

Living Memoria



Studies in Medieval and
Early Modern Memorial Culture



Contents

Living Memoria

Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren

Edited by ROLF DE WEIJERT, KIM RAGETLI, ARNOUD-JAN BIJSTERVELD
and JEANNETTE VAN ARENTHALS



Hilversum
Verloren

2011



Plate 26 a



Plate 26 b

The Triptych of the Pauw-Sas Family from the Utrecht Charterhouse*

HENRI L.M. DEFOER

The excellent online database *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of medieval *memoria*), launched in 2009, contains detailed information and pictures of approximately five hundred memorial paintings and sculptures made in the Netherlands between 1450 and 1580.¹ The creation of this database is a huge achievement, and it has proved to be very useful for scholars carrying out research in the fields of medieval history and art history. *Memoria in Beeld* was initiated by Truus van Bueren and is a direct forerunner of the MeMO project.

One of the memorial paintings described in the *Memoria in Beeld* database is a triptych from the Carthusian monastery Nieuwlicht, or Nova Lux, near Utrecht that dates from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The central panel shows the Last Supper, with Christ washing St Peter's feet in the background on the left (plate 26a). In the centre sits Jesus at the table. His beloved disciple St John rests his head against Jesus' chest. Jesus' right hand reaches for a plate with a small roasted bird. He holds a host between his thumb and forefinger, indicating that it was during the Last Supper that the sacrament of the Eucharist was established. The apostles are grouped around the table. Judas is sitting opposite Jesus on the right, recognisable by his red hair and yellow tunic. He has his purse with the thirty pieces of silver on his knee. In the foreground two dogs are fighting over a bone. They symbolise the vice of *invidia*, or envy, and are associated with Judas.² Judas is represented again in the doorway to the left in the rear wall, negotiating with the Pharisees about delivering his master. The group to the left in the foreground is very unusual. Two apostles are looking at a very small poor beggar who brings a bolt to his mouth. One of the apostles turns around and reaches for the bolt with his right hand, showing the boy a wafer in his left hand, indicating that the consecrated wa-

* This article is an elaborated version of a lecture given by the author on 15 July 2009 at the Probusclub Utrecht '85. See: <http://www.defoer.nl>.

1 <http://www.hum.uu.nl/memorie>.

2 Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katharinas von Kleve*, Berlin 1973, 492; Waadenoijen, *De geheimtaal van Jheronimus Bosch*, 159.

fer is not the food that perishes but the true bread, the bread of life. This refers to John 6:48-51, where Jesus says:

I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness and they died. This is the bread which comes down out of heaven, that anyone may eat of it and not die. I am the living bread which came out of heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever. Yes the bread which I will give for the life of the world is my flesh.

This detail clarifies that people who do not believe in the Eucharist are as poor and silly as the small beggar.

The outside of the left wing shows St Nicholas; three Carthusians are depicted on the inside. They are Jacob and Vincent Pauw and Pieter Sas. Behind them stand SS Vincent of Saragossa and Sebastian, with the scene of the Agony in the Garden in the background. The outside of the right wing shows St Catharine; the inside shows Digna Sas with SS George and John the Evangelist behind her. In the background we see the Carrying of the Cross (plate 26b).³

Thanks to the research that has been carried out, much is known about the historical context of this triptych. Van Hasselt published the *Necrologium* of the Nieuwlicht monastery. Apart from a necrology this document contains more than twenty other texts that all deal with the memorial culture in the monastery.⁴ In 1947 Van Lutterveld identified the portraits on the wings as members of the Pauw and Sas families from Utrecht, and Scholtens made some corrections.⁵

Although much is known about the families that commissioned this altarpiece and the people that are pictured on it, there has been little success in identifying the artist. In this contribution I will explore the style of the painting, looking for clues to locate the origins of the creating artist and the sources from which he took his inspiration. But before we turn to the style of the painting, I would like to start with a brief history of the monastery and the works of art from Nieuwlicht that have survived. In addition, I will give some background information on the people represented on the Pauw-Sas triptych.

