court. (The inventories of Margaret of Austria seem to rule out the possibility that Margaret, who served as governess from 1507 to 1515 and from 1518 until her death in 1530, was the patron. No work described therein agrees with the Museum's paintings.)²¹ Moreover, it is obvious that whoever commissioned the picture was closely involved with the Dominicans and the cult of the rosary.

According to Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, the first confraternity of the rosary in Brussels was established only during the first half of the seventeenth century, by the Dominican Ambroise Druwe.²² There had, nonetheless, been a Dominican convent in the town since the middle of the fifteenth century. A papal bull dated November 5, 1457, empowered Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, to found it; the Do-

minicans, however, did not take up residence until March 5, 1464. In an act of August 8, 1468, Duke Charles the Bold, Philip's son, took the Dominicans under his personal protection. The Dominican church and convent, which were demolished in 1797, once stood not far to the northwest of the Coudenberg (facing on the rue l'Écuyer, opposite the petite rue des Dominicains, and near the present place de la Monnaie). The lords of Ravensteyn, members of one of the greatest patrician families of Brussels (indeed, of the Burgundian Lowlands), ceded to the Dominicans the part of their *hôtel* that was contiguous with the convent. Adolf of Cleves, lord of Ravensteyn (1425–1492), grandson of Duke John the

Fearless and nephew of Philip the Good, and whose second wife was Philip's natural daughter, paid for stained-glass windows in the Dominican church. In 1524 his son Philip (ca. 1459–1527) erected a chapel in the church to serve as a mausoleum for himself and his wife. Further research may establish what today is no more than pure conjecture, based on circumstantial evidence: that the Museum's paintings were commissioned by Philip of Cleves, lord of Ravensteyn.²³

The authorship and date of the Museum's paintings remain to be determined. In 1878, when the paintings were first recorded in the sale of the collection of Zacharie Astruc (the well-known author and critic who first championed Manet), they were attributed to Hans Memling (active by 1465; died 1494) and entitled rather fancifully, "The Triumph of the Red Rose" (an allegory of the War of the Roses).²⁴ The title is repeated in the Haro sale of 1892, when they were catalogued as School of Memling. In the twen-

8. Bernaert van Orley (ca. 1492–1541/2), *The Month of March: Departure for the Hunt*, preparatory study for the cartoon of one of twelve tapestries in the series *The Hunts of Maximilian*. Pen and wash drawing, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39 × 54.5 cm.). Leiden, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit, Prentenkabinet (photo: RKD, The Hague)





9. Workshop of Goswijn van der Weyden, *Virgin of the Rosary*. Tempera and oil on wood, $73\frac{3}{8} \times 62\frac{1}{4}$ in. (187×158 cm.). Whereabouts unknown

tieth century these patently untenable attributions were abandoned. By 1938, in the Macy sale (and again in 1943, in the Schnittjer sale), they were recognized to be of the sixteenth century and were assigned to an unknown painter in Antwerp.²⁵

W. R. Valentiner, in a certificate of February 26, 1943, attributed the paintings to a Brussels painter of about 1520 in the circle of Bernaert van Orley; and Julius Held, in an expertise of March 23, 1943, considered them to be in the manner of Goswijn van der Weyden of about 1515–20.²⁶ Held drew attention to a *Virgin of the Rosary* attributed by Georges Hulin de Loo to Goswijn's workshop.²⁷ Unfortunately, it has

10. Goswijn van der Weyden (b. ca. 1465, d. after 1538), *Triptych of Antonius Tsgrooten*, Flemish, 1507. Tempera and oil on wood, overall, with engaged frames, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41.8×66.4 cm.). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 5091 (photo: A.C.L.-Brussels)



