

## Newly discovered work in England by the Master of Hakendover\*

In the church of St Martin, Dorking, there is an octagonal wooden pulpit of great art-historical interest (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> When the church was rebuilt in 1835-37, the task of finding a pulpit suitable for the new building seems to have fallen to the curate, Stephen Isaacson, and its purchase from London antique dealer John Webb<sup>2</sup> was under way by 16 March 1837.<sup>3</sup> The pulpit survived the second rebuilding of the nave in the 1870s and is still in the church today.

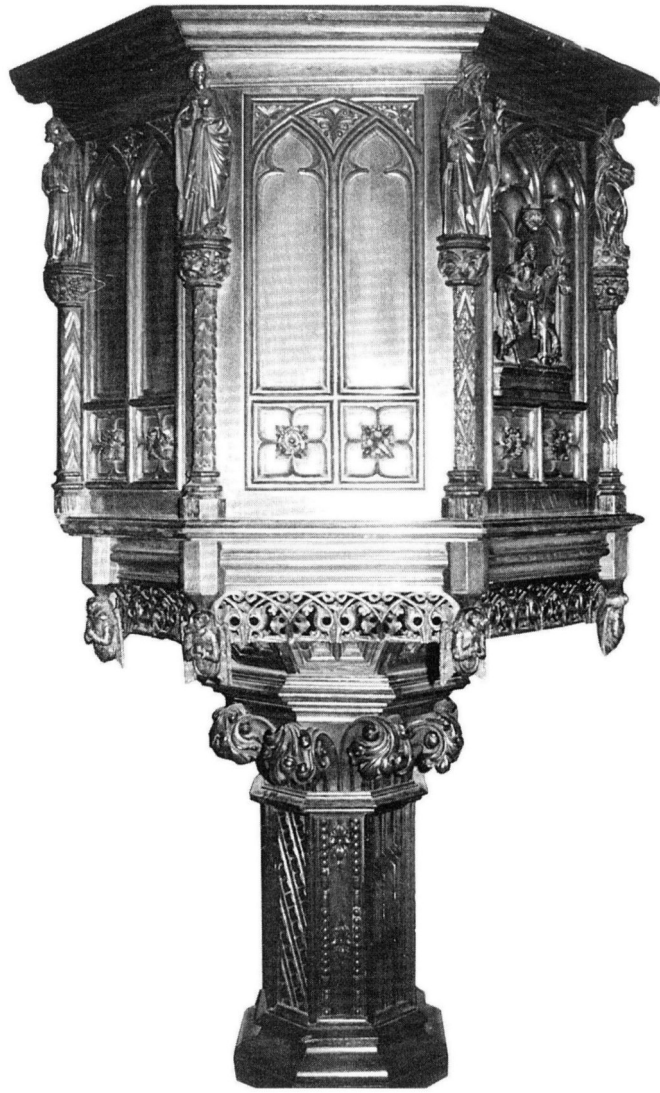
The pulpit is a hybrid work, presumably assembled by or under the supervision of John Webb, and probably to customer requirements, since a 16th-century wooden relief of St Martin, the patron saint of the church, is prominently mounted on the southwestern side. Small statues have been placed at the corners of the pulpit, and these include an incomplete set of early 15th-century apostle figures carved of walnut which are of high quality.<sup>4</sup>

The figure to the left of the steps (statue A, fig. 2) is badly wormeaten, the head is broken off and the right hand and drapery are damaged. Nevertheless, its skilled craftsmanship is immediately obvious, for example in the finely boned hands, the fingers bent to support the imaginary weight of the book with its naturalistically shabby, simulated leather cover and individually delineated pages. The erect, slender figure is swathed in a delicately carved robe turned back at the neck like a collar and stretched across the figure in a swinging fold, characteristic of the International Gothic style. Tellingly, however, the folds of the robe below are more angular, anticipating the broken drapery folds distinctive in Netherlandish painting and carving from c. 1420-30 onwards.<sup>5</sup> The edges of the sleeves, and the edge of the robe meandering to the ground to the left, are sharp-edged and precariously thin, demonstrating the virtuosity of the carving.

John the Evangelist, holding his cup, is clearly identifiable on the left corner of the west face of the pulpit (statue B, fig. 3). This is the only figure of the group in which a foot (bare as befits an apostle) protrudes below the drapery hem.<sup>6</sup> This statue is in excellent condition and is arrestingly lifelike in the gently turning pose, long, delicate fingers and fixed, pensive gaze. The folds of drapery held up with the base of the cup wind one inside the other in an exquisitely decorative but utterly logical manner. The neat facial type is distinctively unstylised, with wrinkled brow, heavy-lidded eyes and wig-like curling hair, and it is carved in a deft, unfussy way designed to capture effects rather than described in detail. Unlike many contemporary northern carvings, the head itself is very slightly small rather than large in relation to the body which, together with the slender figure, give the figure an elegance of proportions.<sup>7</sup>

The adjacent figure to the right of the western side of the pulpit (statue C, fig. 4), again in excellent condition, turns as if stepping forward, one knee suggested beneath the drapery. The raised hand held a now missing attribute, and in the other is

1  
John Webb?, Pulpit, assembled  
c.1837, oak & walnut, Dorking, St  
Martin's. Photograph K.W. Woods.



a book carried in its cloth cover in accordance with 15th-century custom. The unidealised face of the saint is more angular to suggest age, but compares closely with the St John in its slight elongation, the furrowed brow, the rough but remarkably descriptive chisel marks around eyes and mouth, slightly ungainly nose and wide mouth. The sharp-edged meandering drapery lines recall the headless figure A, while below the book, one fold of drapery winds inside another as in the robe of St John.

The next corner of the pulpit is occupied by a 16th-century female saint. Adjacent, however, is a fourth apostle (statue D, fig. 5) without distinguishing attributes and, like figure A, badly worm-eaten, and it is possible that something, including perhaps an attribute, has been lost from the left edge. Like figures B and C the figure turns slightly, the gaze apparently fixed (here downwards), as if in active response. The distinctive wrinkled forehead and slightly wide mouth and ungainly nose reappear but the drapery seems heavier and softer, and the narrow shoulders and more swaying stance betray a slightly more archaic style. One of the folds bends into a characteristic horizontal motif as it hits the ground. The downward-pointing finger has been broken but carefully repaired. On the reverse of this figure is flaking brown paint, perhaps decayed varnish rather than the remnant of over-painted polychromy.



