

Panel Painting in the Low Countries in the second half of the 15th Century: The Importance of Utrecht



See Figure 23.

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Abstract

The city of Utrecht in the fifteenth century contained various qualities to uphold a highly developed art market. With approximately twenty thousand inhabitants by the end of the century it was the biggest city of the northern Netherlands, it was the political and ecclesiastical centre of the diocese, and it had a long tradition of manuscript and sculpture production. Nevertheless, concerning the production of panel painting little seems to have survived. This has raised doubts about the importance of Utrecht painters in the fifteenth century among art historians. In this thesis the issue of the importance of Utrecht is re-examined in two chapters. The first chapter describes the existing debate on Utrecht fifteenth century panel painting, covering the leading authors within this field of study, like most notably Hoogewerff, Châtelet, and Defoer. The second chapter concentrates on Utrecht cityscapes on fifteenth and early sixteenth century paintings, with the aim to examine to which extent the identification of buildings results in reliable attributions of these artworks to Utrecht workshops. It became clear that it is indeed difficult to locate an Utrecht school of painting within the confines of the city. However, the importance of Utrecht-trained panel painters did exist outside of the city, with skilled artists active in Flanders and the Lower Rhine region.

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Introduction

Research on fifteenth-century Netherlandish panel painting was given a new powerful impetus with the celebration of the Van Eyck year in 2020 and 2021. Although the subsequent exhibitions and catalogues revealed much about the *ars nova* and the importance of Netherlandish artists in Europe, remarkably little attention was given to the northern regions of the Netherlands, despite its known relation with the artistic developments in the southern Netherlands. The last comprehensive study on fifteenth-century northern Netherlandish panel painting was conducted in 2008 for the *Vroege Hollanders: schilderkunst van de late Middeleeuwen* exhibition at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, curated by Jeroen Giltaij and Friso Lammertse. As the title suggests, the exhibition primarily focussed on the regions ruled by the count of Holland and left out perhaps the most important northern region for the arts in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century: the ecclesiastical principality of Utrecht.

In his book review on the 2008 exhibition catalogue, Hugo van der Velden expresses himself critically about this issue. He claims that in the fifteenth century Utrecht was eminently the most important artistic centre of the northern Netherlands, where its influence on the visual arts was experienced in the neighbouring regions of Brabant and Holland.¹ The foundation for a strong artistic centre in Utrecht was laid by two important criteria. First of all, with a growing population from 10.000 to 20.000 people by the end of the century, Utrecht was the biggest city in the north, exceeding the cities of Holland, such as Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, and Leiden. Secondly, the seat of the bishop, collegiate churches, and convents secured a strong basis of commissioning from the church, which had attracted artists to Utrecht in the centuries before. The expectation of a well-developed art industry on the basis of these two criteria is strengthened by the results of P. Swillens' study on the Saddlers guild (*Sadelaers gilde*) in Utrecht, in which the artists among others were united. Swillens found at least fifty registered sculptors and or painters in the guild's remaining documentation, which is still available in the city's archive.²

The scope of the activity of Utrecht artists and the quality of their work has already been shown through studies on manuscript painting, sculpture, and goldsmithing.³ Concerning the case of panel painting, however, the notion of Utrecht as an important centre for the arts becomes more problematic. Albert Châtelet introduces the 'problem of the importance of Utrecht' in *Early Dutch Painting: painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century* (1980), the last comprehensive study to include a body of works of panel painting from Utrecht. Contrary to what one might expect, he ascribes only eight works of seemingly little artistic quality to the city, and not all attributions are equally certain. The question arises whether the lack of remaining panel paintings was caused by the iconoclasm of the sixteenth century, which is the more conventional theory, or rather because of a reason inherent to the supply and demand of the art industry in the city. Châtelet tends to the latter, claiming that an established painter's guild could very well have maintained tradition above invention, which might have been fuelled by the tastes of the cathedral chapter.⁴ While the lack of surviving panel paintings in contrast to the remaining manuscripts and sculptures seems to confirm Châtelet's theory, he does not cover the tastes of the other available patrons in the city, like the nobility, the affluent middle class, and various ecclesiastical patrons.

¹ Van der Velden, "Book Review," 307.

² Swillens, "Schilders en beeldhouwers," 56-59.

³ See: *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (1989) by Defoer e.a., and *Middeleeuwse Nederlandse kunst uit Hongarije* (1990) by Helleman e.a.

⁴ Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 164.

Before further speculating about the importance of Utrecht, we should first evaluate the existing body of works of fifteenth century panel painting in Utrecht, since it has been over forty years when this was last carried out. Various art historians in the twentieth century have discussed Utrecht panel paintings, but only a few comprehensive studies include a full corpus. Following the example of Max Friedländer, G.J. Hoogewerff was one of the first to include several chapters on an Utrecht school of painting in his six-part study *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* from the 1930s and '40s. Between Hoogewerff and Châtelet no other comprehensive studies have included an Utrecht school of painting, but there have been important publications on individual paintings or groups. Most notably are the articles by art historians Karel Boon, Grete Ring, and Henri Defoer, a former director of Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht. Defoer is the latest art historian who has been predominantly active with the late medieval and early modern art production in Utrecht and has been particularly important for his contribution of the Master of the Gathering of the Manna (active 1460-1480) to the city's body of works.

With research on Utrecht panel painting, one deals with a geographic area which has been perceived in two different ways. Firstly, there is the wider perspective, where the northern and southern Netherlands are regarded as one artistic region. Here the art history of the Low Countries is studied as a whole. The most prominent publications within this field are *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden: samenvattende geschiedenis van Nederland en Vlaanderen van begin tot heden* (1936) and *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden van de Middeleeuwen tot onzen tijd* (1954-1956) by Van Gelder, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953) by Panofsky, and *De schilderkunst der Lage Landen* (2006) by Koldeweij e.a. Even though these publications consider the southern and northern Netherlands as one artistic region, they primarily focus on the south. This is mainly because of the indisputable importance of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels, where canonical artists like Jan van Eyck (1390-1441), Rogier van der Weyden (1400-1464), and Hugo van der Goes (1440-1482) were active in the fifteenth century.

Secondly, there is the narrower perspective, where the northern Netherlands are regarded as a separate artistic region. The focus on the northern Netherlands has been initiated by Adriaen Pit at the end of the nineteenth century, who claimed in his essay 'Les origines de l'art Hollandais' (1894) that the art of the northern Netherlands is more primitive and unrefined than that of their southern counterpart.⁵ This has led to several exhibitions and publications aimed at demonstrating a northern Netherlandish school of painting. The first was held in Utrecht at the Gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen in 1913, called *Tentoonstelling van Noord-Nederlandsche schilder- en beeldhouwkunst vóór 1575*. The second, at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in 1935, titled *Jeroen Bosch. Noord-Nederlandsche Primitieven*. The third, at the Rijksmuseum in 1958, *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noorderlijke Nederlanden*. The last exhibition at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in 2008 can also be added to this list, but slightly deviates from the others because of the editors' awareness of the narrow perspective intrinsic to research solely on Dutch panel painting. The same goes for the publications by Châtelet and Hoogewerff, who also acknowledge the relation between the northern and southern Netherlands.

Following this introduction there will first be two sections in which the division of the northern and southern Netherlands is further explained and the art historical context of fifteenth century panel painting is described. In the first chapter a revised body of works will be established by systematically describing and evaluating the debate concerning the discussed works in the previously mentioned publications. The second chapter will discuss a case study of Utrecht cityscapes in the background of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century paintings, since their connection with Utrecht still remains to be clarified.⁶ Insights from both chapters will shed new light on the importance of Utrecht and hopefully

⁵ Van der Velden, "Book Review," 305.

⁶ According to Van den Bergh-Hoogterp this issue has never been thoroughly examined. See: Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, "*Kunst in Utrecht*," 335.

reopen the debate. Unfortunately, the Covid crisis does not allow for a personal examination of the works on location. Therefore, in all cases literature analysis and the examination of photo reproductions, digitally and in books, had to suffice. Some cases required further research on heraldry and cartography, which again had to be conducted by digital means and publications. In this struggle of finding adequate material the online database of Het Utrechts Archief and the publication *Kaarten van Utrecht* (1989) by Marijke Donkersloot-de Vrij have proven to be important resources.

Concept of Painting Schools

The concept of painting schools as introduced by the division of the northern and southern Netherlands remains a complicated issue. The political situation in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century is not easily dividable in a northern and a southern region, as it would become after the Peace of Münster in 1648. The Low Countries existed of seventeen relatively autonomous provinces ruled by local nobility, which formally belonged to the Holy Roman Empire from 925 until 1648.⁷ Slowly but surely the French dukes of Burgundy would expand their reign over the provinces from 1369, when Philip the Bold (1342-1404) married the heiress of Flanders, until the end of the fifteenth century. During the reign of Philip the Good (1396-1467), the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, Limburg, Zeeland, Holland, and Luxembourg were assured under Burgundian rule.⁸ In 1457 Philip the Good also managed to elect his son David of Burgundy (1426-1496) as the new bishop of the ecclesiastical principality of Utrecht.⁹ The ecclesiastical principality, not to be confused with the diocese, was a secular state ruled by the bishop, which included large north-eastern parts of the Netherlands. Formally the principality too belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, but after the Concordat of Worms in 1122 the bishop was generally elected by the chapters of the five collegiate churches.¹⁰ One could argue that on the basis of smart political alliances the Burgundians held a strong grip over Utrecht in the fifteenth century.

Regional borders did not greatly hinder the movement of artists and patrons and the exchange of ideas and culture. There are numerous examples of artists born in the Low Countries who travelled from one province to another, and even to other artistic centres in Europe. Evidently the most attractive region was Flanders, with its growing cities and flourishing trade. Jan van Eyck for example, first worked in The Hague at the court of the count of Holland, before moving to Bruges, where he set up a workshop as the court painter of the Duke of Burgundy. Similar cases are Dieric Bouts (c. 1415-1475), who was born in Haarlem and worked in Louvain, and Gerard David (1460-1523), who was born in Oudewater near Utrecht before also moving to Bruges. These are only a few examples of the movement of artists between the southern and northern Netherlands. Studies like the *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430-1530* (2002), *Van Eyck: An Optical Revolution* (2020), and *Van Eyck to Dürer: Early Netherlandish Painting and Central Europe 1430-1530* (2010), have furthermore shown the reach of Netherlandish artists by demonstrating the shared visual language and artistic developments in various European regions according to Netherlandish standards.

