

# A Rediscovered Master: Adrian van den Houte of Malines (c. 1459-1521) and the Malines/Brussels School

## III

### *Adrian's development and his relation with Bernard van Orley*

WE HAVE met Adrian van den Houte as an original designer in three fields, and a probable executant in two of them: first in stained glass, secondly in oil painting, and thirdly as a tapestry designer. In all these media different influences appear to have shaped his style and contributed to its development.

#### STAINED GLASS

We know that Adrian's father, Herman van den Houte, was active from 1477 to 1507. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Adrian, who was probably born in 1459, received his earliest training in his father's workshop. In the first article in this series<sup>1</sup> I noted the connection between the coloured vidimus in the Rijksmuseum print room at Amsterdam of *The Ascension of Christ* (Fig. 1), and a window now in the North aisle at St. Gommarus', Lier, in which St. Lambert, St. Barbara and St. Michael are represented in three lights (Fig. 2). The drawing of *The Ascension* has four times been published by Dr. A. van der Boom as an early work of 'Ortkens'<sup>2</sup>. It has, however, nothing to do with Arnold of Nijmegen, and differs in many respects from the work of Adrian van den Houte, as we have come to know it. It is true that many of the faces, including that of St. John and several of the angels, are described in almost exactly the same kind of shorthand as some of those in Adrian's drawing at the British Museum called *The Power of Venus*<sup>3</sup>. But the grouping of the figures has, I

1. 'A Solution to the Ortkens Problem', *Oud Holland* 1967, no. 4' p. 172: to be referred to in these notes as I. The second article in the series, 'Adrian van den Houte as a Tapestry Designer', 1968, no. 2, p. 71, will be referred to as II. The window at Lier which I ascribe to Herman and Adrian van den Houte is fully discussed and illustrated in J. Helbig, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, Belgique I, Bruxelles 1961, pp. 158-164.

2. *Ontwikkeling en Karakter der Oude Monumentale Glasschilder-*

*kunst*, Amsterdam (1944), p. 123. 'Een Nederlandse Glasschilder in den Vreemde, Aerdts Ortkens van Nijmegen', *Ned. Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1948-49, 's-Gravenhage 1949, pp. 90-91. *De Kunst der Glazeniers in Europa 1100-1600*, Amsterdam-Antwerpen 1960, p. 190. *Monumentale Glasschilderkunst in Nederland*, 's-Gravenhage 1940, p. 87 and pl. 11.

3. I, Fig. 12.

think, no parallel in Adrian's work so far discovered, and above all the big-headed Apostle against the left-hand frame behind the Virgin has heavy curling hair such as is not found anywhere in Adrian's work. Moreover, the shading is rather different. In *The Ascension*, except for one small area, only lateral hatching is used, whereas in almost all Adrian's drawings we find the kind of cross-hatching which derives from the school of Van der Goes. The exaggerated lower lip is not found in Adrian's work, and although Christ's left hand, with its tortured fingers, is similar to some seen in Adrian's drawings, the Virgin's hand, with three fingers outlined in one stroke like a glove, is not at all Adrianic.

Moreover, although the drawing is clearly the work of a mature artist who designs and draws fluently, it is most unlikely to have been done after about 1480. This would make it almost impossible for Adrian, who was pretty certainly born in 1459, to be its author. The pointed hennin which is seen on the two daughters of the donor's family in the bottom right-hand corner was commonest in the 70's, and is rarely found after the early 80's. Moreover, the paper carries a watermark close to Briquet 86064, which is found at Troyes in 1470. Varieties of the same watermark are found, according to Briquet, in a number of north-west European towns including Lübeck, Leyden, Courtrai, Colmar, Beauvais, St. Omer, Utrecht, Lille, Namur and Antwerp, from 1470 to 1477. It seems very probable that the drawing is to be dated in the later 1470's.