2  
Master of Hakendover, *Apostle A*,  
c. 1415 - 20, walnut, 30 cm. Dorking,  
St Martin's. Photograph K.W.  
Woods.



3  
Master of Hakendover, *Apostle B*  
(*St John the Evangelist*), c. 1415 - 20,  
walnut, 32 cm. Dorking, St Martin's.  
Photograph K.W. Woods.



4  
Master of Hakendover, *Apostle C*,  
c. 1415 - 20, walnut, 32 cm. Dorking,  
St Martin's. Photograph K.W.  
Woods.

At the edge of the east-facing side of the pulpit is a fifth figure (statue E, fig. 6), which at first glance appears similar in style and size to the others. It seems, however, to be a modern statue probably carved on the basis of a seriously damaged original – the poor condition of statues A and D show all too clearly how dilapidated others in the series might have been. The imitator has picked out some key features typical of the original carver, notably the wrinkled forehead and wig-like hair, but the fan-like drapery is an illogical and poor version of the master's and the carving is much more crude and literal. The wood also differs. This statue does not obviously resemble carving of the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> Webb used a variety of statues for the pulpit, but they are all of some antiquity. It seems less likely that he commissioned a copy of the ruined statue than that it was installed in dilapidated condition (like statue A) and subsequently deteriorated beyond repair, to be replaced perhaps around the time of the second rebuilding of the nave in the 1870s or even later.<sup>9</sup> The fact that, like the now headless figure A, it was placed in the least visible location on the pulpit would support such a hypothesis.

A sixth figure to the right of the steps is also by a different hand (statue F, fig. 7), although probably not very far removed in date from statues A-D. The figure is more block-like with no real impression of movement, the vertical drapery is much



5  
Master of Hakendover, *Apostle D*,  
c. 1425-26, walnut, 32 cm. Dorking,  
St Martin's. Photograph K.W.  
Woods.



6  
Copy after the Master of Haken  
dover?, *Apostle E*, late 19th century?,  
walnut, 32 cm. Dorking, St Martin's.  
Photograph K.W. Woods.

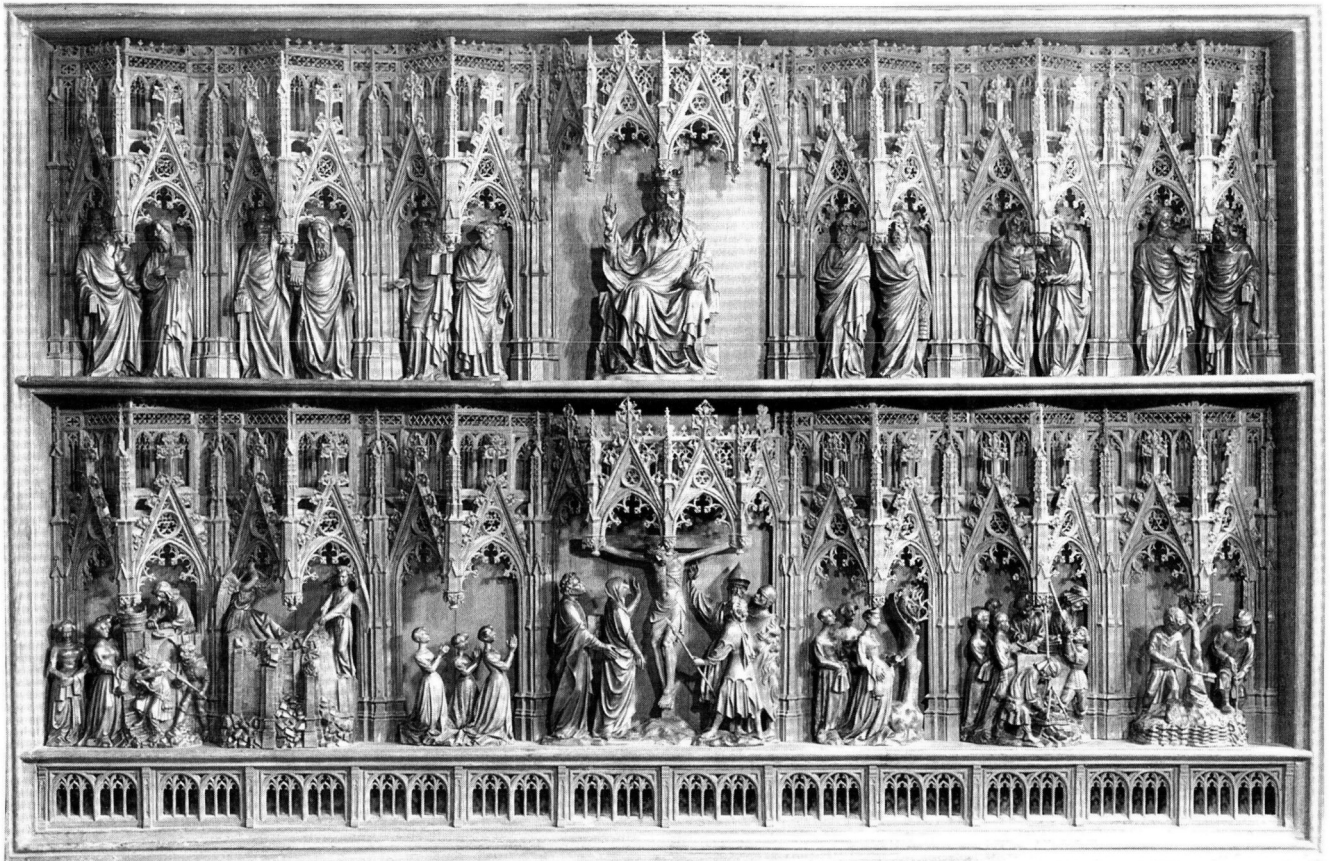


7  
Brabant, *Apostle F*, c. 1420-30, wal-  
nut, 29 cm. Dorking, St Martin's.  
Photograph K.W. Woods.

simpler, the edges blunter, and although the carver does try some winding folds at the hem they have no logical relation to the garment as a whole. The hands are crude and the face larger and more stylised, with its almond-shaped eyes and cavernous forehead. The stylistic differences and smaller size (this figure measures only 29 cm in height), suggest that this apostle is not part of the original series, and has been skillfully chosen for its affinity with the others.<sup>10</sup>