Patrons were not limited to regional borders either. Hugo van der Velden addresses several examples of patrons from the northern Netherlands who orientated for adequate artists outside their province. For example, the clergy of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft commissioned Adriaen van Wesel, who is recorded as a sculptor in Utrecht between 1447 and 1488, in 1484 to make a copy of his already

⁷ Jansen, *Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 60.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 213-220.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 140-141.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 131-132.

renowned retable in the Maria Kerk in Utrecht.¹¹ The same artist also made an altarpiece for the Our Lady's Brotherhood in Den Bosch between 1475 and 1477, but only after the clergy had first orientated in Antwerp. Van der Velden continues with an example from Kalkar, a city in North Rhine-Westphalia, where the clergy of the Our Lady's Brotherhood decided to commission Arnt van Zwolle, after they also informed themselves in Wesel and Den Bosch.¹² While the travelled distances of these patrons remain relatively small, it is demonstrated by these examples that northern Netherlandish artists were competent enough to deal with competition in the south and east.

After what has been explained above, is it reasonable, then, to address the northern and southern Netherlands and the neighbouring German regions as independent artistic areas? This brings us back to the term 'painting school'. With the rise of national schools of painting in recent centuries came the implication with the term of a conscious differentiation by a group of artists from one nationality. This does not, however, apply for the field of study concerning the fifteenth century. Here the term school simply refers to a group of paintings which can be localized in a distinct region. Whether these are stylistically or iconographically similar to works from neighbouring regions, does not affect the use of the term school. So, if a specific region is properly determined, and it can be proven that a group of works originate from this region, one can speak of a painting school. One important sidenote from almost every publication on fifteenth-century painting is the lack of remaining material from this period of time, which makes it roughly impossible to properly describe the full scope of painting schools.

Ever since Pit's division of a northern and southern painting school at the end of the nineteenth century there has been a debate on the characteristics of Netherlandish painting. A more nuanced idea than Pit's is expressed by Pieter Geyl in 'De kunstgeschiedenis onder de ban van de moderne staat' (1930) and 'Heeft het zin van een Noord-Nederlandse school van primitieven te spreken?' (1936). Geyl believes there is no obvious reason to divide the northern and southern Netherlands in terms of style or character, but there are differences between painting schools from smaller regions, like for example between Flanders, Holland, or Brabant.¹³ A similar idea is expressed by Hoogewerff in the introduction of the first part of *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, although he does hold on to the dualism of the northern and southern Netherlands for practical reasons.¹⁴ He explains that the cultural situation in the Netherlands is similar to Italy, where, despite a shared culture and identity, independent regions were in competition with each other.¹⁵

The idea of Pieter Geyl is formulated more precisely by Koldeweij in part one of *De schilderkunst der Lage Landen: De Middeleeuwen en de Zestiende Eeuw*:

'[From the 9th century onwards] de Nederlanden als zodanig worden beter zichtbaar als een politieke, sociale, economische en ten slotte ook artistieke eenheid. Een eenheid weliswaar die juist in haar veelheid van elkaar beconcurrerende streken en steden bloeit en die niet één goed historisch te beschrijven uniforme artistieke

¹¹ Swillens, "Schilders en beeldhouwers," 57.

¹² Van der Velden, "Book Review," 307.

¹³ Filedt Kok and Bergvelt, "De vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst," 156-157; Van der Velden, "Book Review," 306.

¹⁴ The points of view of Hoogewerff and Geyl are compared more in depth in: Van der Ploeg, "The Reception," 34-38. Van der Ploeg is critical on both art historians, concluding that Hoogewerff took the easy way out by only acknowledging the problem of the geographical demarcation chosen for his five part study of the northern Netherlands, while Geyl was short-sighted for not including the German and French regions around the borders of the southern and northern Netherlandish provinces to his argument of a shared visual language and culture in the Netherlands.

¹⁵ Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst Deel 1*, 1-2.

ontwikkeling toont. Typerend is juist het in de Lage Landen samenvloeien van invloeden van buitenaf; invloeden die gretig worden binnengehaald en verwerkt.¹⁶

In this publication the Low Countries in the fifteenth century are discussed as an artistic and cultural unity, existing of independent rivalling cities and provinces who were strongly influenced by foreign cultures. This idea is deemed to be closest to the truth from the point of view proposed in this thesis. The episcopal principality of Utrecht was as much alike and opposed to the county of Holland as it was to Flanders, or for example Brabant. The Lower Rhine region in Germany has had an especially large influence on the arts in the episcopal principality and vice versa, as has already been shown by some of the previous examples and what will become even more evident later on,

Painters from Utrecht

The painter's profession was not as fixed in the fifteenth century as it would become in later centuries. Painters were not solely trained to make pictures on panels or canvases but were available for a multitude of tasks which included the use of paint. They would for example be assigned to paint banners, shields, saddles, and other military equipment, or glass, books, sculptures, architecture, and graves.¹⁷ The task of ornamenting shields is believed to be the origin of the Dutch word for painter, namely *schilder* ('schild' being the Dutch word for shield).¹⁸ This also explains why the artists in Utrecht were united in the Saddlers guild, in which various professions that now seem incomparable, like saddle makers, bookbinders, sculptors, painters, and embroiderers were united.¹⁹ Meanwhile the goldsmiths in Utrecht were united in their own guild until 1597.²⁰ It can be assumed that the various workshops of the Saddlers guild were located in the same area, presumably the Zadelstraat, so that customers could easily find the artisans specialised in their needs.²¹ If one needed a bookbinder for their illuminated manuscript, then this would have been near the workshop of a painter. The same goes for ornamented saddles and shields or polychromed sculpture.

The scope of panel painting in the fifteenth century was not as dominant as it would become in later centuries. Liesbeth Helmus demonstrates in her study on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century contracts for commissions of altarpieces in the Low Countries that most artists involved in the commissions of artworks were respectively sculptors, embroiderers, metalworkers, gold- and silversmiths, illuminators, and 'others'.²² For the period 1430-1570 there are 135 remaining contracts of sculptors and painters in the northern and southern Netherlands, ranging of commissions for carving choir stalls, choir screens, carving and polychroming sculpture groups, triumphal crosses, apostle bars, and altarpieces. While contracts for altarpieces are the most common, namely 95, these too were more often carved and polychromed retables rather than fully painted panel paintings. Although, this does seem to differ in the northern Netherlands, but there are fewer remaining documents from these regions.²³ This shows that contrary to what one might expect from present day presentations, panel painting was not the primary art form in the fifteenth century.

¹⁶ Koldewey, *De Middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw*, 13.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 24-25; Schmidt, "Painting around 1400," 210.

¹⁸ Swillens, "Schilders en beeldhouwers," 51.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 53.

²⁰ Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, "Kunst in Utrecht," 330.

²¹ Michiel van der Borch, the earliest recorded painter from the Netherlands, is known to have been active at the Zadelstraat since 1335. See: 'Michiel de verluchter'. Website Broer en De Bruijn.

²² Helmus, *Schilderen in opdracht*, 13.

²³ Ibidem, 17-19.

Fifteenth-century panel painting should also not be confused with modern notions of easel painting. The object nature of late medieval panel painting was not to be hung on the wall as a decorative interior piece, but to be carried along or placed somewhere where it was visible from all sides. This is given by the fact that panel paintings, depending on their concrete function, were often painted on both sides, which sadly is not always covered in catalogue entries and presentations. Fifteenth-century panel paintings come in varying forms, which our modern categories refer to by the number of panels. There are single works, consisting of one panel, diptychs, triptychs, and polyptychs.²⁴ The subject matter of fifteenth-century panel painting predominantly consisted of Christian themes, less often would they cover secular content. Small works were used for personal devotion or as memorial pieces of a deceased family member or loved one, known as epitaphs or memorial tablets. Large works, mainly triptychs and polyptychs, were generally placed on top or above an altar where it functioned as an altarpiece. These were dedicated to the life and passion of Christ and often included a scene from the life of the patron saint of the church or patron. Only on special occasions was the central panel visible, otherwise the ‘versos’ were shown on the backside of the closed wing panels.

Traditionally, workshops settled in urban centres where commissions would come in from the local nobility, clergy, and the wealthier civilians.²⁵ Even though Utrecht was relatively small compared to Bruges, Ghent, or Antwerp, all forms of patronage were present in and around the city. Artists from Utrecht also had to compete with workshops from beyond the city limits, as has been shown by the previous examples of Hugo van der Velden. Renowned painters like Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden were already capable of attracting patrons from far beyond their neighbouring regions. Jan van Eyck for example is known to have worked for clients in Italy, where his work was widely admired.²⁶ While Van Eyck was officially the court painter of Philip the Good, he did not work from his residence in Brussels but instead settled in Bruges, the fastest growing city at the time with a flourishing international market. Artists are known to have travelled to urban centres since early times. For example, one of the earliest recorded artists to travel abroad was Master Johannes, an Italian cleric who moved to Liège around 1000 A.D.²⁷ We will see that Utrecht-born masters did the same, making a name for themselves in large cities elsewhere in Europe.

The earliest known panel paintings from Utrecht date from the second half of the fourteenth century. Swillens informs us of an anonymous epitaph of the *Crucifixion* from 1363 that originated from the *St. Jan's church* in Utrecht, which now belongs to the collection of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp (KMSKA). He also mentions the documentation of an Utrecht altarpiece by a certain Jan van Sint Omaars from 1360 in the Rijksarchief.²⁸ The epitaph of the *The lords of Montfoort* from around 1400 in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 1) is perhaps the best-known work from the region of Utrecht. This work of remarkable quality was made to remember the deceased knights of the lineage of the ‘Rovers of Montfoort’. Behind them stands their patron saint St. Joris while they kneel before the enthroned Virgin and Child. The composition in which the Virgin and Child are not positioned in the centre but off to one side seems to derive from a late medieval German type, while the model of the enthroned Virgin seems to derive from a French Burgundian type. This shows that already in the second half of the fourteenth century northern Netherlandish artists adopted painting styles from these regions. Furthermore, the binder of the used paint primarily consists of oil, a material typically associated with

²⁴ Schmidt, “Painting around 1400,” 210-211.

²⁵ Koldeweij, *De Middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw*, 22-24.

²⁶ Nutall, *From Flanders to Florence*, 2-3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 16.

²⁸ Swillens, “Schilders en beeldhouwers,” 52.

Jan van Eyck, which demonstrates the awareness of northern Netherlandish painters of innovative painting techniques.²⁹

Manuscript illumination has been particularly important for the history of art of Utrecht in the fifteenth century. Utrecht had the largest production of illuminated manuscripts in the north, with workshops producing illuminated bibles and books of hours of considerable quality. Unlike the French and Burgundian manuscripts, which represent an aristocratic art, book illumination in the northern Netherlands represent an urban bourgeois culture, strongly inspired by the *Devotio Moderna*.³⁰ The most notable fifteenth-century manuscripts from Utrecht are the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, the *Hours of Jan van Amerongen*, and the works of the Masters of Zweder van Culemborg. The first recorded manuscript painter in the city is Michiel van der Borch, who was registered as citizen in 1322 and was presumably trained here.³¹ Manuscript illuminators were well-aware of the workshop practices of panel painters, as is shown in a late fifteenth-century miniature from the southern Netherlands depicting Zeuxis (Fig. 2).³² The miniature shows a fifteenth century interior with a seated painter in the centre working on a framed panel on an easel. On his right-hand side stands a table with several bowls with paint. On the far right of the miniature, we can see an assistant mixing paints and adding it to more bowls. The painter is shown working on a portrait of one of the four ladies standing in the room, which is decorated with large tapestries.