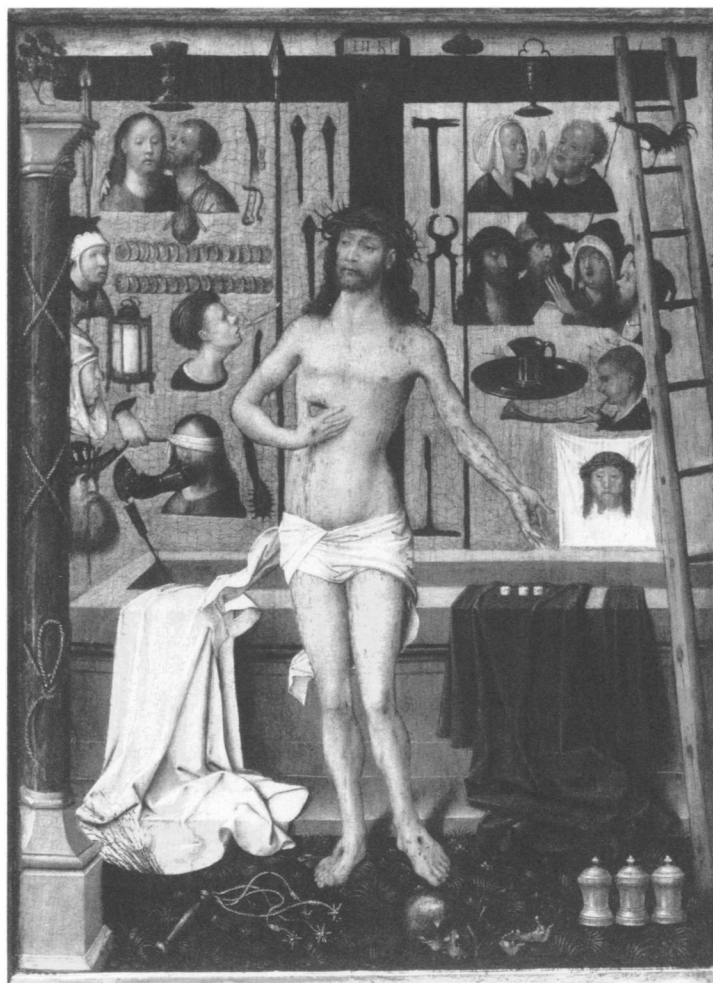
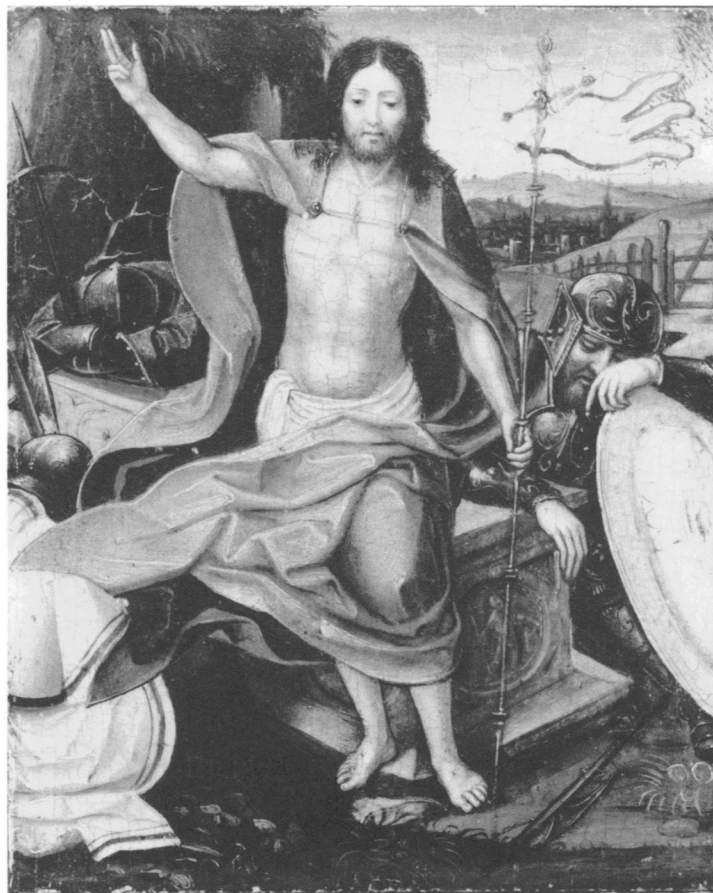
11. *The Resurrection* (detail of Figure 1)

not been possible to trace the whereabouts of this picture, which was in a private collection in Germany in 1913. From the murky reproduction in Hulin de Loo's article (Figure 9) it appears closely related to the Museum's larger panel, especially in the treatment of the figures of the Virgin and Child. The similarity suggests that Goswijn van der Weyden may have painted the Museum's pictures, a possibility to which the circumstances of his biography lend support.