Let us now turn to the window at Lier representing in its three lights (from left to right) St. Lambert trampling an assassin, St. Barbara with a clerical donor, and St. Michael laying Satan low (Fig. 2). This window was restored by Capronnier in 1877, and again by Ladon after the war of 1914-18. There remain at present only two original heads, those of the assassin at the foot of the left light (Fig. 3), and the fiend with his beady eyes and yawning jowl in the right light. If we compare the features of the assassin at Lier with the Virgin and the apostle standing behind her against the frame in *The Ascension* drawing, we shall notice the same rather big prominent nose, the open round eyes, the very full lower lip, and the same treatment of the incipient double chin. The heavy curling locks of the assassin are also found in the apostle referred to in the drawing. In the centre light the hands of the donor are original, and we can see that the quiet parallel fingers and the erected thumbs are similar to those of the Virgin in the *Ascension* drawing. Turning to the third light we find that the head of the fiend, with its open jaw, resembles the skull of Death in the drawing of *The Man Struggling with Death* in the Pierpont Morgan Collection at New York<sup>5</sup>. It is closely paralleled again in another drawing of Adrian van den Houte at Berlin<sup>6</sup> which shows the fiend with St. Michael acting as patron saint to a woman donor. One further point may be mentioned: the abacus at the top of the left-hand pillar in the left-hand light is original. This shows the same kind of tripartite construction as we have noticed in Adrian's drawing called *The Power of Venus*<sup>3</sup> and in his window from Malines representing St. Adrian and (probably) St. Gommarus.

The three lights are not necessarily from the same window, and it seems quite possible that the left

4. C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, III, Paris etc., 1907. I am most grateful to Mr. K. G. Boon for pointing out to me both these reasons for the early dating of the drawing: it is indeed the earliest vidimus for

glass known to me.

5. I, Fig. 10.

6. I, p. 180, no. 1.



(1)

(1). The Virgin and eight apostles from 'The Ascension', Amsterdam, *Rijksmuseum printroom*, here ascribed to Herman van den Houte.—(2). St. Lambert, St. Barbara and donor, and St. Michael, *St. Gommarus, Lier* (state before



(4)

1914).—(3). The Assassin trampled by St. Lambert (detail of Fig. 2).—(4). Pentecost, from the Carondelet window in *St. Waudru, Mons*.



(2)



(3)



(5)



(6)

(5). *The Resurrection*, *Mauritshuis, The Hague*, here attributed to Adrian van den Houte.—(6). *The Murder of Sigelbert*, *Tournai Cathedral*, painted by Arnold of Nijmegen and designed by Adrian van den Houte.—(7). *Antenor's Embassy to Greece*, drawing for tapestry, *Louvre printroom*.

(7)





(10)



(9)

(9). The Execution of St. John the Baptist, here attributed to Bernard van Orley. *Leipzig Printroom*.—(10). The Execution of St. John the Baptist, by Bernard van Orley. *Whereabouts unknown*.—(11). The Adoration of the Magi, here ascribed to Bernard van Orley. *C. R. Rudolf Collection, London*.—(12). The Annunciation, from the Hanneton altarpiece by Bernard van Orley, *Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts, Brussels*.



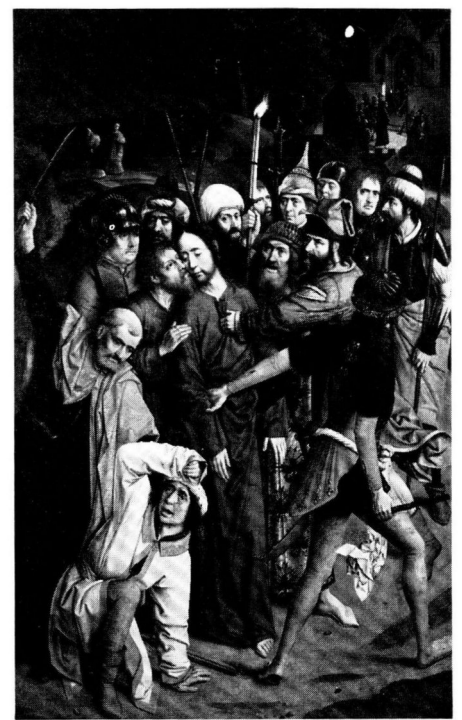
(12)