Body of Works

The corpus of fifteenth-century painting from Utrecht has changed rather drastically between the research of Hoogewerff from the 1930s and Châtelet's from 1980. While Hoogewerff ascribes many master painters and their assumed work to the episcopal principality, Châtelet discusses only eight works, which are all dated around the second half of the fifteenth century. Even though this seems striking at first, it can be explained by the fact that Hoogewerff was concerned with the principles of a northern Netherlandish corpus, while Châtelet was permitted to make a more critical examination with new insights from the fifty years which had passed. Therefore, Châtelet will function as the backbone for the corpus presented here, while Hoogewerff is consulted for additional information and insights. Overall, this results in a revised body of works with varying opinions encompassing primarily the second half of the fifteenth century.

There have been two main aspects that led to the attribution of panel paintings to Utrecht workshops. But do not forget that none of the concerning fifteenth-century paintings are signed and dated, which confines us to a high degree of speculation. The foremost aspect is the resemblance of paintings to the works of Utrecht manuscript illuminators. In particular those by the Master of Evert Soudenbalch (active between 1450-1470), the master illuminator of the *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen* from circa 1460. The second aspect is the depiction of identifiable buildings from the city, which is the case for the most plausible attributions to Utrecht workshops. It would be unrealistic to believe that all fifteenth-century panel paintings from Utrecht were made in the workshop of a manuscript illuminator and included the depiction of buildings from the city, or that a painter from elsewhere could not paint Utrecht architecture. But from a practical standpoint these are the most reliable arguments to connect works to the city. Especially considering the shared visual language of Utrecht

²⁹ Niessen, 'Memorial Tablet', Online catalogue Rijksmuseum.

³⁰ Defoer, *The Golden Age*, 5.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 25.

³² *Ibidem*, 65.

painters with other Netherlandish and German painters, which complicates attributing on the basis of iconography and style analysis.

The Crucifixion panels

Regarding the certainty with which paintings can be ascribed to Utrecht one stands out, namely the *Crucifixion triptych* in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Fig. 3). The triptych was gifted to the Rijksmuseum in 1887 by C.F. Roos and was on loan to the Centraal Museum in Utrecht since 1924, but now seems to be back on display in Amsterdam. Considering its size, the work probably functioned as a work for private devotion or as an epitaph.³³ The central panel shows the Crucifixion of Christ with the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist in front of a cityscape of Utrecht. The depictions on the wings show the vision of Pope Gregory on the left and Saint Christopher carrying a young Christ on the right. The versos of the wings depict the Annunciation in grisaille. The cityscape can be identified as Utrecht because of the clear appearance of the Dom on the far right and the Buurkerk on the far left. Other buildings have also been identified by Byvanck, but they are less clear. Byvanck also points out that the Romanesque nave is still intact while the Gothic choir is already finished, and the Gothic transept has not been built while the Romanesque transept is already destroyed, which means the work had to be painted between 1457 and 1467.³⁴ Even though the cityscape makes a connection with Utrecht seem obvious, this alone does not prove the involvement of a local workshop in the creation of the painting, as will be clarified in the next chapter. The highly detailed depiction of the Dom, however, does make an attribution to an Utrecht workshop more convincing.

Besides the cityscape, the painting has also been connected to the workshop of the Utrecht illuminator the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. Folio 123v in the *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen* shows a depiction of the Crucifixion (Fig. 4) which is notably similar in composition to the central panel of the triptych. The only major differences are a few additional figures and a rock formation which are not included on the panel painting and the appearance of the cityscape. Already in 1923 Winkler concluded that the painting and the illumination were at least made in the same workshop, and presumably by the same hand.³⁵ He furthermore added the mural of *The Tree of Jesse* in the Buurkerk from around 1450 to the master's oeuvre (Fig. 5).³⁶ While it is badly damaged, it is known that a certain Hilbrandt die maelre – Hillebrandt van Rewijk? – worked as a painter for the church from 1456 to at least 1465.³⁷ Unfortunately, it is in such poor condition that it is impossible to identify the Master of Evert Soudenbalch as Van Rewijk with certainty. After closely examining the illuminations of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch, Byvanck agrees with Winkler's conclusion that the triptych was made in his workshop.³⁸ Hoogewerff follows his predecessors, but stresses the involvement of an assistant or apprentice, whom he calls Zenobius, since the illuminations by the master are more refined and pliant than the panel painting.³⁹

Châtelet also includes the work to his corpus of Utrecht paintings, but is not convinced by the earlier attributions to the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. According to him the expression of the poses and the faces of the figures in the panel painting are unusual for the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. Moreover, the execution of the wing panels shows a sense of disorder and 'a jerkiness and hardness' of

³³ Helmus, 'Triptych with the Crucifixion', Online catalogue Rijksmuseum.

³⁴ Byvanck, "Aantekeningen over handschriften met miniaturen," 138-139.

³⁵ Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst Deel 1*, 569-570.

³⁶ Winkler, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, 154.

³⁷ Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 168; Boon, "Een Utrechtse schilder," 59.

³⁸ Byvanck, "Aantekeningen over handschriften met miniaturen," 136-138.

³⁹ Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst Deel 1*, 571.

outline, that have nothing in common with the work of the miniature painter. Besides the stylistic differences Châtelet also points out that both works refer to a widespread model by Jan van Eyck which is known to us by an illumination of the Crucifixion on folio 48v in the *Turin-Milan Hours*.⁴⁰ This implies that the painting and the illumination do not necessarily derive from the same workshop, but it does not fully refute the previous attributions either. Henri Defoer disagrees with Châtelet and follows the hypothesis of Winkler, Byvanck and Hoogewerff. In response to Châtelet he states that it is insufficient to make a comparison between the larger figures of the panel painting and the small figures of the illumination. He suggests that one should analyse the smaller figures on the wings of the triptych instead. According to him those are indeed comparable to the known work by the miniature painter, which convinces him to fully attribute the work to the Master of Evert Soudenbalch.⁴¹

Karel Boon discovered another painting related to the workshop of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch at an auction in 1960, namely the *Crucifixion with Two Thieves* from around 1450 to 1460 (Fig. 6), now in the collection of the RISD Museum in Providence (Rhode Island). The museum attributes the work to Hillebrant van Rewijk and includes it in the so-called 'Soudenbalch Group', which further consists of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch's illuminations, the *Crucifixion triptych* in the Rijksmuseum, and the mural in the Buurkerk.⁴² The Providence panel is a relatively small single work, which implies it was probably used for private devotion or as an epitaph, like the *Crucifixion triptych*. It shows the Crucifixion of Christ accompanied by the penitent and impenitent thieves, while they are surrounded by armed soldiers. The three Mary's form a group of figures together with John the Evangelist and an unidentified female Saint on the foreground, of which the latter two look the spectator directly in the eyes. In the background arises the holy city of Jerusalem, but without identifiable buildings from Utrecht.

Boon found out that folio 54v of the *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen* shows a strikingly similar depiction of the Crucifixion to the panel in Providence (Fig. 7). Both works seemingly derive from the *Deposition from the Cross* by the workshop of Jan van Eyck in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 8), but neither of them is an exact copy. After thoroughly examining the Providence panel, Boon adds two more works to the master's oeuvre. The first, a panel depicting the *Nailing to the Cross* from around 1450, now in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. This work is not included in the body of works by Châtelet. And the other is the mural of the *Tree of Jesse* in the Buurkerk, after which he bases the master's provisional name. Boon recognizes several elements in the panel paintings which according to him are also present in the illuminations by the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. Namely the use of colour, the frequent depiction of the turban, relatively large heads with crooked noses, and carefully depicted brocade on the clothing of the figures. Especially these characteristics are observed by Boon on the conserved parts of the mural in the Buurkerk, which is why he considers it the master's most authentic work.⁴³

Surprisingly, Boon concludes that the panel paintings and the mural were not necessarily made by the Master of Evert Soudenbalch, although they are closely related to his oeuvre. He arrives at this conclusion after observing that the panel painter most likely operated individually, while the illuminations are the result of a combined effort of multiple artists. Boon does believe, however, that the panel painter was either amidst or acquainted with the illuminators in Utrecht, because of the similarities

⁴⁰ Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 167.

⁴¹ Defoer, *The Golden Age*, 198; Defoer, *De Meester van Evert Zoudenbalch*, 9-16.

⁴² Woodward and Robinson, *A Handbook*, 180.

⁴³ Boon, "Een Utrechtse schilder," 51-54.

of the panels and the mural with the illuminations of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch.⁴⁴ Additionally, he is holding back regarding a connection with the *Crucifixion triptych* in the Rijksmuseum and the Providence panel, simply because a comparison is not possible due to the past restorations of the work in Amsterdam.⁴⁵ Châtelet is also not convinced of an attribution of the Providence panel to the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. His doubts are similar to those he had regarding the Rijksmuseum piece: both the illumination and the panel painting derive from a model by Jan van Eyck, and they are stylistically different.⁴⁶ Henri Defoer on the other hand remains convinced by the similarities between the illuminations and the Crucifixion panels. He not only attributes both panel paintings to the oeuvre of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch, but also the mural in the Buurkerk.⁴⁷

Master of the Gathering of the Manna

Further comparison of the illuminations of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch with a group of panel paintings by the Master of the Gathering of the Manna by the Defoer have led to the latest contribution of a possible panel painter's workshop in Utrecht. The group consists of four paintings of which three, depicting *The Crucifixion*, *Gathering of the Manna*, and *The Offering of the Jews* (Fig. 9-11), were presumably part of the same altarpiece from circa 1460-1470. On the backside of the latter two are a grisaille of respectively Saint Barbara and Peter, while there are no remains of a painting on the backside of the Crucifixion piece.⁴⁸ The other, depicting *The Healing of the Blind at Jericho* (Fig. 12), was either an autonomous altarpiece or part of a large retable and can be dated around 1470-1480. There are also no traces of paint on the backside of this work.⁴⁹ All four works were shown during the *Vroege Hollanders* exhibition at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in 2008, where the curator Jeroen Giltaij considered *The Healing of the Blind at Jericho* to be a workshop piece rather than an authentic work by the master. After the painting was cleaned around 2010 Defoer re-examined the group of works and refuted the doubts on its attribution. Defoer also disagrees with the analysis by Châtelet of the underdrawings of the group of works which had led to the exclusion of *The Healing of the Blind at Jericho* to the oeuvre of the Master of the Gathering of the Manna years before.⁵⁰

The localisation of the painter in Utrecht was already proposed by Hoogewerff on the basis of similarities of his works with the illuminations of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch. Later art historians placed the Master of the Gathering of the Manna in the southern Netherlands, Haarlem, and Leiden, like Châtelet and Giltaij, who suggested the latter. Following Hoogewerff, Defoer thoroughly compares the three earlier works of the panel painter with the illuminations of the Utrecht based manuscript painter.⁵¹ He observes a continuation of the style of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch, similarities in the use of colour, and similar clothing of the figures. Defoer also points to recurring pictorial elements in the paintings of woodcuts and illuminations from other manuscripts made and or distributed in Utrecht, like the *Biblia Pauperum* (1463-1470), the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1309-1324), the *Book of Hours of Catharina van Kleef* (circa 1440), the woodcuts of the First Antwerp Woodcutter (active 1485-1491), and the illuminations of the Master of the Feathery Clouds (active in the second half of the fifteenth century).⁵² Another leading argument for the localisation of the master in Utrecht is the identification of

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 59.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 51.