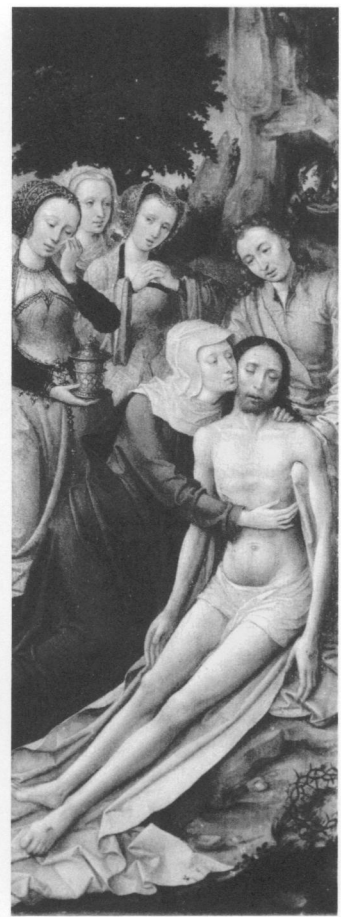
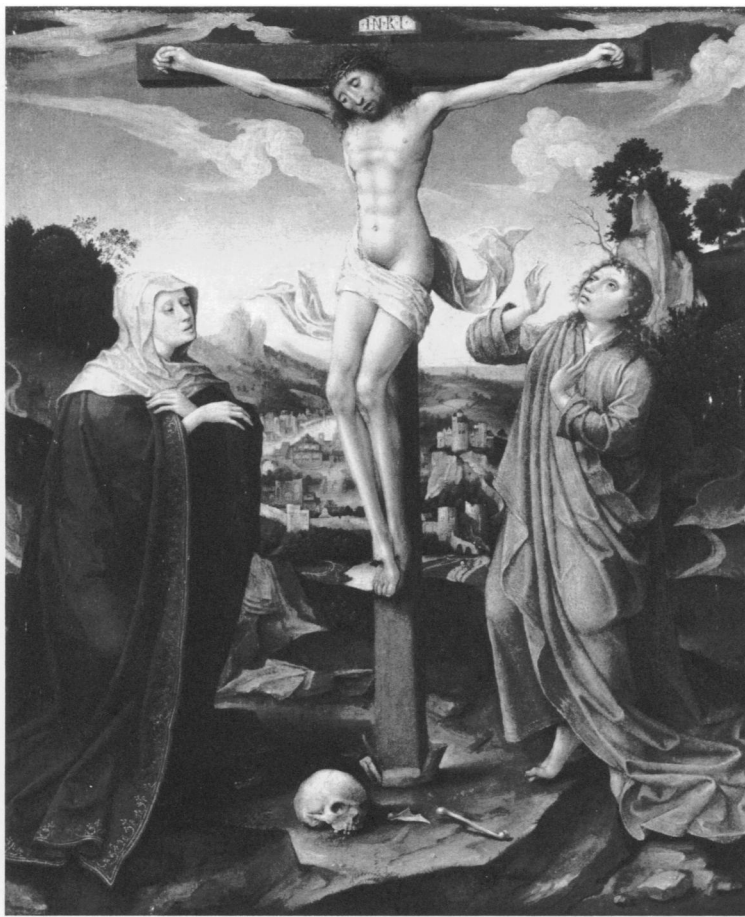
Goswijn (also spelled Goswin or Goossen) was the grandson of the renowned fifteenth-century artist Rogier van der Weyden, the official painter of the city of Brussels. He was born in about 1465 in Brussels, where he was presumably trained in the workshop of his father, Pieter, also a painter. By 1492 Goswijn was working in Lier (about twenty-two miles northeast of Brussels), and in 1498–99 he became a citizen of Antwerp, where he established his workshop; nevertheless, he may well have maintained contact with patrons in Brussels. Between 1499 and 1536 he was closely associated with the abbey of Tongerlo, east of Lier, for which he produced numerous works.