(11)

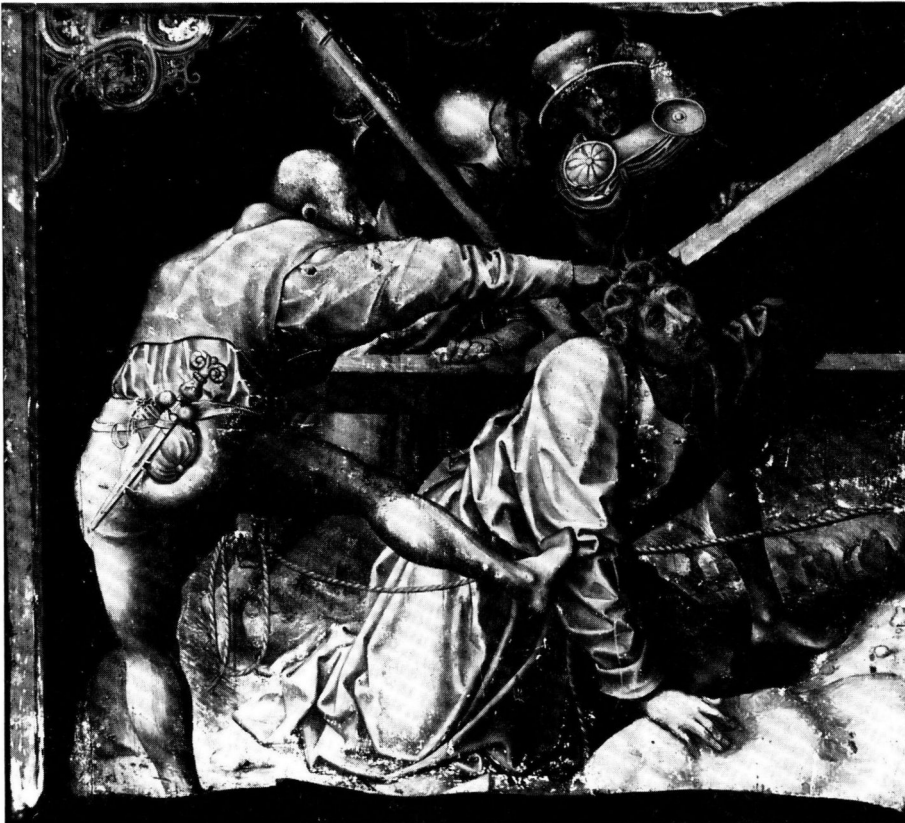


(8)

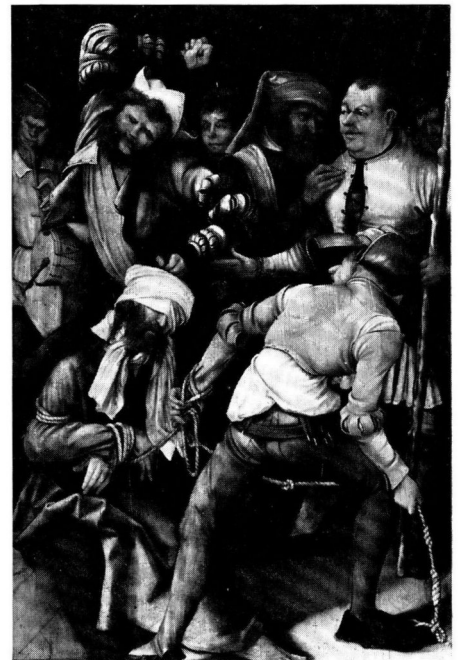


(13)

(8). The Battle of Roncevaux (detail), *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels*.—(13). The Carrying of the Cross, grisaille from the Furnes altarpiece, *Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts, Brussels*, here ascribed to Adrian van den Houte.—(14). The Arrest of Christ, *Alte Pinakothek, Munich*, by the Master of the Munich Arrest of Christ.—(15). The Mocking of Christ, by Mathis Nierhart-Gothart, *Alte Pinakothek, Munich*.