⁴⁶ Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 166-168.

⁴⁷ Defoer, *The Golden Age*, 198.

⁴⁸ Defoer, "De meester," 4.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 11-12.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, 12-20.

⁵¹ See also: Van Schooten and Wüstefeld, *Goddelijk geschilderd*, 37.

⁵² Ibidem, 25-50

the Sint-Salvatorkerk in the cityscape of Jericho in *The Healing of the Blind at Jericho*. The painting shows a church with a single tower but with two spires. There are not many churches like this known to us, but the Sint-Salvatorkerk in Utrecht happens to be one of them. However, the spires on the Utrecht church were identical, as we know from drawings, while the church on the painting has unidentical spires, which raises doubts about its identification.⁵³

The Saint Agnes paintings

The last paintings associated with Utrecht in the general body of works by Châtelet is a group of paintings of female Saints dated between 1470 and 1530, which were first discussed as a whole by Grete Ring in “Die Gruppe der heiligen Agnes” (1939). In her study on Saint Agnes, Ring discusses five panel paintings and one illumination depicting female Saints that are associated with Holland up to the German Westphalian region. The binding factors of the works are the depiction of Saint Agnes, except for one painting of Saint Anne, and their resemblance to the works of Geertgen tot Sint Jans (1465-1495). According to Ring the Agnes paintings, as we will continue to call them, are not likely to originate from the southern Netherlands because Saint Agnes had little iconographical importance to this region. Utrecht on the other hand has had a cult celebrating Saint Agnes ever since bishop Baldricus brought the Saint’s body from Rome around 966. There are other suitable regions from the northern Netherlands, like the nunnery of Agnes in Amersfoort or the monastery of Agnes in Delft, but the surviving manuscripts from these convents said Ring are not stylistically relatable to the Agnes paintings, which leaves Utrecht as the most plausible region of origin.⁵⁴

Another argument for the localisation of the works in Utrecht for Ring are the stylistic similarities with the oeuvre of the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece (active between 1475 to 1525), who is believed to be born and trained in Utrecht and to have had a workshop in Cologne later in his career.⁵⁵ The Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece is a provisional name after the *Bartholomew Altarpiece* from around 1500 to 1505 in the collection of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (which also includes Saint Agnes on the left of the central panel, Fig. 16). Already in 1941, when Karl vom Rath published his study on the master painter, there were several theories regarding a northern or southern Netherlandish origin.⁵⁶ The painter was first associated to Utrecht by Friedländer regarding the *Portrait of a man with a columbine* with the depiction of the Dom tower (Fig. 17), which I will further discuss in-depth below. The master is generally connected to the Low Countries because of the resemblances of his work with the *Book of Hours of Sophia van Bylant* from Utrecht or Arnhem around 1475, the works of Geertgen tot Sint Jans, and those of the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines (active 1480-1495). Ring also deems it likely that the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece made the *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen*, but since this is believed to be from a considerably earlier date Defoer suggests that he was possibly trained by the Master of Evert Soudenblach instead.⁵⁷

In Henri Defoer’s article from 2003 in response to the catalogue *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars* (2001), it becomes clear that the debate around the origin of the Master

⁵³ Ibidem, 50-54.

⁵⁴ Ring, “Die Gruppe der heiligen Agnes,” 33-36.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 39-41.

⁵⁶ Vom Rath, *Der Meister*, 3.

⁵⁷ Ring, “Die Gruppe der heiligen Agnes,” 38; Defoer, “Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars,” 232.

of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece is still not settled.⁵⁸ In the article two opposing theories are presented. One group, represented by Kemperdick and Weniger, believes the master was trained in Cologne and would later set up a workshop there. The other, represented by Krischel and Pieper, believe he was born and active in the northern Netherlands. Kemperdick and Weniger argue that the underdrawings of the mature works of the artist – after 1490 – are similar to the work of the Cologne master Stefan Lochner (1410-1451). They furthermore argue that the underdrawings of his presumed early works, namely several scenes of the life of Virgin Mary (Petit Palais in Paris, Alte Pinakothek in Munich, former Deutsches Museum in Berlin), and two works in J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, which are deemed northern Netherlandish, do not correspond with the underdrawings of his mature work. The underdrawings of the later works are more detailed and are built up with crosshatchings, unlike the early works. So, if only the underdrawings of the mature works can be reliably connected to the master, he most likely worked in Cologne where he was acquainted with the workshop of Stefan Lochner.⁵⁹

In order to refute the arguments of Kemperdick and Weniger, Defoer refers to the article of Ulrike Nürnberger from 1997 on the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece's workshop practices. Instead of connecting the underdrawing with a possible place of origin, she uses the underdrawing to demonstrate the maturity of an artist and the potential function of the work. By doing so she was able to determine which works were most likely made by an assistant or student, and which by a full-fledged master painter. According to Nürnberger and Defoer this can explain why the underdrawings of the presumed early works are so different from his mature works. Nürnberger also claims that the underdrawings of the master's later works are a more developed version of the underdrawings of the scenes of the life of the Virgin Mary. Defoer also discusses the Saint Agnes paintings regarding the early works of the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece. According to him four of them (Fig. 13-15 and a small altarpiece in the Church of Djursdala, see below) are most likely made in close proximity to the master during his early years, but not necessarily by his hand.⁶⁰ Instead of placing the master painter in Cologne or Utrecht, Defoer argues he was active in Nijmegen and possibly trained in Utrecht. This would explain the relation of his early works with Utrecht workshops and his mature works with Cologne workshops, because Nijmegen was part of the diocese of Cologne and relatively close to Utrecht.⁶¹

In *Early Dutch Painting* the six discussed works by Ring are divided in three groups by Châtelet. The first group include a *Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes* (Fig. 13) and a *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (Fig. 14) from the collection of Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht, and another *Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes* (Fig. 15) from the Museum of Christian Art in Esztergom (Hungary). Châtelet, like Ring, also believes these panels are early works by the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece. The second group consists only of the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes* in the Church of Djursdala in Sweden. Châtelet concludes this painting was made by another artist working in a closely related style to the painter of the first group, which means he believes it was presumably made in Utrecht. The last group include two similar works depicting a *Virgin and Child surrounded by angel musicians* (Gemäldegalerie Berlin and a private collection). According to Châtelet these works are closely related to the others but are executed with a different technique, which is visible in the depiction of the hair.

⁵⁸ In *Genie ohne Namen* several of the Agnes paintings are included in the entry section with varying attributions; Utrecht (?); northern Netherlandish; Master of the Bartholomew Altarpiece. See: Budde and Krischel, *Genie ohne Namen*, 344-353.

⁵⁹ Defoer, "Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars," 215-219.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, 220-221; Van Schooten and Wüstefeld, *Goddelijk geschilderd*, 50-51.

⁶¹ Ibidem, 234-236. Châtelet also points out that most evidence regarding the origin of the painter leads to Guelders, where he believes the painter was active in Arnhem. See: Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 168.

Châtelet makes a final observation regarding the type of the female figures, which he believes derive from the female model of Dieric Bouts. For him this is a confirmation that the works from Utrecht besides a lack of quality also show very little originality.⁶²

The latest catalogues to include a selection of the Agnes paintings, *Genie ohne Namen* and *Goddelijk geschilderd: Honderd meesterwerken van Musuem Catharijneconvent* (2003), distinguish a new group. The curators of the exhibition in the Walraff Richartz Museum observed that the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes* at Museum Catharijneconvent was made by the same artist as the *Portrait of a man with a columbine*. They also deem it possible that the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, also in the Utrecht collection, was made by this master. Although these three paintings show a close affinity with the early works of the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, they are not considered to be his work. An important reason for this is the result of the analysis of the underdrawing of the portrait by Ingo Sandner.⁶³ The paintings do remain ascribed to Utrecht, because of the clear depiction of the Dom tower on the portrait and the already established ties of the Agnes painting with the city by Ring. Following the exhibition in Cologne Defoer also proposes these works as a group for the catalogue *Goddelijk geschilderd* in 2003. This shows another panel painter's workshop active in Utrecht in the fifteenth century, besides the master of the Crucifixion panels and the Master of the Gathering of the Manna.⁶⁴

Portrait of a man with a columbine

The *Portrait of a man with a columbine* is a single work from around 1495 which is held in the collection of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne. The painting shows a half-length figure of a man in civilian attire as seen from behind a parapet. The man is situated in an interior with an open window to his left. Through the window the Dom tower appears, visually connecting the city of Utrecht to the portrayed. Behind the man are two putti holding a brocade cloth of honour in the air, emphasizing the man's dignity and high status.⁶⁵ He furthermore holds a columbine in his right hand and carries a dagger on his belt. Because of the honourable gesture of the putti holding the brocade cloth up in the air, the painting is believed to be an epitaph.⁶⁶ Even though the work is not included in the body of works by Châtelet, it should most certainly be added to the corpus of works presented in this thesis, considering its evident connection to Utrecht.

Other portraits from the Netherlands and Germany from the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century follow a very similar format. A portrait of a man from 1462 by Dieric Bouts (Fig. 18) for example also shows a half-length figure in civilian attire from the same perspective, with an open window on the left side of the portrayed. But unlike the Utrecht piece this work does not include a brocade cloth of honour nor any attributes regarding the identity of the portrayed. A similar model is used by Bavarian painters in the second half of the fifteenth century which do include a brocade cloth of honour, as is seen on a *Portrait of an architect* from around 1470 to 1480 (Fig. 19) and the *Portrait of Hans Hofer* from around 1485 (Fig. 20). However, on both works the brocade cloth is attached to the wall instead, implying it is an integrated part of the interior. Like the *Portrait of a man with a columbine* the *Portrait of Hans Hofer* includes the depiction of a flower, this time a rose, in the man's right hand.

⁶² Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, 168.

⁶³ Sandner, "Die Infrarot-Reflektographie," 172.