3 Boon, 'De erfenis van Albert Ouwater', 39, 41, 42; Van Lutterveld, 'Twee Utrechtse primitieven' 107-122; Gerson, 'Een Utrechts schilderij uit de 16e eeuw', 5-7; Scholtens, 'Kunstwerken van het Utrechtse kartuizerklooster', 157-166; De Jonge, *Catalogus der schilderijen*, 134-135; Scholtens, 'Iets over de bouwgeschiedenis', 55-57; Houtzager, *Röntgenonderzoek van de oude schilderijen*, 278-279; Blotkamp, *Ruimte en perspectief*, 22; Wright, *Paintings in Dutch Museums* 83; Helmus, *Schilderkunst tot 1850*; Helmus, *In stille harmonie*; Helmus, Faries and Tamis, *Catalogue of paintings*, 348-355.

4 Van Hasselt, 'Het necrologium van het Karthuizer-klooster', 126-392. For further literature about Nieuwlicht: Scholtens, 'Priors van Nieuwlicht' 302-357; Scholtens, 'Voormalige kartuizerkloosters hier te lande', 33 ff; Van Lutterveld, 'Twee Utrechtse primitieven', 107-122; Scholtens, 'Kunstwerken van het Utrechtse kartuizerklooster', 157-166; Scholtens, 'Iets over de bouwgeschiedenis', 55-57; Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser* and the contribution by Rolf de Weijert in this volume.

5 Van Lutterveld, 'Twee Utrechtse primitieven', 107-122; Scholtens, 'Kunstwerken van het Utrechts Kartuizerklooster', 157-166.

The history of the monastery and the triptych

The Carthusian Order was founded in 1084 by Bruno of Cologne. It is a contemplative order of monks who lead a life of separation in small houses or cells laid out around a central courtyard. Initially new charterhouses were mainly founded in France, but the order also spread to the north-western part of Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nine charterhouses were founded in the northern part of the Low Countries, in Geertruidenberg (1336), Arnhem (*ca.* 1342), Roermond (1376), Utrecht (1391), Amsterdam (1392), Zierikzee (1433), Vught (1465), Delft (1470) and Kampen (1485).⁶

The monastery Nova Lux or Nieuwlicht was located about 1.5 kilometres north-west of Utrecht in 1391 by Zweder van Gaesbeek. The chapterhouse, the small inner courtyard and part of the other buildings were completed by 1394. The church was constructed between 1396 and 1407. In 1438 a chapel was added, which was adorned with three altars, two altarpieces and at least two stained glass windows.⁷ At the beginning of the sixteenth century Nieuwlicht was a flowering community consisting of approximately 15 monks, some of whom came from distinguished families. The monastery escaped looting during the tumultuous times preceding the suppression of the Roman Catholic religion in Utrecht, but in 1578 soldiers were encamped in the buildings to prevent the Spanish troops from settling there. The monks sought safety inside the city. The monastery was dissolved in 1580 and its possessions were confiscated by the urban government.⁸ The monastery library was transferred to the church of St John, where the town had organised a municipal library. This library became part of the library of the university of Utrecht, which had been founded in 1636. To this day it still holds 145 manuscripts and 68 early printed books originating from Nieuwlicht.⁹ The rest of the movable property of the monastery, including the altarpieces and other paintings, also came in the possession of the city. Among them are a panel by Jan van Eyck and his workshop, representing SS Elisabeth and Barbara presenting the Carthusian prior Jan Vos to the Virgin Mary. It was commissioned in 1441 by Jan Vos, then the prior of the Carthusian monastery in Bruges. In 1450 he brought the painting with him when he became the prior in Nieuwlicht.¹⁰ Another painting that presumably originates from Nieuwlicht is a triptych with a crucifixion and two Carthusian monks on the left inner wing. This altarpiece was painted around 1530-1545 by Jan van Scorel and

6 Scholtens, 'De voormalige kartuizerkloosters' and more recently Gaens, *De kracht van de stilte*.

7 The *Necrologium* contains a chronicle dedicated to the building of this chapel, Van Hasselt, 'Het necrologium van het Karthuizer-klooster', 182-185.

8 Scholtens, 'Iets over de bouwgeschiedenis'.

9 For the library of Nieuwlicht, see Gumbert, *Utrechter Kartäuser (passim)*; Van der Horst et al., *Handschriften en Oude Drukken*, 26-50.

