Bruges or Brussels?
Re-examining the origins of the painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece.

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Summary

Around 1425, one of the earliest examples of Southern Netherlandish carved altarpieces, a highly sophisticated combination of painted wings and sculptured shrine, was chosen by Dortmund's city council, the *Stadtrat*, to decorate the high altar of the Reinoldikirche, the city's most important church. Following the decision to invest in an extremely prestigious plan to refurbish the church's choir, they went looking for the best, which they found in this new object of luxury and status, which was highly acclaimed all over Europe. Unfortunately, however, no documents regarding its commission, origin or travel to the German city have survived. Today, although scholars agree on its Southern Netherlandish origin, they still disagree on the exact location, and the majority are divided between the cities of Bruges and Brussels. During the first half of the twentieth century, art historical scholarship was convinced it had been made in Bruges; however, after 1974, John William Steyaert attributed its sculptured shrine to the Master of Hakendover, whom the eminent scholar saw as the founding father of Brussels sculpture. This confusion regarding the altarpiece came to dominate research. Since then, although a Brussels origin has been ubiquitously accepted, for the painted wings, a certain ambiguity has prevailed. The identification of the city of production has practically been left in limbo. Many scholars have argued that they exhibit conspicuous affinities with the visual tradition of Bruges, while others, following the attribution of the shrine, have supported the view that the wings must have been painted in Brussels, where the shrine was made. Consequently, scholars have addressed the question with a certain awkwardness, either avoiding it entirely or treating it hastily and in passing, and they have been unable to reach a consensus. Therefore, this research primarily aims to re-examine the question of the origins of the painted wings of the altarpiece and, more specifically, trace their affinities with contemporary works from Bruges. At the same time, it

brings to the fore the many issues around the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece that urgently need more systematic scholarly attention, such as the question of the Master of Hakendover and his corpus and the 'paradox' of the combination of Bruges painting with Brussels sculpture, if the attribution of the latter to the Master of Hakendover still stands. However, most significantly, this thesis acts as a reminder to contemporary and future scholars of a remarkable work of art that, despite its uniqueness and enormous significance for late medieval art, remains on the margins of art historical research, waiting to be appraised.

Introduction

In 1421, when Dortmund's City Council authorised the extravagant refurbishment of the Reinoldikirche's choir and apse, they consciously chose a large-scale investment project that primarily constituted an act of political declaration; it signified that, after years of war, political turmoil and severe economic depression, the city was able to regain its former splendour thanks to their support of the *Bürgergemeinde,* or citizen's community. To signal this, the Reinoldikirche would receive this precious gift as an expression of gratitude, given that it was the city's symbolic heart, its oldest and most important church, seat of its patron saint Reynold, who had irrevocably stood by their side in times of hardship.

Such a decision was only to be expected in light of the immense importance Saint Reynold had in fashioning a strong civic identity. Indeed, for the legitimation of its authority, the city governing body or *Stadtrat* relied heavily on the model of a community under the protection of a saint as the earthly reflection of a heavenly order.[1]

It goes without saying that, for such a sumptuous enterprise, the standards were extremely high. It is indicative of the scale and the importance that it lasted more than 30 years, and no expense was spared in order to achieve the best possible outcome. Consequently, only the most lavish materials and objects were chosen to decorate the new site, which denoted the intended symbolism of opulence, wealth, and power of the commissioners. Finally, for the new high altar, the church's most important location, only an altarpiece of great distinction and resplendence would suffice; that is, a South Netherlandish carved altarpiece.

This iconic product, linked to its specific geographical origin, was a highly desirable commodity and was sought after all over Europe. It has been estimated that approximately 75% of the

[1] Wilfried Ehbrecht, 'Cyriak, Quirin, Reinold und ihre Konsorten: Der Ritterheilige als Schutz und Mitte von Bürgern und Einwohnern', in *Die mittelalterliche Stadt und ihr heiliger Patron. Reinoldus und die Dortmunder Bürgergemeinde,* ed. by Thomas Schilp, Beate Weifenbach (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2000), pp. 11-23.

overall production of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces were destined for export abroad, with buyers extending geographically all over Europe, from Germany and Scandinavia to Spain and Portugal, France, England, Italy, Scotland and Poland, as well as in time.[2] Such pieces combined, in a unique and novel way, a basic wooden structure consisting of a central case, called *shrine* or *caisse*, rectangular in shape with an elevated centre, and decorated with sculpted narrative scenes and figurines, also made of wood, to which a pair of painted wings was outfitted.[3] This impressive combination of painting and sculpture was further enhanced by the extended use of polychromy and gilding that covered the shrine, rendering the *ensemble* a unified whole of unique visual and expressive force. According to Lynn Jacobs, the hallmarks of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces – the elaborate narrative, the visual complexity and multiplicity paired with detailed sanctified imagery – appealed to an international audience because they were deeply embedded within the traditional late medieval systems of aesthetic and devotional values.[4]

[2] The so-called Coesfeld altarpiece was exported in Westphalia, Germany, approximately in 1380, while the altarpiece in Roskilde, Denmark, dates to as late as 1560. Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.10. On Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces, several publications have followed Jacobs; see also Ria De Boodt and Ulrich Scäfer, *Vlaamse Retabels: een internationale reis langs laatmiddeleeuws beeldsnijwerk* (Davidsfond, 2007) and *Miroirs du Sacré. Les Retables sculptés à Bruxelles XVe-XVIe siècles. Production, Formes et Usages,* ed.by Brigitte D'Heinaut-Zveny (Brussels: CFC Éditions, 2005).
[3] Jacobs, p. 1.
[4] Jacobs, p. 149.

Figure 1. The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, attributed to the Master of Hakendover (shrine) and an anonymous Southern Netherlandish painter (wings), 361x753cm, Reinoldikirche, Dortmund.

In the case of the Reinoldikirche's high altar, the choice of a South Netherlandish altarpiece was further justified by the connotations of such an imported luxury object. Given that it was ordered by the City's Council, which primarily consisted of overseas merchants whose guild shared the same patron with the city, Saint Reynold, such an altarpiece embodied the cosmopolitism, wealth and power of the city's ruling class.

Indeed, the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece is one of the oldest and most refined examples of its kind. Moreover, it is of high interest because it still stands *in situ* in the high altar, which more or less retains its original aspect. Made of oak and walnut wood, with its sizable dimensions of 361 cm height and 753 cm width, it essentially commands attention as it overlooks the entire church, constituting not only its devotional epicentre but also the symbolic political and social heart of the city (fig.1). No documentation whatsoever has survived regarding any detail about its commission, dating or transport from Flanders. However, taking

1421, the date of the beginning of the work on the choir, as *terminus ante quem,* as well as the stylistic analysis of both its sculpted shrine and its painted wings, scholars generally agree that it should be dated around 1425.[5]

Despite the altarpiece's paramount importance both for the study of pre-Eyckian panel painting and sculpture, thus far, it has escaped systematic scholarly attention. Admittedly, South Netherlandish carved altarpieces were, until quite recently, on the fringes of art historical research, with the exception of the occasional stylistic and iconographical analysis of individual cases. Only after the late 1990s, Lynn F. Jacobs published her *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing,* which focused primarily on their socioeconomic context, completely transformed the way they were perceived, and scholars' interest in the subject rose. Subsequently, a plethora of publications has been dedicated to Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces; however, they almost always address production from the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth-century, for which relatively more information is available, leaving the earlier phase of the first half of the fifteenth century in the shadows.[6]

Nevertheless, it is essential that art historical scholarship returns to the origins of Early Netherlandish altarpiece production and addresses the problem of its emergence and development. Filling in this significant *lacuna* in research will significantly benefit the field in many ways.

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[5] 'Retable de la Passion'*, BALaT. Belgian Art Links and Tools*, 2019. http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=X001748&objnr=40001471&nr=2/ (accessed 23 May 2019).

[6] See reference 2. For further aspects of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces see also *Constructing Wooden Images: Proceedings of the Symposium on the Organization of Labour and Working Practices of Late Gothic Carved Altarpieces in the Low Countries*, ed. Carl van de Velde, Hans Beeckman (Brussels: VUB Brussels University Press, 2005) and D. L. Saddler, *Touching the Passion -Seeing Late Medieval Altarpieces through the Eyes of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

First, a better understanding of the origin of Early Netherlandish altarpieces will shed some necessary light on the entirety of the 'phenomenon' of this unique artistic product by ending the fragmentary knowledge of only a few of its many aspects. With the emphasis exclusively on the later phase of production in cities such as Antwerp and Brussels, an almost crippling ignorance of what took place at the turn of the fifteenth century and, most precisely, in its first three decades, persists. This period has usually been considered an experimental phase, in which artists tried to explore the various possibilities afforded by this new form of art. Although it would later evolve into the *tour de force* of the area's artistic production, it remains more or less completely unknown. Admittedly, very little has survived; however, this should motivate scholars to delve into systematic, thorough research of the scant material in an effort to counterbalance this paucity to our profit. On the contrary, in many cases, including that of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece, these works are largely ignored.

Furthermore, research on pre-Eyckian panel painting and sculpture, which is famous for its inherent difficulties due to the lack of relevant archival resources and the scarcity of surviving works, would also benefit enormously, thanks to the unique dyadic nature of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces, which consist of both painted and sculpted. In fact, a brief review of the two painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece, an ensemble of unprecedented size and quality, suffices to demonstrate their importance for the study of Netherlandish painting before the time of Jan van Eyck. Until now, such study has largely been confined to what could be deduced from the study of contemporary manuscript illumination as well as a handful of panel paintings.

Therefore, each new piece of information on the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece should be considered as highly significant as it has a twofold effect: not only does it contribute to a better

understanding of the altarpiece itself, but it also adds to our knowledge of Pre-Eyckian art. However, many issues pertaining to several aspects of the altarpiece remain unresolved, such as, the question of the origins of its painted wings. More specifically, the question of their attribution either to a Brussels or a Bruges workshop has become a *topos* in art historical discourse, especially after the sculpted shrine was linked to the Master of Hakendover, a sculptor believed to have been the leading figure of one of Brussels's most important sculpture workshops. Consequently, some researchers, considering the shrine's connection to Brussels, have tended to attribute the painted wings to Brussels, as well.[7] Others, with the sculpted shrine almost monopolising their interest, have tended to ignore the question of the paintings altogether.[8] Finally, several have also advocated their attribution to a Bruges workshop, such as A. von Euw and, more recently, E. Bertram-Neunzig. Nevertheless, those who have supported the Bruges attribution of the painted wings did so merely in passing, within the context of a different or more holistic approach, thus failing to firmly establish their view and achieve a general consensus.[9] Notwithstanding their input, the situation has been in a stalemate for many years.

This thesis thus primarily aims to foreground the question of the origins of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings and to re-examine the possibility of an origin from a Bruges workshop. More specifically, it follows a different path from the one taken by A. von Euw and E. Bertram-Neunzig, who based their assumptions on what they considered the strong attachment of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings to the so-called Franco-Flemish tradition, as expressed in

[7] See Robert Didier on the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece in *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern,* ed. by A. Legner (Köln: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978), vol.1, p.91.
[8] John Steyaert repeatedly wrote on the altarpiece; however, he focused exclusively on the sculpted shrine and never addressed the issue of the painted wings.
[9] Anton von Euw, 'Der Kalvarienberg im Schnütgen-Museum', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 27 (1965), pp. 87-128.

miniature illuminations from the workshops of Bourges and Paris around 1400.[10] In contrast, this paper asserts that the Burgundian influence is only secondary and indirect, and it should only be anticipated within the context of a waning International Gothic style, which had assured a certain degree of uniformity among the artists of that time all over Europe. Hence, it constitutes an attempt to establish that the artist who painted the wings of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece worked in a Bruges workshop and was well embedded within the city's cultural *milieu*, based on a series of iconographic and stylistic affinities that emerge after its close comparison with extended visual material associated with the Flemish city. Following the profusion of shared motifs and the kinship in style between the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece's paintings on the one hand, and panel paintings and illuminated manuscripts from their contemporary artistic production from Bruges on the other, the possibility of mere coincidence should be excluded, and the origins can be ascertained.

Furthermore, several other issues are also considered. Of special interest is a review of the history of commercial exchanges between Bruges and Dortmund and the role they played in the dissemination of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces in Germany during the first half of the fifteenth century. Moreover, some works of local origin that decorated other churches in the city of Dortmund at that time are examined and a short comparison to the Reinoldikirche *Passion* altarpiece is made in order to establish possible similarities or differences.

The question of the attribution of the sculpted shrine to the Master of Hakendover and, consequently, its association with the city of Brussels is of seminal importance in order to comprehend both our current perception of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece in general, as well as its painted wings in particular, and thus, it is also examined in the context of this thesis,

[10] Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, *Das Altarretabel in der Dortmunder St. Reinoldikirche* (Bielefeld, Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2007), pp.11- 12.

which constitutes an effort to better determine all the factors that have contributed to the current impasse in its research and test the accuracy of our assessment.

Literature Review

The paucity of literature regarding the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece may seem surprising; however, it merely reflects the overall negligence with which research has thus far treated this unique work of art. It is indicative of the situation that it was not the main topic of investigation until 2005, in Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig's doctoral dissertation *Das Altarretabel in der Dortmunder St. Reinoldikirche. Untersuchungen zu seiner Gestalt, Ikonographie und Herkunft.*[11] Until then, it appeared in literature sparingly, mostly in brief mentions scattered across a handful of publications that focused on other subjects. Surprisingly enough, these traces of occasional reference sufficed to establish several misconceptions regarding some of its aspects, perceptions that, until today, have either not been substantiated or have been refuted by systematic research. On the contrary, they continue to set the tone concerning how the altarpiece is viewed even today. The question of the painted wings' origin, which constitutes the focus of this research, is such an example, while the issue of the so-called *Kapellenschrein* or chapel spaces for the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece has been amply discussed, which I discuss below.

The first references to the work can be traced to the early nineteenth century in the so-called *Denkmälerinventaren*, or inventories of artworks on German soil. These were very much *en vogue* among German art historians of that time, such as Johann David Passavant, Wilhelm

[11]E.Bertram-Neunzig, 'Das Flügelretabel auf dem Hochaltar der Dortmunder Kirche St. Reinoldi. Untersuchungen zu seiner Gestalt, Ikonographie und Herkunft*'*, Kölner UniversitätsPublikationsServer, *Universität zu Köln*, 2019 https://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1586/ (accessed 13 June 2019).

Lübke, G. H. Hotho, Albert Ludorff and others who followed the spirit of their time, which dictated the documentation of what were considered tokens of the national cultural heritage.[12]Although they were simply listings that aimed to index the works, they nevertheless, registered the altarpiece's existence and suggested a date in the first half of the fifteenth century. Considered German at that point, the work was generally attributed to an anonymous master. At the beginning of the twentieth century, continuing with the attribution to a local German artist, Ernst Franz August Münzenberger and Stephan Beissel included the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece in their extensive compilation of German medieval altarpieces. Although it was discussed only summarily, the authors risked proposing a new, much later dating, at the end of the 15th century, though without further substantiating their assertion.[13]

A turning point in the altarpiece's research history came in 1914, when Wilhelm Pinder published his '*Die deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance',* in which he identified, for the first time, the altarpiece's strong Flemish features.[14] Indeed, referring to the shrine, Pinder asserted that he saw 'very strong Netherlandish, or, at least, Lower Rhenish elements'.[15] Nevertheless, just four years later, Carl Georg Heise started the discussion of the painted wings in particular and insisted that they should be attributed to a local Westphalian artist, probably a follower of Conrad von Soest, and he dated them to the middle of the fifteenth century, dismissing any links to Flanders.[16] In 1923, Hermann Beenken again shifted the research focus to the sculptures, considering them the work of a Burgundian

[12] Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, p.13.
[13] Ernst Franz August Münzenberger & Stephan Beissel, *Zur Kenntnis und Würdigung der mittelalterlichen Altäre Deutschlands*, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1885-1905).
[14] Wilhelm Pinder, *Die deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1914), p. 224.
[15] Wilhelm Pinder, p.224.
[16] Carl Georg Heise, *Norddeutsche Malerei* (Leipzig 1918), p.138.

workshop and setting 1450 as *terminus post quem* for their production, when the second and last phase of the refurbishment of Saint Reinold's choir was finally completed.[17]

It was only after Walter Paatz, who, in his 1936 article *'Eine nordwestdeutsche Gruppe von frühen flandrischen Schnitzaltären aus der Zeit von 1360-1450',* acknowledged the altarpiece's Flemish origins that a consensus was reached. Paatz saw obvious stylistic similarities between the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece and a group of Flemish altarpieces that were exported to Northeastern Germany during the first half of the fifteenth century through the network of Hanseatic trade.[18] In his analysis, Paatz focused mostly on the architecture of the shrine, examining its elaborate architectural setting, which was reminiscent of the interior of a Gothic church, and introducing the term *Kapellenschrein* or 'chapel space', which he considered a typical characteristic of Flemish origin. Chapel spaces also appeared in the rest of the altarpieces included in the group of works that Paatz discussed in the article, such as the Bokel altarpiece. Moreover, he maintained that the chapel space architecture was fully developed later, in the works of Van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, in painting, or, in sculpture, in works such as the Passion altarpiece of Claudio de Villa and Gentina Scolaro.[19] Bearing this in mind, he estimated that the Reinoldikirche's example stood somewhere in the middle of this developmental process, dating both the shrine and the painted wings to around 1430/1440.[20] Nevertheless, later, in his *'Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der deutschen spätgotischen Skulptur im 15. Jahrhundert*', Paatz retracted his original estimation and declared that the work

[17] Bertram-Neunzig, p.14.
[18] Walter Paatz, 'Eine nordwestdeutsche Gruppe von frühen flandrischen Schnitzaltären aus der Zeit von 1360–1450', *Westfalen. Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 21 (1936), pp.49-68.
[19] Passion altarpiece of Claudio de Villa and Gentina Solaro, Anonymous (Southern Netherlands), 260.5 x 252.5 x 30 cm (shrine), polychromed and gilded oak, ca.1470-80, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten.
[20] Paatz, p.60.

must have been made earlier, more specifically from ca.1420; moreover, he expressed his conviction that the entire altarpiece originated in Bruges.[21]

Following Paatz, the altarpiece's Flemish provenance generally remained uncontested, although in a few cases, scholars occasionally returned to the theory of a Westphalian origin, as did some influential German art historians, such as Alfred Stange.[22] Similarly, it appeared as German in a handful of German exhibition catalogues, which insisted on its attribution to local workshops.[23]

Almost a decade later, the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece resurfaced in an article by Anton von Euw regarding the Calvary in the Schnütgen Museum.[24] Examining a group of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces that had a Crucifixion scene at the centre of their shrine in common, von Euw attempted to highlight their common origins based exclusively on their stylistic affinities. In his analysis, the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece played a crucial role. Von Euw managed to successfully raise several crucial questions regarding both the altarpiece's painted and sculptured parts despite the limited extent of his intervention, which amounted to no more than a few paragraphs in total.

Indeed, as far as the paintings were concerned, von Euw reaffirmed Paatz's conviction that they were produced in Bruges. Specifically, it is extremely significant that he was the first to observe the similarities between the painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece and the *Crucifixion with St Catherine and St Barbara* or, as it is more widely known, the *Calvary of the Tanners*, currently in Bruges' Cathedral of the Holy Saviour. At the time, it was still believed that the

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[21] Walter Paatz, 'Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der deutschen spätgotischen Skulptur im 15. Jahrhundert' in *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* vol.2 (1956), p. 46.

[22] Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, 3. *Norddeutschland in der Zeit von 1400 – 1450* (München/Berlin, 1938), pp.47-48.

[23] More specifically, the altarpiece is described as German in two exhibition catalogues, namely the *Kunstschätze aus zerstörten Kirchen Westfalens*, bearb. von Rolf Fritz, (Dortmund 1948), pp. 6-7 and the *Kunstschätze westfälischer Dome und Kirchen*, (Bochum, 1949), pp. 4-5, both dedicated to art treasures from churches in Westphalia.

[24] von Euw, pp. 87-128.

latter belonged to the Bruges tanners' guild, following 'a nineteenth-century tradition whose origins are obscure and unsubstantiated'.[25]As far as von Euw was concerned, he addressed the problem of the *Crucifixion with St Catherine and St Barbara's* shadowy origins merely in passing, in the references, in which he referred the reader to the catalogue of the 1960 Bruges exhibition *Le siècle des Primitifs Flamands*.[26] Today, the question of its provenance remains open, although Bruges certainly appears to be the strongest contender.