⁶⁴ Budde and Krischel, *Genie ohne Namen*, 344, 352, and 354; Van Schooten and Wüstefeld, *Goddelijk geschilderd*, 41-43 and 49-51.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 354.

⁶⁶ Defoer, "Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars," 221.

The rose has led to believe the portrait was part of a double portrait of a married couple, but the man is facing the wrong way. Traditionally, the man would be portrayed on the left, and the woman on the right, which means the gaze of the man would have been pointed towards the other direction.⁶⁷ Since the man in the *Portrait of a man with a columbine* looks in the same direction, a double portrait can be ruled out.

Unlike the *Portrait of Hans Hofer*, the Utrecht portrait does not have a coat of arms, which means the identity of the man can only be recovered through interpreting less evident pictorial motifs. The first attribute one might consider is the columbine, a symbol of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Trinity, because of the flower's resemblance of a dove and the threefold arrangement of the leaves. It is hard to say whether the portrayed can be identified on the basis of the flower, considering the generic Christian meaning of the symbol. But for further research there are several more paintings with the depiction of a columbine, like most notably the *Portinari Altarpiece* by Hugo van der Goes from 1473 to 1475, the *Entombment* by Hans Schüchlin from 1468, or *Mary with child and Saints* by Jörg Breu from 1512. On these works, the columbine is always depicted with seven flower petals on one side of the stem, again symbolising the Holy Spirit.⁶⁸ Another clue regarding the identity of the man is the depiction of the Dom tower. So far, no other fifteenth-century portraits have been found during the conduction of this research with such a clear depiction of an identifiable building. This suggests there might be a very specific connection to the portrayed and the Dom. One would almost suspect he played an important role to construction of church in the second half of the fifteenth century. More leads on this could be found in the accounts for the construction of the Dom, which has been partly conserved in Het Utrechts Archief.

Utrecht cityscapes

So far, the identification of buildings has played a key role for the localisation of panel paintings within the confines of Utrecht. In order to determine the reliability of this method, it is now time to look more closely at various Utrecht cityscapes. Overall, seven paintings from 1450 to circa 1525 have been found with an Utrecht cityscape.⁶⁹ These are the *Crucifixion triptych* in the Rijksmuseum, an epitaph with the *Penitent Saint Jerome* from around 1500 at Muzeum Narodowe in Wroclaw (Poland), and five paintings known through black and white photo reproductions in the collection of Het Utrechts Archief. Only two

⁶⁷ Borchert, *Van Eyck tot Dürer*, 385.

⁶⁸ Löber, *Agaleia*, 11-14; Hall, *Hall's iconografisch handboek*, 11.

⁶⁹ Three more paintings with a depiction of Utrecht have been found after the completion of the definitive version of this thesis, which means I was not able to include them in the text. The first and foremost concerns the *Right interior wing of a Triptych with the Portraits of Lambert Snoy (?-1529) and Emmerentiana Snoy-Pauw (1510-1550) with St. Peter and St. Catharine* from around 1530, slightly later than the timeframe of this study but nevertheless relevant, in the collection of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht. The patrons of this altarpiece have been identified as a married couple from two high-profile Utrecht families who lived in Utrecht or Kalkar as late as 1543. The work was probably commissioned after the man's death in 1529. It seems likely that the altarpiece was made in Utrecht, considering the highly detailed depiction of the city with the Dom, the Buurkerk, and the Sint-Salvatorkerk or the Sint-Paulusabdij, but it also shows major influences from Cologne, which led art historians to believe it was made in the Lower Rhine region. See: Helmus, *Catalogue of Paintings 1363-1600*, 356-364. A photo of this work and two others are shown in *De Utrechtse Domtoren: trots van de stad* by René de Kam e.a. on page 101, 103, and 107 (see also note 74, 86, and 87). This publication, however, primarily discusses the construction history of the Dom and lacks an art historical approach, which means much information about the paintings is left out or incomplete. The work on page 101 depicts the *Torture of Saint Erasmus* and was presumably made in 1474. According to the photo credits it can be found in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Besides the Dom not much can be identified in the cityscape. The work on page 103 is part of an altarpiece with the *Birth of Christ* and shows the *Visitation*. It is presumably made in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The only identifiable building is the Dom but also the city wall and gate are notably similar to those on the drawing by Anthonie van den Wijngaerde.

of the reproductions could be identified, namely the *Berlin Altarpiece* from 1513 by Jacob van Utrecht (1479- after 1525) and the *Humbracht triptych* from ca. 1504-1508 by the Master of Frankfurt (1460-1533). A comparison between the cityscapes will be made to come to a greater understanding of their creation and the knowledgeability of the artists of the city of Utrecht. The previously discussed *Portrait of a man with columbine* and the *Healing of the Blind at Jericho* are left out of the case study since the depiction of just the Dom tower, without the nave and choir, cannot be used for thorough comparison and the cityscape with maybe the Sint-Salvatorkerk cannot be convincingly identified as Utrecht.

The Dom, or Saint Martin's church, with its remarkable Gothic tower of 112 meters high is eminently the most notable building in Utrecht. Its ecclesiastical importance for the Christians in northern Europe is already demonstrated by the appearance of its tower on the background of the central panel of the *Ghent Altarpiece* (mid-1420s-1432) by Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Because of its importance preferably for a cityscape to be identified as Utrecht it should include more identifiable buildings from the city. Otherwise, it might also be an aggregation of various ecclesiastical landmarks from Europe, which happens to include the Dom tower. Therefore, to determine whether a cityscape can be identified as Utrecht it should first be compared to a reliable map of the city. The earliest map available during this research is a map by Anthonie van den Wijngaerde from around 1554-1558 (Fig. 21). The city is drawn from the west and is seen from bird's-eye view. On several places on the drawing the artist included the names of the buildings, these are mainly ecclesiastical. Not all buildings can be identified on the basis of the map, but sometimes these unidentified buildings do reappear on other paintings. This suggests these buildings probably do originate from the city, or that the artists worked from similar models. Even though it has not yet been researched whether the map is accurate, this can be assumed because of the high credibility of other known works by Van den Wijngaerde.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the map of Utrecht is from a considerably later date than the concerned paintings, so it should first be established which notable constructions took place in the city before its creation.

Between 1450 and 1558 very notable building projects occurred in Utrecht. The most relevant change is the realisation of the gothic nave of the Dom, which is of significant importance due to the central role of the church in every cityscape. The construction of the nave began in 1481 and would take place until 1517, when it was never completely finished because of ongoing financial problems.⁷¹ The financing of large ecclesiastical building projects became exceedingly more problematic throughout the fifteenth century because of the growing criticism on church policies, which eventually led to the stagnation of the indulgence trade. Because it was not possible to continue the building activities the construction site of the Dom church was abandoned in 1525.⁷² The documentation of the Dom fabric has already proven useful for the dating of the *Crucifixion triptych* by Byvanck, and also helps to get a good indication of the knowledge of an artist of the appearance of the most prominent building in Utrecht. Two other notable construction projects occurred in Utrecht in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, namely the replacement of the roof of the Buurkerk in 1440 and the destruction of the Sint-Salvatorkerk in 1587, but this happened just outside the margins of our timeframe.

The Crucifixion triptych in the Rijksmuseum

The *Crucifixion triptych* in Amsterdam is the only work, besides perhaps the *Portrait of a man with columbine*, which has indisputably been attributed to an Utrecht workshop because of a clear depiction of buildings from the city. At first glance the cityscape seems mostly fantasised because of the hilly

⁷⁰ Donkersloot-de Vrij, *Kaarten van Utrecht*, 28.

⁷¹ Van Schaik and De Boer-van Hoeghevest, *De gotische Dom van Utrecht*, 13.

⁷² 'Rondom het Domplein', Website Bouw van Utrecht.

landscape and the odd proportions and positioning of the buildings. But, as has been shown before, with a closer look the cityscape shows several details only a painter very familiar to the city of Utrecht would have known, like the construction stages of the Dom and the accuracy with which the Buurkerk is depicted. The monotonous style in which the other buildings are depicted makes it difficult to identify them according to Van der Wijngaerde's map. This is why Byvanck's other identifications seem little convincing. One can assume, however, that either one of the churches with a double towered facade near the Dom church is the Saint Salvator church since they were located right next to each other.

The connection of the painting with an Utrecht workshop is strengthened by the powerful symbol the cityscape represents. The Crucifixion of Christ, eminently the most important Christian subject, occurred near Jerusalem, which is here fantastically located in Utrecht. The first woodcut map of Jerusalem was made in 1486 by Erhard Reuwich, several years after the making of the *Crucifixion triptych*. Before 1486 there were already relatively accurate depictions of the city available in the form of book illuminations and on panel paintings like the Eyckian *Three Mary's around the sepulchre* (1425-1435) in the collection of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.⁷³ So, it can be assumed that around the creation of the *Crucifixion triptych* artists in the Low Countries were aware of, or at least could have made themselves familiar with, the appearance of the holy city. This means that the depiction of Utrecht as Jerusalem was most likely a deliberate choice of the artist or commissioner of the painting. It would be interesting to further research the knowledgeability of Utrecht artists of the appearance of Jerusalem by examining cityscapes on manuscript illuminations from Utrecht workshops.

The Penitent Saint Jerome

The epitaph with the *Penitent Saint Jerome* (Fig. 22) has never been included in a body of works of Utrecht, even though the Dom tower is clearly visible in the cityscape on the top right corner.⁷⁴ Of course, as was previously discussed, the Dom tower alone does not identify a cityscape as Utrecht, but it should in the very least be further investigated. The foreground of the picture shows Saint Jerome kneeling in a desert landscape, with his traditional Cardinal attire scattered around him and his attribute lion lying behind his back. To the right of Jerome two praying male figures are portrayed facing the Saint. The one on the left is dressed in a blue civilian robe and is similar in size as Jerome. The one to the right is dressed in a black robe and is considerably smaller in size than the other figures. Is he perhaps the son of the donor? A scroll appears from the hand of the larger figure with the words 'me tecum in celis Heronime conservare volis'.⁷⁵ In front of the man lies his coat of arms, consisting of two silver moon shapes and a silver star on an azure background. Further to the back lies a hat which appears to be civilian attire and presumably belongs to the larger man. In the centre of the background a group of humanlike figures rise from the ground and are tortured by a devilish figure. On their right a cityscape is depicted adjacent to water and on their left a mountain site. Above them rises Christ sitting on a sphere and passing down judgement with his hands while he is accompanied by trumpeting angels on both sides.

The most recent publications on this work are in Polish, but thankfully the researchers of the exhibition catalogue *Van Eyck tot Dürer* wrote an entry on this painting with a summary of the past findings. In the exhibition catalogue the work is attributed to a follower of Albrecht Bouts (1450-1549),

⁷³ Kemperdick and Lammertse, *De weg naar Van Eyck*, 295.