A touchstone for attributing works to Goswijn is provided by a documented triptych that he painted in 1507 for the abbot of Tongerlo, Antonius Tsgrooten (Figure 10).²⁸ Stylistic analogies between the triptych and the Museum's paintings are evident. The millefleurs-carpet treatment of the ground beneath Christ's feet in the triptych is virtually identical to that in the Museum's larger panel. Similar in scale, both works display a retardataire style characteristic of the artist—although the advanced *contrapposto* and articulated musculature of the figure of Christ in the Museum's *Resurrection* (Figure 11), compared to that of the figure of Christ in the Tsgrooten triptych (Figure 12), would seem to indicate that the Museum's painting represents a much later phase of the artist's development.

A *Crucifixion* triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts (Figure 13), which is securely attributed to Goswijn van der Weyden and datable shortly after 1517, offers an analogy that ap-

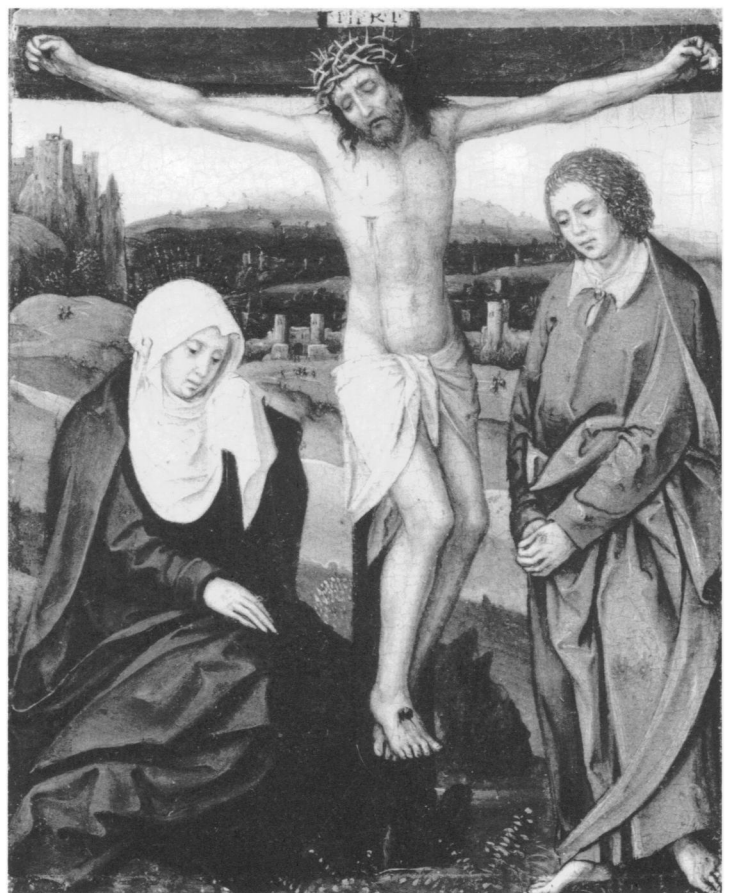


12. *Christ Showing His Wounds, with the Instruments of His Passion* (detail of Figure 10). 13¼ × 9⅞ in. (33.7 × 25.2 cm.)



13. Goswijn van der Weyden, *Crucifixion Triptych, with Christ Carrying the Cross and the Lamentation*. Tempera and oil on wood, center panel 19 × 16 in. (48.3 × 40.6 cm.), wings each 20 × 7 in. (50.8 × 17.8 cm.). Springfield, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, James Philip Gray Collections, 58.10 (photo: Paramount Commercial Studios, Springfield)

14. *The Crucifixion* (detail of Figure 1)



appears to be closer in date to the Museum's paintings.²⁹ The center panel of the triptych is best compared with the Museum's *Crucifixion* (Figure 14). The similarity between the two figures of Christ, particularly in the curl of the hands and extension of the arms across the beam, suggests a common authorship. The mourning Virgin in New York has less individuality than the one in Springfield, but is more closely related to the figure of Mary Magdalene at the left of the triptych's right wing, which depicts the Lamentation.