(14)



(15)

and centre lights are by Herman, while the right-hand light, containing much more movement, tension and activity, is by his son Adrian. The date is probably about 1490.

The hand of the designer of the Rijksmuseum *Ascension* can be traced in a third work, a window in the south-east corner of the choir clerestory at St. Walburga's, Mons<sup>7</sup>. The centre of this four-light window represents *Pentecost* (Fig. 4); on either side stand the Virgin, St. Donatus, St. John the Evangelist and St. Stephen, while below stands St. John the Baptist behind the kneeling figure of Jean Carondelet; in the bottom corners are the arms of the archbishopric of Palermo and of the donor. Now the semi-Renaissance decor is clearly related to the documented work of Nicolas Rombouts<sup>8</sup> at Antwerp (*The Last Supper*, given by Count Englebert of Nassau in 1503) and at Mons itself (the signed window of Philibert Preudhom, 1520). The two putti holding a deep swag above the central scene are exactly paralleled in the Preudhom window. The design of the *Pentecost* scene itself, however, is clearly related to the Rijksmuseum *Ascension*: the Virgin's head, hood and halo are similar, and so is the drapery of the apostle in the foreground, whose twisted head closely resembles that of the right-hand apostle in the *Ascension*. The foreground figure in the *Ascension* closes the group in a clumsier, more primitive way than that in the *Pentecost*, where hands raised in surprise give credibility and unity to the grouping. The same gesture is common about this time (c. 1512) in Malines/Brussels work, and can be seen in the second of the *Condamnation de Banquet* tapestries<sup>9</sup>.

However, the glass-painter and the designer are not the same man. Although the characteristic gesture of the joined hands raised in prayer with thumbs erect, and the full lower lips persist, the hooked noses have been replaced by concave, tip-tilted noses, and the execution is altogether smoother, more generalised and less individual than in the window at Lier. This is precisely what we should expect if Nicolas Rombouts had used a drawing by the *Ascension* master. It may indeed be objected that Herman van den Houte had died in 1507, but a design of this kind might well have been kept and re-used over a period of years.

Nicolas Rombouts, who was as far as we know the first Flemish glasspainter to introduce Renaissance detail into his work, probably influenced Adrian van den Houte in this direction. Adrian's *Adoration of the Magi*, which stands next to the *Pentecost* in the choir clerestory at Mons, uses the same ribbons round the columns, which however remain more Gothic than classical; the influence of Jan van Roome may also be at work here. The putti holding swags above the Archer's window from Malines Cathedral seem to have been taken over from Nicolas Rombouts' putti in his two windows at Mons. In the second decade of the sixteenth century the 'ancient' and 'modern' styles might be used alternatively to order<sup>10</sup>, but from the scanty remains of Adrian's work it would appear that he did not achieve a Renaissance style, even in the Flemish sense, until the last five or six years of his life.

7. J. Helbig, *De Glasschilderkunst in België*, I, Antwerpen 1943, repertorium no. 1591, ill. no. 82, II, Antwerpen 1951, no. 134.

8. J. Helbig, 'Nicolas Rombouts, peintre-verrier et bourgeois de Bruxelles', *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLII, 1938, p. 147.

9. cp. II, Fig. 18 (the first tapestry).

10. E. Dahnens, 'Jan van Roome alias van Brussel, Schilder', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XI, Gent 1949, p. 48.