10 Scholtens, 'Jan van Eyck's 'H. Maagd met den Kartuizer'', Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 187-191; Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. I, 61; Borchert, *Van Eyck tot Dürer*, 150.

members of his workshop, who were active in Utrecht between 1530 and 1562.¹¹

The paintings seized from the Utrecht convents and monasteries were housed in the urban hospitals and other public buildings of the city. We know from the inventories of the Anthony Hospital from 1641 and 1719 that it possessed some paintings of the Carthusians including, I presume, the Pauw-Sas triptych and the two other paintings mentioned above.¹² In the course of the eighteenth century the regents of several hospitals and other institutions of benevolence adapted the interiors of the prestigious rooms to the taste of their time. The old religious paintings were not appreciated anymore, and most of the panels were brought to the so-called 'Aalmoezenierskamer' in Brigittenstraat. Above the room where the paintings were stored there was a peat loft, which collapsed under its own weight in November 1816. Many of the paintings must have been ruined. The ones that were still presentable were sold by auction at the town hall. I suppose that the three paintings from Nieuwlicht were sold on that occasion.¹³ In 1857 the painting by Jan van Eyck was offered for sale in Cologne. It is now in the Frick Collection in New York. The triptych by Jan van Scorel is now in Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht. It was previously in the vicarage of the Neo-Gothic St Vitus church in Hilversum. We may assume that it had been bought in the 1816 auction by the Board of the previous church or by someone from the local Roman Catholic community. In 1926 the Pauw-Sas triptych was in the collection of the Jewish art dealer Jacques Goudstikker (1897-1940), and it came into German hands in 1940. After the war it was retrieved from Germany and handed over to the Dutch State, which gave it in permanent loan to Centraal Museum in Utrecht. It became part of a controversy in 1997, when the so-called Goudstikker Collection was successfully claimed by Marei von Saher, the widow of Goudstikker's only son. She put it up for auction in 2006 but it remained unsold. It was finally bought by the Van Baaren Foundation and returned to Centraal Museum as a permanent loan in 2011.¹⁴

11 Bruyn, 'Chronologie van het werk van Jan van Scorel', 201-206; Faries, 'Underdrawings', 102, 167, 176-182; *Jan van Scorel in Utrecht*, 114-115; Dijkstra et al., *Schilderijen van Museum Catharijneconvent*, 85-87; Van Schooten, *Goddelijk geschilderd*, 97-101; Van Run, 'Jan van Scorel', 78-87.

12 Inventories of the Antony Hospital from the years 1641, 1719, 1737 and 1761 in: De Vries, *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, XIII-XIV.

13 De Vries, *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, XII-XVI; De Jonge, *Catalogus der schilderijen*, II.

14 To celebrate the return of the triptych back to Utrecht the exhibition *In stille harmonie* was held in 2011, Helmus, 'In stille harmonie'.

The devotional portraits

The inside of the outer wings of the triptych contain the devotional portraits of four members of the Sas and Pauw families.¹⁵ The families are identified by the coats of arms depicted on the central panel.¹⁶

The woman portrayed on the inside of the right wing is Digna Sas. She was the daughter of Ghijsbert Sas, who died in 1509. Digna is depicted as a nun, but it is not known whether she actually belonged to a monastic order.¹⁷ The monk farthest to the right on the inside of the left wing is Petrus Sas. Petrus' father was Digna's brother Gerrit Sas, who died in 1546. Petrus Sas entered Nieuwlicht in 1512 and was prior from 1525 until his death in 1540. The two other monks are Jacob and Vincent Pauw, sons of Adriana Sas. Adriana was the sister of Digna and Gerrit Sas and was married to Ghijsbert Pauw. Vincent was professed in Nieuwlicht, but was later transferred to the charterhouse Zonnenberg near Kampen, where he was the *procurator* for some time. Towards the end of his life he returned to Nieuwlicht, where he died in 1538. Jacob, his brother, was a *convers* or lay brother. He became a novice in Nieuwlicht in February 1520 and was professed one year later. Towards the end of his life he moved to the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen near Arnhem. He died there in 1545. Ghijsbert Pauw, the father of these two monks and the husband of Adriana Sas, was a very important citizen in Utrecht. He was *kameraar* (treasurer) of the city of Utrecht in 1496 and a member of the city council in 1501 and 1519. When his son Jacob was professed as a lay brother in February 1521 he donated 500 guilders and 16 pennies to the monastery. This money came from the inheritance of Jacob's mother, Adriana. Ghijsbert drew up his last will in October 1521, in which he bequeathed fifty Philippus Guilders to his sons.¹⁸ He died some months later and was buried inside the church of the monastery near the altar of the Holy Martyrs. This was a high honour, as only seven other people were buried inside the church, four of whom belonged to the family of Zweder van Gaesbeek, the founder of the monastery.