Like the triptych in Springfield, several of the Museum's panels display a predilection for drapery that falls in long, scythelike folds and for fingers that are exceedingly long and spindly. The paintings also

15. *The Annunciation* (detail of Figure 1)

share similarly restricted palettes in which raspberry-red and a deep greenish-blue predominate, with yellow and purplish-blue accents elsewhere. A tendency to model flesh tones with chalky-white highlights, although more pronounced in Springfield, is seen in New York as well; discrepancies may in part be owing to the differences in scale: the triptych figures are four times the size of those of the Museum panels. For this author, the overall kinship between the paintings at the Museum and the triptychs in Antwerp and in Springfield is sufficiently strong to propose the attribution of the Metropolitan's new acquisition to Goswijn van der Weyden.

There are reasons other than stylistic ones for assigning the paintings at the Museum a date in the second decade of the sixteenth century. They must have been painted sometime after 1511 at the earliest, since one of the panels, the *Annunciation* (Figure 15), derives from Dürer's woodcut of the same subject from the Small Passion (Figure 16), which was published that year.³⁰ Because of the close resemblance of the landscape in the larger panel to the dated drawing by Dürer, a date nearer 1520 is likely. The date preferred here is that first advanced by Held: about 1515–20. If it is correct, the Museum's painted depiction of the park of the Coudenberg precedes Dürer's drawing, hitherto believed to have been the earliest accurate visual record of that site.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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16. Albrecht Dürer, *The Annunciation*, 1511. Woodcut, 5 × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.8 × 9.8 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1919, 19.73.173



NOTES

1. Acc. no. 1987.290.3a-p. The history of the paintings' ownership is as follows (bracketed names are those of dealers): Zacharie Astruc, Paris, until 1878; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Apr. 11-12, 1878, no. 1, as Hans Memling; [Mssrs. Henri Haro, Sr. and Jr., Paris, until 1892; sale, Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, May 30-31, 1892, no. 30, as School of Memling]; Claude Lafontaine, Paris; [Jacques Seligmann, New York, by 1922-1924]; V. Everit Macy, New York, 1924-38; sale, American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, Jan. 6-8, 1938, no. 325, as School of Antwerp, early 16th century; [F. Schnittjer and Son, New York, until 1943; sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, Jan. 14-16, 1943, no. 71, as School of Antwerp, early 16th century]; Maurice Dekker, New York, from 1943; private collection, Honolulu, by 1956-1984.

2. Each small panel measures $5 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.7×10.5 cm.). The large one measures $9\frac{7}{8} \times 21$ in. (25.1×53.3 cm.). Each panel is cradled separately and has strips $\frac{1}{16}$ in. wide added laterally. The paintings were cleaned at the Museum in 1987 and proved to be in a fine state of preservation.

3. Before the panel was dismembered, its individual scenes were presumably set apart from one another by narrow painted or gilded bands. The following works, each with multiple scenes on a single field, give an idea of the panel's original appearance: a panel of about 1500 with the Last Judgment, the Seven Acts of Mercy, and the Seven Deadly Sins, by an unknown Antwerp painter, in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (reproduced in Paul Vandenbroeck, *Catalogus Schilderijen 14^e en 15^e Eeuw: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* [Antwerp, 1985] pl. 2); the center panel of a triptych of the 1480s with nine scenes from the life of St. Anne by the Master of Sainte Gudule, at the Faculté de Médecine, Paris (reproduced in M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [New York, 1969] IV, pl. 68); and a panel of about 1435 with eighteen scenes from the Passion by an unknown Dutch painter, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (reproduced in Friedländer, *E.N.P.*, III [1968] pl. 57).

4. The death of the Virgin and the assumption of her soul into heaven are very closely related and, in essence, identical events, occurring at virtually the same point in time. The Virgin's body was assumed into heaven and reunited with her soul three days after her death.

5. A crown of roses was an ordinary tribute of admiration and respect during the Middle Ages. The rose has also been an attribute of the Virgin Mary since early Christian times. "Rose without thorn" is a common epithet of the Virgin, derived from the writings of St. Ambrose. Rose garlands hence came to be associated with prayers of devotion to the Virgin Mary.