## PAINTINGS

Long before this, however, Adrian must have studied for some years with the artist whom Schöne has called 'The Master of the Munich Arrest of Christ'. Schöne<sup>11</sup> finds evidence that this master worked with Ouwater and Dirk Bouts in the 1450s in the Northern Netherlands, and later collaborated with Van der Goes in painting the St. Hippolitus altarpiece, of which he ascribes the left wing to Van der Goes, and the centre panel and right wing to this master. Schöne traces the work of the 'Master of the Munich Arrest of Christ' until 1480 or so, which would make it perfectly possible for Adrian van den Houte to have studied with him towards the end of his career. He notes among the characteristics of this painter the alternate massing or separation of figures, which appear either too close or too far apart; the lack of that harmony which is so notable in Dirk Bouts, between the landscape and the figures; and above all a compulsive attempt to portray movement and emotion, often of a violent kind. It is to be noted that the Munich *Arrest of Christ* and the *Resurrection* which accompanies it were probably painted in Cologne. The same artist probably painted the original of two other Resurrections which closely resemble each other: that by a German artist which is called the Ehningen triptych, now at Stuttgart, painted about 1476<sup>12</sup>, and the *Resurrection* in the Mauritshuis at the Hague (Fig. 5) which was mentioned in the second article of this series. While the first is the central panel of an altarpiece, the second is likely to have been painted for an individual patron, as it measures only 28.5 x 23.5 cms.

There are noticeable similarities between the Mauritshuis *Resurrection* and other works which I have ascribed to Adrian van den Houte. In fact all of the five figures can be paralleled in work of his maturity. (1) The head and helmet of the bowman on the left of the Hague picture are almost identical with that of one of the soldiers defending Malines<sup>13</sup>, except that the nose is stronger and the nostril is not pinched. (2) The face of the soldier between the resurrected Christ and the bowman is not dissimilar from that of the grim hooded figure in the sixth scene at Tournai, between Chilperic and the Bishop<sup>14</sup>. (3) The face of the soldier on Christ's left is repeated in that of the dying Sigelbert in the fifth scene at Tournai<sup>15</sup> and the striking similarity in the two figures and their movement shows that this is no accident. (4) The gilt-edged black jerkin of the soldier in the right foreground is extremely like Van der Aa's, and his expression is not so different from that of the soldier falling in the middle of the mêlée, in the second battle scene at Malines<sup>16</sup>. (5) The face of Christ himself is essentially similar in construction and in expression to that of Uriah in the Padua tapestry;<sup>17</sup> although there the nose and the jaw are noticeably broader, the rather flat cheekbones and the blank expression persist.

The most striking similarity, however, between the Mauritshuis painting and the tapestry at Padua

11. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, pp. 37-42.

12. W. Schöne, op. cit. p. 176.  
L. Baldass, *Eine altniederländische Auferstehung Christi*, Kunstchronik N.F., xxxii, 1920-21, p. 643.  
Exhibition Dieric Bouts, Brussels (Beaux-Arts) and Delft (Prinsenhof), 1957-58, nos. 61 and 84.

13. I, Fig. 19.

14. I, Fig. 21.

15. II, Fig. 6.

16. I, Fig. 19.

17. II, Fig. 5.

lies in the underlying construction of their landscape backgrounds: flowers, herbs and grasses are growing from dry earth in front; behind, a central hill feature—much more sophisticated in the tapestry—joins with other hills to form a horizon which recedes from left to right; in the distance appears the city of Jerusalem, protected by a great castle and enclosing within its turreted walls meadows on one side and the round mass of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (or the Temple of Solomon) on the other.

Other comparisons tend to confirm the dependence of Adrian van den Houste and his school on the Munich *Arrest of Christ* itself.

The 24th painting at Malines, which, as has already been shown<sup>18</sup>, is likely to have been designed, though only partly painted, by Adrian, repeats from the Munich picture the figure of St. Peter with upraised knife about to cut off Malchus' ear. We have found the same influences at work in the design for the first of the St. Stephen windows at St. Romain's, Rouen. Moreover, the drawing of the *Arrest of Christ* at Brunswick which Dr. van der Boom used to prove the identity of 'Ortkens' the draughtsman with Arnold of Nijmegen, but which is actually by a member of Adrian's school, repeats in a slightly different form the composition of the Munich *Arrest of Christ*.

A final link in the chain of probabilities is to be found in the grisaille of *The Carrying of the Cross* from the back of the left wing of Bernard van Orley's Furnes altarpiece (Fig. 13). This will be fully discussed later on.