Regardless of the question of the exact city of origin, von Euw did not hesitate to consider both works products of the same workshop, and he particularly insisted on the similarities between the pairs of Saints Catherine and Barbara, which both altarpieces have in common.[27] Furthermore, he was so convinced of the ties of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings with Bruges that he went even further and posed the question of what the altarpiece's 16 painted scenes contributed to what we know about painting in Bruges between 1400 and 1420. He believed that they reflected an amalgam of influences, compiling Melchior Broederlam's *Annunciation,*[28] Jacquemart de Hesdin's illuminations from the so-called *Brussels Hours,*[29] and, finally, he concluded that they also demonstrated 'a Mosan component, as seen in the Antwerp-Baltimore Quadriptych in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum and in the Walters Art Gallery'.[30] In his closing remark, he collectively referred to them as 'soft' style paintings, to which he also

[25] For further details on its provenance, see *Pre-Eyckian Panel Painting in the Low Countries*, ed. by Dominique Deneffe, Famke Peters, Wim Fremout, Cyriel Stroo, 2 vols, vol. 1. Catalogue vol. 2. Essays, Contributions to Fifteenth-Century Painting in the Southern Netherlands and the Principality of Liège, vol. 9, (Brussels: [Center for the Study of Fifteenth-Century Painting in the Southern Netherlands, 2009), p.127.
[26] Von Euw, p.116, note 79.
[27] Von Euw, p.116.
[28] *Annunciation and Visitation*, left panel from the *Crucifixion* altarpiece, ca.1420, oil on wood, 167x125, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
[29] A. Beauneveau and others, *Très Belles Heures du duc de Berry*, MS 11060-11061, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale.
[30] Anonymous, ca. 1380, oil on wood, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh and Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

ascribed the Tower Retable with Scenes from the Life of Christ, which he described as 'the other Quadriptych, by a follower of Broederlam, also in the Mayer von den Bergh Museum'.[31] Concerning the altarpiece's sculptured shrine, von Euw unreservedly acknowledged its strong affinities with the Hakendover altarpiece (fig. 2), as well as some close links with those in Iserlohn[32] and Grönau.[33] Von Euw reaffirmed Paatz's date of 1420 for the sculpted shrine, just as he did for the painted wings; moreover, he also identified their city of origin as Bruges, in a workshop which he believed had also previously made the Hakendover retable but reached its apex with the Dortmund *ensemble*.[34] Stylistically, he traced the sources of the *Calvary* scene to

Figure 2. Master of Hakendover, The three Virgins altarpiece, ca.1400-1410, oak and walnut, Kerk van de Goddelijke Zaligmaker, Hakendover

the *Très Riches Heures*[35] and the Master of Rohan. Therefore, this detailed knowledge of

[31] Anonymous, *Tower Retable with Scenes from the Life of Christ*, ca. 1400, oil on wood, 47.5x137 cm, Antwerp, Museum van den Bergh.
[32] Calvary with Saints, fragment of triptych (shrine), Southern Netherlands, ca.1410-1420, oak and walnut, 135x270 cm, Iserlohn, St. Mary's Church.
[33] Passion retable, Southern Netherlands, ca.1430, oak and walnut wood, 149 x 300 x 18 cm (closed), Lübeck, St. Anne Museum.
[34] Von Euw, p.113.
[35] Limbourg Brothers, *Les Très Riche Heures du Duc de Berry,* ca.1412-1416.

Burgundian art could only be seen as the outcome of previous work experience for Jean de Berry or Philip the Good, before a subsequent return to Bruges, where the altarpiece was produced.[36] Nevertheless, J. W. Steyaert's 1974 dissertation *The sculpture of St Martin's in Halle and related Netherlandish works* probably had the most significant impact on the way the altarpiece is perceived today.[37] Although Steyaert addressed the altarpiece hastily, almost in a furtive way, and dedicated only a few paragraphs at the end of his dissertation to it, he succeeded in leaving his mark on its history by attempting to build an identity for the artist who made it.

Indeed, after examining the stone sculptures in St. Martin's church in Halle, Steyaert compared them stylistically to those from both the Hakendover and Dortmund altarpieces and concluded that, not only they were from the same workshop, but also, in some cases, by the same hand, that of the Master of Hakendover. Paatz and von Euw had already noticed the affinities between the two retables, and the latter also attributed them to the same workshop, which he located in Bruges. Steyaert, in contrast, expanded the Master's *oeuvre* by adding St. Martin's sculptures in Halle, and he located his workshop to Brussels. He thus avoided discussing the possibility of a provenance from Bruges which, until then, was considered uncontested for both retables.

A few years later, in the catalogue for the exhibition *Late Gothic Sculpture. The Burgundian Netherlands*, Steyaert credited the Master of Hakendover with the introduction of the classic Brabantine altarpiece which, he claimed, was seen for the first time in the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece in Dortmund.[38] Therefore, he set the tone for future scholars by associating the

[36] Von Euw, p. 113.

[37] John William Steyaert, 'The sculpture of St Martin's in Halle and related Netherlandish works' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1974).

[38] *Late Gothic Sculpture. The Burgundian Netherlands,* ed. by John William Steyaert and Monique Tahon Vanroose, (Ghent; Ludion Press, 1994), p.69. Steyaert describes the classic Brabantine altarpiece as the 'triptych consisting of a horizontal rectangular center with surelevated top, articulated on the interior by intricate architectural elements that define miniature "chapel" spaces, and equipped at the top and sides with hinged panels painted on both sides. As the stage like setting acquires a more spatial character, so the actors become freer: instead of the

Reinoldikirche's altarpiece with a seminal moment in the history of late Medieval sculpture, which was made possible thanks to the Master of Hakendover.

Finally, a few years later, in an article he co-authored with Robert Didier, Steyaert acknowledged the need to address the paradox of the different origins of the sculpted shrine and the painted wings. He professed, rather summarily, that because the shrine was produced in a Brussels workshop, the painted wings would have been as well, and he did not present any further arguments to corroborate his arguments.[39]

A hiatus of several decades followed Steyaert's input on the matter, which was terminated by Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig's dissertation. She focused exclusively on the retable, which she examined as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, equally treating the sculpted shrine and the painted wings, in contrast to the approaches thus far. Supervised by Anton von Euw, Bertram-Neunzig's work tries to readdress the question of the sculptures' origin, pointing out that the current attribution to the Master of Hakendover was under question.[40] Nevertheless, she refrained from openly challenging it. In contrast, she took a clearer stand concerning the question of the altarpiece's painting and fully endorsed von Euw's view. Consequently, she placed it within the 'Franco-Flemish' tradition, as expressed in some miniatures from the courtly workshops of Bourges and Paris around 1400, and the manuscript illumination from the Southern and Northern Netherlands during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[41]

Since the publication of Bertram-Neunzig's dissertation in 2007, nothing has been written on the subject. The Reinoldikirche's altarpiece, and especially its painted wings, have remained on the

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reliefs and flat conception typical of earlier retable tradition, we now find an assemblage of statuettes and groups developed in layered planes presented in front of a ground and often carved fully in the round.'

[39] *Sint Janshospitaal-Brugge. 1188/1976*, exh. catalogue (Brugge: Commissie van Openbare Onderstand, 1976), p.451.

[40] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 12.

[41] Bertram-Neunzig, pp. 11-12.

margins of academic research despite a few opportunities within a current of local history publications on the city's medieval past and even on the church of Saint Reynold. Compilations of collective works with articles from scholars of different disciplines, including art historians, somehow never considered the possibility of introducing the Passion altarpiece.[42] This comes as a surprise considering that similar efforts were undertaken in the context of researching the city's other two seminal figures of artistic reference, Conrad von Soest and the Master of Berswordt.[43] The present dissertation aspires to instigate scholarly interest in the Dortmund Passion retable and especially its painted wings. Focusing on the issue of their origin, and following the earlier estimations of Paatz and von Euw, it attempts to place them within the context of artistic production in Bruges during the first half of the fifteenth century, looking for indications that, hopefully, affirm or refute such a hypothesis, thus taking a first step to understanding them better.

Methodology

The survey of literature on Saint Reynold's Passion altarpiece demonstrates that the fragmentary and rather sporadic efforts to comprehend the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece so far have

[42] For instance, *Städtische Repräsentation. St. Reinoldi und das Rathaus als Schauplätze des Dortmunder Mittelalters*, ed. by Nils Büttner, Thomas Schilp and Barbara Weltzel (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2005) and *Ferne Welten - Freie Stadt. Dortmunder im Mittelalter*, eds. Matthias Ohm & Christiane Althoff, (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2006).

[43] Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel, eds., *Dortmund and Conrad von Soest im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2004) as well as*, Der Berswordt Meister und die Dortmunder Malerei um 1400. Stadtkultur im Spätmittelalter,* ed. by Thomas Schilp and Andrea Zupancic (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2002).

been limited exclusively to stylistic analysis. This is to be expected for two main reasons. First, stylistic analysis constituted the method that was *de rigueur* when von Euw and Paatz, the two main contributors to its research, worked on it in the first half of the twentieth century. Second, later research efforts, such as that by Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, were essentially dictated by the scarcity of archival sources, which perished during the bombardment of the city of Dortmund during WWII, as well as the total absence of a thorough technical examination that could potentially provide the basis for applying a different methodology and hopefully provide new, key evidence.

Consequently, my decision to choose the same methods of stylistic and iconographical analysis in this thesis seems a *de facto* choice based on the specific circumstances defined by the availability of material. However, although admittedly this was also taken into consideration, it should also be stated that I strongly believe that these two components, style and iconography, can still most effectively contribute to achieving the best possible results, given the inherent difficulties the research of this altarpiece entails.

It has to be said that the use of stylistic and iconographical analysis may be considered a thorny issue today, given the controversial status these two methods have been assigned in the second half of the twentieth century. To a large extent, this controversy stems from the fact that the use of the term 'style' has been variable and vague, often permitting somewhat imaginative interpretations that remained unsubstantiated by evidence. This usage prevented the method's potential function as merely a means of classification of the available material. Therefore, it should be made clear that, within the context of this thesis, the term 'style' should be perceived strictly as Harris has described, that is, 'referring to characteristic and relatively fixed visual

patterning and compositional devices and effects that originate from that person or group identified as its producer'.[44]

Consequently, style in this sense constitutes a means of grouping all available visual material based on formal comparison. Most specifically, it is employed in order to create clusters of similarities or differences in morphology that can contribute to locating the material's sources. It is based on the principle that the repeated occurrence of a specific feature within a specific pool of material, as the following systematic comparisons show, is not a hazardous approach. The accuracy of the outcome strongly depends on how the method is applied, which should involve detailed research of as much material as possible and its careful consideration to ensure the validity of the results. Furthermore, this method ideally functions as a mechanism of visual perception and not as a tool of critical evaluation, content interpretation or ideological analysis. Even though it is not totally objective and allows a certain degree of subjectivity, as is usually the case with research in the humanities, it can, nevertheless, lead to valid conclusions when used as an auxiliary method to suggest a result that should be further substantiated via other approaches.

Similarly, in the context of this thesis, iconographic research does not in any way aspire to produce interpretations that pair textual sources with specific images. Instead, it should be considered an effort to detect and highlight the frequency of certain visual details or motifs in the artistic production of specific geographical regions or periods of time.

To that end, a systematic review of all available visual sources from Northern Europe and dating to approximately 1380 to 1450 was attempted, with an emphasis on production from the Burgundian Netherlands, the court of France and the area of North Rhine-Westphalia. Admittedly, this is a complex task.

[44] Jonathan Harris, *Art History: The Key Conce*pts (Routledge Key Guides, 2006), p.305.

To start, one should take into account that the geographical area this thesis covers extends to geographical regions that, in the Late Middle Ages, were not defined by present-day borders. On the contrary, they constituted historical political entities such as counties and duchies that have now been eclipsed. Moreover, artistic production in Europe at the time was characterized by 'the virtual ubiquity of the International Style', which, at least for our areas of interest, had always been the canon.[45] Their geographical proximity and strong commercial interactions also assured significant cultural exchange; artists travelled widely, and works of art were transported over long distances.[46] Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that 'it is often possible to discern a shared formal vernacular that seems regionally hued and individually articulated', although this task is not always easy.[47]

On the other hand, compared with other periods, the material that has survived is in short supply and is heterogeneous. Moreover, apart from illuminated manuscripts, on many occasions, paintings and drawings have not attracted the attention they deserve from scholars, or their study has failed to reach a consensus, further aggravating the nebulous situation of the field.

To a large extent, the findings discussed in this thesis derive from material taken from illuminated manuscripts. Waagen understood their great potential for art historical research of the Late Middle Ages, given that their dates and origins are often determined with relative accuracy, and he sought to find similarities with other forms of painting from the same time.[48] In parallel, panel paintings, sculpture, and other kinds of artefacts that survived from this period

[45] Cyriel Stroo & Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'Glimpses of Lost Splendour. An Introduction to Pre-Eyckian Panel Painting' in Deneffe, Peters, Fremout, p. 15.
[46] Stephan Kemperdick and Friso Lammertse, *The Road to Van Eyck* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2012), pp.13-16.
[47] Stroo & Vanwijnsberghe, p.25.
[48] Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck* (Breslau, 1822), pp. 67-68.

were also examined. Finally, it should be considered that this research was undertaken with strict restrictions of time and location, and under no circumstance should it be considered exhaustive.

Chapter I. The Historical Background.

a. Dortmund in the Early Fifteenth Century.

Very little is known of Dortmund's history before 1232, when a fire devastated the largest part of the city and its archives. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that, in 1220, it was declared an imperial free city, meaning that it was not subject to any authority except that of the Holy Roman Emperor. At approximately the same time, there was also a shift of power from the hands of the Count of Dortmund to the *Stadtrat* or City Council, which assured the city's right to self-government as well as political autonomy regarding its representation in the *Reichstage* or imperial Diets. Therefore, one governing body, the City Council, exercised all three powers: legislative, executive and judicial.

The composition of the city council soon came to reflect the power dynamic between the city's two major socio-economic classes, that is, the guild of the Blessed Reynold on the one hand and the six craft guilds on the other. Membership in the guild of the Blessed Reynold was restricted to the city's patrician families or *Erbsassen*. Their origins dated to the circle of the royal *familia,* although they had engaged in overseas commerce since the beginning of the thirteenth century. In contrast, the six craft guilds consisted of the main professions of manual labour, namely the shoemakers and tanners, bakers, blacksmiths, butchers, grocers and animal fat sellers.[49]

The underlying, constant tensions between these two groups erupted in 1399 and 1400, when the city's economy collapsed under the strain of the significant debts accumulated in the aftermath of the so-called '*Große Fehde*' of 1388 and 1389, as well as the mismanagement of the communal wealth by the *Stadtrat.* Despite the imposition of several new, heavy taxes, the city

[49] *Ferne Welten*, p.25.

could not keep up with the payments on its loans, and the patrician merchants, who until then had the exclusive right to be elected to the city council, were accused of lavish lifestyles and inconsiderate public spending. Citizens from the lower classes took to the streets of Dortmund to protest, and the city was driven to a standstill for almost a year. Finally, the city returned to normal with the suspension of the old *Stadtrat,* and significant concessions were made to the six guilds, including the right to a seat on the city council for each, thus leaving only the remaining 12 to the patrician merchants of the guild of Saint Reynold.[50]

This internal conflict exacerbated the major blow the city had suffered a few years before due to the '*Große Fehde*', or Great Feud, when the city was attacked by a coalition of 45 feudal lords under Friedrich von Saarwerden, Archbishop of Cologne and nominal Duke of Westphalia. In the Middle Ages, Dortmund had a rivalry with the city of Cologne over primacy in Westphalia, and the Archbishopric of Cologne constantly posed a threat to the city's sovereignty. To that end, Saarwerden had managed to secure the promise of no fewer than two Holy Roman Emperors, Charles IV and his successor, Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, the promise of his right to rule over Dortmund. However, when he realized that this was to no avail, he decided to take the matter into his own hands. He joined forces with another enemy of Dortmund, Count Engelbert III of the Mark, and put the city under siege. Finally, after almost two years of conflict, a peace treaty was signed after King Wenceslas reprimanded the attack, forcing the Archbishop to recall his troops. Dortmund is said to have agreed to pay 7,000 guilders in compensation, although this does not appear anywhere in writing. Dortmund managed to retain its independence despite

[50] *Ferne Welten*, p. 29.

suffering a terrible economic blow that put a severe strain on the city's finances for a long time.[51]

Nevertheless, it must be assumed that, by 1420, when the City Council decided to proceed with the ambitious and costly plan to refurbish the choir of the church of Saint Reynold, the city must have started to show the first signs of recovery.

b. Dortmund and Bruges. The Role of the Hanseatic League.

The careful consideration of the historical circumstances surrounding the travel of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece from the Southern Netherlands to Dortmund points to the city of Bruges as its most plausible point of departure.

Dortmund was one of the founding members of the Hanseatic League, a confederation of North German towns and cities formed in the twelfth century in order to facilitate trade for its members and protect their interests. Their basis in Flanders was Bruges, where Hansa merchants had already established their presence by 1253 when Margaret II, Countess of Flanders and Hainaut, first granted them special privileges. In fact, German merchants constituted the most significant ethnic group in the city, as the revised and significantly expanded set of privileges issued in 1360 shows. According to James Murray, this gave the Hansa members 'the greatest trading privileges they were ever to enjoy and made them the most privileged merchants in Bruges bar

[51] Claudia Garnier, 'Symbole der Konfliktführung im 14. Jahrhundert: Die Dortmunder Fehde von 1388/89', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 151/152 (2001/2002), pp. 23–46.

none'.[52] Consequently, despite some tumultuous moments, the Flemish city quickly became, together with London, the most important outlet of commerce for the League in Europe.

For the Hanse, being commercially active abroad presupposed the establishment of an infrastructure that would most effectively accommodate the needs of its members. Oscar Gelderblom has claimed that institutions such as the Hanse constituted 'more or less formal associations of traders from a particular country, city, or group of cities, demanded safe-conducts from foreign rulers, and organised collective action in case these rulers – or other merchants for that matter – damaged or seized their property'.[53] Moreover, they ensured tax rebates, toll exemptions, or monopolies with rulers in order to ensure the maximum profitability for their members, as well as maximising their members' income from commercial and financial transactions. Furthermore, their control 'reduced the risks of default by guild members, while the personal relations evolving between associated merchants helped to collect and disseminate information about market conditions and creditworthiness of business partners'.[54] Therefore, it would be more or less unthinkable for a member of the Hanse to risk any activity outside the city of Bruges, where they enjoyed the important privileges of the safety net their merchant guild had installed.

In Bruges, German merchants excelled. Before 1400, it is difficult to account for the number of foreign traders in the city with precision, but it is estimated that, from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, when foreign nations participated in processions to celebrate Bruges' reconciliation with Philip the Good in 1440, and the accession of Charles the Bold in 1468, at least 100 German merchants permanently resided in the city, and their number fluctuated to almost 200

[52] James M. Murray, *Bruges, cradle of capitalism. 1280-1390* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 221.
[53] Oscar Gelderblom, 'The decline of fairs and merchant gilds in the Low Countries, 1250-1650', in *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis,* 7 (2004), pp.199-230.
[54] Oscar Gelderblom, p. 2

during the annual fair, when seasonal visitors were added. As far as the other nations were concerned, they did not exceed a few dozen.[55]

Moreover, in contrast to Bergen and London, where German merchants were permitted to visit and engage in commercial activities only twice a year, in summer or winter, they were isolated in well-defined locations and not allowed free access to the rest of the city. In Bruges, however, they were granted the right to free movement, association and assembly; thus, they could operate in every part of the city and intermingle with all aspects of the city's life. The freedom of movement they enjoyed is also reflected in the fact that they did not feel inclined to establish a fixed location in the city as their headquarters, as traders from other nations did, but preferred to stay dispersed throughout the city in hostellers' houses.[56]

Nevertheless, for meetings, they used the refectory of the abbey church of the Carmelites, which still stands today in Ezelstraat, where they also convened for special occasions, such as their annual election of consuls, which was followed by an elaborate banquet on the occasion of their installation. Moreover, the Hanse archives were stored at the monastery, as well as the master weights used for the calibration of their official scale.[57] It was only after the middle of the fifteenth century that they acquired their own place, when the city of Bruges offered to erect the so-called Oosterlingenhuis, which still survives today in *Oosterlingeplein*.[58]

In fact, Bruges's religious institutions, especially those of the mendicant orders, played an important role in the city's trade with the Hanse. This follows a decision made by the leaders of these orders to adopt a cosmopolitanism for their Bruges monasteries that attracted foreign

[55] Oscar Gelderblom, p.10

[56] Ulf Christian Ewer and Stephan Seltzer, *Institutions of Hanseatic Trade. Studies on the Political Economy of a Medieval Network Organisation* (Peter Lang Edition; Frankfurt am Main, 2016), p.83.

[57] Murray, p.223.