⁷⁴ While it is not included in a body of works, it is discussed in *De Utrechtse Domtoren* (see also note 69, 86, and 87). The authors of this publication are not concerned with an attribution, its commission, or its place of origin. See: De Kam, e.a. *De Utrechtse Domtoren*, 102 and 195.

⁷⁵ This could be translated to: 'keep me in heaven with you, Jerome'.

who was active in Louvain, but the true origin of the painter is still open to debate. The epitaph has been associated with the iconographic scheme of Saint Jerome in the desert by Dieric Bouts (1415-1475), which has been copied numerous times. For example, by Albrecht Bouts, whose *Penitent Saint Jerome* (Fig. 23) in the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten (Brussels) has a similar composition of the landscape as the Polish panel. According to Kapustka there is also a similar example by Bouts in the collection of the Richard von Kaufmann Museum in Berlin and two more related works in Leipzig and Dijon. The latter is also associated by Kapustka with the followers of Hugo van der Goes (1440-1482). The epitaph with the *Penitent Saint Jerome* had already been associated with the Upper Rhine region by Troche, who also claimed the background resembles the work of Geertgen tot Sint Jans (1465-1495). The only author mentioned in the catalogue entry who associated the work with Central Europe is Stange (1961), but overall, it seems most likely that we are dealing with a Netherlandish painting.⁷⁶

The catalogue entry does not mention anything about the Dom tower or the cityscape. If we look more closely, we see that the nave is much lower than the choir and transept. The drawing by Anthonie van den Wijngaerde shows the nave and the choir of equal height with a continuous roof. The same goes for a drawing of the Dom from 1660 (Fig. 24).⁷⁷ This either means that the Romanesque nave is depicted, or the Gothic nave while it was under construction. Considering the fact that all the buildings in the cityscape have the same Gothic stylisation, it seems not unlikely that the nave is simply a stylised version of the Romanesque nave. Either way, the painting does not show as much detail in the depiction of the Dom as the *Crucifixion triptych*. Regarding the other distinguishable landmarks in the cityscape, none of them are easily identifiable in Utrecht. The church with double towers next to the Dom shows some similarities to the Mariakerk and the Sint-Salvatorkerk, but it is much larger and different in detail as either of those as seen in the drawing of Van den Wijngaerde. The same goes for the church with the flat tower on the left of the cityscape in comparison with the Jacobikerk on the drawing. Only the building in between these two, with the central construction and the peculiar spire, might be from Utrecht. Not because it is shown on the drawing by Van den Wijngaerde, but because it is also shown on other cityscapes.

The landmarks besides the Dom could also represent buildings from other important ecclesiastical centres around Utrecht, like Cologne or Louvain. This could explain their colossal appearance, almost equal to the Dom tower. However, thus far no convincing identifications could be made. On the other hand, the two visible city gates on the painting do correspond with two city gates on the map by Van der Wijngaerde. The city gate on the far left of the cityscape has two spire towers, just like the north-eastern gate on the left of the drawing, and the gate in front of the Dom tower of the cityscape consists only of a rectangular facade with a gable roof, just like the north-western gate on the drawing. Even though small details differ, the large similarities are striking. Another detail which is worth mentioning is the mill on the hill just outside the city gate on the left of the cityscape. This detail is also shown on the drawing, although on a different location. In both cases, however, the mill appears to be an embellishing motif rather than a historical landmark. To call this a convincing pictorial motif for the identification of the cityscape to Utrecht, seems rather far-fetched.

The coat of arms could also clarify the origin of the painting. Two researchers saw in the coat of arms a variation on the coat of arms of the Ostoja family, from the noble Polish lineage Strzegom.⁷⁸ If so, the painting was most likely imported from the Netherlands, or commissioned to a Netherlandish

⁷⁶ Borchert, *Van Eyck tot Dürer*, 503.

⁷⁷ This drawing was made only a few years before the poorly constructed nave collapsed during one of the worst storms Utrecht ever witnessed in 1674. See: Van Schaik and De Boer-van Hoeghevest, *De gotische Dom van Utrecht*, 34-37.

⁷⁸ Borchert, *Van Eyck tot Dürer*, 503.

painter who was active in Central Europe. However, could it not also be possible that the coat of arms comes from Utrecht? The most extensive source of heraldry from the city is the *Monumenta* from 1617 by Aernout van Buchel (1565-1641). Van Buchel dedicated most of his life to recording historical information in and around Utrecht. For the *Monumenta* he set out to record all the monuments in the churches of the city, including the corresponding family crests. On page 25, where he discusses the Dom, he drew a coat of arms with two silver moon shapes, a silver star, and a silver chevron on an azure ground (Fig. 25). This is made up of the same elements of the coat of arms on the painting. To whom the coat of arms in the Dom belonged is unknown, but it certainly demands further investigation which was sadly not possible during this research because of the restrictions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and my inadequate knowledge of heraldry. It should also be noted that Buchel's working method is problematic for present day researchers. In many cases he recorded new monuments and coat of arms to his document, without recording when these were placed in the church and what happened to the older monuments. So, the date of the coat of arms in the *Monumenta* remains uncertain.⁷⁹

The Berlin Altarpiece

The Berlin Altarpiece in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin by Jacob van Utrecht (Fig. 26) is a good example of a work which cannot simply be attributed to an Utrecht workshop because it shows an Utrecht cityscape. It is unknown for whom the altarpiece was made, but its provenance can be traced to Berlin as early as the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ The triptych is dedicated to the life and passion of Christ, with the deposition from the cross as the main subject. The left wing with the birth of Christ shows a small figure with a bright halo who is identified as Saint Bernard. The vision of Saint Bernard is furthermore depicted on the verso of the right wing, strongly suggesting he is the patron Saint of the altarpiece. The subjects on the central panel are all located around Jerusalem, which is represented with a cityscape of Utrecht. A full depiction of the Dom rises in the centre of the cityscape with the Buurkerk slightly to its left. The nave of the Dom is still without a roof, which implies the panel was painted while the nave was still under construction. This confirms the date of before 1517. Like the other cityscapes the proportions and positioning of the buildings seems incorrect, but it is easily recognizable as the skyline of Utrecht. The outer wings do not show identifiable buildings from the city.

Contrary to the previous paintings, much is already known about the creator of the *Berlin Altarpiece* Jacob Claesz. van Utrecht, also known as Jacob Traiectensis. Jacob van Utrecht was born in the bishop's city in 1480 and is later recorded in 1506 in Antwerp as a master painter who enlisted two students in 1511 and 1512: Jasper de Vos and Heynken Francx.⁸¹ Two years after the creation of the *Berlin Altarpiece* he is recorded making several paintings for the abbey of Saint Martin in Cologne. It is unclear whether he made these works while he was still active in Antwerp, or if he moved to Germany. In 1523 a painter by the name of Jacob van Utrecht is also recorded in Lübeck, after which he consistently made paintings, among them portraits, for Lübeck patrons until 1530. It appears that Van Utrecht actively travelled through Germany but still returned to Antwerp, since Dürer wrote of a master Jacob von Lübeck from whom he bought a portrait in Antwerp in 1520.⁸² Whether Jacob van Utrecht moved to Germany or stayed in Antwerp and worked for an international clientele remains to be clarified. However, the detailed depiction of Utrecht on the *Berlin Altarpiece* strongly suggests he kept strong ties with his native city, Utrecht, even though he was never enlisted here as a master painter.

⁷⁹ De Groot, 'Aernout van Buchels Monumenta', Website Het Utrechts Archief.

⁸⁰ Grosshans, *Bilder im Blickpunkt*, 11.

⁸¹ Rombauts and Van Lierus, *De Liggeren*, 64,76, and 78.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 12-19.

The Humbracht triptych

Like the *Berlin Altarpiece* there is another altarpiece with an Utrecht cityscape associated with a painter outside of the ecclesiastical principality, namely the *Crucifixion triptych*, better known as the *Humbracht triptych*, by the Master of Frankfurt in the collection of the Städel Museum in Frankfurt (Fig. 27). The Master of Frankfurt is an insidious provisional name since he is believed to have been active in Flanders instead of Frankfurt. The name is given to him for many of his works have ended up in Frankfurt collections. About the origin of the painter has been a long debate ever since the end of the eighteenth century. This is tediously described by Stephen Goddard in *The Master of Frankfurt and His Shop* from 1984. A survey of all the literature on the Master of Frankfurt has shown that he is believed to originate from the Netherlands or the Lower Rhine region. But, as is stated by Goddard, it remains a hypothetical issue, especially because the works of the master are compared to works by masters whose origins are just as uncertain. Overall, Goddard locates the Master of Frankfurt in the Netherlands, presumably the southern Netherlands, because his art largely resembles the work of Hugo van der Goes and Rogier van der Weijden. Most likely his identity is that of the Flemish painter Hendrik de Wueluwe, but this has not been confirmed by documentary evidence.⁸³

On the central panel the Crucifixion of Christ is depicted with a particularly clear cityscape of Utrecht. This has already led to the association of the triptych with Utrecht by Hoogewerff in 1938.⁸⁴ The wing panels show the patrons of the altarpiece together with their patron Saints, Saint Nicholas and Margaret, and family crests. These have been identified as Claus Humbracht and Greda Brun from Frankfurt, which indicates the painting was not made for a Netherlandish clientele.⁸⁵ Next to the Dom two more buildings can be discerned from the cityscape. The first building besides the Dom is an ecclesiastical building with a central structure and a long spire which becomes very thin right before it gets thicker. This building is remarkably similar to the building with the peculiar spire on the painting of the *Penitent Saint Jerome*, which also has a central structure and long spire roof. Next to this is a military looking tower which is still under construction. The detailed depiction of the construction suggests the painter used a real-life model for this building. Neither of the buildings seem to have been depicted on the drawing by Anthonie van den Wijngaerde. Therefore, it cannot yet be concluded that they are from Utrecht. The overall cityscape, however, with the central position of the Dom can be identified as Utrecht, which leaves the city as a plausible place of origin of the painter.

Photo Reproductions in Het Utrechts Archief

Three more photo reproductions of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century paintings with a cityscape of Utrecht remain. Due to a lack of information the identity of these works could not be recovered, but this might be possible during a future research. Nevertheless, these remaining reproductions can serve a purpose as imagery for comparison, together with the previously discussed works and the drawing. So far, the discussed works have shown several similarities. First of all, the depiction of Utrecht always represents Jerusalem, emphasizing the ecclesiastical importance of Utrecht to the artists. Secondly, the positioning and proportions of the buildings are never realistically scaled, which implies the purpose of the cityscape is primarily to be recognizable. Thirdly, the Dom always occupies a central role in the composition since this is the most iconic and therefore recognizable feature of the city. Lastly, besides

⁸³ Goddard, *The Master of Frankfurt*, 26-51.

⁸⁴ Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst Deel 3*, 21.