#### TAPESTRIES

Adrian's close relationship with Jan van Roome has already been demonstrated in the second article of this series. A quiet composition like *The Funeral of Turnus*<sup>19</sup> is scarcely to be distinguished—were it not for the signature A—from a number of tapestries of about 1510 which must be ascribed to Jan, such as *The Carrying of the Cross*<sup>20</sup>, which is signed J ROM. Adrian is on the whole more convincing where emphasis on movement is required, and, as we have seen, he specialised in martial scenes.

The connection of the first two scenes in the Tournai windows with the celebrated battle scenes in tapestries now established as of Tournai origin, such as *The Battle of Roncevaux*<sup>21</sup>, is equally significant. Jan van Roome was apprenticed to Jean III le Quien at Tournai in 1481<sup>22</sup>, though by 1498 he was established in Brussels<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, Adrian may well have had some direct connection with the influential master who drew the sketches for the *War of Troy* series in the Louvre collection<sup>24</sup>. A comparison of the *Power of Venus* drawing with that for *Antenor's Embassy to Greece* (Fig. 7) suggests that Adrian knew the work of the earlier master well, either through tapestries derived from his

18. I, p. 184 and Fig. 19.

19. II, Fig. 7.

20. H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, I ii, pl. 158.

21. M. Crick-Kuntziger, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles, Catalogue des Tapisseries*, no. 3, pl. 4. Exhibition *La tapisserie tournaisienne au XVe siècle*, Tournai 1967, nos. 11-13.

22. Phyllis Ackerman, 'Recently identified designers of Gothic Tapestries', *Art Bulletin*, Dec. 1926, p. 142. F. de la Grange and L.

Cloquet, *Etudes sur l'Art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville*, Tournai 1889.

23. E. Dahnens, op. cit. pp. 44, 131. J. Duverger, *Brussel als Kunstcentrum in de XIVe en XVe eeuw*, *Bouwstoffen tot de Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis*, III, Gent 1935, 87, 99.

24. Exhibition *La tapisserie tournaisienne au XVe Siècle*, Tournai 1967, pp. 17-18, 43.

designs or through contact with his workshop or with the master himself. It is indeed unnecessary to assume that this workshop was established in Tournai: the Tournai weavers took designs from Brussels later on, and they may well have done so as early as 1470. However that may be, Jan van Roome's early familiarity with Tournai is sufficient to suggest that Adrian's connection with the town may have been a long-standing one.

From the martial tradition of Tournai tapestry Adrian must have taken many of the gestures which appear in his swordsmen. The sword arm circling the head and poised ready to strike is almost an obsession with him; in *The Brawl* from the *Banquet* series<sup>25</sup> the gesture seems to be a reminiscence of Roland's last stroke in *The Battle of Roncevaux*; the gesture of St. Michael in the window at Lier (Fig. 2) is remarkably like that of Roland trying to break Duvendal against a rock, when he knows that all is over (Fig. 8); and a similar movement in St. Peter's sword arm, significantly enough, replaces the straight arm of the Master of the Munich *Arrest of Christ* (Fig. 14) in the drawing of Adrian's follower at Brunswick<sup>26</sup>.

#### JAN GOSSART

*The Judgment of Paris* scene in the *Power of Venus* drawing is closely connected with Gossart's drawing of the subject at Edinburgh<sup>27</sup>; a similar composition is to be found in the drawing for *Antenor's Embassy to Greece* (Fig. 7), but Adrian's figures have a classical robustness which is likely to derive from Gossart. Moreover the plumed helmet of Antenor just below may well be inspired by Gossart's Roman sketches, and is not unlike Paris' helmet in the Edinburgh drawing. It seems likely that the broadening and filling out of Adrian's heads, since the time of the Mauritshuis *Resurrection*, can be ascribed to the influence of Jan Gossart.

#### BERNARD VAN ORLEY

The case is much more complicated with Van Orley.