Scholtens assumes that Jacob spent the funds he received from his father at his profession to have the triptych made, but in that case he would have had himself portrayed as a *convers* rather than a novice.¹⁹ From the monastery's necrology we know that as a novice Jacob Pauw donated 'an antependium for the high altar and many other things'.²⁰ Similar information is given by Pieter de Wal, a Carthusian

15 Members of the families Pauw and Sas are mentioned in the *Necrologium*, Hasselt, 'Het necrologium van het Karthuizer-klooster', 156, 163, 234, 238, 254, 312, 322, 336, 352, 357, 356, 360, 365, 369, 377, 378.

16 Luttervelt, 'Twee Utrechtsche primitieven', 108.

17 Hoondert, 'Kloosterkleding in beeld', 17, 47.

18 Des Tombe, 'Emma Pauw', 167; Scholtens, 'Kunstwerken van het Utrechtse kartuizerklooster', 163.

19 Scholtens, 'Kunstwerken van het Utrechtse kartuizerklooster', 163.

20 '... qui dedit optimum antependium in summa altare et multa alia.' Van Hasselt, 'Het necrologium van het Karthuizer-klooster', 352.

monk in Brussels, who died in 1648. He made some annotations based on a chronicle that has been lost, the *Chronicon Cartusiae Utrajectinae*, written in 1545 by Ghijsbert Rutenberch, a Carthusian in Utrecht. In these annotations we can read about Jacob Pauw:

Iste dilectus confrater noster in novitiatu suo legavit ad ornatum Ecclesiae nostrae sexcentos florenos holl. Ex quibus comparatum fuit egregium antependium aureum summi altaris, item altare Martyrum cum epitaphio suorum exsculptum etc.²¹

On the triptych Jacob is represented as a novice, for he has no joint between the back and the front of his scapular, which hangs down above the knees and is rounded at the underside. As a *convers* he is shown without a tonsure and he is clean-shaven. Lay brothers did not shave, in contrast to the monks. From this we may conclude that the triptych was painted after Jacob's entry in Nieuwlicht as a novice, but before he was professed as a *convers*, and therefore between February 1520 and February 1521. Although they have not yet been researched thoroughly, infrared images taken recently at Centraal Museum show that the original design provided for only one person on the inner side of the left wing. It is therefore unclear whether there was one founder of the triptych or more, and who these were. Liesbeth Helmus thinks it is possible that it was Petrus Sas who started the project, and his nephews Jacob and Vincent joined him later on.²² In any case the triptych must have been finished before February 1521, whereupon, we may assume, it was placed on the altar of the Holy Martyrs mentioned above, which stood before the rood screen near the burial place of Ghijsbert Pauw. This is in keeping with the fact that its wings show several martyrs.

The style of the triptych

As we have seen so far, it is clear when the triptych was made, where it comes from and who the people represented on it are. It is, however, unknown where it was painted and who the artist was. Not a single other work by this artist has been identified, nor do we know of any work that is stylistically related. Nevertheless, there is a painter who had special ties with the monastery. That painter was Dirk van Oudheusden or Rutenberch, who was buried in the monastery's Great Cloister in 1540. He was the father of the Carthusian monk Ghijsbert Rutenberch and, according to the *Necrologium*, in 1536 he painted his own memorial tablet that was

21 'This beloved brother of ours donated six hundred florins during his noviciate for the decoration of our church. With these was acquired a beautiful gold antependium for the high altar, as well as the altar of the martyrs with the epitaph of his family carved out etc.' Brussels, Royal Library, dep. of manuscripts, De Wal, II, 65, 1545. Scholtens, 'Iets over de bouwgeschiedenis', 56.

22 Helmus, 'In stille harmonie', 7, 9; Helmus, Faries and Tamis, *Catalogue of Paintings*, 353.

hung above his grave. Although it is possible that he was the painter of the Pauw-Sas triptych, we have no serious indication pointing in that direction.²³ Nor is there any evidence that suggests that it was painted in Utrecht.²⁴