6. According to Dominic's legend, before his birth his mother dreamed she would bring forth such a creature. The image embodies a Latin pun on Dominic's name, *Domini canis* = dog of God, which characterizes the Dominicans' view of themselves as God's watchdogs (hence the torch).

7. Rosary literature is extensive and often contradictory. The standard reference is Thomas Esser, *Unserer Lieben Frauen Rosenkranz* (Paderborn, 1889). A particularly helpful and balanced overview is provided by Herbert Thurston, "Our Popular Devotions. II. The Rosary," *The Month, A Catholic Magazine* 96 (1900) pp. 403-418, 513-527, 620-637; *ibid.*, 97 (1901) pp. 67-79, 172-188, 286-304, 383-404. The catalogue of the exhibition *500 Jahre Rosenkranz: 1475 Köln 1975*, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, Cologne, Oct. 25, 1975-Jan. 15, 1976 (Cologne, 1975) is a useful guide.

8. See Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, pp. 625-630, where two woodcuts from later editions of the *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter* (1489 and 1495) are reproduced. The fifteenth Mystery depicted in the woodcut of 1489 is the Last Judgment, not the Coronation of the Virgin. The penultimate Mystery, as in the Museum's painting, is the Death of the Virgin, not the Assumption. (Thurston seems not to have been aware of the original edition of 1483, for which see *500 Jahre Rosenkranz*, p. 201.)

9. For Doménech's engraving, see Isidoro Rosell y Torres, "Estampa Española del siglo XV grabada por Fray Francisco Domenec," *Museo Español de Antigüedades II* (Madrid, 1873) pp. 442-464, especially pp. 460ff., and Valerio Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1925) pp. 256-259. Rosell y Torres mistakenly reads the letters of the abbreviation as *AdS* for *Anno domini salutis* (p. 463). See also Paul Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten*, 3d ed. (Berlin, 1921) pp. 125-126, and F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700* (Amsterdam, 1949-82) V, p. 265.

10. For what little is known of Doménech's life, see José María Coll, "Dos artistas cuatrocentistas desconocidos (Pablo de Senis y Fr. Francisco Doménech)," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 24 (1951) pp. 141-144.

11. See Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari*, p. 22.

12. See Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, pp. 410-413.

13. For a 13th-century German legend in which Ave Marias are transformed into lilies, see Franz Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden: Dichtungen des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts mit erläuternden Sach- und Wort-Erklärungen*, new ed. (Vienna, 1863) pp. 105-109, no. xv. For a 13th-century version of the miracle in a variant of Portuguese, see Thurston, "Popular Devotions. II," 96, p. 520 n.1.

14. See Margaretta Salinger, "A New Spanish Retable at the Cloisters," *MMAB* 34 (1939) pp. 174-177; and Harry B. Wehle, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings* (New York, 1940) pp. 220-221.

15. See Serra y Boldú, *Llibre d'or del rosari*, pp. 22-23. See also Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting VII*, pt. 1, *The Catalan School in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938) p. 260.

16. The British Library, IA.2506: *Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz* (Strasbourg: H. Knoblochzer, 1480?); IA.8719: *Vnser lyeben frowen Rosenkrantz* (Strasbourg: Georgius de Spira, 1480?). Thurston mistakenly states that these booklets were printed in Nuremberg and Spire, respectively ("Popular Devotions. II," 96, p. 519 n.2).