The Dorking statues have until now eluded scholarly attention, and are attributed simply to the late Gothic period in Pevsner's *Surrey*.<sup>11</sup> The statues display the elegance of pose, elongated proportions, decorative curling draperies and realistic details characteristic of the European International or Courtly style of c.1400,<sup>12</sup> but their carver was no run-of-the-mill International Gothic sculptor. His work is distinguished by an intense naturalism of pose, gesture and facial type; the logic and restraint of his drapery carving and the economy of his technique. He may in fact be identified as the so-called Master of Hakendover, a Netherlandish sculptor working c. 1400-c.1425 and perhaps longer, probably in Brussels though not necessarily a native of the city.<sup>13</sup> Only a small number of works by this sculptor are known, so the attribution of these statues is of some significance.

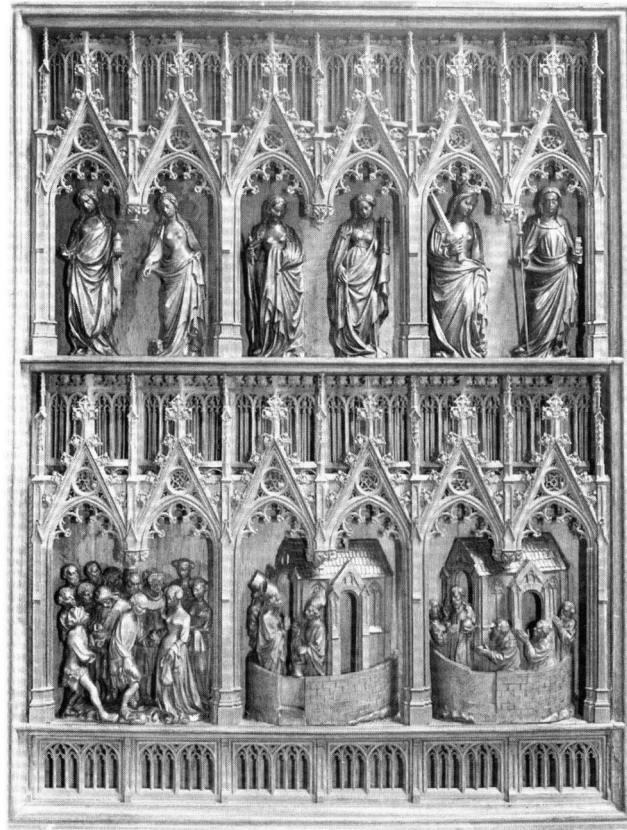
The Master of Hakendover is named after the eponymous altarpiece in the God-



8  
 Master of Hakendover, *Hakendover altarpiece* (central section), c. 1405, walnut, 195 × 295 cm. Hakendover, Goddelijke Zaligmakerkerk. Photograph copyright IRPA-KIK, Brussels.

delijke Zaligmakerkerk, Hakendover (figs. 8-9).<sup>14</sup> Most of the carved groups have been stolen but the altarpiece is well known from photographs and the figure of God the Father remains in situ. The altarpiece comprises an upper tier of standing saints, male in the left wing, female in the right and apostles in the central section, and a narrative lower tier in which the miraculous foundation of the church is recounted. The altarpiece shows significant variations in style<sup>15</sup> but overall comparisons with the Dorking apostles show significant similarities. Like the Dorking statues, the Hakendover apostles display all the elegance of pose and cascading draperies typical of International Gothic, but also their precocious naturalism. Resisting the tendency to stylise, the slightly elongated faces are varied and lifelike, deftly and surprisingly broadly carved, with pronounced cheekbones and the distinctive wrinkled brow. All of these features compare closely with the Dorking apostles. The alert poses present a contrast to the more typical Gothic elegantly swaying stance. These figures, like the Dorking apostles, twist, turn and incline, intercommunicating and occupying the three-dimensional space beneath their tracery canopies in a convincing way. The carver does not seem overly concerned with the volumes of his figures, submerged as they are beneath a torrent of drapery folds, or with anatomy – the hands are frequently concealed beneath drapery, as in the Dorking apostle D. As in the Dorking figures, however, the articulation of the body is impeccably described. Of the precise designs used for the Dorking figures one is very close: Statue C resembles almost exactly the third apostle from the left at Hakendover.<sup>16</sup> In terms of style the Dorking statues compare particularly favourably with God the Father and with St Peter (far left saint, fig. 10).