In the Middle Ages Utrecht was the only episcopal see in the Northern Netherlands. It was a centre of religious art and culture. The arts flourished and the artistic production was extensive and of high quality. The fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries witnessed a pronounced increase in building activities, especially at Utrecht Cathedral (Domkerk). The transept and the nave with its side chapels were constructed between 1444 and 1517. From the end of the fourteenth century onwards Utrecht was famous as a centre of manuscript painting. There were several very productive workshops led by excellent masters, all anonymous but later given provisional names, or in some cases named after the men and women who ordered illuminated manuscripts from them. The best-known illuminators were the Master(s) of Dirc van Delf, the Master(s) of Otto van Moerdrecht, the Master(s) of Zweder van Culemborg, the Master of Catherine of Cleves, the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch, the Master of Gijsbrecht van Brederode and the Master of Yolande de Lalaing.²⁵ The latter worked between 1460 and 1470. It is assumed that he moved to Delft around 1470. It seems that no significant illuminators were active in Utrecht after that year. The lavishly illuminated bible in five volumes ordered by Herman Droem, the Dean of the chapter of St Mary in Utrecht, was made not in Utrecht but in Zwolle between 1464 and 1470.²⁶ To our knowledge, no equally luxurious and high-quality manuscripts were produced in Utrecht towards the end of the fifteenth century. Sculpture, on the other hand, saw an increase in production. Especially in the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the art of sculpture was flowering, both in wood and in stone. Sculptured altarpieces and holy figures were produced in huge numbers, as well as sculptured memorial tablets and chimney friezes. The most famous sculptor, Adriaen van Wesel, who was active between 1447 and 1490, worked for Utrecht clients but also received commissions from outside the city. Between 1475 and 1477 he made the altarpiece for the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch, which has largely been preserved, and in 1484 he was given a commission for a new high altar for the New Church in Delft.²⁷

It is remarkable that very few Utrecht panel paintings are known from a period

23 Scholtens, 'Voormalige kartuizerkloosters hier te lande', 55-57.

24 Gerson sees a stylistic relation between the Pauw-Sas triptych and the portraits of Lambert and Emmerentiana Snoy-Pauw on the inside of a wing of a triptych in Centraal Museum in Utrecht (inv.nr 6078) and a painting with the Last Supper in Museum Flehite in Amersfoort, but in my opinion this is not very convincing. Gerson, 'Een Utrechts schilderij uit de 16e eeuw', 5-7.

25 Bijvanck, 'Noord-Nederlandse miniaturen'; Delaissé, *Dutch Manuscript Painting*; Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*.

26 Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 199, 244.

27 Bouvy, *Middeleeuwse beeldhouwkunst*; Halsema-Kubes, *Adriaen van Wesel*.



Fig. 1 Albrecht Dürer, *The Agony in the Garden*, 1508.

when so much sculpture was produced. A triptych with the Crucifixion in Centraal Museum in Utrecht and a panel with the same subject (now in Providence, RI), both dating from about 1460-1465 are ascribed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch.²⁸ It is probable that the workshop of the Master of the Gathering of the Manna was located in Utrecht. He was responsible for an altarpiece devoted to the Eucharist, of which three panels have survived, and for a panel with the Healing of the Blind Man.²⁹ In addition, a few small devotional panels, portraits and remnants of mural paintings have come down to us. The only Utrecht painter we know by

28 Boon, 'Meester van de Boom van Jesse', 51-60; Carter, 'Providence crucifixion', 1-40; Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, 198-199; Helmus, *Paintings Centraal Museum Utrecht*, cat. nr 38.

29 Defoer, 'Enkele nieuwe inzichten', 251-259.

Fig. 2 Master of the Von Groote Adoration, *The Last Supper*, first quarter of the sixteenth century. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels.



name and who can be connected with extant paintings is Jacob Claesz. or Jacobus Traiectensis. However, he was active in Antwerp from 1506 until at least 1512 and he worked in Lübeck after 1517.³⁰ It is only from the period after 1524, when Jan van Scorel settled in Utrecht and started a successful workshop, that a substantial number of paintings from Utrecht are preserved. It seems, then, that there was no prolific school of Utrecht panel painting between 1470 and 1525.³¹

As there are no Utrecht paintings known to us dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, we cannot connect the style of the Pauw-Sas triptych with Utrecht paintings of that period. The first impression is that the artist was influenced by Southern Netherlandish, especially Antwerp, painting. With painters like Joachim Patenier, Joos van Cleve and the Antwerp Mannerists, we see the same kind of detailed landscapes as on the triptych, furnished with fantastic rock forma-