[58] Firmin De Smidt, *Het Oosterlingenhuis te Brugge en zijn ontwerper Jan van den Poele* (Antwerpen, 1948).

merchants, especially the Germans. Although closer to the Carmelites, the Hanseatic merchants also maintained strong relationships with the Augustinians and the Franciscans who received annual gifts, and even parish churches benefited, as the endowments for the poor and the payments for works of embellishment, such as stained-glass windows, show.[59]

There is strong evidence to suggest that the mendicant orders in Bruges were actively engaged in art commerce and provided a network that brought together sellers and potential buyers. For instance, during the Bruges fair, it appears that the Franciscans provided space where carved altarpieces and paintings could be sold. [60] Such Franciscan involvement can also be seen in the case of Cornelius von Aeltre the Younger, master carpenter and citizen of Bruges. According to a surviving document, an agreement made on 7 October 1441 before the magistrate of Bruges, who acted as arbitration committee, von Aeltre the Younger failed to deliver and install the church stalls for which he had been commissioned many years earlier by the monks of Melrose Abbey and a Scottish merchant, William Careby, acting on their behalf. In the document, it is stated that four Flanders pounds should be paid to the Bruges Franciscans as compensation for the extended use of their refectory as storage space for the unfinished choir stalls.[61] The Franciscan friars had close relations with the carpenters' guild in Bruges and hosted the chapel of their patron, Saint Louis. Other guilds, such as those of the plumbers, joiners and mattress-weavers, as well foreign merchants from Castile and the Basque country, also held chapels there,

[59] Murray, p.226

[60] Ingrid Geelen, 'The Crucifixion and Saints Altarpiece of Bokel and Early-Fifteenth-Century Carved Altarpieces from the Burgundian Netherlands', unpublished paper presented at the *Goldene Tafel im Context Internationales Symposium* which took place in Hannover from 7 to 9 April 2016, pp. 2-47.

[61] Thomas Coomans, 'From Flanders to Scotland: 'The Choir Stalls of Melrose Abbey in the Fifteenth Century', in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude. Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. by T. N. Kinder (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 235-252.

while the Scottish merchants founded a chapel dedicated to Saint Ninian at the Carmelites, which the Hanse merchants frequented.[62]

Within the group of German merchants operating in Bruges, those from Dortmund were certainly among the most active and prosperous. Moreover, they were at the head of the Westphalian *Drittel*, which determined Hanseatic politics in Bruges, until well into the fifteenth century, when they lost primacy to Cologne, their archenemy, in the aftermath of the Great Feud.[63]

Indeed, evidence shows that, since the beginning of the fourteenth century, merchants from Dortmund had permanently settled in Bruges with their families. In most cases, these families were branches of the wealthy patrician families of Dortmund, members of the upper echelons of society who held power in their native city. Although they permanently lived in Bruges, they never cut ties with Dortmund, retaining their citizenship and, therefore, their civil rights there.[64]

It is generally acknowledged that the Hanseatic model of commerce relied heavily on a network built on ties of kinship. Thus, it can be said that the Dortmund merchants in Bruges followed a general pattern in which branches of the original family immigrated to the city of interest and started to function there as a local annex or agent of commerce for several generations, with the part of the family that remained in the city of origin acting as head.[65] Consequently, among the names of Dortmund merchants in Bruges, one can find members of the same families that constituted Dortmund's City Council, such as the Berswordts, the Kleppings and the von

[62] Thomas Coomans, p. 240

[63] The Bruges Hansa *Kontor* was divided into six *Drittels* based on the geographic origin of its members, the Wendish/Saxon, the Westphalian, the Prussian, the Gottlandian, the Livonian and the Swedish. It was led by a council of 18 *Ältermänner* or Aldermen elected annually. Each *Drittel* elected three Aldermen. See Regina Rössner, 'Dortmunder Hansekaufleute in Flandern und England', *Dortmund und Conrad von Soest im spätmittelalterlichen Europa,* ed. by Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel Barbara (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003), p.167.

[64] Regina Rössner, p.164.

[65] Ulf Christian Ewer and Stephan Seltzer, *Institutions of Hanseatic Trade. Studies on the Political Economy of a Medieval Network Organization* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Editions, 2016), p. 67.

Hovele. Therefore, the same families whose members engaged in commerce in Bruges were also members of Dortmund's City Council and patrons of Saint Reynold.

Such is the case of Bertram Sudermann, a merchant from Dortmund living in Bruges and member of the Sudermann family, one of Dortmund's most important patrician families; he is known to have held substantial property in the Flemish city while also engaging in donations to local churches and alms giving.[66] The Sudermanns were actively involved in Dortmund's Saint Reynold. In 1349, they donated the Saint Stephen altarpiece to the church, and many family members were ministers there for many generations.[67] Dortmund patrician families such as the Kleppings, the Bereswordts and the Smithuus extended their activities beyond commerce to real estate and hotel businesses. The Kleppings, in particular, who were engaged in various activities, were also hostellers.[68] The hostels' role in commerce was pivotal because they constituted hubs of interaction among international traders, and in addition to accommodation, they provided storage for merchandise and money exchange services.[69]

To conclude, all available historical evidence tends to corroborate the claim that Bruges is most likely the city of provenance of the Saint Reynold's Passion altarpiece. Bruges was the Hanseatic League's stronghold in Southern Netherlands. The German merchants had established themselves there under highly privileged conditions such as tax exemptions, judicial autonomy and favourable money exchange terms, a complex infrastructure that facilitated and fully secured every type of financial exchange, including art commerce.

More specifically, traders from Dortmund were at the forefront of commercial activity in Bruges, and they succeeded in playing a leading role within Hansa administration as well permeating all

[66] Regina Rössner, p.166.
[67] Bruno Meyer, 'Die Sudermanns von Dortmund. Ein hansisches Kaufmannsgeschlecht', *Beiträge zur Geschichte Dortmunds und der Grafschaft Mark*, 38 (1930), pp.1-77.
[68] Regina Rössner, p.166.
[69] Oscar Gelderblom, p.15.

levels of financial and social life in the city that fostered them. These wealthy overseas traders were also members of Dortmund's most eminent families, who constituted Dortmund's City Council and were patrons of the Reinoldikirche. Moreover, the Reinoldikirche was also the seat of the patron saint of the overseas merchants' confraternity, Saint Reynold. Therefore, we can safely assume that the Bruges art market would be the first choice for merchants from Dortmund when they decided to look for an exquisite Early Netherlandish carved altarpiece to match the new choir they had just started building in the Reinoldikirche, the most important church of their native city and home of their guild's patron saint. At the time, Bruges was an active art market where merchants from every part of Europe travelled to find works considered at the forefront of artistic creation. On the other hand, those in favour of an attribution of the Reinoldikirche retable's painted wings to Brussels should explain why the commissioners of this altarpiece would decide to overlook all the advantages offered in Bruges and instead purchase in Brussels, a market that presented with several difficulties. To start, they could not have known it as well, as there is no indication of the presence of Hanse merchants there. Consequently, German merchants did not enjoy the special privileges in Brussels granted to them by the Bruges local authorities. Therefore, it seems highly improbable that the Dortmund merchants would deviate from the norm, ignore all the advantages the city of Bruges offered and decide to plunge into the unknown by turning to Brussels to purchase the new altarpiece for the high altar of the Reinoldikirche.

C. Dortmund and the Cult of St. Reynold.

In the mid-thirteenth century, amidst the process for the city's struggle to emancipate itself both from imperial rule and the authority of lay and ecclesiastical landlords, the cult of Saint Reynold provided an essential ideological and political tool for forging a strong civic identity. Saint Reynold, by becoming the official patron of the city, became the symbol of its efforts to establish a new self-regulatory and self-governing model of administration based on the concept of *Stadt* or city, which was seen above all as community, the sum of all its citizens. The social unity of this new citizen body was guaranteed by the principle of equality among citizens, who enjoyed the same rights and, predominantly, the right to participate in the election of independent city councils or *Stadträte.*

Given that, in practice, the survival of this newly established political system invested heavily in the concept of *Gemeinschaft,* or community, which required the coexistence of different and often conflicting social forces such as the patrician-merchants, the members of the guilds and the citizens who belonged to neither, avoiding conflicts was essential. For this purpose, the need for all parts to compromise for the common good was promoted, and Saint Reynold was soon invested with the role of the moderator whose patronship of the city guaranteed divine support for the project. Therefore, his presence in the city's life was ubiquitous.[70]

The cult of Saint Reynold developed following the enormous success all over Europe of the twelfth-century French *chanson de geste* 'Les quatre fils Aymon'. In fact, many scholars consider that its introduction in Dortmund should be associated with the close relations developed between the German city and the Southern Netherlands through the Hanseatic Kontor of Bruges.[71]

[70] *Ferne Welten*, p.21.
[71] *Ferne Welten*, p. 56.

There are multiple, locally adopted, versions of the myth. According to the version that was popular in Dortmund, Reynold was a knight at the court of Charlemagne who was forced to flee the imperial court after killing the Emperor's nephew over a game of chess. Having renounced knighthood, he travelled to the Holy Land as a pilgrim. Upon his return, he joined the monastery of Saint Pantaleon in Cologne, where he excelled based on his piety and his hard work as a stonemason. His devotion inspired the envy of his co-workers, who murdered him and threw his body to into the Rhine. Nevertheless, following a miraculous discovery, his relics ended up in Cologne. When a group of citizens of Dortmund travelled to the city to request the relics from the Archbishop of Cologne for their new church and were met with disdain, Saint Reynold's relics were miraculously carried in a cart that travelled of its own accord to Dortmund.[72] Moreover, Reynold not only deliberately chose Dortmund over the city's most significant rival, Cologne, but also came to its rescue every time it was in grave danger, performing miraculous apparitions and even joining the locals in battles to save the city. For instance, according to local tradition, in 1352 he held off an attack a night attack by awakening the city guard who slept in the tower and revealing the enemy positions with bright flames, while in 1377, he stood at the city walls and intercepted enemy fire with his own hands.[73] During the processions organised in the saint's honour, his relics were carried through the streets in lavish reliquary shrines and followed a circular itinerary whose beginning and end was marked by Saint Reynold's church. In 1377, when the emperor Charles IV visited the city, he also followed the procession, which symbolically reflected the duality of the city's authority, the terrestrial and the heavenly.[74]

[72] For a detailed account of the relationship between Saint Reymond and the city of Dortmund in the Middle Ages see Paul Fiebig, *St Reinoldus in Kunst, Liturgie und Kult* (Dortmund: Beiträge zur Geschichte Dortmunds und der Grafschaft Mark 53, 1956).
[73] 'Reinoldus' *Sanktreinoldi.de,* https://www.sanktreinoldi.de/st-reinoldi/reinoldus.html [accessed 14 June 2019].
[74] *Ferne Welten*, p. 50.

Figure 3. The Reinoldikirche in 1857.

The city's largest and most important church, Saint Reynold, was dedicated to him (fig.3). The church stood at the heart of the city, on the Hellweg, the ancient east-west route that cut the city in half and was the main road the Hanse merchants used in their international commerce. At the same time, Saint Reynold also served as patron of the most prominent and powerful guild of the city, the guild of the overseas merchants, which bore his name and essentially stood for the patrician elite. Therefore, it could be said that, for medieval Dortmund, Saint Reynold and his cult served as a symbol of the city's complex political, social and economic identity.

Another important narrative that was employed in combination with that of Saint Reynold in the effort to forge a strong civic identity stemmed from the concept of the New Jerusalem as envisioned in St. John's Apocalypse, a heavenly city strongly resembling the Garden of Eden and Paradise.[75] The New Jerusalem was a metaphor for the city of Dortmund, whose unity had been disturbed by the conflicts of 1399-1340 and needed a model to promote the ideal of

[75] Revelation 3.12 and 21.2.

community and collaboration found in a city of God, a *civitas Dei* under the protection of Saint Reynold, the city's patron.[76]

d. St. Reynold's Church.

Built on the site of a former palatine church of the Ottonian era dedicated to another saint, it is first referred to as Saint Reynold's in 1260. Standing at the very heart of the city, the Hellweg, its choir housed the relics of the saint after their translocation to the city from Cologne. The long-lasting rivalry of the city with Cologne was also reflected in the constant disputes over the church's right to patronage between the city council and the archbishop of Cologne, which were finally settled after the construction of the new choir by the city council, which started in 1421.[77]

In fact, the decision of the city council to refurbish Saint Reynold's choir should also be viewed within the context of Dortmund's socio-political and financial condition at that time. In the aftermath of the *Große Fehde* and the internal power struggle between patricians and the six guilds, the city had endured many years of depression. Nevertheless, it seems that, by 1420, prosperity had returned or, at least, that must have been the message the City Council wanted to convey by launching such an ambitious, costly plan.

Indeed, the new choir was planned so that it would embody the basic principles of civic ideology, a reflection of the vision of a city as an ideal community whose function was assured by the three ultimate powers: the divine, as seen in Saint Reynold; the cosmic, expressed by the Holy Roman Emperor; and the civic, mediated by the city council. Judith Zepp, in her PhD

[76] Wilfried Ehbrecht, 'Jerusalem: Vorbild und Ziel mittelalterlicher Stadtgesellschaft', in *Dortmund und Conrad von Soest im spätmittelalterlichen Europa,* ed. by Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2004), pp. 73-100.
[77] 'Reinoldus', *Sanktreinoldi.de,* https://www.sanktreinoldi.de/st-reinoldi/reinoldus.html [accessed 14 June 2019].

dissertation *St Reinoldi in Dortmund,* describes the dynamics of its intricate program, in which architecture, sculpture, painting, stained glass and decorative arts were all employed in order to promulgate the image of the city as a harmonious community. In this carefully orchestrated ensemble of the choir, which was under construction from 1421 to roughly 1450, and which is generally considered to have remained the same until today, everything had a specific role to play.

More specifically, the impressive entrance to the choir, which stands higher than the aisles and is accessed by several steps, is flanked by two gigantic statues on pedestals, of Saint Reynold on the left and Charlemagne on the right. Both made of wood, they represent divine and earthly rule, respectively, which were the only two authorities that the citizens of Dortmund recognised. Saint Reynold is depicted as a young knight, grasping his shield with one hand and raising his sword to attack the enemy with the other, while Charlemagne also appears in full splendour, bearing the imperial insignia, the crown, the orb and the scepter (fig. 4).[78]

[78] Anonymous, *Saint Reynold*, first third of the fourteenth century, polychrome walnut wood, h. 270cm, St. Reynold, Dortmund and Anonymous, *Charlemagne*, polychrome oak wood, ca.1460/70, h. 270 cm, the Reinoldikirche, Dortmund.

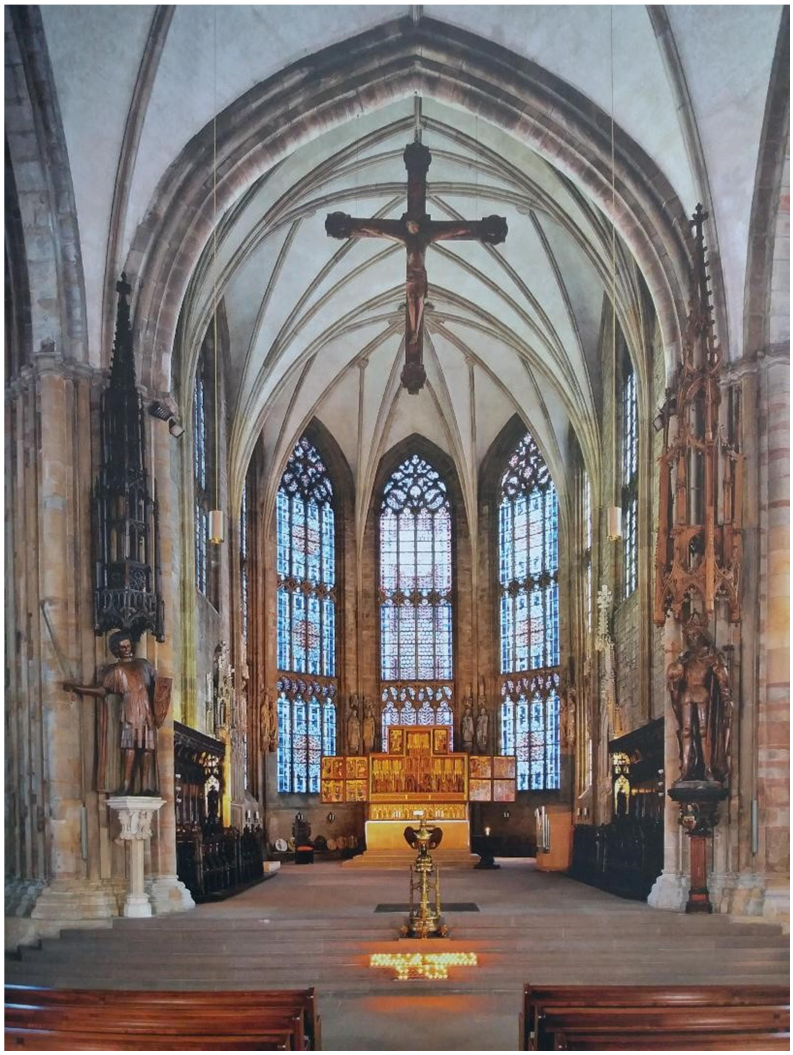


Figure 4. View of the Reinoldikirche's choir from the nave.

Behind the two statues, aligned with the northern and southern walls, were the wooden choir stalls made in 1462 by Hermann from Brabant.[79] These honorary seats were reserved for the

Figure 5. View of the choir stalls by Hermann from Brabant (1462).

members of the city council and the church's clerics, in both cases members of the merchant-patrician elite, and they were strategically placed in close contact with wall-mounted relic houses where Saint Reynold's relics were kept (fig. 5). The omnipresence of the patrician families of city council concluded with their coat of arms on the socle of the statues of Apostles between the

[79] The two choir stalls are attributed to Hermann from Brabant and his workshop. They were made of oak wood and measured h. 375 cm, w. 985 cm, d. 176 cm each.

stained-glass windows. Finally, at the core of the choir, on the high altar, stood the gigantic Passion altarpiece, the centrepiece of the Reinoldikirche.

Chapter II. The Altarpiece.

a. The Reinoldikirche's *Passion* Altarpiece and its Conservation History.

The review of the conservation history of Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece is an essential prerequisite for any attempt to examine it. It reveals some of the ways it has been treated in the past and helps provide a clearer view of its current condition as well as its original appearance. Some of the past treatments were rather unfortunate and caused serious alterations in its appearance. Therefore, the examination of its material history poses a series of questions regarding several aspects of the object that remain open and call for answers before any attempt to further research the subject.

To begin, there is no evidence regarding the altarpiece's appearance when it was first installed on the Reinoldikirche's high altar. Moreover, we also do not know whether there were interventions prior to those that definitely took place during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, even the more recent, mid- to late-nineteenth-century interventions remain shrouded in mystery, and their nature and extent are still unclear. For instance, serious interventions are suspected to have taken place in areas such as the architectural ornamentation of the shrine. The statuettes have almost certainly been subjected to several treatments, such as changes in polychromy and deworming.

Evelyn Bertram-Neunzig, on the basis of the two oldest surviving images of the altarpiece from 1890 (fig. 6), assumes that, between 1853 and 1850, at least one conservation campaign took place when the gilding was scraped off the carvings and the figures were covered with a white coating. Furthermore, the two side panels of Saints Barbara and Catherine on the upper part were flanked by two complementary panels of Gothicised architectural ornament according to the

taste of the time. Finally, at the top of the altarpiece, a painting of the Last Supper by Friedrich Traugott Georgi was added; according to a surviving document, it arrived in 1835 from Leipzig. Nevertheless, Bertram-Neunzig speculates that, since Passavant, Lübke or Hotho do not mention this painting, this must have occurred sometime after 1855.[80]

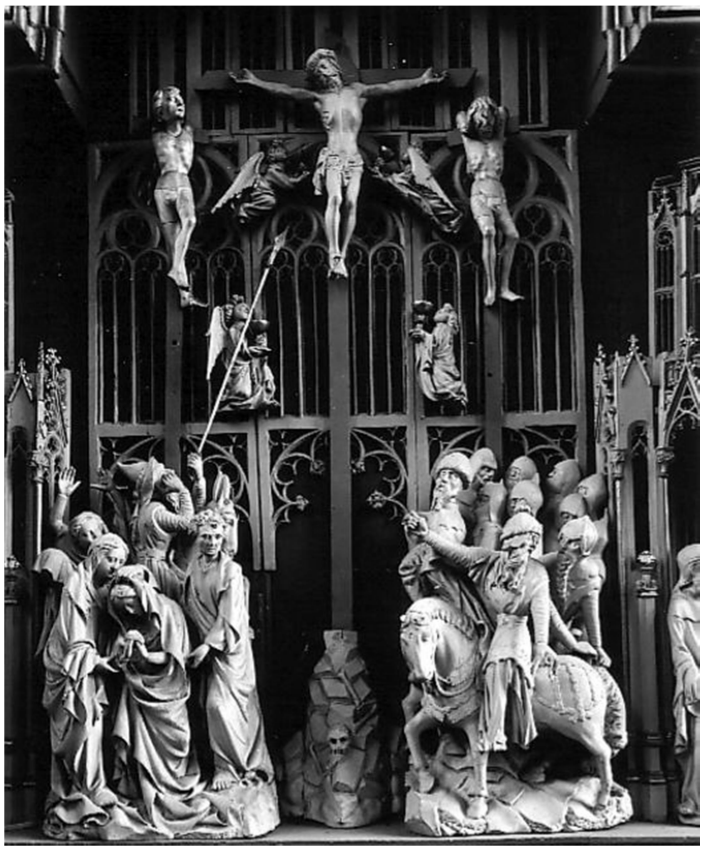
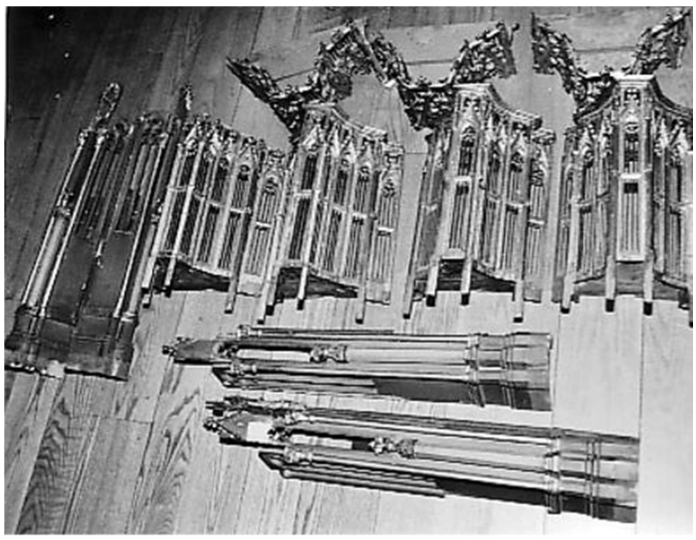


Figure 6.Detail of the whitewashed figures of the Reinoldikirche's shrine as seen in an 1890s photograph from BuKD Dortmund 1894, Panel 7.