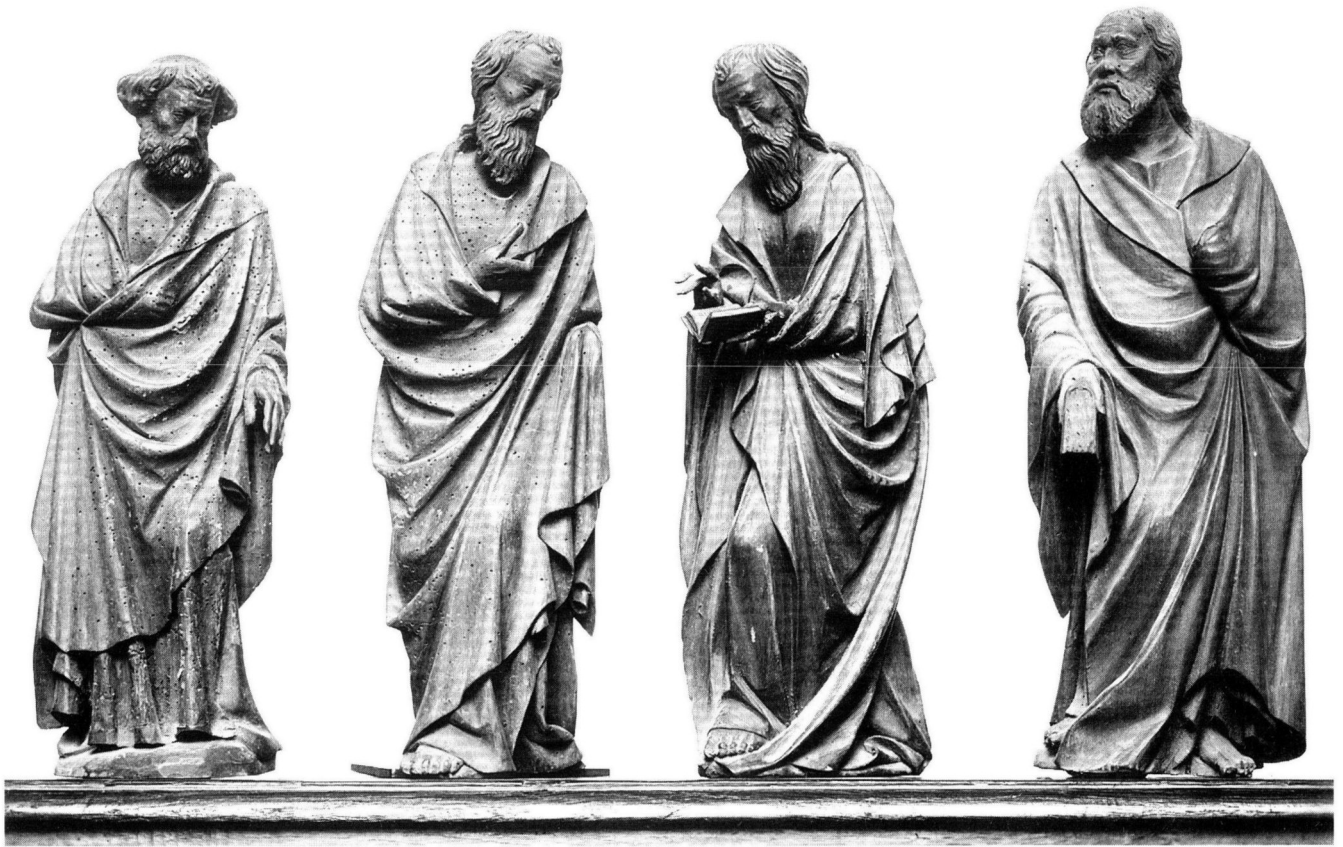
The Hakendover Master's talent for narrative description is obvious from the scenes in the lower zone of the Hakendover altarpiece, and recurs in the stone sacraments tabernacle in the church of St Martin, Halle, generally attributed to the same hand and dated by inscription to 1409.<sup>17</sup> Several heads have been replaced<sup>18</sup>



and the style is again heterogeneous. Nevertheless, the Master's technical virtuosity, elegance and realism is still evident, for example in the apostle wiping his knife in the lower right of the *Last Supper* (fig. 11), the paper thin edges of his robe carved as if caught over the corner of the stool and falling in exquisite folds, or in the eloquent gestures and interaction of the apostles in *Jesus Washing the Disciples' Feet* (fig. 12).

The stone apostle statues ranged around the choir of St Martin, Halle, probably also date from c. 1409, the date of the completion of the choir, and have also been attributed to the Hakendover Master. They share with the Dorking figures the alert, contrapposto poses, expressive gestures, naturalistic hands and complex curling drapery. The meticulously planned sequence of apostles reflects the dynamic approach of the Master of Hakendover: their poses are varied as if addressing the main body of the church or the altar. The pattern of the Halle St John is substantially the same as the one used for the Dorking St John, but the proportions are quite different, the head and hands much larger.<sup>19</sup> In fact a minimum of three hands, and probably more, are detectable in the Halle apostles. Strangely, the three most prominent apostles, that is John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul above the High Altar, are significantly shorter than the others and hence are mounted on pedestals. Obviously weaker in execution they have only tenuous links with the Hakendover style; St James the Less, Bartholomew, James and Matthias/Thaddeus (fig. 13) are most closely identified with the master. The Dorking apostles, conversely, are of remarkably even quality unless one accepts apostle F as part of the series. Even the less complex and more archaic figure D is not obviously by another hand. Perhaps Webb procured the best of the surviving apostle series, or perhaps the Master's own participation in this particular scheme was higher than in some others.

The St John pattern is used once again in the carved wooden altarpiece in the Reinoldikirche, Dortmund,<sup>20</sup> another work generally attributed to the Master of



10  
Master of Hakendover, four apostles  
from Hakendover altarpiece, aver-  
age height 37 cm. Photograph  
copyright IRPA KIK, Brussels.

Hakendover.<sup>21</sup> Like the Hakendover altarpiece the Reinoldikirche apostles are swathed in cascading International Gothic-style drapery, but the heavier headed figures are reminiscent of the Halle rather than the Hakendover apostles. The spatial arrangement of the apostles and the central *Crucifixion* scene is so revolutionary in concept that the altarpiece is generally thought to postdate both works: the figures are placed under distinctly three-dimensional architectural tracery and set against a back wall decorated with tracery, creating the illusion of an architecturally-defined, chapel-like space, the first time this characteristic of Brussels carved altarpieces is known to occur.<sup>22</sup> The emotional intensity of the Magdalene figure and the sober St John anticipate the types associated with the painter Rogier van der Weyden,<sup>23</sup> while the exoticism of the soldiers with braided beards and helmets with turban-like rims prefigure the flamboyant costumes and surface details of Jan Borman at the end of the 15th century.<sup>24</sup> The Reinoldikirche altarpiece shows more than any other work by the Master the critical role he may have played in the development of Brussels art in the 15th century.

The broad characteristics of the Hakendover master are common to both the Reinoldikirche and Dorking apostles, together with some minor but distinctive 'Morellian' features. For example, the strange, horizontal roll of drapery breaking at the hem of Dorking statue D's robe recurs in the Reinoldikirche apostle placed fourth from the left of the altarpiece.

The simpler, more restrained drapery style and erect figures of the Dorking apostles suggest a slightly later date than the Hakendover and Reinoldikirche altarpieces, in which the cascading International Gothic draperies are more in evidence. Steyaert has identified works that are evidently later still, however. The fragment of the *Apostles in Prayer* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) shows the same neat heads and elongated but realistic figures, but even greater simplification of drapery and an increasing move away from Gothic elegance and detail.<sup>25</sup> The recently discovered *St Peter in Penance* shows the sculptor moving at the end of his

known career to rather more normal proportions and 'up-to-date' heavier, angular drapery but reviving the emotional intensity of the Reinoldikirche altarpiece.<sup>26</sup> The stylistic shift is signalled by the fact that both these groups are carved in the harder medium of oak in which it is more difficult to produce the fine drapery details that characterised his earlier work in walnut.