⁸⁵ 'Meester van Frankfurt', Website RKD.

the Dom and the Buurkerk no other buildings could be identified on the basis of the map by Anthonie van den Wijngaerde.

The earliest dated work by Het Utrechts Archief is a panel with the *Crucifixion* attributed to a follower of Geertgen tot Sint Jans from around 1475 to 1500 (Fig. 28). The cityscape in the background is perhaps the most unique version of Utrecht so far, if it can even be considered as such.⁸⁶ The only building from Utrecht is the Dom tower in its natural gothic form, while the rest of the city is largely orientalisised. One more landmark building is depicted with a central structure and oriental dome, resembling the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. This suggests the painter was aware of at least some features of Jerusalem, indicating they were acquainted with imagery of the city. Nevertheless, the painter chose to depict the Dom tower in its gothic form, implicating the city has a profound meaning to him. The artist's knowledge of Utrecht seems to be confirmed by the depiction of the city gate with its rectangular facade and gable roof, which is similar to those on the map of Van den Wijngaerde and the painting of the *Penitent Saint Jerome*. One last feature which ought to be mentioned is the resemblance of the Virgin Mary, who stands on the left of Christ next to Saint John, with the Virgin Mary on the *Crucifixion triptych* in the Rijksmuseum. Perhaps they derive from the same model?

Another reproduction in the archive shows a painting with the *Crucifixion* dated around 1517 (Fig. 29). While the painting is of little quality, it was still possible to distinguish some of the buildings in the cityscape. First of all, the Dom rises on the right with a full gothic nave, indicating a date after 1517 should be correct. Secondly, the two unidentified buildings on the *Humbracht triptych* reappear next to each other, although this time on the other side of the Dom church. After appearing on multiple cityscapes, it seems highly likely these two buildings originate from Utrecht. The question remains however, which buildings these are. The last reproduction from Het Utrechts Archief adds little value to the case study because the quality of the photo is ruined by glint of light from a flash. The archive attributed the painting to Jacob van Utrecht and dated it 1520, which means it should be possible to recover the whereabouts of the work. But so far, I have been unsuccessful.⁸⁷ The only distinguishable aspect of the cityscape of this last painting is the Dom tower in the far-right corner and perhaps the Buurkerk next to it on the left (Fig. 30).

Conclusion: The importance of Utrecht

After re-examining the body of works by Châtelet and describing the known fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century panel paintings with a cityscape of Utrecht, it is time to return to the main question about the importance of Utrecht panel painting. The conducted research has, unfortunately, not led to incontestable attributions to Utrecht workshops, but we can speak of varying certainties. Architectural elements and similarities with the works of manuscript illuminators have played an important role. However, as has been shown above, the depiction of Utrecht buildings does not necessarily prove an Utrecht origin, and the use of seemingly identical models does not mean that separate works were made by the same artist. Comparisons with the works of other panel painters also brought forth new insights on the scope of northern Netherlandish panel painting, but as Goddard already stated, works are often

⁸⁶ This work is also shown in *De Utrechtse Domtoren* (see also note 69, 74, and 86) on page 104. It appears it is held in the collection of the Rijksmuseum where it is attributed to Master of the Figdor Deposition (circle of) and dated around 1505. See: Leeftang, 'Master of the Figdor Deposition', Online catalogue Rijksmuseum.

⁸⁷ After further investigation it appears this concerns the *Visit of the Magi* by Jacob van Utrecht in the collection of the Walraff Richartz Museum. It is also discussed in: De Mesquita, "Nog meer nieuw werk van Jacob van Utrecht," 145-146. A better image of the painting is shown on page 105 of *De Utrechtse Domtoren* (see also note 69, 74, and 86).

compared to works of masters whose identity are just as uncertain. The study by Ring showed that iconography can be used as a starting point for the localisation of paintings in Utrecht, but also that further stylistic analyses is needed to arrive at somewhat convincing attributions. And lastly, the case study of Utrecht cityscapes showed some promising insights about the possible origin of several artists, but it could have been more convincing if I would have had the time to also examine cityscapes of other cities.

The *Crucifixion triptych* in Amsterdam remains eminently the most certain work from an Utrecht workshop. Both the cityscape and the similarities to the work of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch lead to an attribution to a painter from the cathedral city. Whether it is made by the renowned illuminator himself, a pupil, or a follower remains to be clarified. As for the *Crucifixion with two Thieves* in Providence, I would argue the mural in the Buurkerk is unfit for comparison, but perhaps an examination of the mural on location could change my opinion. The Master of the Gathering of the Manna has been ascribed to Utrecht by Hoogewerff and Defoer, but his localisation is still enclosed with uncertainties. The ‘hard proof’ Defoer provides with the depiction of possibly the Sint-Salvatorkerk is not convincing. His comparison of the master’s paintings with the illuminations of the Master of Evert Soudenbalch is reasonable, however not as evident as the Crucifixion panels. Concerning the Agnes paintings, the two works in Museum Catharijneconvent are most likely from an Utrecht workshop because of their stylistic similarities with the *Portrait of a man with a columbine*. None of them seem to be made by the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, but they are closely related to his early works, which are either from Utrecht or more in the direction of Nijmegen. The connections of the other Agnes paintings to the episcopal principality remain dubious, since there are various other regions in the northern Netherlands from where these works could have been commissioned. Perhaps some of them originate from Utrecht, but it is impossible to determine which.

In conclusion, there is still too little material to speak of a distinct school of painting in Utrecht, but there are surely several works and distinguishable artists which can be connected to the city. This is only one part of my answer to the question about the importance of Utrecht. The second chapter has revealed several artists of high regard in the southern Netherlands and Germany who had strong ties to the city and were likely born and or trained here. It is not difficult to come up with a likely theory for their eventual departure from Utrecht. Other major artistic centres were simply more appealing for young painters, because of a higher concentration of panel painters and a larger international art market. Châtelet’s claim about the possible conservatism in the Saddlers guild seems more or less irrelevant. Panel painting was not yet as dominant as it would become in the sixteenth century, when, for example, Jan van Scorel pursued a painting career in Utrecht. So, for aspiring panel painters to succeed they had to travel to even larger urban centres, like Antwerp or Cologne. Meanwhile there were still plenty skilled artists available in Utrecht for the demand of religious artefacts like illuminated books of hours or bibles. The importance of Utrecht panel painters was felt outside of the ecclesiastical principality, with most evidently Jacob van Utrecht, and perhaps also the Master of Frankfurt and the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, showing his quality as an internationally orientated panel painter elsewhere.

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Images



Figure 1. *The lords of Montfoort*, ca. 1400, oil on panel, 69,5 cm × 142,9 cm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-831>, accessed 12 April 2021).

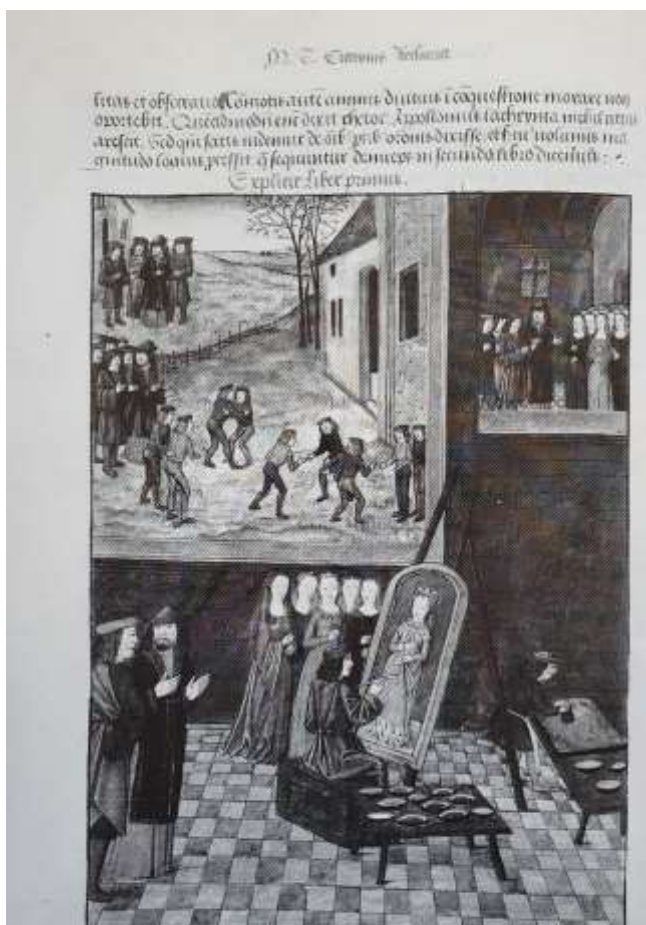


Figure 2. Zeuxis painting Helen, *Rhetorica Vetus I*, Ghent or Bruges, ca. 1482-1485. Ghent, University library, Ms. 10, fol. 69v. (photo: *De schilderkunst der Lage Landen part 1: De Middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw*, p. 65)



Figure 3. Master of Evert Soudenbalch(?), *Triptych with the Crucifixion*, ca. 1460-1467, oil on panel, 85.5 cm x 112 cm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-1408/catalogue-entry>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 3. Detail.



Figure 4. The Crucifixion. *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen*, Master of Evert Soudenbalch, Utrecht, ca. 1460. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS II 7619, fol. 123v. (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België).



Figure 5. Hillebrant van Rewijk(?), *The Tree of Jesse*, ca. 1450-1475, mural, 460 cm x 457 cm, Buurkerk, Utrecht (photo: Het Utrechts Archief, Fotodienst GAU, <https://memodatabase.hum.uu.nl/memo-is/detail/index?detailId=557&detailType=MemorialObject>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 6. Hillebrant van Rewijk(?), *The Crucifixion with Two Thieves*, ca. 1450-1460, oil on panel, 71.1 cm x 48.3 cm, RISD Museum Providence, Rhode Island (photo: RISD Museum, https://risdmuseum.org/art-design/collection/crucifixion-two-thieves-61080?return=%2Fart-design%2Fcollection%3Fsearch_api_fulltext%3DUtrecht, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 7. The Crucifixion with Two Thieves, *Book of Hours of Jan van Amerongen*, Master of Evert Soudenbalch, Utrecht, ca. 1460. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS II 7619, fol. 54v. (photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België).



Figure 8. Jan van Eyck, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1440-1441, oil on panel, 56,5 cm x 19,7 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York (photo: The Metropolitan Museum, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436282>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 9. Master of the Gathering of the Manna, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1460-1470, oil on panel, 71 cm x 52,5 cm, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai (photo: Meisterdrucke, <https://www.meisterdrucke.uk/fine-art-prints/Master-of-the-Gathering-of-the-Manna/110571/The-Crucifixion,-c.1460-75-.html>, accessed 8 June 2021).