It is certain that, at this stage, changes took place in the canopies that significantly altered their original appearance, although their exact nature remains unknown because the altarpiece has yet to be subjected to a full technical analysis. Therefore, it is essential that further research is conducted in order to accurately reveal which parts are original, to what extent they have been

[80] Bertram-Neunzig, p.30.

complemented or entirely supplanted, as well as which are entirely new and added by the nineteenth-century restorers (fig. 7).



Bertram-Neunzig suspects, for instance, that the entire back panel of the chapels may have been added at that point, including its tracery details. Similarly, portions of the tabernacle columns are missing some parts and, most importantly, the gable zone of the canopies seems to be a recent addition;

Figure 7. Baldachins and tabernacles from the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece during the latest restoration by E. Jetter.

some areas bear signs of mechanical processes, and it is entirely separate from the top part of the canopy.[81] The arrangement of the figures in pairs of Apostles is original, as is that of the Passion scene at the centre of the shrine.

In 1898, according to a contract signed by the church authorities and the painter Johannes Hoffmann from Werl, the sculptures were polychromed again, and the *predella* and architectural decorations were re-gilded following the taste of the period. In addition, the entire altarpiece was reframed. The painting of the Last Supper was removed, and a neo-Gothic crowning took its place with the statuette of a Blessing Christ at the top. The new frame also included the fixing of the two side panels of Saints Barbara and Catherine at the upper part, thus preventing any movement. Other minor changes occurred in the *predella*, such as the height of the crosses of the

[81] Bertam-Neunzig, p.22, note 52.

thieves and the reversal of the angels holding the goblets at the top of Christ's Cross, which were made to look outwards while attempting to collect the blood dripping from His Hands; finally, a new base for the figures was added.[82]

Nevertheless, just a few years later, in 1909, in a letter to the church authorities regarding the choir stalls, the wood and stone sculptor A. Mormann urged them to act as quickly as possible and treat the altarpiece for worm infestation which, he believed, could soon endanger the sculptures. In a subsequent letter, he articulated a more extensive account of the problem, specifying that only one of the separate statues was in danger; however, the two groups underneath the Cross were extensively damaged and would soon become brittle. He received the commission and started work after 1913, when he also worked on the polychromy applied in 1909, which must have suffered when he treated the worm infestation with boiling.[83]

Documents also refer to interventions on the painted wings. In 1922, Anton Soetebier, a church painter from Münster, was praised by the church canon for 'doing an exquisite work', although Alfred Stange stated in 1938 that 'the paintings on the wings have now been heavily restored and their style seems to have been softened'.[84] Only two years later, in 1940, the wings were restored in the laboratories of the Westfälisches Landesmuseum in Dortmund.[85] During WWII, the entire altarpiece was hidden at a local monastery, thus surviving the 1944 bombardment of the city that devastated the church. After the end of WWII, for four years, it was temporarily hosted in other churches in the city until it returned to a provisional church erected on the site of Saint Reynold in 1948. There, the wings hung separately on the walls behind the altar, and on two occasions,

[82] Bertram-Neunzig, pp. 33, 34.
[83] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 35.
[84] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 36.
[85] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 36.

the wings and the panels of Saints Catherine and Barbara were shown in exhibitions in Dortmund and Bochum, respectively.[86]

In 1956, with the completion of the works in the church, the altarpiece was reassembled, with the exception of the panels of Saints Catherine and Barbara; it was returned to its original location, the high altar of Saint Reynold's church, where it still stands today. The two missing panels were kept for another year for conservation at the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte auf Schloß Cappenberg.

Twenty years later, both wings were taken to the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, where they were cleaned of wax residues and re-varnished after impregnation of the paint layer in beeswax and retouching a handful of areas with water paint.

Finally, in 1994, Edgar Jetter, a local conservator, cleaned, waxed and stabilised the sculptures and addressed some minor flaking of the painting.[87] Since then, no conservation work has been performed on the altarpiece.

[86] The wings appeared in the exhibition *Kunstschätze aus den zerstörten Kirchen Westfalens* in 1948 and the panels of Saints Barbara and Catherine in the exhibitions *Kunstschätze Westfälischer Dome und Kirchen* the following year.

[87] Jetter's intervention in 1994 followed a preliminary examination of the altarpiece, which took place in 1992.

b. The Reinoldikirche's Passion Altarpiece in Context.

1. Early Fifteenth-Century Flemish Altarpieces in Germany.

It is estimated that approximately 13 carved altarpieces from the Southern Netherlands dating from the first half of the fifteenth century survive in Germany today.[88] The areas of Northwest-Rhineland, Westphalia and Schwäbisch Hall, in particular, constituted some of the most important export destinations for this type of Southern Netherlandish commodity, and thus the role of the Hanseatic League cannot be underestimated .[89] Even a brief look their final destinations suffices to reveal that these were major Hanseatic cities, for example Lübeck, and they were actively engaged in overseas commerce with Flanders at the time.

These imported altarpieces are noticeably different from their local counterparts, and they exhibit a number of features that scholars have come to consider typical of the Southern Netherlandish production, such as the raised central compartment of the shrine, the size and shape of the interior architecture, and the size and proportions of the figures compared to the overall box that houses them.[90]

Today, this corpus is usually divided into two further subgroups, one comprising the earlier works, dating roughly around 1420-1440 and primarily attributed to workshops from Bruges, and a second that includes works made primarily in Brussels after 1440.[91] As has been previously discussed, Paatz and von Euw were the first to note the affinities among the altarpieces of the earlier group, including the altarpieces from Neetze (Evangelische Pfarrkirche), Lübeck (St. Annen-Museum),[92] Bokel (Landesmuseum Hannover), Iserlohn

[88] See list in Appendix.
[89] Jacobs, p. 10.
[90] Ingrid Geelen, pp. 2-4 and Jacobs, p.1. For the differences between Early Netherlandish and German altarpieces see Jacobs, pp. 78, 81.
[91] In older bibliography the works of this group usually appear as dating from 1410-1420 but the latest evidence indicate that they should be pushed back later, on average by a decade.
[92] Formerly known as the *Grönauer* altarpiece.

(Oberste Stadtkirche) (fig.8) and Dortmund (St. Reynold), as well as one more example outside Germany, that of Faniqueira, in

Figure 8 Anonymous, Passion Altarpiece, ca. 1420-1430, oak and walnut wood, 142x293 cm (shrine) and 142x145 cm (each wing), Oberste Stadtkirche, Iserlohn.

Portugal (Capela de Santo Antão). Finally, the so-called Coesfeld altarpiece is customarily included in this group because it is also considered to have originated in Bruges, although it is considerably older, dating as far back as 1380.[93] Sadly, despite the importance of this group for a better understanding of pre-Eyckian sculpture, little research has been undertaken following the efforts of von Euw and Paatz; our knowledge on the subject is this quite limited, despite the

[93] It is considered to have originally belonged to the Premonstratensian abbey in Varlar.

promising results of some of the few, recent efforts.[94] The kinship among the altarpieces of this early group is considered to be established based on type, technique, style and socio-economic context.[95] At the centre of all shrines, the Crucifixion is depicted, flanked by various scenes of the Passion which, in turn, are followed by a series of individual figures, the Apostles or Saints. This chorus of saints always rests in a zone of open tracery decorations that functions as an elaborate sockel for the statuettes, setting the stage for the narrative in the sculpted shrine.

This penchant for a meticulous staging of the narrative also extends to the upper part of the shrine, with the use of a similar, elaborate architecture in the form of tabernacles with canopies surmounted by pointed arches whose features are extremely close in size, shape and decorative patterns. Ingrid Geelen has pointed out the striking similarities among the Bokel, Neetze and Lübeck altarpieces; Saint Reynold's Dortmund altarpiece also follows the same pattern,[96] although it is considered to have taken it a step further by articulating a more pronounced, three-dimensional sense of space, making the figures appear more organically positioned in it.[97]

Moreover, close stylistic relations have been noted for some figures and groups. In some cases, such as that of Bokel and Neetze, because of the affinities in the figures of the Crucified Christ, the female faces and Saint John, scholars have even attributed them to the same master.[98] The sculptures from the Lübeck and Faniqueira altarpieces are also attributed to the same workshop.[99]

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[94] For instance, Peter Knüver has been able to reattribute a carved relief with the Flagellation of Christ, from Kulturhistorischen Museum Stralsund, from a local workshop to a Flemish one that seems to have strong links to the cluster of altarpieces from Bruges under discussion; see Peter Knüvener, 'Ein Relief mit der Geißelung Christi im Kulturhistorischen Museum Stralsund und einige Bemerkungen zu einer niederländischen Werkgruppe aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 79(1) (2016), 115-124.
[95] Geelen, p.2.
[96] Geelen, p. 3.
[97] Jacobs, p.117.
[98] Geelen, note 14.
[99] Geelen, p. 16.

In terms of iconography, the relationship of this group of altarpieces with contemporary illuminations from Bruges helped corroborate their attribution to the Flemish city. More specifically, the numerous similarities they share with manuscript illuminations from the workshop of the Master of Beaufort Saints, as well as with those from the so-called Gold Scrolls group, point to the assumption that either the latter were used as a direct source of inspiration or that they were both based on common models. As Ingrid Geelen has noted, they are so alike that 'it is quite possible that illuminators delivered designs for sculpture', with similarities such as 'the use of rosettes in the painted or sculpted frame or the decoration of the gilded background', while 'in several group manuscripts, such as the Hours of Carpentras, the architectural frames with arch, tracery and prophets unmistakably refer to the architecture of an altarpiece'.[100]

It is generally believed that 'Netherlandish carved altarpieces combine painting and sculpture by flanking the colored sculptures of the shrine with painted, rather than sculpted wings. This results in the open view of the retable providing a juxtaposition of three-quartered sculpted scenes with two-dimensional panel paintings', thus introducing the aesthetic choice of the 'twofold combination of painting and sculpture – both in the coloring of the carvings of the shrine and in the painting of this sculpted shrine with the painted wings.'[101]

It has often been assumed that the group of early fifteenth-century works from Bruges, with the exception of Dortmund, seems at odds with this feature of Early Netherlandish altarpieces because they bear sculpted instead of painted wings. Jacobs, referring to this inconsistency in a discussion of the examples from Iserlohn and Lübeck, has claimed that the fact that they still had sculpted wings indicates either that 'the painted wing format was not yet fully established at the beginning of retable production' or that that they 'derived from Germanic traditions since the

[100] Geelen, p. 6.
[101] Jacobs, p. 80.

fully sculpted format was extremely common in German fourteenth-century carved altarpieces'.[102]

However, a closer look reveals that both altarpieces did have painted wings attached to their shrines. In the case of the altarpiece from Lübeck (fig. 9), it appears that it had double wings, with

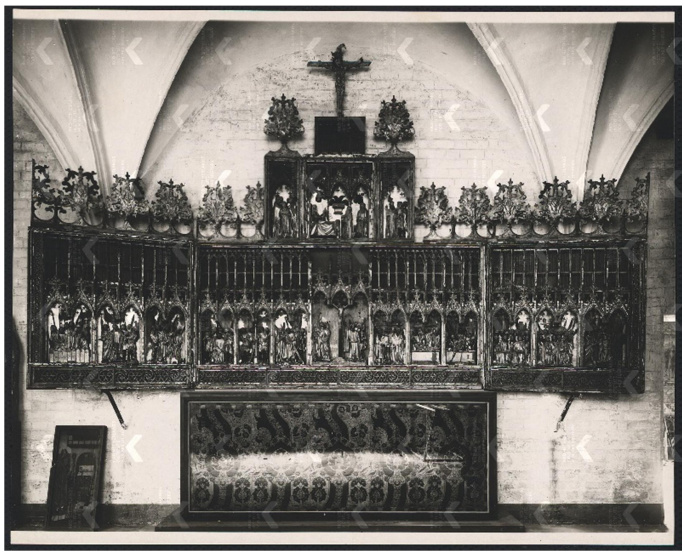

Figure 9. Anonymous, Passion altarpiece with the Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1430, oak and walnut wood, 149x300 (closed), St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck.

the second pair of painted wings added in Lubeck, where they were also painted by local artists according to local taste.[103] The Iserlohn altarpiece, which survives in situ, also had a pair of painted wings attached to the sculpted shrine that depicted a cycle with scenes from the life of the Virgin in 10 panels, also painted in Iserlohn by the workshop of the Master of the Iserlohn altarpiece, a follower of Robert Campin and Jacques Daret.[104] Concerning the rest of the

[102] Jacobs, p. 97.
[103] See 'Mogelijk Anoniem Niederlanden (Historische regio) Ca.1430 en Anoniem Lübeck Ca.1430', *rkd.nl,* 2019 https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?query=gronauer&start=0 [accessed 17 June 2019].
[104] Paul Pieper, *Die deutschen, niederländischen und italienischen Tafelbilder bis um 1590* (Münster; Aschendorff, 1986}, pp. 205-208. The paintings of the wings were constituted of eight larger panels (61x62.5 cm) and two

altarpieces in the group, unfortunately, only the shrine of the Bokel altarpiece has survived, and no information regarding its wings is available today; the Neetze altarpiece had painted wings and a *predella* that was added in 1592, but as there is no evidence regarding its original appearance, we do not know whether it replaced an older one.

Moreover, although the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece is considered the earliest example of the transition of Early Netherlandish altarpieces from carved to painted wings, it should be noted that there are significant signs that, in the course of time, it was subjected to significant alterations that have not yet been fully disclosed because it still awaits a full technical examination. Furthermore, given the total absence of related archival material, its original appearance is difficult to know with any degree of certainty.[105]

Finally, the Hakendover altarpiece, which is attributed to the same workshop as the altarpiece from Dortmund, the workshop of the so-called master of Hakendover, did not have any painted wings, as far as we know; it had only an elaborate sculpted narrative cycle extending on both wings and depicting the foundation of the church, the Sint-Salvatorskerk in Hakendover, where it still stands today.[106]

The second group of Flemish altarpieces imported in Germany during the first half of the fifteenth century includes works dated after 1440 and generally attributed to workshops from Brussels or Louvain. The earliest example is the altarpiece from the high altar of Saint Peter in Rheinberg near Xanten, of which only two fragments from the shrine survive, dating from approximately 1440 and attributed to a Brussels workshop. Thes contemporary altarpiece from Schwäbisch Hall, attributed to the Master of the Rieden retable, also comes from Brussels, as

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smaller ones (47x25.5cm). The eight larger panels were probably separated in the first half of the nineteenth century and now hang on the choir walls. The two smaller panels are in Münster's Westfälisches Landesmuseum.

[105] Bertam-Neunzig, p. 19

[106] The Hakendover altarpiece, oak and walnut wood, 1400-1410, 195x295x25 cm (closed) and 625 cm (open), Sint-Salvatorskerk, Hakendover.

does the altarpiece from Saint Catherine's church in Schwäbish Hall, currently in a private collection.[107] The latter is a rare example of a work by an artist whose identity is known, Willem Ards. Ards, who had origins in Brussels, worked in Leuven at the end of his life. Since this altarpiece is dated ca.1440, it is considered to have been made in that city.[108]

In summary, this short survey of the Southern Netherlandish altarpieces imported in Germany in the early fifteenth century shows that, based on their dating and place of origin, we can *grosso modo* deduce that, at least until 1430s, Bruges workshops attracted German buyers. However, the situation changed, and after 1440, interest shifted to Brabant. This coincides with the historical facts, which reveal that the Flemish city suffered a major economic recession after the revolt of 1437, followed by economic blockade and bad harvests, finally forcing the closure of many workshops and resulted in the flight of foreign merchants to other cities.[109]

The earliest group of altarpieces from Bruges, although far from homogeneous, presents strong indications that they were produced by Bruges workshops and, in some cases, it is possible that they were made in the same workshop. Nevertheless, as far as Dortmund's Passion altarpiece is concerned, the researcher must address the following paradox. Although its attribution to the group is not contested, it is considered the only example that must be from Brussels, an exception based exclusively on its association with the Master of Hakendover, as is discussed below.

2. German Altarpieces in Early Fifteenth-Century Dortmund.

[107] Master of the Rieden altarpiece, polychrome oak and walnut, ca.1440, 136x235x17,5 cm, Hällisch-fränkisches Museum, Schwäbisch Hall. The two painted wings are also attributed to a Brussels workshop ca. 1440.
[108] Willem Ards (sculpture) and anonymous (painting), 190 x230 x22 cm (wings excluded), Schwäbisch Hall, private collection.
[109] Geelen, p. 8.

Any attempt to contextualise Dortmund's Passion altarpiece would be incomplete if it failed to account for two of the most iconic works of late medieval painting from Westphalia, the Berswordt altarpiece by the Berswordt Master and the triptych with scenes from the Life of the Virgin by Conrad von Soest, both in the St. Marienkirche, a stone's throw from Saint Reynold.

St. Marienkirche, just across Saint Reynold's, on the opposite side of the Hellweg, was the City Council's official church, as well as the parish church for many patrician families of Dortmund.[110] Dedicated to the Virgin, it was also strongly connected with the commemoration of the dead and received endowments from several guilds and brotherhoods on the condition that regular services would be held for the salvation of the souls of their deceased members.[111]

[110] Brigitte Corley, *Conrad von Soest. Painter among merchant princes* (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), p. 16.
[111] Barbara Welzel, 'Bilder, Kontexte, Identitäten: Die Marienbilder des Conrad von Soest im Spätmittelalterlichen Dortmund' in Büttner, Schilp, p. 313.

Figure 10. Conrad von Soest, Triptych with scenes from the Life of the Virgin, tempera on oak, ca.1420, central panel: 170x305 cm, wings (each): 170x152 cm.

Not surprisingly given the church's high status, its high altar was decorated with a masterpiece by Conrad von Soest, the city's iconic painter. The altarpiece, a triptych, presents the Death of the Virgin in the middle panel, flanked by the Nativity on its left wing and the Adoration of the King on its right when opened, and the Annunciation with the Coronation of the Virgin when closed.[112] Today, it still stands *in situ*, although unfortunately in fragmented form, after it was significantly cut in 1720 in order to fit a baroque frame (fig. 10).[113]

[112] Conrad von Soest, *Triptych with Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, tempera on oak, ca.1420, central panel: 170x305 cm, wings (each): 170x152 cm, Marienkirche, Dortmund.
[113] Corley, p. 195.

Just a few steps further, at the altar of the Holy Cross in the north aisle of the church, stands the Berswordt altarpiece (fig.11). Dated around 1390, it is also a triptych; the Crucifixion is at its centre, the Carrying of the Cross is on the left wing and a Deposition is on the left. Unfortunately, the paintings on the reverse have not survived.[114]

Figure 11. Master of the Berswordt Altar, Passion Triptych, tempera on oak, ca.1390, central panel: 95x147cm, wings (each) 94x146cm, Marienkirche, Dortmund.

It is believed that, in both cases, the commissioners were members of the patrician elite. In the case of Conrad von Soest's work, it was commissioned by the City Council, as was the Saint Reynold's altarpiece. The Berswordt altarpiece was endowed to the chapel by a member of the Berswordt family, one of the most prominent families in Dortmund, members of the City Council as well as of the clergy of Saint Reynold.[115] Consequently, all three works were choices made by the same clientele, the patrician merchants who originated from the old families that constituted the city's ruling class. At that time, the works were epitomised by a style quite

[114] The Berswordt Master, the Berswordt altarpiece, tempera on oak, ca.1390, central panel: 95x147cm, wings (each) 94x146cm. For the Berswordt altarpiece, see Thomas Schilp & Andrea Zupancic, *Der Berswordt-Meister und die Dortmunder Malerei um 1400. Stadtkultur im Spätmittelalter* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2002).
[115] Corley, p. 218-220.

similar to the so-called International Gothic, characterised by the refinement of the figures, the opulence of the materials and the emphasis on decorative elements.