The corpus of drawings ascribed to Aert Ortkens contains no less than eight which belong properly to the youthful work of Bernard van Orley, and they show that he must have been a pupil of Herman van den Houte in Malines for some years before 1507. During this time, and afterwards, Van Orley must have worked very closely indeed with Adrian van den Houte and his half brother Peter van den Houte, to whom the main bulk of the 'Ortkens' drawings should be ascribed. The eight drawings which I wish to ascribe to the youth of Van Orley are as follows:

1. *The Magdalene Anointing Jesus' Feet*, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (Inv. no. 2).
2. *The Execution of St. John the Baptist*, sketch for a roundel, Leipzig Printroom.
3. *The Circumcision*, sketch for a roundel, Rijksmuseum Printroom, Amsterdam (no. 21:482).
4. *Christ's Entry to Jerusalem*, Albertina, Vienna (no. 7791).

25. II, Fig. 15.

26. I, Fig. 15.

27. Exhibition *Jan Gossart genaamd Mabuse*, Rotterdam and Bruges, 1965, no. 56.

5. *The Adoration of the Magi*, sketch for a roundel, in the C. R. Rudolf Collection, London.
6. *Christ Among the Doctors*, also in the Rudolf Collection.
7. *Pentheus and Dionysus*, a pair of drawings probably for a carved relief, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem (nos. 12502 and 12502a).
8. *A Young Prince Hit at a Siege*, ex-Rodrigues and Koenigs Collections.

It will be sufficient to show the connection of two of these drawings with two paintings generally recognised as Van Orley's.

1. *The Execution of St. John the Baptist*, one of the two drawings for roundels which Friedländer ascribed in 1917 to the Master of the Leipzig Cabinet, appears to date from about 1510. The connection of the folds in Salome's skirt with those in that of the Virgin in the *Ascension* vidimus is evident, and their radial expansion connects up not only with the skirt of Salome's attendant in the painting formerly in the Goudstikker Collection, but also with the drapery of the healing Magus in the drawing for a roundel of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Rudolf Collection, and the even more striking example in the grisaille *Annunciation* on the back of the Hanneton altarpiece.

The St. John drawing must be a few years earlier than the painting of the same subject, but it is, I think, clearly by the same hand. The figure of the executioner has something of the assurance and even swagger of the later figure in the painting, and the face of Salome is constructed on the same principles. The folds of St. John's mantle in the painting seem more primitive than those of the picture, but they correspond quite closely with the drawing.

2. *The Adoration of the Magi* drawing can be seen not only to look back to the *Ascension* vidimus (compare the lower lips in each case and the figure of the kneeling Magus with that of the apostle in the central light of the vidimus), but forward to the Hanneton *Annunciation*<sup>28</sup>, where the expanding folds have become more mannerist and more rhetorical, and the face of the Virgin, while retaining essentially the same construction, has become much more robust.

The hypothesis here sketched that Bernard van Orley worked at Malines with the Van den Houtes, probably from before the death of Herman van den Houte in 1507, can throw a great deal of light on the development of Van Orley himself, and also help to sort out his work from those of his collaborators.

For instance, the responsibility of Van Orley for the Furnes altarpiece is well documented, but Hartveld<sup>29</sup> has shown that much of the work was done by a member of the Van Orley family whom he believes to be Bernard's father Valentin; it seems more likely that the collaborator who painted the *Meeting of St. Helena with the Pope* on the front of the left wing was Evrard, Bernard's younger brother, with whom we know he was sharing a house in Brussels in 1527. Both Friedländer and Bal-

28. P. Lefèvre, in *Pictura*, Oct.-Dec. 1945, 126, shows that this must have at least been started by the first half of 1512, though I think the grisaille *Annunciation* must date from several years later.

29. S. Hartveld, 'Valentin van Orley', *The Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1936, LXIX, 263.

dass<sup>30</sup> have remarked that the grisaille of the *Carrying of the Cross* on the back of the same wing is a more advanced style than the painting on the front. The reason is, I believe, that Adrian van den Houste was brought in to paint it.