17. The author thanks Helmut Nickel for correcting his translation of the text of IA.8719: Dis is Vnser lyeben frowen Rosenkrantz vnd wie er von ersten is vffkommen. Hye vor eyner tziyt Eyn man het die gewonheyt Das er alle tag Vnser lieben frowen macht eynen krätz vō Rosen oder von blumen / oder was er den zu denen zijttē gehabē mocht / d'selb gab sich in eynen orden / Da was [sic] er eyn leyen bruder in / da wart im so vil zu thun dz er vnser lieben frowen iren krätz nit noch syner gewōheyt alle tag machē kundt / das wart er so betrubet dz er wyder uss dē orden wolt sin / des wart ein altvatter innen uñ forschet in was im were / Der bruder claget im synē kümer Da sprach d'altvatter zu im / du solt nit truren / ich will dich lernē unser lyebē frowen alle tag machē eyne Rosenkrätz der ir lieber ist / dē ob du ir al die blumē gebest die uff erdē sindt / uñ leret in · 1 · Ave maria sprechē fur eyne Rosen krätz / do wart der bruder fro / und bettet also den Rosenkrantz alle tage Eyntz tages reyrt er uss vō des closters wegen da kam er in eynen walt und gedocht an synen Rosenkrätz / das er in noch nit gebettet het / do sass er ab und bettet unser lieben frowen den rosenkrantz uff synen knyen / Da waren die morder do / die in wolten gemorde habē / Und sahent wie das ein schone jūgfrawe vor ime stundt / und hat eyn schyne in der hant da man eyn krentzlin uff machet / Und alss dick er eyn Ave maria bettet / so nam sy ime eyn Rose uss dem munde und bandt die uff die schynen / biss das d'krantz vol ware / da nam sy den krantz uñ satzt in uff ir hautb / Vnd fur hyn wege / das sy die morder nyeme mochten gesehē und der bruder der hat sy nit gesehen / Da komēt die morder zu ime gangen uñ frogten in wer die schone jungfraw wer gewesen die vor ime gestanden were / Da antwort inen der bruder und sprach / er enhet keyn jungfraw by im gehabt / da jahren sy er hette eyne by im gehabt / und fragten im was er da hette gethan / Da vernoment sye erst / Da die liebe mutter gottes da by im were gewesen / und iren krantz by ime geholet het / und daten im nicht.

18. A patron's desire to have himself cast in the role of the gentleman in the legend might be regarded as an extension of the painting's function. It no doubt was made to serve as a visual aid to rosary recitation. The three woodcut illustrations in the *Unser lieben Frawen Psalter* mentioned in note 8 served the same purpose.

19. *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Hans Rupprich, ed. (Berlin,

1956) I, p. 155, lines 21–23: "Jch hab gesehen jns königs hauss zu Prüssel hinden hinaus die brunnen, labÿrÿnth, thiergarten, das jch lustiger ding, mir gefälliger, gleich einen paradÿss, nie gesehen hab."

20. Fedja Anzelewsky, "À propos de la topographie du parc de Bruxelles et du quai de l'Escaut à Anvers de Dürer," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 6 (1957) pp. 87–107, esp. pp. 87–100. Further references are contained in the article.

21. See, for the 1516 inventory, M. Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien I^{er} et de Marguerite d'Autriche* (original ed., Paris, 1839; reprint, New York, 1966) II, pp. 468–489, and for the 1523 inventory, H. Michelant, "Inventaire . . . de Marguerite d'Autriche," *Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-arts de Belgique. Commission royale d'histoire. Bulletin*, ser. 3, XII (Brussels, 1871) pp. 5–78, 83–136.

22. Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1845) II, p. 56; III, pp. 204–211. The account that follows of the history of the Dominicans in Brussels is also drawn from this work.

23. For the life of Philip of Cleves, see Edmond Poulet, "Clèves et de la Marck (Philippe de), seigneur de Ravensteyn, etc.," *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]* IV (Brussels, 1873) cols. 152–163.

24. See note 1 for complete sale information.

25. In 1938 the large panel of the series was described as a "Virgin and Child with Saints," and in 1943 as "The Madonna of the Rosary with Donors and Saints"; in both sales the small panels were described merely as "Fifteen scenes from the Passion."

26. Copies of Valentin's certificate and Held's expertise are in the archives of the Department of European Paintings.

27. Georges Hulin de Loo, "Ein authentisches Werk von Goossen van der Weyden im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 34 (1913) pp. 86–87, fig. 10.

28. See Paul Vandenbroeck, *Catalogus Schilderijen 14^e en 15^e Eeuw: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1985) pp. 146–150, inv. no. 5091.

29. See *The American and European Collections: Museum of Fine Arts* (Springfield, Mass., 1979) pp. 94–95, no. 167, and Frederick B. Robinson, "An Early Flemish Triptych," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* (Springfield) 25 (1959) no. 3, n.p.

30. See *Albrecht Dürer Woodcuts and Wood Blocks*, Walter Strauss, ed. (New York, 1980) pp. 342, 408–409, no. 139.