Nevertheless, when compared, these works conspicuously demonstrate two very different approaches. The narrative on the wings of the St. Reynold's altarpiece is fragmented into sequences of compartmentalised episodes, while both works from the St. Marienkirche develop their narrative in fewer scenes over more extended, undivided surfaces. Moreover, stylistically, there are also significant differences. The figures of both altarpieces from the St. Marienkirche are more voluminous, and their bodies appear almost inflated under their elaborate clothes, while their overall proportions are well integrated within the composition. On the contrary, in the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece, the figures are more planar, almost two-dimensional, and they are elongated as if stretching to dominate the painted surface of their compartments. Nevertheless, all three works are characterised by the same love for lavish detail, which is particularly evident in the rendering of textiles, the richness of the costumes and the gracious gestures.

Therefore, since Saint Reynold's altarpiece is the latest of the three, one can assume that it expresses its patrons' quest for variety and heterogeneity, although always within the context of the prevalent taste of their time. Thus, when the need to find a suitable altarpiece for Saint Reynold's newly constructed altar emerged as part of the costly and ambitious plan to extend and refurbish the choir, the City Council would likely seek something that could rival, or even overshadow, those of the St. Marienkirche. A lavish carved altarpiece, specially made and imported from the Southern Netherlands, was surely *de rigeur*, a testament to the power and taste of the city's patrician elite and the controlling force behind the City Council.

3. St. Reynold's Passion Altarpiece and the Question of the Master of Hakendover.

Ever since Von Euw pointed out in his 1968 article on the Schnütgen Museum Crucifixion what he considered 'the, at first glance, similarities between the Apostles from the Hakendover altarpiece and those from Saint Reynold', thus drawing a parallel between the two works, they have been perceived in art historical research as coming not only from the same workshop but even from the very same hand, that of the Master of Hakendover. Traditionally the Master of Hakendover and his workshop have been linked to the city of Brussels, and so the question of a possible attribution of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece to a Bruges workshop becomes more perplexing, leading to the confusion and uncertainty that characterises research around it today.[116]

Von Euw, when discussing the relation between the two works and the possibility of a common origin in the same workshop, did not hesitate to locate it in Bruges. Consequently, one must wonder how it ended up in Brussels. Indeed, as has been previously discussed, Steyaert's contribution shifted the city of origin from Bruges to Brussels, and, drawing from von Euw and his association of the two altarpieces, further expanded on the subject by attributing both works to the same artist. That artist's corpus, as he claimed, should also include the sculptural decoration of the choir of the basilica in Halle, comprised of a series of life-sized stone Apostles, as well as the wall tabernacle reliefs from the same choir.[117] Finally, Steyaert called this artist the Master of Hakendover after the location of his oldest work, the altarpiece of the Three Marys from the high altar of Hakendover's Kerk van de Goddelijke Zaligmaker, usually known in its

[116] von Euw, p.112.
[117] John William Steyaert, *The Sculpture of St. Martin's in Halle and related Netherlandish Works* (unpublished diss. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1974).

abbreviated form as Sint-Salvatorkerk.[118] Since then, scholarship's view of the Master of Hakendover has been dominated by Steyeaert's account.

According to Stayaert, who was the Master of Hakendover? The eminent American scholar called him the 'founding father' of Brabantine sculpture, who changed its course with the altarpiece from Hakendover.[119] Based exclusively on stylistic analysis, without any archival evidence or material from a technical analysis of any of his works, he established a profile that envisioned the sculptor as 'possibly of Mosan or north-eastern Netherlandish origin but established in Brussels by c.1400', with a production that was 'both prolific and versatile, including large and small stone sculpture as well as wooden retables and indicated that he stood at the head of a large workshop'.[120] According to Steyaert, in his earlier works, the Master's artistic development shows the major influence of André Beauneveu. However, he gradually shifted to a more diverse style, and in the sculptural decoration of the choir of the Basilica in Halle, completed in his middle period in 1399-1400, he 'offers the most extensive and diversified ensemble of the sculptor's work', which is among the earliest examples of the Netherlandish 'Soft style'.[121]

Finally, his late period is expressed by Saint Reynold's altarpiece, which Steyaert considers 'his masterpiece', and it stands at the end of the line of his stylistic evolution that started with the Hakendover altarpiece. Its intermediate stage is expressed in Halle's sculptures. In fact, Steyaert

[118] Besides these three major works, the Master's corpus, according to Steyaert, also includes a retable fragment with Apostles in Prayer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a Saint Peter in Penance, a fragment from an altarpiece currently in a private collection, the archivolt Prophets and the consoles from the Belfry portal of Brussels City Hall, and two volt bosses and six historiated corbels decorating the interior passageway and the inner face of the same portal; the latter are the only works from his workshop that are in Brussels itself. He also believes the fragment of Christ praying in Gethsemane from the Rijksmuseum was probably carved from a workshop assistant or a follower. See 'Sculpture in Brussels c.1400-80' in Steyaert and Tahon-Vanroose, p. 70, note 6, p. 85.
[119] Steyaert and Tahon Vanroose, p. 68.
[120] Steyaert and Tahon Vanroose, p. 68.
[121] Steyaert and Tahon Vanroose, p. 68.

maintains that, ‘compared to his other works, including those in Halle, it is as if all to differing degrees are imperfect efforts in search of a similar end result’.[122]

To start, there is no evidence regarding the so-called Master of Hakendover, let alone that he ever actually resided in Brussels. According to Christian Bodiaux, ‘we know nothing of his origins, the exact period he was active or where his workshop was located’. He further argues, ‘nevertheless, a certain historiography has associated him with sculptors from Brussels, however this is nothing more than a hypothesis which is often presented as certitude’.[123] Steyaert turned an arbitrary assumption into an almost axiomatic fact.

This unsubstantiated association of the Master with the city of Brussels as the unquestionable site of workshop has contributed to the development of a certain narrative that excludes the possibility of considering any alternative for the works attributed to his corpus. The possibility of examining them within the context of a different artistic tradition has not been examined. With an almost ubiquitous acceptance, Steyaert’s view has effectively blinded research and prevented it from even considering another prospect.

One of the few attempts younger scholars have made to re-examine the oeuvre of the Master of Hakendover is that of Bodiaux, who openly questioned the attribution of the sculptures of the Basilica in Halle.[124] Specifically, he distinguishes at least three different hands among them: that of the Master and at least two assistants. In comparing the statuettes from the altarpieces from Saint Reynold and Hakendover to that of the Apostles from Hall, he refuses to accept that they were both made by the same artist. He finds significant differences not only in iconography, noting that their attributes differ, but, more significantly, in style. Comparing anatomy and

[122] Steyaert, p. 136.
[123] Christian Bodiaux, ‘Les Apôtres de la basilique Sain-Martin de Hal : un chef-d’œuvre du Maître du Retable d’Hakendover ?’, *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d’art de Louvain*, 31 (Louvain, 1998), p. 89-104, p. 89.
[124] Bodiaux, p. 94.

drapery, he concludes that the respective style may be close but has different origins.[125] Unfortunately, since 1998, when Bodiaux published his article, no further attempt has been made to pursue the matter and reopen the discussion using new evidence based on new research.

Similar questions arise in the case of the Hakendover altarpiece. Roger Marijnissen, in his article *'Les retables de Rheinberg et Hakendover',* in which he combined a small survey of its known restorations as well as an overview of available archival material, attempted to assess its condition and presented the results of a preliminary examination he performed in the late 1960s.[126] There, he traced the first surviving evidence of a restoration to 1853, following the request of the Royal Commission on the Monuments to the community of Hakendover to acquire the altarpiece for the state. In response, the community asserted that, at that point, the work was undergoing restoration by Sondervorst from Tienen, whom they described as a sculptor. A few months later, members of the Royal Commission appear to have had the altarpiece examined. By then, one-third had already been restored, and they authorised the continuation of the project. Nevertheless, in a contemporary letter they addressed to the Ministry, the Commission expressed serious concern over the quality of the work that instigated, in response, a second letter to the ministry by Von Aerschodt, priest of the church in Hakendover. Written in 1856, Von Aerschodt, defending Sondervorst's work, claimed that, before the intervention, the altarpiece 'was in a state of dilapidation and, without any exaggeration, we could say that only a third of the sculpture had survived. The other two-thirds were either broken, had perished entirely or were in such a state that it was practically impossible to distinguish their shape.'[127] Describing Sondervorst as someone who is 'good at

[125] Bodiaux, p. 94.
[126] R.M. Marijnissen and H. Van Liefferinge, 'Les retables de Rheinberg et de Hakendover', *Das Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege,* 21 (1957), pp. 75-89.
[127] Marijnissen and H. Van Liefferinge, note 25.

what he does' and reminding them that the members of the commission who inspected the first stage of the work authorised him to complete it, he proudly asserted that 'it would have been impossible to do a more beautiful or complete restoration'.[128] More specifically, responding to what must have seemed a reproach from the Ministry to the church authorities regarding the restoration of the figures, he went on to explain, 'regarding your observation that the figures of the part which has already been completed are not as well made as the decorations, let me remind you that in that part we did not completely replace any figure but only used the groups whose figures were not broken and the artist only removed layers of glue'. Finally, he maintained that what was entirely missing was the frame, and that the restorer had suggested installing upper and lower galleries and dividing the compartments with towers. He closed his letter with the financial details.

Despite Von Aerschodt's reassurances, merely 14 years later, following another letter from the Administration of Letters, Sciences and Fine Arts that urgently called for a new restoration, the Commission admitted that the old restoration was bad and 'radically changed the original structure' of the altarpiece without further indicating its exact condition after the Sondervorst intervention. Casts of the altarpiece made in 1880 by the Art and History museum (KMKG), luckily, document the group of the Swooning of the Virgin that subsequently disappeared, as well as the group of Longinus which must also have been replaced, although it is not certain when, and they also document the absence of the original Crucifixion.[129]

In 1912, J. Destrée complained about the condition of the sculptures and called for an urgent restoration that would see to 'the elimination of worms which are consuming them' and

[128] Marijnissen and H. Van Liefferinge, note 25.

[129] Around 1894-1896.

proposed the 'filling in of the gaps'.[130] A second documented restoration, which took place from 1919 to 1922 under Von Uytvonck, appears to a have been less intrusive, and minor interventions were performed on the sculptures. Von Uytvonck replaced the missing Crucified Christ and John and Mary group; however, it is believed that, for his copies, he did not use the KMKG casts. To the saga of misadventures of the altarpiece's past, two thefts should be added. These took place in 1978 and left it with only 10 of the original figures and seven of the groups, though some have been reinstated.[131]

Marijnissen, summarising his assessment of the altarpiece's state, attempted to answer the question of the altarpiece's suitability as comparative material for stylistic comparisons. Although he was cautious enough to remind the reader that his observations should be further corroborated by an extensive technical examination, he nevertheless expressed his view regarding both the architectural elements and the sculpted figures. More precisely, as far as the architectural elements of the altarpiece were concerned, he considered them 'suspicious and, therefore, not usable for the purposes of stylistic comparisons'. In regard to the sculptures, he first referred to two groups that he examined on the occasion of the 1960 exhibition on Flanders in the fifteenth century at the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts. He found that they were severely damaged by worms and bore the signs of a drastic intervention by Sondervorst (fig.12).

[130] Marijnissen a

[131] 'Meester van 9
https://rkd.nl/nl/ t=0 [accessed 18 June 2019].

Figure 12. Picture from the back side of the group of The Legend of the Founding of the church of Hakendover, showing the considerable losses from worm infestation.

Considering the rest of the groups from the legend of the foundation of the church, he argued that they had been restored in places but not significantly altered.

In contrast, concerning the statuettes of the Apostles and the Saints, which constitute the material Steyaert used for his comparisons, he expressed serious reservations regarding their state and concluded that he could 'suppose that many of them were remade'.[132] Similarly, restorers made the back of the figure of the Saviour and his architectural setting, while he definitely attributed the group of Longinus to Sondervorst. Similarly, he expressed doubts regarding the group of the Waning of the Virgin, which must have been a copy made before Sondervorst's restoration, because it appeared older but definitely not original. Finally, he thought that the Calvary scene was also not original.[133]

Marijnissen's article was published in 1957, only seventeen years before Steyaert completed his PhD dissertation on the sculptures of Sint Martinusbasiliek in Halle. Therefore, it is surprising that not only he does not seem to take into account Marijnissen's reservations on the subject, but he also avoids any discussion of the condition of the works or their conservation histories, thus basing his research on stylistic comparisons among works that may have been significantly

[132] Marijnissen and Van Liefferinge, p. 83.
[133] Marijnissen and H. Van Liefferinge, p. 87.

altered or differed from their original state. Moreover, throughout his dissertation, one is amazed to see how little space he devoted to the comparisons of the sculptures in Halle to the altarpieces from Hakendover and Dortmund. The focus is the sculptures of the basilica, and the comparisons with the wooden altarpieces are merely a peripheral issue he addresses in passing, although these later became highly important for the overall Master of Hakendover question.[134]

Furthermore, Steyaert appears to have chosen to deliberately ignore the subject of these concerns over the Master of Hakendover and his work throughout his much-acclaimed career. As far as I can establish, he never addressed the thorny problem of the group of early fifteenth-century altarpieces generally considered of Bruges origin, to which both the Hakendover and the Dortmund examples have been ascribed, despite the oxymoron of their parallel association with the Master of Hakendover, whom he explicitly saw as the 'father' of Brussels sculpture. It is indicative of his attitude on the subject that, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Late Gothic Sculpture. The Burgundian Netherlands,* in which he attempts an outline of stylistic development, he dedicates one chapter to the sculpture of Tournai and another to the sculpture of Brussels; however, there is nothing on Bruges, which is nevertheless represented in the exhibition, although without any mention of altarpieces.

In the same way, Robert Didier, who co-authored several entries for the catalogue of the exhibition *Die Parler und der Schöne Still, 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgen* with Steyaert, including the one for the altarpiece of Hakendover, seems to try to avoid the problem presented by the association of the Master of Hakendover with Brussels.[135] Admittedly, Didier acknowledged the existence of the group of altarpieces from Bruges and agreed to their attribution to workshops from the city as well as to their similarities with the

[134] Steyaert, (1974), p.136-140.
[135] A. Legner, p. 89-99.

Dortmund altarpiece; however, he obstinately refused to provide any further explanation of the subject.[136]

Concerning our knowledge of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece itself, it should also be taken into account that, as has been previously discussed, there are still several issues that remain open; until these are appropriately addressed through further research, there is considerable risk of misinterpretations and error. The question regarding the true nature of the relation between the Reinoldikirche altarpiece and the emergence of the *Kapellenschrein* or 'chapel space' in Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces is one such example. The term has been used to describe what is considered 'one of the great inventions of Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces, first appearing around the second decade of the fifteenth century'.[137] In contrast to the rest of the Northern European altarpieces, in which the architectural decoration overarching the figures of the shrine is flat and two-dimensional and functions as a mere frame, in Early Netherlandish altarpieces, this gradually evolves into a spatially pronounced niche with considerable depth. In the Hakendover altarpiece, the figures are crowned with a baldachin that extends outward into space rather than remaining planar. It is believed that this form reaches full bloom for the first time in the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece where, besides the deep vaults, another innovative feature emerges, the tracery decoration used to define the back wall of the space, thus enveloping each figure. This feature is not repeated again until as late as 1460, with the retable of Ternant, thus leaving art historians to wonder why there is such a considerable gap between them. However, if the technical analysis of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece reveals that it is a nineteenth-century intervention, then the whole course of development of the *Kapellenschrein*

[136] See, for instance, Robert Didier, 'De H.Cornelis van het St.Janshospitaal en Brugse beeldhouwkunst omstreeks 1400', *Rond de restauratie van het 14de eeuwse Corneliusbeeld Brugge St. Janshospitaal* (Bruges, 1984), pp. 19-52.
[137] Jacobs, p. 116.

should be reconsidered, as well as another feature of the chain that links it with the Hakendover altarpiece.[138]

To conclude, misconceptions and errors such as this demonstrate the need to reconsider many of the assumptions that have become credos in art history despite being based on insufficient evidence; they are often repeated in an almost mechanical manner, from publication to publication, without questioning their validity.

In the case of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece, the association of the sculpted shrine of Dortmund's altarpiece to Brussels appears, to say the least, problematic; there is practically no evidence to substantiate it. Consequently, it is important to re-examine the whole question of the Master of Hakendover. Following recent developments in the field, Early Netherlandish history of art has been able to question the concept of the genius artist whose unique talent could account for radical changes and innovations that altered the flow of artistic creation. On the contrary, it has acknowledged that these are the product of lengthy, complex processes in which the role of a particular person cannot be designated with precision. Consequently, the label 'Master of Hakendover' likely does not refer to a specific person but rather designates, if not an entire sub-style within the context of pre-Eyckian sculpture, at least a rather extended workshop whose style was disseminated widely and cannot be identified with a specific location, at least not based on the little material that has survived. Moreover, it is essential that more systematic research includes the technical examination both of the works attributed to the so-called Master of Hakendover as well as of those from the group of early fifteenth-century South Netherlandish altarpieces that are considered to originate from Bruges. Only after compiling as much valid information on their original condition as possible should stylistic comparisons should be pursued in order to avoid misconceptions and, consequently, misattributions.

[138] Jacobs, pp. 117-118.

Furthermore, an attribution to Brussels, either to the Master of Hakendover as a physical entity or to a local workshop, should also address the issue of the close connection that the painted wings maintain to painting from Bruges, to which we refer in detail in the following chapter, and it should provide substantial proof of a link to the painting of Brussels of that time, of which practically nothing has survived. In any case, between the painting of the wings and the sculpture of the shrine, the former provides more sustainable clues for determining the altarpiece's origin than the latter.[139]

[139] A third possibility, that of a different origin for the shrine and the painted wings, should perhaps also be considered. It is well known that, during the annual fair, the laws of the guilds were suspended. See Lorne Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the fifteenth century', in *The Burlingtom magazine,* 118 (1976) p.188-198. According to Vanroose, 'craftsmen from outside the city (Bruges) could only offer wooden altarpieces and carved statues or other work of the kind produced by the Bruges image-makers on the market's three *toochedaghen* or "showing days"'; see Steyaert and Tahon Vanroose*, Late Gothic Sculpture,* (1994) p. 48. Consequently, a shrine from Brussels could very well be imported, exhibited and sold during the Bruges fair frequented by the Dortmund merchants; however, in our case, the quality of the work instead points to a commissioned work and not to an uncommissioned, standardised and ready-for-sale product.

Chapter III. The Painted Wings.

a. The Iconographic Program.

The iconographic program of the inner wings of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece follows the customary division of many medieval altarpieces into Marian and Christological scenes. Arranged in two rows of two compartments per wing, each compartment is further divided by golden framing strips into two subscenes, thus forming a narrative sequence of 16 episodes in total. On the left- hand side wing emphasis is primarily given to the story of the Life of the Virgin, although, given that in some cases, such as *The Presentation in the Temple*, the lives of the Virgin and Christ intertwine, there are also significant echoes of Christ's childhood. The scenes on the right- hand side wing focus exclusively on Christ's *Passion* (fig.13). Each wing's narrative is self-contained, reading from the upper left and concluding at the lower right, however, the two narrative sequences are also interconnected thanks to the imposing sculpted *Calvary* at the centre of the shrine.

Figure 13. The painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, right and left wing, oil on wood, 183x188 cm (each), The Reinoldikirche, Dortmund.

The overall impression of the painted wings is that of compartmentalisation, with their surface divided into chains of smaller narrative panels by bands of elaborate relief ornamentation. When compared to the surviving examples of South Netherlandish carved altarpieces from the same time, such as the group of carved altarpieces from Bruges examined in Chapter II, the Reinoldikirche's painted wings, with their pronounced emphasis on sequences of smaller narrative episodes rather than extended areas of undivided pictorial representation, appear to adopt an arrangement which is closer to German models.

Indeed, German altarpieces in the first quarter of the fifteenth century seem to follow a similar schema of wings fragmented into multiple narrative episodes of Marian and Christological content using similar strips of painted or gilded decoration. In some cases, such as, for instance, that of the Goldene Tafel in Hannover's Landesmuseum (fig.14), the double wings combine an extended sculptural and painting program by juxtaposing polychrome statuettes and painted scenes divided by similar to the Reinoldikirche's highly ornamented bands.[140]

[140] Master of t chrome statues of saints from eum, Hanover. Within the co onference *The Goldene Tafel altarpieces in Europe aroun* still pending. Nevertheless, tember 2019 it will host the e ed on the same subject.