The movement and balance of cross-stresses are to be compared with those in *Sigelbert's Attack*<sup>31</sup>. The faces of the soldiers and their yelling mouths, often showing the tongue; the nostrils strongly curved or upturned; the gripping hands; the peculiar bossed elbow-cops: all these are common to both compositions. It is also worth going back to the Hague *Resurrection* (Fig. 5) to notice the similarity of the heavy drapery in the two fallen men, and the light drapery of the shirts; moreover, the yelling mouth showing the tongue and upturned nostrils above it are found there also.

The curious pommel on the guard's dagger in the *Carrying of the Cross* is to be found on the blade of the same soldier's spear in the Hague *Resurrection* (Fig. 5) lying on the ground in front of Christ's feet. The undulating eyelids of the guard with the big hat behind the Cross are paralleled in the Malines and Tournai glass, while the profile nose of the middle guard is close to that of the Magus in the window at Mons.

It is true that the magnificently outstretched, striding leg is developed afterwards by Van Orley, in his later tapestry design, to an even more athletic tension, but that does not necessarily mean that this version is his too. There is another, distinct argument to confirm that it is not.

Baldass praises the Italianate spirit of this scene, but he has mistaken its provenance. A comparison with Grünewald's *Mocking of Christ* at Munich (Fig. 15) at once betrays its German inspiration: the play with the looped-up, limb-threading rope, first of all; then the stance of the guard in the foreground, and his clothes; the arm of the guard behind Christ, raised for a blow; the hand, in each case, gripping Christ's hair. All these combine to indicate the immediate source of Adrian's design, which, however, like Grünewald's, also goes back to Schongauer's engraving of the *Carrying of the Cross* (c. 1474).

But Grünewald's design also has another source: the editor of the *Illustrated Supplement to the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Masterpieces from the Alte Pinakothek at Munich* held at the National Gallery in London in 1949, must have intended to hint at this when he reproduced the *Mocking of Christ* directly opposite the Munich *Arrest of Christ* (Fig. 14), and this derivation does indeed speak for itself.

We have now returned to our point of departure, but surely wiser than when we set out. Are we not bound to conclude not only that Adrian van den Houste and Mathias Gothart Niethart both came under the influence of Schöne's Master of the Munich *Arrest of Christ*, but that they probably met around the time when the *Mocking of Christ* was painted (prob. 1504), and had perhaps already become acquainted in his studio some twenty years before? At all events this is not the only sign that Adrian of Malines and his colleagues knew the *Mocking of Christ*. A couple of distorted faces in the scenes of the *Privileges* at Tournai recall the two left-most faces in the background of Grünewald's

30. M. J. Friedländer, 'Bernaert van Orley, 1: 'Orley's Anfänge und die Brüsseler Kunst', *Jahrbuch der Königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxix, (1908), p. 246. L. Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernart

van Orley', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. xiii, p. 147.

31. I, Fig. 13.

picture; while the piper-drummer in the right hand bottom corner of *Banquet's Feast* at Nancy looks very much like a clumsy reminiscence of Grünewald's in the *Mocking of Christ*. Finally, just as the first St. Stephen window at Rouen betrays the influence of the Master of the Munich *Arrest of Christ*, and its origin in the workshop of Adrian van den Houte, so the second window, the *Stoning*, reveals a knowledge of Grünewald's version of the bullying guard. Needless to say, the two artists were in spirit worlds apart; but artists of totally different temperament and mentality do quite frequently react to the same influences and affect each other.

#### CONCLUSION

There are two contending principles at work in Adrian van den Houte's art throughout his career: a quietness which ranges from mere impassivity to solid confidence, and a nervous excitement which is often allied to vigorous movement. The first quality looks back to Bouts and the great masters of the Burgundian age, while the second looks forward to the rhetoric and even violence of the succeeding period, which was to be dominated by Bernard van Orley. In the development of Brabantine art from Gothic quietism to Renaissance mannerism and energy, during the period between the death of Van der Weyden and the rise of Van Orley, Adrian van den Houte ought now to regain the honourable place which he must in his own day have held.