The Dorking statues clearly belong in the second half of the known career of the Master of Hakendover, but the chronological parameters of that career, and in particular of the Hakendover and Reinoldikirche altarpieces, have been the subject of much debate. While the archaic wide-necked dresses of the carvings of the Hakendover founders suggest a date as early as the end of the 14th century, some have pushed it as late as c. 1432.<sup>27</sup> Although the thoroughly International Gothic apostles and founders support a very early dating, the somewhat Fyckian female saints and some of the workmen, with their rustic dress and low-slung belts could conceivably be dated considerably later. Paatz dated the Reinoldikirche altarpiece to the 1430s on the assumption that it was influenced by Rogier van der Weyden.<sup>28</sup> The known date of the Halle tabernacle excludes such extremes of dating for both altarpieces, however, for it is almost impossible to justify a date some 25 years later than the Halle tabernacle, particularly since we now know that the altarpieces did not represent the Master's last style. It is in fact quite plausible that the young Rogier van der Weyden was impressed by the Hakendover Master rather than vice versa. The expressive awkwardness and emotional intensity of the Master's *St Peter in Penance*, for example, anticipates in some measure the famous Mary Magdalene from Rogier van der Weyden's Prado *Descent from the Cross*.<sup>29</sup> The possibility that Rogier's work was influenced by Tournai sculpture has often been commented on; it is not inconceivable that he also learned from Brussels sculpture. The Master of Hakendover was probably working up until c. 1425-30,<sup>30</sup> and his reputation may well still have been alive when Rogier arrived in the city. It is also very likely that there were works by him in Brussels itself,<sup>31</sup> or surviving assistants from whom his approach might be learned.

There are few dated sculptures by which a more secure dating framework may be established for the Dorking statues. The Master of Hakendover stands at the point of transition between the Franco-Flemish tradition of André Beauneveu<sup>32</sup> and the distinctive narrative style of Brussels, with its broken drapery folds and heavier, shorter figures, often with large heads. The Rieden Master is one of the earlier exponents of this Brussels style, and the contrast between his squat, somewhat inelegant figures and the grace of the Master of Hakendover could not be more marked.<sup>33</sup> The stone *Virgin and Child* in the Norbertine Abbey of Tongerlo was commissioned in Brussels in 1422, and provides one of the few securely datable examples from Brussels in the period when the Master of Hakendover was working.<sup>34</sup> This block-like figure is completely different from the sinuous elegance of the Dorking apostles and anticipates the weight and volume of the figures familiar in Netherlandish painting of the 1430s.<sup>35</sup> The curving folds falling from below the left arm of the Tongerlo Virgin begin to show a certain angularity comparable with Dorking figure A, but in its simplicity the carving appears a little further advanced. This, together with the very different approach to the human figure may suggest that the Dorking statues are a few years earlier. Even allowing for the fact that stylistic development is not necessarily a linear affair, it is difficult to believe that they could be very much later than 1422, and that the innovative sculptor capable in 1409 of the naturalistic narrative of the Halle Tabernacle, or of the novel chapel space in the Reinoldikirche altarpiece could continue to pedal a virtually unmodified International Gothic approach much later than c. 1420 when it was patently being superseded. The stylistic changes of the *St Peter in Penance* show that the carver did indeed move with the times later in his career, and if this shift is dated too late, the Master's career becomes implausibly long.<sup>36</sup>



11  
Master of Hakendover, *Last Supper*, Sacraments Tabernacle, 1409, stone, 41 × 47 cm. Halle, St Martin's. Photograph K.W. Woods.



12  
Master of Hakendover, *Jesus Washing the Disciples' Feet*, Sacraments Tabernacle, 1409, stone, 41 × 47 cm. Halle, St Martin's. Photograph K.W. Woods.

Comparable stylistic changes are evident outside Brussels in the 1420s, for example in the well-known *Annunciation* by the Tournai sculptor Jean Delemer (who, like Rogier van der Weyden, later moved to Brussels) carved for St Peter's, in Tournai 1426-28.<sup>37</sup> The *Annunciation* also shows naturalistic, broken drapery folds and a singular vigour of stance quite unlike the decorative elegance of International Gothic, and considerably in advance of the gentle innovations of the Master of Hakendover. It is possible, then, that the Dorking statues date from c. 1415-20, slightly after the Reinoldikirche altarpiece, dated to c. 1410-15 by Steyaert.<sup>38</sup>

The Master of Hakendover's emphasis was on the articulation of the human figure, rather than the expression of volumes that concerned the Brussels carver of the Tongerlo *Virgin and Child*. Even allowing for differences in medium, this suggests differing canons in Brussels in the early 15th century. This preoccupation with volumes may also be seen in the work of some contemporary Franco-Flemish sculptors working elsewhere, for example in the work of Jean de Cambrai, successor to Beauneveu, the sculptor to whom the Master of Hakendover was apparently indebted. The smooth surfaces, bulky physique and volumetric treatment of the *Virgin of Marcoussis*, dating to c. 1408 and usually attributed to Jean de Cambrai,<sup>39</sup> are fundamentally different from the Dorking apostles.

The Master of Hakendover's emphasis on articulation and narrative is less reminiscent of these sculptors than of painters such as Melchior Broederlam and manuscript illuminators such as the Boucicaut Master and the Limbourg brothers. If the proposed dating framework is correct then the Dorking statues may have been carved very soon after the death of the Limbourg brothers and the cessation of work on the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry. In fact a comparison between the *Très Riches Heures* and the Dorking apostles reveals many stylistic similarities, and is of particular interest because the Limbourg brothers' father was a wood-carver (d. 1399) and his craft may have informed their style as manuscript illuminators.<sup>40</sup> A miniature such as the *Expulsion of the Demon* (f. 166)<sup>41</sup> shows many of the characteristics of the Dorking apostles: the elongated proportions but combined with a lively naturalism; the restrained drapery of Christ, where one fold meanders inside another; the move away from stylised facial types (and in fact some Limbourg facial types are strikingly like the Dorking apostles); the exotic costume details evident in the Reinoldikirche altarpiece. Since the Limbourg brothers evidently died young, they may have been as much as a generation younger than the Hakendover Master, but there seem to be affinities of style, whether simply the re-

sult of date, or perhaps of geographical origin or training it is difficult to say. The Master is usually assumed to have been active in Brussels, which was certainly the foremost sculptural centre of Brabant c. 1400<sup>42</sup> and the most logical centre for patrons of either Hakendover or Halle to apply to.<sup>43</sup> There is no documentation listing the sculptors active at Halle, but the use of Brabantine stone and the proximity of Brussels makes that city the most likely source of craftsmen.<sup>44</sup> It is not only the geographical location of the Master's surviving works that supports such a location but also his method of working. A distinctive feature of the work attributed to the Master of Hakendover, is its heterogeneous nature. While it is not unusual to find a number of different hands working on major sculptural series such as the Halle apostles, one might expect greater uniformity in the smaller-scale tabernacle. Instead, even in these small scenes several carvers were obviously involved. The Master of Hakendover evidently belonged to a workshop that employed commercial methods of production in which a number of skilled carvers were employed in the rapid turnover of work. This sort of mass production, employing a team of skilled journeymen, was evident in Brussels altarpiece production by the mid-15th century, though the practice is visually detectable rather than securely documented.<sup>45</sup> The Master of Hakendover clearly used these methods much earlier.

There is a second possibility, however, and that is that the Master worked together with other members of his family, that is, as an associate of equals rather than as the head of a commercial workshop. Certainly this hypothesis would help to explain the anomaly of the three principal apostles at Halle being the weakest of the series. It was by no means uncommon for brothers to work alongside each other, or fathers and sons. The initial list of sculptors working at the Chartreuse de Dijon in 1384-85 includes Gillequin Tailleieu and his son Tassin; Liefvin de Hane and his brother Mant (presumably the Nicolas de Hane employed briefly in 1386 was also a relative); and Hennequin Vanclaire and his brother Therrion (perhaps Hennequin Stienne Vonclaire was also a relative).<sup>46</sup> Similarly the first, undated, Brussels guild list includes Jan de Voghel and Heine his brother and allowing for the vagaries of 14th-century spelling Jan de Riemnayere and Heine de Reimayere may also have been relatives.<sup>47</sup> Whatever the Master's workshop arrangements, and despite the heterogeneous styles apparent in attributed works, the distinctive style of the Dorking apostles is apparent from the earliest attributed work, the Hakendover altarpiece (for example relief no. 11 at Hakendover, the payment of the Workers (fig. 9), and St Peter (fig. 10), apostle no. 6) to the latest (*St Peter in Penance*).

Around the time that St Martin's, Halle, was being built, two building projects were under way that might have had significance in the choice of craftsmen. Firstly, a succession of Brussels sculptors and masons were active, often only for short periods, at the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon, a building project of Philip the Bold.<sup>48</sup> The parallels between the illusionistic chapel space of the Reinoldikirche altarpiece and the illusionistic cloister space occupied by the mourners of the tomb of Philip the Bold are obvious. It seems likely that the Hakendover Master knew of the tomb (1384-1411)<sup>49</sup> even if he did not himself work at Champmol. Although his style bears little resemblance to that of Sluter, many Brussels sculptors worked at Dijon for too short a time to assume permanent stylistic shifts. Secondly, the Cathedral of Cambrai, had oversight of Halle, which, although close to Brussels, was actually in Hainaut and not in Brabant.<sup>50</sup> Patrons in search of suitable craftsmen might have turned to Cambrai.<sup>51</sup> The progression from Cambrai to Halle, albeit later, is shown by the career of Guillaume le Fèvre, the bronze founder who made the baptismal font at Halle in 1446, who earlier cast four angels for the high altar of the Cathedral of Cambrai designed in 1431.<sup>52</sup> It is at least possible that craftsmen, perhaps including the Master of Hakendover, were chosen for their experience on one of these projects.

13  
Master of Hakendover, *St Matthias  
Thaddeus*, c. 1409, stone, c. 175 cm.  
Halle, St Martin's, triforium. Photo-  
graph copyright IRPA-KIK,  
Brussels.



The Master of Hakendover was probably first and foremost an altarpiece producer. Apart from the Halle work, altarpieces or sculpture derived from altarpieces constitute his entire surviving oeuvre. Even at Halle, the tabernacle scenes are each carved out of a single, shallow block a few centimetres deep at the lower edge and simply placed in the niche. This is exactly the technique used in altarpiece production. While Brussels was known and remained known for stone sculpture, the Master of Hakendover may be seen as a pioneer in the commercial wooden altarpiece production for which Brussels was renowned by the mid-century, a key player, perhaps, in the development of the industry. After all, in 1390, just before the Master's known career began, Philip the Good ordered two carved wooden altarpieces not from Brussels but from Jacques Baerze, working in Dendermonde near Ghent,<sup>53</sup> despite the fact that the sculptural work at the Chartreuse de Champmol (for which the two altarpieces were destined) was dominated by Brussels stone carvers at the time.<sup>54</sup>

Finally we need to consider what sort of an ensemble the Dorking apostles belonged to. They are certainly too small to have come from the apostle beam of a rood screen or, like the Halle apostles, to have been placed in the ambulatory of even a very small private chapel. Although several centimetres smaller in size than the Hakendover apostles the Dorking apostles could originally have formed part of a similar altarpiece. They seem intended to be placed in pairs, inclining either to the right (statues B and C) or to the left (statues A and D). Like some of the Reindikirche apostles, one or other of the vertical edges of the Dorking figures tend

to form a straight line as if also designed to fit a cloister-like space. The fact that statues A and D are in much poorer condition than statues B and C suggests that one rank of apostles could have suffered more from worm attack than the other. The two tier Hakendover altarpiece design is less common in Brussels altarpieces than the single tier Reinoldikirche format, but since the Dorking figures are very small to have stood in a single tier, it looks very much as if they derive from another altarpiece like the one at Hakendover, but later in date.

Webb probably acquired the altarpiece, or statues from it, from the Continent, for in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars church furnishings were easily available in north western Europe and were shipped in huge quantities to England.<sup>55</sup> For example on 15 June 1836, less than a year before the acquisition of the Dorking pulpit, a sale of imported oak carvings was held by the auctioneer Deacon which included no less than 592 lots!<sup>56</sup> While it is possible that the other statues from the series were beyond repair, it is also possible that they survive elsewhere in England or on the Continent. Webb's insertion of the 16th-century female saint and statue F shows that he was not above decorating his products in a patchwork manner. It is possible that he had already used part of the apostle series elsewhere and found himself short of statues when he came to fit the Dorking pulpit up for use. More apostle figures may yet come to light from the lost altarpiece, perhaps even elsewhere in England.

There is a final twist to the history of the Dorking apostles. The well-known ecclesiologist Alexander Beresford Hope was a frequenter of Dorking in his youth, for his father Thomas Hope owned a house in the district (the Deepdene, now demolished). The house remained in the family after Thomas's death in 1831, and a 'Mr Hope', presumably Alexander's oldest brother Henry, is recorded to have subscribed to the new church in 1837.<sup>57</sup> This was at the time when Alexander became a student at Cambridge, where he discovered Gothic art. It would be by no means implausible to imagine that Alexander became familiar with the pulpit and in particular with the statues by the Master of Hakendover, and that they contributed to his growing passion for Gothic art and helped to inspire purchases such as the carved Netherlandish wooden altarpiece which the distinguished visitor to England Gustaav Waagen of the Berlin Art Gallery saw in his home in the 1850s.<sup>58</sup>

#### NOTES

\* I would like to extend my thanks to the British Academy and Open University for funding without which this research could not have been undertaken; to Professor John Steyaert for kindly arranging for me to visit St Martins, Halle, after the recent cleaning, and for generous advice; and to Mr Marcel Franssens for conducting me around St Martins, Halle. Thanks are also due to Paul Williamson, David Merrikin, Dr Alexandra Wedgwood and the ministers and staff of St Martins, Dorking.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of St Martin's Dorking and its pulpit, see A. Wedgwood (ed.), *A History of St Martin's Dorking*, Dorking 1990, especially pp. 22 and 32.

<sup>2</sup> John Webb of 8 Old Bond Street was one of the most important London dealers in antique furniture in the first half of the 19th century (see C. Wainwright, *The Antiquarian interior in Britain 1780-1850*, dissertation, University College, University of London 1987, chapter 2; C. Wainwright, 'Curiosities to fine art – Bond Street's First Dealers', *Country Life*, CLXXIX (1986), pp. 1528-1529 and C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at home 1750-1850*, London-New Haven 1989, pp. 45-46). Although described as an upholsterer and cabinet maker in the London Post Office Directories he also dealt in antique church furnishings, and medieval ivories in particular. Pugin bought stalls from him in January 1837 (Pugin Diaries, Victoria and Albert Museum, I, 5158

1968). Webb operated in Bond Street until the mid-1850s.

<sup>3</sup> See Minutes of the Building Committee of 1837, DOM/12/2, Surrey Records Office, Woking.

<sup>4</sup> A report by Hamptons auctioneers in 1998 confirmed that the wood is walnut. Figures B, C and D (see below) are 32 cm high; figure A is now 30 cm without its head but must have been c. 33 cm originally. The statues are mounted on modern octagonal bases.

<sup>5</sup> It is not possible to pinpoint the date when this sort of angular drapery began, either in sculpture or in painting, but its evolution is apparent in the *Virgin and Child* in the Norbertine Abbey of Tongerlo, dated

1422 (although this monumental block-like statue is otherwise quite unlike the work of the Master of Hakendover. See J.W. Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture*, Ghent 1994, cat.no.14 and below), and it is already evident in the Van Eycks' Ghent altarpiece painted 1426-32 (St Bavo's, Ghent). See below under dating.

<sup>6</sup> The Dorking apostles stand directly on their 19th-century pedestals. Since the Hakendover apostles (see below) stand on a very shallow base, one would expect the Dorking apostles originally to have done the same. It is possible, therefore, that the apostles have been levelled off slightly at the base, though this is difficult to verify since they are firmly stuck to their present pedestals.

<sup>7</sup> Compare, for example, the large heads and heavy, realistic figures of Claus Sluter's *Moses l'ountain*, 1395-1403 (see T. Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France and Spain, 1400-1500*, Harmondsworth 1966, pls 4-5). The heads of apostles C and D are slightly larger, occupying approximately 1/6 of the vertical height, while St John's head is only 1/7.

<sup>8</sup> This is a judgement based on scrutiny of restoration on a range of Netherlandish carved altarpieces now in England.

<sup>9</sup> Church accounts have not yet been searched for references to this statue.

<sup>10</sup> Significant variations in size and style can be found in other series of statues attributable to the carver: Sts John, Peter and Paul at Halle are substantially shorter than the other apostles (see below). It still seems unlikely to me that this apostle is part of the same series and the work of a much less gifted assistant.

<sup>11</sup> I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, rev. by B. Cherry, *The Buildings of England, Surrey*, Harmondsworth 1971, p. 195.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, London 1996, vol. 13, pp. 155-156.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Steyaert, *Sculpture of St Martin's in Halle and related Netherlandish works*, dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1974; *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil*, exh.cat. Schnütgen Museum, Cologne 1978, I, pp. 88-90, 94-95; Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), pp. 68-70 and cat.nos. 21 and 23. I am extremely grateful to Professor Steyaert for discussing the pulpit statues with me.

<sup>14</sup> For narrative scenes and historical data see *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*, exh.cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, pp. 231-234.

<sup>15</sup> For the scenes and figures Steyaert attributed to the actual Master of Hakendover rather than to his assistants, see Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 141, note 5. If anything, my own judgements are even more conservative, albeit based on photographs.

<sup>16</sup> For a good reproduction see D. Roggen, 'Het Retabel van Hakendover', *Gentse Bijdragen*, I (1934), p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> For Halle see Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 13), and *Die Parler*, *op.cit.* (note 13).

<sup>18</sup> My thanks to Professor Steyaert for information on repairs.

<sup>19</sup> Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), fig. 7, p. 69.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 8.

<sup>21</sup> See W. Paatz, 'Eine nordwestdeutsche Gruppe von frühen flandrischen Schnitzaltären aus der Zeit von 1360 bis 1450', *Wesifalen*, 21 (1936), pp. 49-68; A. von Euw, 'Der Kalvarienberg im Schnütgen-Museum', in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXVII (1965), pp. 111-116.

<sup>22</sup> See L. E. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing*, Cambridge 1998, p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> See for example the Rogerian, Flemallian Abegg *Crucifixion*, M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Leyden-Brussels 1967-1976, II, pl. 134 and the Prado *Descent from the Cross*, *ibid.*, pl. 6-7, and the Vienna *Crucifixion*, *ibid.*, pl. 18-19.

<sup>24</sup> For Jan Borman see B. D'Hainaut-Zveny, 'Le dynastie Borreman XV-XVIe siècles. Crayon généalogique et analyse comparative des personnalités artistiques', in *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie*, V (1983), pp. 47-66.

<sup>25</sup> Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 70, fig. 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, cat.no. 23.

<sup>27</sup> For a summary of the dating problem see *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*, *op.cit.* (note 14), pp. 232-234. The altarpiece has been modified by two restorations, and the central *Crucifixion* group is not original.

<sup>28</sup> Paatz, *op.cit.* (note 21), p. 60.

<sup>29</sup> Friedländer, *op.cit.* (note 23), II, pl. 6-7.

<sup>30</sup> This dating is an estimate, based on the carving of St Peter in Penance (see Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), cat.no. 23) in which the distinctive Netherlandish angular broken drapery folds now dominate.

<sup>31</sup> Four of the Prophet figures from the Brussels Town Hall have in the past been attributed to the Master of Hakendover (Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 13) and *Die Parler*, *op.cit.* (note 13), though this attribution has more recently been convincingly refuted in K. Morand, *Claus Sluter: artist at the Court of Burgundy*, London 1991, pp. 169-170, note 26.

<sup>32</sup> Didier and Steyaert stress convincingly the master's debt to the tradition of Beauneveu in *Die Parler*, *op.cit.* (note 13).

<sup>33</sup> See Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), pp. 72-73, 132-133.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, cat.no. 14.

<sup>35</sup> For example in the so-called Flemalle panels by Robert Campin (see Friedländer, *op.cit.* (note 23), II, pl. 87-89, or Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece completed in 1432 (*ibid.*, I, pl. 1-16).

<sup>36</sup> Assuming the Master is unlikely to have been younger than 30-40 when he was awarded the important commissions at Halle, and that he died around the age of 60, a death date of c. 1430-35 seems plausible. Occasionally sculptors were indeed very long lived, notably Adriaen van Wesel of Utrecht, but it is unwise to assume such longevity as a basis for dating.

<sup>37</sup> Steyaert, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 53, figs. 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> Most recently in *The Dictionary of Art*, *op.cit.* (note 12), vol. 20, p. 688. This dating is in accordance with the style of the painted wings. See Paatz, *op.cit.* (note 21), p. 60, and Von Euw, *op.cit.* (note 21), pp. 115-116.

<sup>39</sup> See *Die Parler*, *op.cit.* (note 13), I, p. 56. The statue is thought to be the one later said to have been given to the church by the Duc de Berry, presumably around the time of the church's dedication in 1408, and assumed to be by the Duc's sculptor Jean de Cambrai.

<sup>40</sup> Steyaert and Didier also compare the Hakendover altarpiece with the Limburgs' *Bible Moralisée* of 1403-05, pointing out that Paul de Limbourg is known to have travelled through Brussels. See *Die Parler*, *op.cit.* (note 13), I, p. 90 and M. Meiss,

*French Painting in the Time of the Duc de Berry: The Limbourg and their contemporaries*, London 1974, p. 67.

<sup>41</sup> For colour illustration see E. Pognon, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Fribourg 1983, p. 115.

<sup>42</sup> See J. Duverger, 'Het beeldhouwwerk van het Mechelse Schepenhuis', *Gentse Bijdragen*, III (1936), pp. 1-2, note 1.

<sup>43</sup> Halle is actually in Hainaut, but lies only a few kilometres from Brussels.

<sup>44</sup> Information on the stone kindly supplied by Professor Steyaert.

<sup>45</sup> Jacobs, *op.cit.* (note 22), pp. 212-216.

<sup>46</sup> C. C. A. Dehaisnes, *Documents et Extraits Divers Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lille 1866, p. 624.

<sup>47</sup> Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 42), pp. 35-36.

<sup>48</sup> From 1386 until 1397 they were paid by one Josset de Halle, 'tresorier', who was also a goldsmith and judging by his name, perhaps from Halle (see Dehaisnes, *op.cit.* (note 46), *passim*). The Joos van Halle whose name is inscribed on f. 8 of the first list of the Brussels stone workers guild (Duverger, *op.cit.* (note 42), p. 34) is presumably a different man, though occasionally goldsmiths were also sculptors (for example Jan de Goutsmet entered on f. 12). Josset de Halle was one of those who inspected the carved altarpiece delivered by Jacques Baerze in 1399 (see C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Champmol*, I, Montreuil-sur-Mer 1898, p. 207) and as a craftsman himself would have been eminently able to advise on the choice of craftsmen for what was presumably his home town. His death date, however, is not known.

<sup>49</sup> See Morand, *op.cit.* (note 31), p. 121.

<sup>50</sup> Kindly pointed out to me by Professor Steyaert.

<sup>51</sup> For Cambrai see J. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai*, Paris 1880.

<sup>52</sup> P. Rolland, *Les Primitifs Tournaisiens: Peintres et Sculpteurs*, Brussels-Paris 1932, p. 55.

<sup>53</sup> See Jacobs, *op.cit.* (note 22), pp. 183-187.

<sup>54</sup> See Morand, *op.cit.* (note 31), pp. 25-26.

<sup>55</sup> See Wainwright, *op.cit.* (note 2).

<sup>56</sup> My thanks to Dr C. Wainwright for first drawing my attention to this sale.

<sup>57</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>58</sup> See G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London 1857, p. 190.