Figure 14. Crucifixion outside right outer wing, Saints, Left and right inner wings, outside left outer wing, ca.1400-20, Niedersächsischses Landesmuseum, Hannover.

Another such example, this time closer to home, is that of the Niederwildungen altarpiece by Conrad von Soest. Von Soest was Dortmund's most acknowledged painter at the time whose work set the tone not only for the city's artistic scene but also for early fifteenth century German art in general. His Niederwildungen altarpiece, at the high altar of Bad Wildungen's Stadtkirche (fig. 15), follows the same model of painted wings separated by decorative bands into sequences of miniaturized narrative episodes.[141] Consequently, one cannot help but wonder whether the arrangement of the Reinoldikirche's wings was made deliberately to accommodate the taste of

[141] Conrad von Soest, The Niederwildungen altarpiece, tempera on panel, 1402, Stadtkirche, Bad Wildungen.

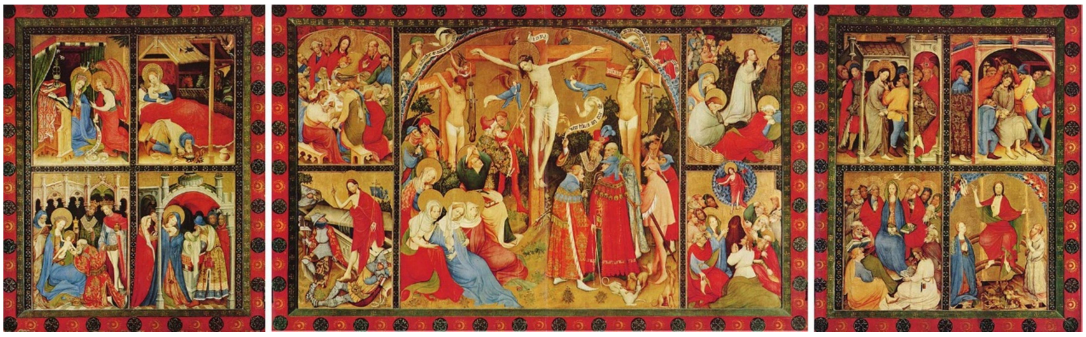

Figure 15. Conrad von Soest, The Niederwildungen altarpiece, tempera on panel, 1402, Stadtkirche, Bad Wildungen.

the German merchants who commissioned the altarpiece and were looking for a work which would combine Von Soest's famous example in a neighbouring but competitive church with the signature and prestige of Southern Netherlandish craftmanship.[142] In fact, Bruges, at that time was one of Europe's most significant hubs of manuscript illumination, therefore, an ideal choice to provide painters who would be familiar with miniature painting. In fact, it is well established that in the city's mixed workshops painters and manuscript illuminators worked side by side, often collaborating on the same project, as well as that the work of painters and manuscript illuminators would very often overlap.[143]

Finally, as far as the rest of the painting program is concerned, unfortunately very little is known. Most specifically, the paintings on the outer wings must have been scraped off at some point in the altarpiece's long history, leaving no trace of its subject or style. Most probably, following the custom of dedicating the outer wings of most medieval altarpieces to the church's patron saint, it figured saint Reynold. After all, special care had been taken to assure the saint's

[142] The few examples that survived, such as the group of altarpieces from Bruges, show an emphasis on sculpture or, when painted wings are present, as in the case of the Tower retable from Antwerp's Mayer van den Bergh Museum or the Boijmans Norfolk triptych, the division of the scenes takes place with alternative devices, usually architectural decorations.

[143] The close interrelation or even overlapping between illuminators and painters in Bruges is also evident in the fact that, until the middle of the fifteenth century, they were members of the same guild, the guild of Saint Luke. See Peter Stabel, 'Organization corporative et d'oeuvres d'art à Bruges, à la fin du Moyen Âge et au début des temps modernes', *Le Moyen Age,* vol.CXIII (2007/1), 91-134 (p. 95).

strong presence in the church, as it has been previously discussed, thanks to his imposing wooden statue and the extensive presence of his relics in the choir. This loss is extremely significant for our understanding of the altarpiece given that the now lost iconographic program on the exterior wings was the one that would have been visible most of the time, since the wings of the altarpiece, according to custom, would open to reveal the Marian and Christological cycles only during the feast days.

b. Compositional Affinities.

Although the arrangement of the painted scenes may allude to well-established patterns encountered in German altarpieces, their style and execution undoubtedly bear the hallmarks of their South Netherlandish origins. As it has been mentioned before, Von Euw was the first scholar to highlight the affinities that the Reinoldikirche *Passion* altarpiece shared with artists such as the Limbourg brothers and the Rohan Master and therefore supported the idea of a possible stay of the Reinoldikirche painter in the workshops of Jean de Berry or Philip the Good before his settling in Bruges.[144] Taking up from Von Euw, Bertram-Neunzig considers the Reinoldikirche's painted wings the most significant testimony of Franco-Flemish art from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Moreover, she maintains that they indicate an artist whose first-hand knowledge of the art produced in the workshops of the Burgundian Netherlands, especially that of Jean de Berry in Bourges, points to a residency there.[145]

Nevertheless, the outcome of the research undertaken within the context of this dissertation explicitly demonstrates, in my view, that the painter of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings was,

[144] Von Euw, p.114.
[145] Bertram-Neunzig, p.149.

as a matter of fact, an artist well embedded primarily within the artistic *milieu* of early fifteenth-century Bruges, especially that of manuscript illumination.

Indeed, in the examples which will follow, the close relationship of the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece painted wings with Bruges manuscript illumination will emerge. Most specifically, this research has showed that the so-called Master of the Beaufort Saints must have been a major influence on the Reinoldikriche's painter. In three different cases, illuminations attributed to the Master of the Beaufort Saints seem to have provided a source of inspiration for the altarpiece's painter who must have had a very thorough knowledge of the former's work.[146]Admittedly, this was to be anticipated considering the enormous success his worked enjoyed in Bruges which also led to his illuminations being exported abroad, especially in England.[147]

Further examples of affinities between the Reinoldikriche's *Passion* altarpiece painted wings and other workshops of miniature illumination from Bruges also attest to the altarpiece's origins from the Flemish city. Thus, the examples of similarities between miniatures of the so-called Glasgow-Rouen group of illuminated manuscripts and the altarpiece's paintings which will be examined, tend to suggest that there must have been a systematic use of motifs which, in some cases, resurfaced in panel painting or other objects considered to have been produced in Bruges, thus indicating the possibility of a pattern of recycling of elements from a common visual vocabulary.

As far as Van Euw's and Bertram Neunzig's claims of strong Franco-Flemish influences, as exemplified in the work of the Limbourg brothers and the Rohan Master is concerned, there is no question of their most significant role. Nevertheless, when it comes to the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece painted wings, these influences should be considered secondary and

[146]Namely the BL. Royal.2. A.XVIII, Plantin Moretus M.S. 15.8. olim.Lat.92 and LeMans Psalter. Bib.Mun. MS.B.249.
[147]Scot McKendrick, John Lowden, Kathleen Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts. The Genius of Illumination,* (London: The British Library, 2011), p.147.

anticipated within the context set by the ubiquitous presence of the International Gothic style at that time which had led to the creation of a common artistic language which transcended frontiers.

Therefore, it has to be acknowledged that in many cases it is very difficult to discern with exactitude the origins of a work of art created in those time of artistic syncretism. Moreover, the task of locating possible interfaces between the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece and the scarce remains of visual imagery from Bruges from that period is extremely difficult for several other reasons. The aspirant researcher has to deal with a crippling paucity of material, which is especially devastating in the case of panel painting. Therefore, customarily, one turns to the city's rich tradition in manuscript illumination despite the considerable challenges such an endeavour presents since comparisons between works made in different media, technique and scale must be taken into account. Given that artistic production of the period usually entailed the collaboration of multiple authors over the same work, the heterogeneity of the various 'hands', even when working within the same workshop. For instance, it is well established that manuscript miniatures were usually the products of joint labour produced by several hands, and the style often changed in order to accommodate the client's specific tastes or to accommodate the preferences of different markets while it was also accustomed to introduce loose folios into pre-existing manuscripts.[148] Nevertheless, it is generally conceded that in some cases what is usually called 'local style', that is a certain degree of common characteristics attributed to specific hubs of production, can be discerned, usually thanks to the combined application of stylistic and iconographic comparisons.

[148] Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'La miniature "flamande". Vers la cartographie d'une production transrégionale' in *Les miniatures flamandes 1404-1482*, ed. by Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt (coédition, Bibliothèque nationale de France/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 2012), p. 22.

In this regard, I believe that such an example of artistic encounter can be seen in Glasgow University's famous *Legenda Aurea* or MS. Gen. 1111.[149] The significant similarities between this manuscript and the Reinoldikirche's painted wings, which extend both to entire compositional arrangements as well as singular elements such as secondary figures which resurface within illustrations of the same subject or are recycled in an entirely new contexts seem to point to the fact that they must have had common sources or the artist of the altarpiece definitely had knowledge of them or, at least, of the *milieu* that produced them. Thus, in both the Reinoldikirche's and Glasgow's *Dormition of the Virgin*, for instance (fig. 16 and 17 respectively), the compositions are similar, built around the diagonal set by the Virgin's deathbed which is lavishly decorated with a richly brocaded material. The mourning apostles who, with gestures of contained sadness, express their emotions but avoid to exhibit exaggerated drama, stand by her side. In both instances, Peter heads the chorus holding a candle and bending over her, while others appear with various liturgical vessels. In the Reinoldikirche's example, the white-bearded apostle sprinkles her body with Holy Water and cradles an aspergillum; next to him, a younger one holds a censer. The Glasgow scene composition is simpler, fusing the two figures with liturgical vessels into one who blows in the censer, a detail that is omitted in the altarpiece. Moreover, the arrangement of the figures by the Virgin's deathbed differs. In the miniature, the apostle who in the altarpiece stands by the Virgin's feet and reads from a book, has been displaced close to her head. Inversely, the one who in the Reinoldikriche's altarpiece appears to be praying with clasped hands, in the miniature has moved by her feet, while a second, similar in pose but younger looking, also prays next to him. However, in both cases, the drapery of the apostles' robes is very similar, almost identical.

[149] We know with certainty that Legenda Aurea, MS. Gen. 1111 from Glasgow University Library was produced in Bruges around 1410; see 'Legenda Aurea. Book of the Month February 2003', *Glasgow University Special Collections Department*, 2019, (http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/feb2003.html (accessed 1 April 2019).

Figure 16. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Dormition of the Virgin.

Figure 17. Legenda Aurea (MS. Gen. 1111), Dormition of the Virgin, Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.

This type of composition for the *Dormition of the Virgin,* with minor variations, must have been popular in Bruges manuscripts at the beginning of the fifteenth century since it appears very often. Thus, a third example, that of the *Dormition* from the British Library's Add MS. 11575, fol. 82r, also produced in Bruges around 1410 (fig. 18), follows a similar pattern. Although in a very poor condition today, one can still discern the dying Virgin on her deathbed, surrounded by the mourning apostles. The reading figure at her feet, previously seen in both the Reinoldikirche's and Glasgow's compositions, is also to be found again, however, this time he is young and beardless, while the other two members of the group are also slightly different. Nevertheless, Peter holding the candle has been omitted. On the contrary, the figure holding a

small basket and an aspergillum sprinkling her body in the Reinoldikirche's composition has also survived in the British Library's miniature, though he looks much younger. In a third contemporary example from Bruges, the *Dormition* from Plantin Moretus' Ms. M.15.8 (olim. Lat.92), ascribed, as has been previously mentioned, to the Master of the Beaufort Saints, repeats the same composition (fig. 19). Moreover, the figure which in the background of the Reinoldikirche's *Dormition* appeared to be praying while looking at the sky, resurfaces in the miniature, though, this time, he is reversed.

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Figure 18. Dormition of the Virgin, Add MS. 11575, fol.82r, British Library, London.

Figure 19. Dormition of the Virgin, Ms. M.15.8 olim. Lat.92, Plantin Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Another interesting case of interchange is that of the Reinoldikirche's *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig .20). In the altarpiece's wing, the scene takes place shortly after Christ has rested the Crown on the Virgin's head which she elegantly lowers in a gesture of reverence, her hands joined in prayer. Christ with one hand blesses His mother while with the other He holds the scepter. They both share the same elaborate throne. None of the other persons of the Trinity is present, however, a pair of angels at their feet play the fiddle and the positive organ, while two more appear in bust, behind the throne, also in prayer. Bertram-Neunzig considers this composition a typical example of the influence that 'the Burgundian milieu of around 1400' exerted on the painter of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece'.[150] More specifically, she claims that its source of inspiration can be found in 'the similar configuration in the folio 78 of Jean de Berry's *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* (BnF., Ms. n.a. latin 3093) by the workshop of the Master of the Parement de Narbonne (fig. 21).

[150] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 115. Bertram -Neunzig employs the term 'Burgundian' without further elaborating on the subject, although it entails significant dynamism within the context of the International Gothic.

However, Bertram-Neunzig fails to notice the significant differences between the two; in the Master of the Parement de Narbonne's miniature, the composition illustrates slightly earlier scene, when Christ is resting the crown upon the Virgin's head with both His hands. The Virgin extends her hands instead of keeping them close to her chest while Christ's globe, which in the Reinoldikirche's painting sat between them, now rests on His lap. Furthermore, in the miniature, the Coronation is set within a mandorla, while all four angels are now playing music displaced on the four corners of the composition.

Figure 20. *Passion altarpiece, Coronation of the Virgin.*

Figure 21. *Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Coronation of the Virgin, Book of Hours, Ms. n.a. latin 3093, fol.75v, BnF, Paris.*

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Figure 22. Master Bertram, Coronation of the Virgin (from the right wing of the Buxtehuder Altar), ca. 1400, oil on wood, 110x94 cm, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

It is true that the Master of the Parement de Narbone's *Coronation of the Virgin* composition has been iconic and that its echoes can be detected in countless variations all over Europe, within the context of intense exchange that characterized artistic expression at that time. However, this does not necessarily allude to a direct influence, nor does it reveal a first-hand knowledge of the art produced in the workshops of Bourges or Dijon, as Bertram-Neunzig maintains. On the contrary, it demonstrates how these 'archetypal' compositions had gradually become part of a common visual vocabulary which was subsequently impossible to keep secluded and, therefore, indicative of a certain origin, since it had disseminated extensively. To that effect, for instance,

one can see how the Master of the Parement de Narbonne's *Coronation* had been reinterpreted in Master Bertram's roughly contemporary *Coronation* from Hamburg's Kunsthalle (fig. 22).[151] Moreover, as far as the Southern Netherlands is concerned, this type of composition of the Coronation with the Virgin accompanied by Christ and angels playing music seems to also have been extremely popular, especially around 1400.[152] Such an example can be found in the famous *Alken predella* (fig. 23).[153]

The *Alken predella* and the Reinoldikirche's *Coronation* have much in common. Both their artists have chosen, unlike the Master of the Parement de Narbonne, to depict the first moments after the Virgin's Crowning. Moreover, they share the almost identical gesture of Christ who raises one hand in a gesture of blessing, and with the other, He holds the sceptre. The similarities even extend to Christ's palm which is turned upwards, with two fingers bent and three extended, while in both cases His other hand rests on a globe. Also, in both cases, the Virgin lowers Her head in a gesture of humility and raises her hands in prayer, while the angels at their feet play musical instruments. However, the affinities between the two works are further extended in details such as the same treatment of decorative elements. For instance, the tiling of the floor in the Alken *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* is similar to the pattern on the altar cloth in the Dortmund *Presentation in the Temple*.[154] Furthermore, research has showed that in its underdrawing, Joachim wears a scallop-edged chaperon, which closely resembles one worn by one of the soldiers in Dortmund's Crucifixion on the right wing.[155]

[151] Uwe Schneede, *Goldgrund und Himmelslicht. Die Kunst des Mittelalters in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1999).
[152] Deneffe, Peters, Fremout, Stroo, p.234.
[153] *Scenes from the life of the Virgin*, Kortessem panel-Alken Predella, Southern Netherlands, 1380-1410, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België / Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique.
[154] Deneffe, Peters, Fremout, Stroo, 229.
[155] Deneffe, Peters, Fremout, Stroo, 238.

These similarities allude to the strong possibility that the Reinoldikirche's painter must have been more familiar with South Netherlandish models such as the *Alken predella,* which were in fact closer to home, than with the miniatures produced in the Burgundian workshops which he knew indirectly, as they had been appropriated by local workshops all over Europe and became integral part of their artistic idioms.

Indeed, during my research, I located another example of a miniature composition of the

Figure 23. Kortessem panel-Alken predella (detail), Coronation of the Virgin, Southern Netherlands, ca. 1400.

Coronation of the Virgin which is very close both to that of the *Alken predella* and, more significantly, to the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece. What is more remarkable is that it originated with certainty in Bruges in 1415, thus indicating the close links between the altarpiece's painter and the city. Indeed, fol. 93 of British Library's Add.MS 11575, a translation of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in Dutch, illustrates the crowned Virgin seated next to Christ, who holds

the globe with one hand, while the other makes a gesture of blessing (fig. 24) similar to that of the Reinoldikirche's Coronation. Moreover, at their feet, two standing angels play music with similar musical instruments. To this example, another one, slightly later (ca. 1450), should be added, also coming from Bruges, that of the *Coronation of the Virgin* from the Morgan *Vita Christi Ms. 649* fol. 7r. [156]

Figure 24. Spiegel von der Menschen Behoudenisse (Dutch translation of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis) Add.MS 11575, fol. 93r. British Library, London.

[156] B. Cardon, R. Lievens, M. Smeyers *Typological Scenes from the Life of Christ, A manuscript from the Golden Scrolls group (Bruges, ca.1440) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. Morgan 649* (Leuven: Peters, 1985).

Figure 25. Vita Christi, MS. M 649, fol. 7r, The Morgan Library, New York

Finally, as far as further compositional affinities between the Reinoldikirche's painted wings and Bruges manuscript illuminations are concerned, the case of the altarpiece's *Agony in the Garden* composition (fig. 26) and its numerous variations on the same subject, ranging from those that are vaguely similar to almost identical, should be mentioned. Ushaw College's MS 10 from Bruges (fig. 27), dating to 1408, and Morgan Library's MS. M 259, fol. 12v (fig. 28), dating between 1410-1415, both Books of Hours, follow what must have been one of the most popular versions of the subject at that time in the city's workshops.

Figure 26 (left). Agony in the Garden, Reinoldkirche's Passion altarpiece.

Figure 27 (centre). Book of Hours, Ushaw College MS.10, Durham

Figure 28 (right). Book of Hours, MS. M259, The Morgan Library, New York.

c. Iconographic particularities.

In several instances, the Reinoldikirche's painted wings present some iconographic particularities that seem to further associate them with specific Southern Netherlandish models, or even models from Bruges in particular.

The Reinoldikirche's Nativity (fig.32) is such a telling example. Bertram-Neunzig claims that its composition emanates from the Pseudo-Jaquemart's *Nativity* scene in Jean de Berry's *Très Riches Heures* (BnF., Ms. Lat. 18014, fol. 41v) (fig. 29).[157] The influence of this seminal miniature can be seen in some examples of what have been considered the masterpieces of Burgundian art, works such as the Antwerp Baltimore Quadriptych and the Tower Retable with Scenes from the Life of Christ, both currently in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp (figs. 30-31). In these two examples, special care was taken with what has been considered an innovative way to render space, while scholars also believe that they signal the emergence of what has been described as 'a new-found taste for anecdotal details', exemplified in the group of peasants in the background peeking indiscreetly at the scene, or Joseph performing domestic chores.[158] As a matter of fact, although the latter motif can be also found in contemporary art from Aragon, Bohemia, the Rhineland and the Paris region, it reappears in large scale and takes a distinctive form in a group of Bruges manuscripts of around 1400, including the aforementioned Glasgow *Legenda Aurea* of the so-called Glasgow-Rouen group of illuminated manuscripts.[159] Indeed, the task of taking care of the Infant's nappies, in particular, is thought to be exclusively linked to Flanders, where it assumed dogmatic connotations thanks to the

[157] Bertram-Neunzig, p. 90.
[158] H. Mund, C. Stroo, N. Goetghebeur, H. Nieuwdorp, *The Mayer van den Bergh Museum Antwerp* (Brussels 2003), p.229.
[159] H. Mund, C. Stroo, N. Goetghebeur, H. Nieuwdorp, p.229.

ascending status of Joseph after the mid-fourteenth century, which resulted in his addition to the calendar as 'nutritor Domini.'[160]

Figure 29. Pseudo-Jacquemart, Nativity from the Très Riches Heures (Ms. Lat. 18014, fol. 41v), BnF, Paris.

Figure 30. Nativity (detail), from the so-called 'Antwerp Baltimore Quadriptych', Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

In this context, one should also consider the role played by the theologian Johannes Gerson (1363-1420), who actively campaigned to establish Joseph as having equal importance during his tenure as dean of Saint Donatian in Bruges.[161]

[160] Mund, Stroo, Goetghebeur, H. Nieuwdorp, pp. 238, 245-247.
[161] Maurits Smeyers, *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw: de middeleeuwse wereld op perkament* (Davidsfonds, 1998), pp. 199-200.