30 Grosshans, *Jacob van Utrecht*.

31 Jan van Scorel lived in Utrecht until his death in 1562 with an intervening Harlem period from 1527-1530.

tions and villages. Typical for the Antwerp mannerists is also the fancy architecture with decorative elements that are derived from Roman antiquity and the Italian Renaissance but have been adapted to a Gothic idiom. Antwerp mannerist paintings were exported all over Europe and this kind of hybrid architecture was not confined to the Antwerp mannerists. It is also found in the work of other Southern and Northern Netherlandish painters, such as Bernard van Orley, Cornelis Engebrechtz., Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen and Jan Gossaert.³² The latter was working at the court of Bishop Philip of Burgundy in Wijk bij Duurstede near Utrecht between 1517-1525. Although these stylistic elements must have been familiar to the painter of the triptych under discussion, they will not help us to locate the master. He must have been familiar with the art of his contemporaries: the scene with the Agony in the Garden in the background of the left wing is derived from the engraving in Dürer's Small Passion series from 1508 (fig. 1).³³ The apostles around the table are not a quiet group, they are drinking, involved in a lively conversation or looking around. They too seem to be inspired by Antwerp mannerist models, such as the paintings with the Last Supper by the Master of the Von Groote Adoration (fig. 2).³⁴

But the composition itself does not have an Antwerp provenance. It follows a much older model and is almost identical with the miniature depicting the Last Supper in the Hours of Catharine of Cleves, a manuscript probably illuminated in Utrecht around 1440 (fig. 3).³⁵ The two dogs in the foreground, the poses of Christ and St John, the drinking apostle to the right of Christ and the two men in profile who are sitting on one bench are all similar to this miniature. The fancy headgear with the long tail hanging down and fixed under the belt of the apostle to the left on the triptych is clearly inspired by the chaperon of the apostle on the left on the miniature. The painter of our triptych must have known the composition and must have adjusted it to the mannerist taste of his time.

The shapes of some faces are remarkable, for instance those of Christ and SS John, Peter and James. They have very broad, domed foreheads with receding hairlines. They have this in common with the figures on the miniatures by the Master of the Adair Hours in the Breviary of Beatrix van Assendelft and in the Adair Hours itself (fig. 4).³⁶ We see the same kind of faces with the Master of the Bartholomew Altarpiece. Until recently it was accepted that this master was active in Cologne, but it is more probable that he had his workshop in Nijmegen, where he produced

32 Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIII, IX, XI.

33 Hollstein, *German Engravings*, nr 4.

34 Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XI, Pl. 42, 43; *Inventariscatalogus van de oude schilderkunst*, 352/353.

35 Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, cat. nr 45; Dückers and Priem, *The Hours of Catharine of Cleves*, 316-317.

36 Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, cat. nr 96; Wüstefeld and Korteweg, *Sleutel tot licht*, 14-17, 124-125.

Fig. 3 Master of Catharine of Cleves, *The Last Supper*, ca. 1440. *Hours of Catharine of Cleves*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 945, fol. 142v.



paintings not only for his own region but also for Cologne clients.³⁷

Many of the borders of the miniatures by the Master of the Adair Hours are decorated with a violently twisted acanthus leaf not unlike the one around the coats of arms on the central panel of the triptych.³⁸ This master is believed to have been working in Delft around 1480 but to have originated from Guelders in the east of the Netherlands. Behind the figure of St John in the Adair Hours hangs a cloth of gold brocade. Such hangings also occur on two small panels by an anonymous Utrecht painter, and they occur very frequently in the work of the master of the Bartholomew Altarpiece. Again we find them behind the saints on the inside of the wings of the Pauw-Sas Triptych, another indication that there is some connection with the art from Guelders.

37 Budde, *Genie Ohne Namen*; Defoer, 'Der Meister des Bartholomäus Altars', 215-240.

38 Marrow et al., *Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, cat. nrs 96-98, pl. 96, figs 151, 156; Wüstefeld and Korteweg, *Sleutel tot licht*, 14-17, 124-125.



Fig. 4 Master of the Adair Hours, *St John*, ca. 1490. *The Adair Hours*, Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Ms. 131, fol. 121v.

Surveying the stylistic characteristics of the triptych and its affiliation with the work of the Master of the Adair Hours and the Master of the Bartholomew Altarpiece, I am inclined to think that although the triptych was made for an Utrecht monastery, it was not painted in that town, but ordered from an artist living in the Eastern Netherlands. However, it cannot be ruled out that the painter in question received his education in the Eastern part of the Netherlands, and later moved to Utrecht, where he produced the triptych for the Pauw-Sas family.