Figure 10. Master of the Gathering of the Manna, *Gathering of the Manna*, ca. 1460-1470, oil on panel, 66,6 cm x 50,7 cm, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai (photo: Wikimedia Commons, https://nl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Gathering_of_the_Manna.jpg, accessed 8 June 2021).



Figure 11. Master of the Gathering of the Manna, *The Offering of the Jews*, ca. 1460-1470, oil on panel, 69,5 cm x 51,5 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (photo: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, <https://www.boijmans.nl/en/collection/artworks/3669/the-offering-of-the-jews>, accessed 8 June 2021).



Figure 12. Master of the Gathering of the Manna, *The Healing of the Blind at Jericho*, ca. 1470-1480, oil on panel, 90 cm x 75 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, <https://adlib.catharijneconvent.nl/Details/collect/41326>, accessed 8 June 2021).



Figure 13. *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes*, ca. 1475, oil on panel, 32.5 cm x 45 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, <https://adlib.catharijneconvent.nl/Details/collect/42837>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 14. *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, ca. 1470, oil on panel, 42 cm x 31 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, <https://adlib.catharijneconvent.nl/Details/collect/42269>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 15. *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Agnes*, ca. 1510-1530, tempera and oil on panel, 58 cm x 51.5 cm, Keresztesy Muzeum, Esztergom (photo: Keresztesy Muzeum, <https://www.keresztesymuzeum.hu/collections.php?mode=work&wid=40&page=0&vt=>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 16. Master of the Batholomew Altarpiece, *Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece*, ca. 1500-1505, oil on panel, 128,6 cm x 161,3 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (photo: Alte Pinakothek, <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/Dn4ZRzm4K/meister-des-bartholomaeusaltars/bartholomaeusaltar-die-hll-agnes-bartholomaeus-caecilia-und-ein-stifter>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 17. *Portrait of a man with a columbine*, ca. 1495, oil on panel, 32,5 cm x 22,5 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-museum, Cologne (photo: Wallraf-Richartz-museum, <https://www.wallraf-museum/en/collections/middle-ages/floorplan/gallery-11/>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 18. Dieric Bouts, *Portrait of a man (Jan van Winckele?)*, 1462, oil and tempera on panel, 31.6 cm x 20.5 cm, National Gallery, London (photo: National Gallery, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/dirk-bouts-portrait-of-a-man-jan-van-winckele>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 19. *Portrait of an architect*, ca. 1480, oil on panel, 43cm x 30.5 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel (photo: Kunstmuseum Basel, [http://sammlungonline.kunstmuseumbasel.ch/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultListView/result.tl.collection_list.\\$TspTitleLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=1&sp=3&sp=3&sp=SdetailList&sp=25&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=28](http://sammlungonline.kunstmuseumbasel.ch/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultListView/result.tl.collection_list.$TspTitleLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=1&sp=3&sp=3&sp=SdetailList&sp=25&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=28), accessed 12 April 2021)



Figure 20. *Portrait of Hans Hofer*, ca. 1485, oil on panel, 45.1 cm x 37.2 cm, Staatsgalerie, Burghausen (photo: Die Pinakotheken, <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/02LAW6B4yk/bayerisch-um-1485/hans-hofer-hoffer-rueckseite-wappen>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 21. *Antonie van den Wijngaerde, Utrecht*, ca. 1558, ink on paper, 30cm x 120 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (photo: Online Museum de Bilt, <https://onlinemuseumdebilt.nl/westbroek-op-het-panorama-van-anthony-van-den-wijngaerde/>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 22. *Penitent Saint Jerome*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 86.2 cm x 113.4 cm, Muzeum Narodowe, Wrocław (photo: Van Eyck tot Dürer: *De Vlaamse Primitieven & Centraal Europa 1430-1530*, p. 503).



Figure 22. *Detail*.



Figure 23. Albrecht Bouts, *Penitent Saint Jerome*, ca. 1480, oil on panel, 41.6 cm x 37.8 cm, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels (photo: Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, <https://www.fine-arts-museum.be/nl/de-collectie/albrecht-bouts-de-boetvaardige-heilige-hieronimus?artist=bouts-albrecht-1>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 24. Steven van Lamsweerde, *Gezicht op de Dom van Utrecht*, 1660, engraving and etch, 49.6cm x 46.3 cm, Centraal Museum, Utrecht (photo: Centraal Museum, <https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/24960-gezicht-op-de-dom-van-utrecht-steven-van-lamsweerde>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 25. Coat of arms with two silver moon shapes, a silver star, and a silver chevron on an azure ground, Aernout van Buchel, *Monumenta*, Utrecht, second decennium 17th century with modifications until 1641. Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, XXVII L 1, fol. 25v (photo: Het Utrechts Archief, https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/onderzoek/resultaten/archieven/zoekr?mivast=39&mizig=210&miadt=39&miaet=1&micode=Hss_V an_Buchel_Monumenta&minr=38112748&miview=inv2&milang=nl, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 26. Jacob Claesz. Van Utrecht, *Berlin Altarpiece*, 1513, oil on panel, 108 cm x 324 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (photo: Alamy Stock Photo, Peter Horree, <https://www.alamy.com/triptych-with-the-deposition-from-the-cross-in-1513-by-jacob-claes-z-van-utrecht-jacobus-traiectensis-c-1479-after-1525-flemish-renaissance-painter-who-worked-in-antwerp-and-lbeck-belgian-belgium-flemish-image333259493.html>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 26. Detail of the photo reproduction in *Het Utrechts Archief* (photo: Het Utrechts Archief, <https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/beeldmateriaal/detail/ae9965c4-df13-5dde-8714-c194f5e1ceb1/media/4c24ffc7-b094-d89a-c9ea-18779d3dd11e?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=stadsgezicht%20Utrecht&rows=1&page=18>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 27. Master of Frankfurt, *Humbracht triptych*, ca. 1504-1508, oil on panel, 118.3 cm x 168.4 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt (photo: Städel Museum, <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/crucifixion-triptych-of-the-humbracht-family-of-frankfurt>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 27. Detail.



Figure 28. Master of the Figdor Deposition (circle of), *Christ on the Cross*, ca. 1505, oil on panel, 102,5 cm x 84,5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-2212>, accessed 8 June 2021).



Figure 28. Detail.

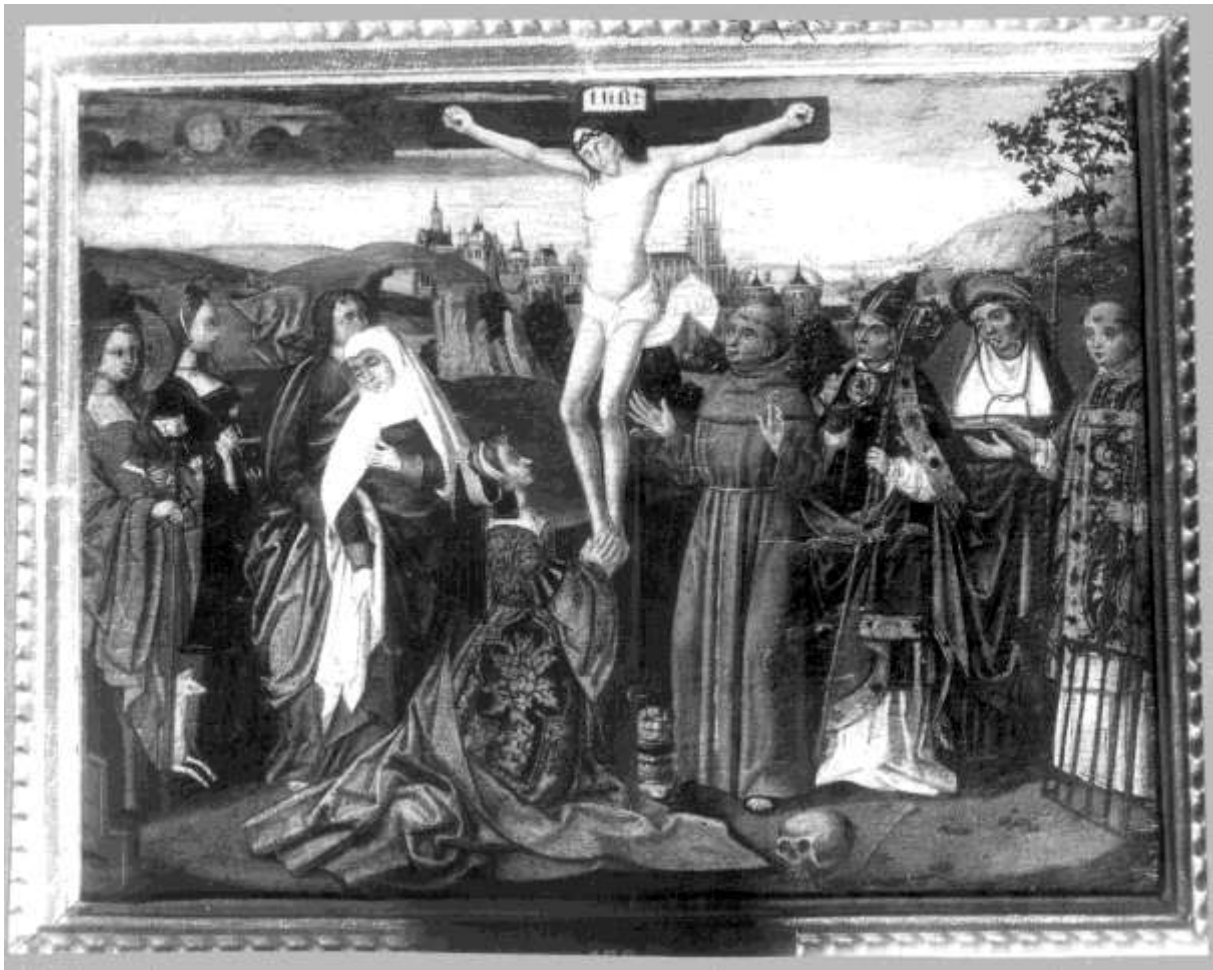


Figure 29. Photo reproduction of a painting of the Crucifixion dated ca. 1517, photo, 166 mm x 213 mm, Het Utrechts Archief (photo: Het Utrechts Archief, <https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/beeldmateriaal/detail/db8a0e1a-3082-500c-916b-594b4febd64f/media/ce01fc9c-2ede-7f60-957c-0a9faf4345d7?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=stadsgezicht%20Utrecht&rows=1&page=17>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figuur 29. Detail.



Figuur 30. Photo reproduction of a painting of the Adoration of the Magi attributed to Jacob van Utrecht and dated ca. 1520, photo, 182 mm x 161 mm, Het Utrechts Archief (photo: <https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/beeldmateriaal/detail/a86ab11d-af11-5e86-8b87-1c47bfd305d9/media/569bacf1-644c-ebbb-65f3-556fc4f821d6?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=stadsgezicht%20Utrecht&rows=1&page=21>, accessed 12 April 2021).



Figure 30. Detail.