Figure 31. Maid with halo (detail), Tower Retable, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.

Another particularly interesting feature of this composition is that of the presence of the midwife, and more specifically, her halo. In Pseudo-Jacquemart's composition, the maid appears without halo, following the customary way the motif appears in contemporary South-Netherlandish art. Nevertheless, curiously enough, there seems to be a small cluster of works in which the maid appears with a halo. This does not have a plausible explanation, as far as we know, or it may be associated with a literary source which still remains unknown to us.[162] This group of haloed maids includes those of the aforementioned Nativities of the Antwerp-Baltimore Quadriptych, the maid from the Tower Retable (fig.31) and the Dortmund Nativity.

The two works from the Museum Mayer van den Bergh are generally considered Southern Netherlandish, and the introduction of certain iconographic particularities, including the maid's halo, is considered to 'illustrate an attachment to a broader trend towards inventiveness and renewal that is so typical of the pre-Eyckian art of the Southern Netherlands.'[163] Thus, it only seems logical to assume something similar for the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece.

[162] Cyriel Stroo, 'The Antwerp Infancy Cycle. A Disregarded Masterpiece of Early Netherlandish Painting around 1400', *Als ich kan. Liber amicorum in memory of Prof. Dr. Maurits Smeyers,* ed. by Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Peeters Publishers, 2002), p. 1276.
[163] H. Mund, C. Stroo, N. Goetghebeur, H. Nieuwdorp, p. 245.

Additionally, in the course of this thesis, a fourth example of a maid with a halo in a Nativity scene that should be included in this cluster of works was unearthed. Most significantly, it also comes from a manuscript illuminated in Bruges and dated around 1400-1410, that of the Le Mans *Nativity* attributed to the so-called Master of the Beaufort Saints whose influence on the Reinoldikirche's painted, as we have mentioned earlier, seems to have been profound (fig. 33).[164]

Figure 32. (left). Nativity, The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece

Figure 33. (right). Nativity, ms.B.249, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, LeMans

In the same vein, such minor details which may appear insignificant at first but potentially can prove extremely important in revealing the close ties between the Reinoldikirche's painter and Bruges abound. In the Dortmund *Presentation to the Temple*, for instance, a scene that apparently follows traditional iconographic patterns, the Virgin unexpectedly appears to be

[164] Ms.B.249, Bruges, ca.1400-1415, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Le Mans.

holding the newborn Jesus with one hand and a candle with the other (fig. 32). In the iconographic tradition Anna the Prophetess, Joseph or a simple maid are usually charged with this task and, besides the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece, there have been no other known examples in which the Virgin herself is depicted with the candle. However, my research detected a similar case in a slightly later *Presentation,* that of the MS M.385, a *Speculum humanae salvationis*, currently in the Morgan Library and Museum. It originates from Bruges and dates to approximately 1440. In this, composition the Virgin is also depicted holding a candle, leading us to consider the possibility that both works refer to some local devotional practice or a common iconographical pattern in effect in that area for a considerable time whose examples have sadly been lost (fig. 34).[165]

Figure 34. (left). Presentation in the Temple, The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece

Figure 35. (right). Presentation in the Temple, Speculum humanae salvationis Pierpont Morgan, MS M.385, New York.

[165] *Speculum humanae salvationis,* Pierpont Morgan, MS M.385, Bruges, ca. 1440.

Equally intriguing is an iconographical detail shared between two scenes from the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece, namely the *Dormition of the Virgin* (fig. 16) and the *Adoration of the Magi*, and one of the few surviving contemporary panels, the *Triptych with the Anointing of Christ's body* in Rotterdam (fig. 37). More precisely, in the background of two scenes from the the Reinoldikirche altarpiece, amid the mountainous landscape, different sorts of peculiar lizards appear. In the central panel of Boijmans Triptych depicting the *Embalming of the Body of Christ,* a roughly contemporary work that has been attributed to a Bruges workshop, at the back of the scene, amid a rocky landscape, a group of similar lizards also emerges.[166] Finally, a third occurrence of the motif occurs on a miniature depicting *Saint Magdalene praying in the Desert* from Rouen ms. 3024 (Leber 137) (fig. 36), which we know was made in Bruges around 1410 and is generally considered to present significant stylistic links both to the Reinoldikirche's *Passion* altarpiece as well as the Boijmans triptych. The presence of lizards in the background remains rare, even in later works. Two later examples, Van Eyck's *Three Marys at the Tomb*, also at the Boijmans,[167] and Justus van Ghent's *Calvary Triptych*[168] depict single lizards that, however, look different, and they have been repositioned to the foreground.

[166] Stephen Kemperdick in St. Kemperdick, Fr. Lammertse *The Road to Van Eyck* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2012) p.199.
[167] Jan van Eyck (?), *The Three Marys at the Tomb, oil on wood,* 71.5x90 cm, ca. 1430-1435, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.
[168] Justus van Ghent, Calvary Triptych, Oil on wood, 250x216, ca.1465/68, Ghent, Saint Bavo Cathedral.

Figure 36. Saint Magdalene praying in the Desert, Book of Hours ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.

Figure 37. Triptych with the Anointing of Christ's Body (central panel), Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Another example of an at first glance small, even inconspicuous, iconographic overlapping between the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece's imagery and contemporary sources from Bruges that, nonetheless, may prove quite revelatory in the long run, applies to the figure on Christ's right-hand side in the Reinoldikirche's *Christ blindfolded and mocked* (fig. 38). In her recent doctoral thesis,[169] Ingrid Geelen has drawn attention to an identical figure, this time originating not from a panel painting or an illuminated manuscript but a casket showing *Scenes from the Childhood and the Passion of Christ.*[170] Dated approximately to 1390 and considered a Southern Netherlandish work, it is generally attributed to a Bruges workshop, though not without some

[169] Ingrid Geelen, *Ongekende glorie: beeldhouwkunst in Vlaanderen ten tijde van Eyc*k (Proefschrift voorgedragen tot het behalen van de graad van Doctor in de Kunstwetenschappen, 2016-2017, Universiteit Gent, Faculteit Letteren en Wijsbegeerte).

[170] Casket showing scenes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ, wood, chased leather, polychrome, silver, ca. 1390, 16x30x24.5cm, Lucca, Museo della Cattedrale.

disagreement (fig. 40).[171] During this research, I encountered a third example of the same motif, a similar figure practicing the same mocking gesture in the scene depicting *Christ blindfolded and mocked* in the aforementioned British Library's Add.MS 1175, fol.45, whose date (1415) and provenance (Bruges) are certain, convincingly pointing once again to the city of Bruges (fig. 39).

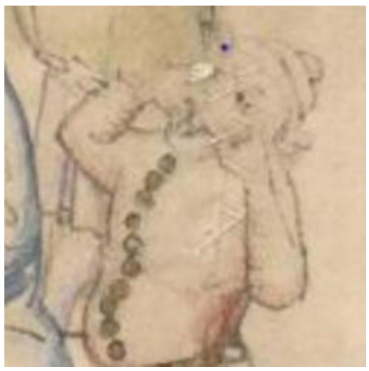

Figure 38. The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, Figure mocking Christ (detail from Christ blindfolded and mocked).
Figure 39. Figure mocking Christ (detail from Christ blindfolded and mocked, fol.45), Add.MS 1175, British Library, London.

Figure 40. Casket with scenes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ, figure mocking Christ *(detail from Calvary,) Museo della Cattedrale, Lucca.*

[171] Besides Geelen, who attributes it to Bruges, see also John William Steyaert and Monique Tahon Vanroose J. Steyaert (1994), pp. 13-29 and 37-49. On the other hand, the Bruges origins have been contested in Kemperdick, Lammertse, p. 121-123.

d. Stylistic Affinities.

The stylistic comparison between the painted wings of the *Reinoldikirche's* altarpiece and contemporary painting from Bruges also points to the high degree of compatibility indicative of interrelation and close rapport.

In the past, it has already been noticed that the *Reinoldikirche's* Saints Barbara and Catherine (figs. 42-43) and their counterparts from the so-called *Calvary of the Tanners,* also known as *Crucifixion with St Catherine and St Barbara* (fig. 41), currently in Bruges's Cathedral of the Holy Saviour, look very similar. Indeed, though not unanimously, most scholars acknowledged the obvious similarities between the two sets of saints from both works as far from coincidental and considered them evidence of a strong kinship. Nevertheless, some scholars have dismissed such a possibility and, although they recognise that these cases do exhibit a certain degree of similarity, they have maintained that they do not constitute convincing proof of their relation, arguing that the more significant differences in style and technique were more substantial proof of the opposite.[172]

Notwithstanding these objections, Anton von Euw, one of the very first scholars to make a convincing comparison of the two and support their close connection, insisted that he saw such a degree of stylistic compatibility that he went even further and discussed the possibility that both works were made in the same workshop. Based on his belief that the both the sculpted shrine and the painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece were made in Bruges, he questioned to

[172]Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete, 'Technologie des cadres et supports dans la peinture flamande vers 1400', in *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 7-10 September 1993 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 8. Low Countries Series, 5), ed. by Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven, 1995), pp. 371-383.

what extent they can be used as a point of reference in our efforts to better comprehend pre-Eyckian panel painting produced in the city, since so little of it has survived.[173]

As a matter of fact, the issue of a specific localisation of pre-Eyckian works of art such as Reinoldikriche's painted wings, is of enormous importance for Medieval art in general, since it could provide a much-needed key, a starting point which would help scholars to address with considerable certainty, through comparisons and further associations, many problems that have tantalised the field for years. Pre-Eyckian panel painting is notoriously difficult to date and attribute with certainty due to the scarcity of works and the absence of much further evidence. Indicative of the situation is the fact that the problem of the origins of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings, which is the focus of this thesis, is hardly a unique case. For instance, even the attribution of the *Calvary of the Tanners,* one of the most iconic works of that period, is problematic, although it has been traditionally associated with Bruges due to an unsubstantiated connection with the local tanners' guild. Consequently, if it could be established that the Reinoldikirche's painter came from Bruges and *Calvary of the Tanners* was painted by the same person or within the same workshop, then the origins of the latter could also be settled definitely.

[173]A. Von Euw, pp. 87-128.

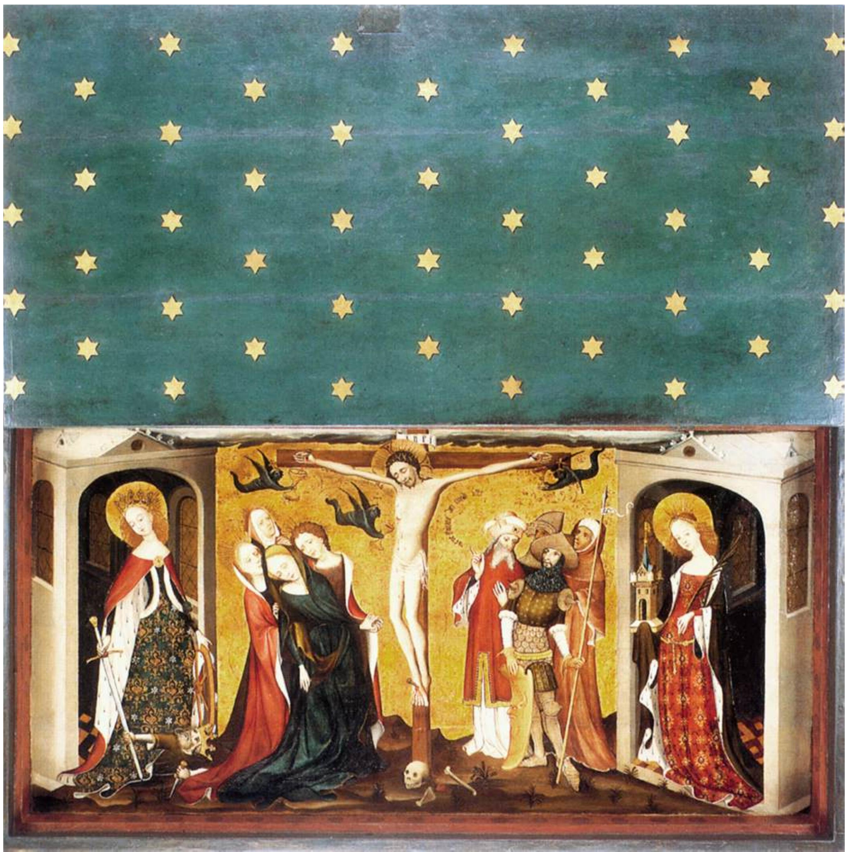

Figure 41. Anonymous, Calvary, ca. 1400, oil on oak, Museum of Sint Salvator Cathedral, Bruges.

Figure 42. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, St. Catherine.

Figure 43. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, St. Barbara.

To sum up, although the issue the kinship between the two works seems resolved, with the majority of scholars accepting that they are extremely close, the question of their exact city of origin remains open. In Pre-Eyckian Panel Painting in the Low Countries, Famke Peters, after a careful stylistic comparison of the two, concludes that 'the specific similarities between the two works indicate close relationship. They could not have been created independently of one another. The figures on the Dortmund panel may be rather more stylised; nonetheless, such conspicuous kinship strongly suggests that the works were produced in the same workshop.'[174] Moreover, she continues 'the likelihood is not diminished by the use of different techniques, as this can be ascribed to the collaboration of several craftsmen with different specialties and/or the specific requirements of the patron.'[175]

Indeed, besides the pair of female Saints, Saints Catherine and Barbara, which are very similar, other details, such as for instance, the head of the Crucified Christ, demonstrate an astonishing degree of compatibility. As has already been noted, in both works, the figures follow similar

[174] Deneffe, Peters, Stroo, Fremout, p. 128.
[175] Deneffe, Peters, Stroo, Fremout, p. 128.

patterns of restrained elegance and grace, adopting expressive postures and almost calligraphic facial traits for the women and the angels as well as luxuriously rich fabrics for their dresses. A clever interplay between different hues used in the modeling of faces, with darker tones rendering those of male characters and the palest reserved for the females, gives rhythm and intensity to the pictorial surface. The sophistication of the style and the skill required for its successful execution could not possibly have been the privilege of many artists, nor could it have emerged in a secondary, peripheral artistic centre.

Most importantly, the stylistic affinities observed between the figures of the Reinoldikirche's painted wings and the so-called *Calvary of the Tanners* also extend to illuminated manuscripts produced in the numerous workshops active in Bruges at the turn of the 15th century. Focusing on the pair of Saints Catherine and Barbara, one can find many examples of similar female saints in miniatures produced locally, of which just a small selection has been studied in the context of this research.

Thus, it can be claimed that a pattern emerges whose principal characteristics include the extreme elegance of the posture, as expressed in what could often be seen as an anti-naturalistic break of the waist, the elongated proportions of the figure, the facial characteristics and the hairstyle; the hand gestures; and the richly decorated fabrics. The outcome exceeds the typical requirements of the International Gothic's quest for refinement and elegance and becomes almost an idiosyncratic mannerism. Santa Barbara, for instance, in another example from the MS 2A XVIII, again by the Master of the Beaufort Saints, shares with its counterpart from the Reinoldikirche altarpiece the same sophisticated posture, the refined drapery and graceful gestures (fig. 44)

Figure 44. *Master of the Beaufort Saints, Saint Barbara, MS 2A XVIII, British Library*

Figure 45. *Saint Barbara, Book of Hours, ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen*

Even in cases such as that of Saint Barbara, from Rouen's ms. 3024, where the figure is stockier and her posture less inclined, the same pattern of extended fingers in both hands is repeated, in an effort to appear more gracious and refined (fig.46). [176] Saints Barbara and Catherine, from the

[176] Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Book of Hours, ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bruges, ca. 1400-1410.

Glasgow Legenda Aurea, are equally close, as are the saints from the Book of Hours MS. 32, fol.11, in Oxford's Jesus College.[177]

The poetic lyricism and the extreme refinement encountered in the hand gestures, as seen in manuscript illuminations made exclusively in Bruges, constitute two of the most striking features which they share with the painted wings from the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece. Thus, figures made in the city's workshops adopt very elegantly placed hand gestures where the fingers are extended or bent in a very characteristic way. In what I believe is a most telling example of such compatibility, the Virgin from the Dortmund *Presentation in the Temple* scene grasps the candle extending her little finger outwards, a rather peculiar detail which does not appear in any other known example. However, during the research pursued for this thesis, I was able to find in a manuscript from ca. 1410-15 from Bruges, in the fol.16 of the Liber Astrologiae, currently in the Morgan Library and Museum. There, the figure of Virgo appears to hold a tree branch in exactly the same way as the Reinoldikirche's Virgin in the scene of the *Presentation in the Temple* holds the candle, with the little finger extended (figs. 46-47).[178]

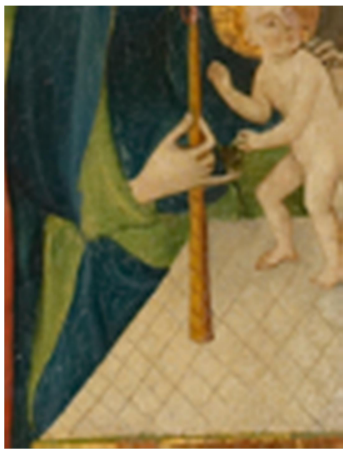

Figure 46. (left). The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Presentation to the temple (detail).

Figure 47 (right). Virgo from the Liber Astrologiae*, MS. M.785, fol.16r (detail).*

[178] The Morgan Library, *Liber Astrologiae* MS. M.785, Bruges, ca. 1403.

Likewise, the Dortmund painter and his contemporary illuminators in Bruges follow similar patterns to depict Christ's emaciated body. For instance, in the *Crucifixion* scenes from Rouen's aforementioned Ms 3024 (fig.48) and Downside Abbey's Book of Hours Ms. 26530, fol.34vo, (fig.49) Christ's body looks very close to that of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece.[179]

[179] Stratton on the Fosse, Downside Abbey, Book of Hours, Ms. 26530, fol.34vo, Bruges, ca.1400-1410.

Figure 48. Crucifixion, Book of Hours, ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen

Figure 49. Crucifixion, Book of Hours, Ms. 26530, fol.34vo, Downside Abbey, Stratton on the Fosse.

All three cases share the shame pronounced modeling of the flesh using contrasting dark brownish color tones with extended white brushwork that accentuates the elongated line set by the limbs and torso, while a thin, almost transparent fabric covers Christ's hips. Surprisingly enough, the similarities do not seem to end here, as the head of the figure standing in the Rouen miniature by Christ's feet, with his back turned to the viewer (fig. 52) is quite similar to that of a figure from the *Neville Hours* Crucifixion (fig. 51), as well as to one of Christ's mockers in the Reinoldikirche's *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 50); this must be considered another example of a recycled detail from pattern books circulating within the same milieu.[180]

[180] The miniature of fol. 50v is attributed to the so-called 'associate of Johannes', a painter connected to the Hermann Scheerre school. See G.M. Spriggs, 'The Neville Hours and the School of Herman Scheerre' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 37 (1974), pp. 104-130. For the relation between Scheerre and the

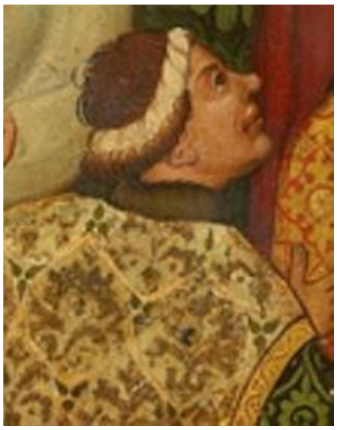

Figure 50. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Christ before Pilate (detail).

Figure 51. Crucifixion (detail), The Neville Hours, Berkeley Castle, England.

Figure 52. Crucifixion (detail), Ms 3024, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.

Master of the Beaufort Saints see Susie Vertongen, 'Herman Scheerre, The Beaufort Master and the Flemish Miniature Painting: A Reopened Debate', in Smeyers and Cardon, p. 257.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to re-examine the question of the origins of the painted wings of the *Reinoldikirche's* Passion altarpiece, a question left unanswered by art historical research despite the wings' enormous significance for pre-Eyckian painting. More specifically, the definitive attribution to a Bruges or Brussels workshop has stalled for more than half a century, leading to serious confusion and grave misunderstanding among scholars, which has aggravated the problematic situation that characterises our knowledge of Southern Netherlandish artistic production before Van Eyck.

Unquestionably, the task of addressing a matter as complicated as the accurate localisation of the workshop that produced these exquisite paintings is not easy, and every aspiring researcher has to address considerable obstacles that, more often than not, can be insurmountable. Nevertheless, it is also an issue that could profit immensely from a systematic reconsideration that takes into account supplementary methods of research that have not yet been used, as well as reviewing previous assumptions or theories that determined our view of the Reinoldikirche altarpiece in a different light or via a more diverse approach.

To begin, the main obstacle every new effort has to deal with is that the Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece has never been subjected to a thorough technical examination, thus depriving scholars from the potential benefits of such a method. This is further aggravated by the fact that similar action has been taken for works that have usually been considered in relation to the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, such as the aforementioned Calvary of the Tanners, whose relation to Dortmund's work has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate. Therefore,

lamentably, since the beginning, this thesis has had to address the problem of the almost complete absence of any information that comes from such an approach.[181]

Consequently, to a large extent, the research undertaken for this thesis has used, almost exclusively, the methods of stylistic and iconographic comparisons in order to establish or exclude possible relations between the painted wings of the Reinoldikriche and other contemporary visual material. Admittedly, these were the methods that Paatz, Von Euw and Steyaert previously employed and that contributed to the overall ambiguity regarding the subject; however, it has to be said that, in those cases, the work was not as systematic as it should have been because it was in a different context and focused on other issues.

In contrast, for the scope of this thesis, an effort was made to include as much as possible of the available visual material from pre-Eyckian artistic production, focusing mainly on work from Bruges or Brussels. Accordingly, there were considerable limits. The surviving material is extremely diverse, scattered in museums and cultural institutions all over the world and, unfortunately, in many cases, it has not yet been adequately researched. On the other hand, although the there is still much to do in terms of digitalising this material, it does provide the researcher with accessibility that was unthinkable of only a few years ago.

It goes without saying that, ideally, a first-hand examination of the material by visiting all possible destinations would have immensely facilitated the research and added to its validity. However, for the time being, I had to settle for what was available online for my comparisons. Although I had the chance to visit the Reinoldikirche and inspect the *Passion* altarpiece *in situ* (an experience that considerably transformed my view of it), that was not possible for most of

[181] As seen before, in Chapter II, with the exception of very limited information the two short and certainly not exhaustive technical reports produced by E. Jetter within the context of the altarpiece's last conservation in 1994. However, these reports do not include any X-rays or reflectography of the paintings of the wings.

the other works. Therefore, a large part of my thesis is focus on illuminated manuscripts because a wealth of images from manuscripts have recently been digitalised by libraries or other institutions such as *Illuminare* and are available on open-access databases. Moreover, illuminated manuscripts offer the additional advantage that they are relatively well researched and, luckily, in the case of early fifteenth-century manuscripts from Bruges, they are dated and localised with certainty thanks to inscriptions or other signs, such as their use or the saints that appear.

Unfortunately, this is not the case for other types of material, such as sculpture or panel painting, where the available material is limited. It is difficult to secure pictures of most of the under-researched works, which are usually in storage or even omitted from museums' catalogues. Furthermore, when such works are discussed, they are the subject of disagreement among scholars, who cannot reach a consensus regarding their origin or dating. Consequently, often, the comparisons between the Reinoldikirche's painted wings and these works may have pointed to similarities that indicate further ties; however, their link to a certain geographic area remains undetermined due to a lack of further evidence, and thus they could not be used for this thesis.

Nevertheless, this research has attempted to explore, to the degree that it was possible within the limitations of this thesis, complementary methods of research that so far have not been used in the study of the Reinoldikirche's altarpiece. Therefore, Chapter I provided a brief review of the historical circumstances in effect in Dortmund and Bruges at the time, establishing that the latter city was the most likely candidate to provide the German merchants, who were actively engaged in commercial activities there, with such a distinguished work of art.

Subsequently, Chapter II focused on the Reinoldikirche altarpiece itself, and after examining its conservation history, it attempted to establish the context of its presence in Germany and looked

for similar works exported there from the Southern Netherlands. Finally, Chapter III pursued the question of the affinities between the Reinoldikirche's painted wings and contemporary visual material.

This thesis could only constitute a highly contained effort to address an issue as complicated as the Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, given the strict limitations of time and means. Nevertheless, it does aspire to incite further investigation of the matter and provide motivation for further research that would, ideally, bring an end to the stalemate surrounding this unique work of art. These future efforts should focus not only on the Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece itself, but extend to explore other issues, such as that of the Master of Hakendover.

One of the primary aspirations of this thesis was to foreground the considerable possibilities that research on pre-Eyckian art still has to offer. Although this field is notorious for its inherent difficulties, such as the scarcity of surviving material, the absence of sufficient documentation and a certain obscurity regarding the origins and dating of most material, there is still much work to be done, and any new findings would prove extremely fruitful because they could potentially constitute a safer point of reference for further efforts. To that end, a more systematic and multidisciplinary review of old issues that have been considered either 'resolved' and taken for granted or too difficult to tackle may present some rewarding surprises.

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APPENDIX I. List of Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces in Germany.

This list was taken from the book of Ria De Boodt and Ulrich Scäfer, *Vlaamse Retabels: een internationale reis langs laatmiddeleeuws beeldsnijwerk* (Davidsfond, 2007). The altarpieces from the first half of the fifteenth century are indicated in red.

Affeln (Neuenrade-Affeln, North Rhine-Westphalia, Sauerland), St. Lambertikirche, Passion altarpiece with Saint Lambert, Antwerp, ca.1520

Aken (North Rhine-Westphalia), Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, altarpiece with the Adoration of the Magi, inv.SK 418, Mechelen, ca.1500

Aldenhoven (Jülich-Aldenhoven, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Martinikirche, fragments from a Passion altarpiece dispersed between the museum of Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium, Brabant-Walloo), inv.VH 193 & 194, and the Bonnefantenmuseum in Maastricht (Netherlands, Limburg), Antwerp, ca.1520

Appeldorn (Kalkar-Appeldorn, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), St. Lambertikirche, fragments from a Passion altarpiece, Antwerp 1520-1530

Aurich (Lower Saxony, East Frisia), St. Lambertikirche, Passion altarpiece from Ihlow, Antwerp, ca.1515-1520

Barmen (Jülich-Barmen, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland), St. Martinikirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520

Berlin, Virgin Mary altarpiece from Megen (Netherlands), inv.8077, Brussels, ca. 1470-1480

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nativity altarpiece, inv.8077, Brussels, ca.1470-1480

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Saint Francis altarpiece, inv. B48, Brussels, ca.1514-1520.

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Passion altarpiece, inv.7700, Antwerp.ca 1500

Bielefeld (North Rhine-Westphalia), Ältstädter Nikolaikirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp 1523

Bonn (North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland), Rheinisches Landesmuseum, altarpiece with the Adoration of the Magi, inv.36.197, Brussels, ca.1520-1525

Boslar (Jülich -Boslar, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rheinland), St.Gereonkirche, Virgin Mary altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520

Bürvenich (Zülpich-Bürvenich, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhinland), St. Stepanuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520

Coesfeld (North Rhine-Westphalia, Münsterland), St. Jacobikirche, Shrine, Bruges ca.1380, rest Antwerp, 1520

Cologne (North Rhein -Westphalia), Cathedral St. Peter and Mary, Passion and St. George altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1500-1510

Cologne (North Rhein-Westphalia), Cathedral St. Peter and Mary, Passion and St. Agilofus altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1515

Cologne (North Rhein -Westphalia), Schnütgen museum, Passion and St. George altarpiece, inv. A1095, Brussels, ca.1520

Dinslaken (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), St. Vincentiuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Brussels, ca.1460-1480

Dorsten (North Rhine-Westphalia, Ruhrgebiet), St. Agathakirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1500-1510

Dortmund (North Rhine-Westphalia, Ruhrgebiet), St. Petrikirche, Passion altarpiece, by Jan Wraghe and Adriaen van Overbeke, Antwerp, 1521-1525

Dortmund (North Rhine-Westphalia, Ruhrgebiet), St. Reinoldikirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1415-25

Dortmund-Kirchlinde (North Rhine-Westphalia, Ruhrgebiet), St. Josephskirche, Saints' altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1510-20

Eimpt-Overhetfeld (Niederkrüchten, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Marienkapelle an der Heiden, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520-1530

Euskirchen (North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhinland), St. Martinskirche, St. Anne altarpiece, Antwerp, 1520-1530

Frankfurt-am-Mein (Hesse), St. Leonhardtkirche, Virgin Mary altarpiece from Valbert (Sauerland), Antwerp, ca.1520

Großkmehlen (Brandenburg), St. Georgikirche, St. George altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1510-1520

Großkmehlen (Brandenburg), St. Georgikirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1500-1510

Grosschirma (Jülich-Güsten, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Philippus und Jakobuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520

Güstrow (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), Marienkirche, Passion altarpiece by Jan Borman the Younger, Brussels, 1522

Haltern (North Rhine-Westphalia, Münsterland), St. Sixtuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1510-1515

Hannover (Lower Saxony), Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, altarpiece from Bokel, inv. WM XXIII.16, Bruges, ca. 1420-1430

Hannover (Lower Saxony), Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, fragments from a Virgin Mary altarpiece from Gifhorn, inv. WM XXIII.19, Antwerp, ca. 1490-1500

Heimbach (North Rhine-Westphalia, Eifel), St. Klemenskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1510-1515

Iserlohn (North Rhine, Westphalia), Oberste Stadtkirche, Passion altarpiece, Bruges (or Brussels), ca.1420-1430.

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche , 'enclosed garden' with Virgin Mary in the *predella* of the Holy Trinity altarpiece, Mechelen, 1500-1510

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche, 'enclosed garden' with St. Agnes in the *predella* of the Holy Trinity altarpiece, Mechelen, 1500-1510

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche, 'enclosed garden' with Christ and Mary Magdalen in the *predella* of the Holy Trinity altarpiece, Mechelen, 1500-1510

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche, 'enclosed garden' with St. Jacobs Dream in the *predella* of St. John's altarpiece, Mechelen, ca.1520

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche, 'enclosed garden' with The Sacrifice of Isaac in the *predella* of St. John's altarpiece, Mechelen, ca.1520

Kalkar (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), Nikolaikirche, 'enclosed garden' in the *predella* of St. John's altarpiece, Mechelen, ca.1520-1540

Kempen (North Rhein-Westphalia, Lower Rhein), Propsteikirche St. Mariae Geburt, Sts Jacobs, Anthony and Lambert altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1530

Kempen (North Rhein-Westphalia, Lower Rhein), Propsteikirche St. Mariae Geburt, St. Anna altarpiece, Mechelen, ca.1460-1480

Kirrlach (Kirrlach (Baden-Württemberg), Catholic Parish Church, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1500-1510

Klausen (Rhineland-Pfalz), St. Mariae Himmelfahrt Pilgrimage Church, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1473-1482

Kleve (North Rhein-Westphalia, Lower Rhein) St. Marie im Himmelfahrt Collegiate church, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1530-1550

Kranenburg (North Rhein-Westphalia, Lower Rhine) Saints Peter and Paul Parish church, Passion altarpiece by Jan Genoots, Antwerp, 1525

Langerwebe (North-Rhine-Westphalia), St. Martinikirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1515

Linnich (North-Rhine, Westphalia), St. Martinikirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1520

Linnich (North-Rhine, Westphalia), St. Martinikirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1520

Linnich (North-Rhine, Westphalia), St. Martinikirche, St.Catherine altarpiece, ca.1520-1540

Lübeck (Schleswig-Hollstein), Marienkirche, Virgin Mary altarpiece by the Master of 1518, Antwerp, 1518-1522

Lübeck (Schleswig-Hollstein), St.Annen-Museum, Passion altarpiece also called the Grönauer altarpiece from Lübeck's Ägidienkirche, inv.1911/21, Bruges, 1410-1420

Merl (Zell-an-der-Mosel, Rhineland-Pfalz), St. Michaelskirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1525

Merzenich (Düren, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Laurentiuskirche, Passion retable, Antwerp, 1480-1490

Münstermalfeld (Rhineland-Pfalz), former St. Martinus and St. Severus collegiate church, Passion retable by Jan Genoots, Antwerp, 1517-1518

Münster (North Rhine-Westphalia), Westfälisches Landesmuseum, fragment of an altarpiece from Varlar, INV.E110, Bruges, 1370-1380

Münz (Titz-Müntz, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Peterskirche, Passion altarpirce, Antwerp, ca.1520

Neetze (Lower Saxony), Evangelical Parish Church, Passion altarpiece, Bruges, 1420-1440
Ophoven (Wassenberg-Ophoven, North Rhine-Westphalia), Virgin Mary altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1525-1530

Orsoy (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine) St. Nikolauskirche, Passion altarpiece, Brussels, ca. 1500

Osnabrück (Lower Saxony), Marienkirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1510-1515
Paffendorf (Bergeim-Paffendorf, Northern Westphalia) St. Pankratiuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1500-1525

Rheinberg (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine) St. Peterskirche, Apostles altarpiece, Southern Netherlands, ca.1440

Rheinberg (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), St. Peterskirche, Apostles altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1500

Rhynern (Hamm-Rhynern, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Reginakirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1510-1520

Rödingen (Titz-Rödingen, North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Korneliuskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp 1510-1520

Schlüsselau (Bavaria), Frensdorf, Wallfahrtskirche, fragment from a Passion altarpiece in an architectural construction for the altar from 1603, Mechelen, 1520

Schwäbisch Hall (Baden-Württemberg), St. Michaeliskirche, Passion altarpiece, Southern Netherlands, ca.1470

Schwäbisch Hall (Baden- Württemberg), St. Katharinenkirche, Passion altarpiece, Brussels or Louvain for the shrine, local artist for the painted wings, ca.1440-1450

Schwerte (North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Viktorskirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, 1525

Siersdorf (Aldenhoven-Siersdorf, North Rhein-Westphalia), St. Johanes Baptistkirche, Passion altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1510-1520

Soest (North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Petrikirche, Passion altarpiece, also called the Klepping altarpiece, Antwerp, 1520-1525

Stadthagen (Lower Saxony), Evangelical St. Martinkirche, fragment from a Passion altarpiece in a construction from 1565, Southern Netherlands, ca.1450-1460

Stassfurt (Saxony-Anhalt), Hospitalkapelle, Passion altarpiece, Brussels, ca.1480

Straelen (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony), St. Peter and Paul Parish church, Antwerp, 1510-1520

Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg), Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Nativity altarpiece from Rieden, Brussels, ca.1440-1450

Stuttgart (Baden-Württember) Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Passion altarpiece from St. Urbankirche in Schwäbisch Hall-Unterlimburg (Baden Württemberg), Antwerp, 1450-1460

Süchteln (Viersen-Süchteln, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), St. Klemenskirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1520

Süggerath (Geilenkirchen-Süggerath, North Rhine-Westphalia), Heilig Kreuzkirche, Passion altarpiece, ca.1520

Titz (North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Kosmas and Damian Parish Church, Antwerp, ca.1500-1515

Trier (Rhineland-Pfalz), Dom, the so-called 'Savigny altarpiece', Antwerp, ca.1500-1510

Vreden (North Rhine-Westphalia, Münsterland), St. Georg Parish church, Antwerp, ca.1520-1530

Waase (Eiland Ummanz, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), Evangelical-Lutheran church, Passion altarpiece (altarpiece of Thomas Becket), Antwerp, ca.1510-1515

Wernigerode (Sachsen-Anhalt), St. Sylvester Obere Parish church, Virgin Mary altarpiece, Brussels, ca.1450-1470

Xanten (North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Rhine), former St. Victor Collegiate Church, Passion and Martyrs altarpiece, Antwerp 1525

Zülpich (North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Petrus Parish church, Passion and Saints altarpiece, Antwerp, ca.1520

Zülpich (North Rhine-Westphalia), St. Petrus Parish church, the so-called 'Erasmus and Gregory altarpiece', Antwerp, ca.1520

APPENDIX II.

Figure 1. The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, attributed to the Master of Hakendover (shrine) and an Anonymous Southern Netherlandish painter (wings), 361x753cm, Reinoldikirche, Dortmund.
Figure 2. Master of Hakendover, The three Virgins altarpiece, ca.1400-1410, oak and walnut, Kerk van de Goddelijke Zaligmaker, Hakendover.
Figure 3. The Reinoldikirche in 1857
Figure 4. View of the Reinoldikirche's choir from the nave.
Figure 5. View of the choir stalls by Hermann from Brabant (1462).
Figure 6. Detail of the whitewashed figures of the Reinoldikirche's shrine as seen in an 1890s photograph from BuKD Dortmund 1894, Panel 7.
Figure 7. Baldachins and tabernacles from the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece during the latest restoration by E. Jetter.
Figure 8. Anonymous, Passion Altarpiece, ca. 1420-1430, oak and walnut wood, 142x293 cm (shrine) and 142x145 cm (each wing), Oberste Stadtkirche, Iserlohn.
Figure 9. Anonymous, Passion altarpiece with the Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1430, oak and walnut wood, 149x300 (closed), St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck.
Figure 10. Conrad von Soest, Triptych with scenes from the Life of the Virgin.
Figure 11. Master of the Berswordt Altar, Passion Triptych, tempera on oak, ca.1390, central panel: 95x147cm, wings (each) 94x146cm, Marienkirche, Dortmund.
Figure 12. Picture from the back side of the group of The Legend of the Founding of the church of Hakendover, showing the considerable losses from worm infestation.
Figure 13. The painted wings of the Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, right and left wing, oil on wood, 183x188 cm (each), The Reinoldikirche, Dortmund.
Figure 14. Crucifixion outside right outer wing, Saints, Left and right inner wings, outside left outer wing, ca.1400-20, Niedersächsischses Landesmuseum, Hannover.
Figure 15. Conrad von Soest, The Niederwildungen altarpiece, tempera on panel, 1402, Stadtkirche, Bad Wildungen.
Figure 16. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Dormition of the Virgin.
Figure 17. Legenda Aurea (MS. Gen. 1111), Dormition of the Virgin, Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
Figure 18. Dormition of the Virgin, Add MS. 11575, fol.82r, British Library, London.
Figure 19. Dormition of the Virgin, Ms. M.15.8 olim. Lat.92, Plantin Moretus Museum, Antwerp.
Figure 20. Passion altarpiece, Coronation of the Virgin.
Figure 21. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Coronation of the Virgin, Book of Hours, Ms. n.a.Latin 3093, fol.75v, BnF, Paris.
Figure 22. Master Bertram, Coronation of the Virgin (from the right wing of the Buxtehuder Altar), ca. 1400, oil on wood, 110x94 cm, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
Figure 23. Kortessem panel-Alken predella (detail), Coronation of the Virgin, Southern Netherlands, ca. 1400.
Figure 24. Spiegel von der Menschen Behoudenisse (Dutch translation of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis) Add.MS 11575, fol. 93r. British Library, London.
Figure 25.Vita Christi, MS. M 649, fol. 7r, The Morgan Library, New York.
Figure 26 (left). Agony in the Garden, Reinoldkirche's Passion altarpiece.
Figure 27. (centre). Book of Hours, Ushaw College MS. 10, Durham.
Figure 28. (right). Book of Hours, MS. M259, The Morgan Library, New York.
Figure 29. Pseudo-Jacquemart, Nativity from the Très Riches Heures, Ms. Lat. 18014, fol. 41v), BnF, Paris.
Figure 30. Nativity (detail), from the so-called 'Antwerp Baltimore Quadriptych', Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.

Figure 31. Maid with halo (detail), Tower Retable, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp. Figure 32. (left). Nativity, The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece .
Figure 33. (right). Nativity, ms.B.249, Bibliothèque Municipale, Le Mans.
Figure 34. (left). Presentation in the Temple, The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece.
Figure 35. (right). Presentation in the Temple, Specuculum humanae salvationis, Pierpont Morgan Museum and Library, MS M. 385, New York.
Figure 36. Saint Magdalene praying in the Desert, Book of Hours ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
Figure 37. Triptych with the Anointing of Christ's Body (central panel), Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
Figure 38. The Reinoldikirche's Passion altarpiece, Figure mocking Christ (detail from Christ blindfolded and mocked).
Figure 39. Figure mocking Christ (detail from Christ blindfolded and mocked), fol.45, Add. MS 1175, British Library, London.
Figure 40. Casket with scenes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ, figure mocking Christ (detail from Calvary,) Museo della Cattedrale, Lucca.
Figure 41. Anonymous, Calvary, ca. 1400, oil on oak, Museum of Sint Salvator Cathedral, Bruges.
Figure 42. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, St. Catherine.
Figure 43. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, St. Barbara.
Figure 44. Master of the Beaufort Saints, Saint Barbara, MS 2A XVIII, British Library.
Figure 45. Saint Barbara, Book of Hours, ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.105.
Figure 46. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Presentation to the temple (detail).
Figure 47. Virgo from the Liber Astrologiae, MS. M.785, fol. 16r (detail).
Figure 48. Crucifixion, Book of Hours, ms. 3024 (Leber 137), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.
Figure 49. Crucifixion, Book of Hours, Ms. 26530, fol.34vo, Downside Abbey, Stratton on the Fosse.
Figure 50. The Reinoldikirche Passion altarpiece, Christ before Pilate (detail).
Figure 51. Crucifixion (detail), The Neville Hours, Berkeley Castle, England.
Figure 52. Crucifixion (detail), Ms 3024, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen.