

# The Odyssey of a Diptych. Issues of Authorship and Provenience of the *Virgen Dolorosa* and the *Cristo Coronado de Espinas* from the Former Collection in Gołuchów

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**ABSTRACT** This paper aims to gather all information about the diptych of *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, which until 2023 stayed in the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra (Museo Provincial de Pontevedra) in Spain. The research addresses two aspects of the diptych: the controversy of its attribution to a circle of Albrecht Bouts or his follower and the diptych's arrival at the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra. This study explains that this diptych's former attributions cannot be supported due to his style and the new research about Bout's workshop practices. Finally, it gathers all the documentary sources about its arrival at the Pontevedra Museum.

**KEYWORDS** Flemish primitives, Albrecht Bouts, 16<sup>th</sup>-century art, Christ Crowned with Thorns, Mater Dolorosa

**ABSTRAKT** *Wędrówka dyptyku. Problem autorstwa i proveniencji wizerunków „Mater Dolorosa” i „Chrystusa cierniem koronowanego” z dawnej kolekcji w Gołuchowie.* Niniejszy artykuł stanowi analizę dyptyku z przedstawieniami *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem koronowanego*, znajdującego się do 2023 r. w kolekcji Museo Provincial de Pontevedra w Hiszpanii. Przeprowadzone badania miały na celu wyjaśnienie dwóch kwestii: kontrowersji związanych z atrybucją dzieła kręgowi Albrechta Bouts oraz z historią jego identyfikacji i dotarcia na Półwysep Iberyjski. W oparciu o analizę stylistyczną oraz ostatnie badania nad warsztatem rodziny Bouts, Autorzy proponują nową hipotezę na temat pochodzenia obrazów. Badania archiwalne i wnikliwa lektura literatury przedmiotu pozwoliły także na wyjaśnienie okoliczności przekazania dyptyku do Muzeum w Pontevedra.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE** Prymitywiści niderlandzcy, Albrecht Bouts, sztuka XVI w., Chrystus cierniem koronowany, Mater Dolorosa

RECENTLY, the provenance of the diptych of the *Virgen Dolorosa* (*Mater Dolorosa*) and the *Cristo coronado de espinas* (*Christ Crowned with Thorns*) held at the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra (inv. no. 008675 and no. 008674; Fig. 1), has been brought into the national and international spotlight.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the renewed interest in this discreet work is that from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was part of the Collection of Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska at Gołuchów Castle (Poland) and afterward, in the 1970s, it belonged to the Collection Fernández-López. However, the press interest in the diptych was not due to its authorship or provenance but to the possibility that the Nazis may have plundered the paintings after they invaded Poland in 1939.

This paper gathers all the information known about the diptych, not only related to its new technical inspection (DStretch scans),<sup>2</sup> the iconographical analysis and the history of its arrival at the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra, but also the reasons to attribute it to a Flemish follower or circle of Albrecht Bouts, a painter close to his workshop and working in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, this research confirms that the artwork in Pontevedra formed part of

the Collection Czartoryski-Działyński in Gołuchów, left the deposit of the National Museum in Warsaw during the Second World War, and later was sold on the Spanish art market.

In the 1990s, the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra officially acquired the diptych of the *Mater Dolorosa* and the *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, as it was included in a batch of paintings from the Collection Fernández-López.<sup>3</sup> The museum was familiar with this artwork since the diptych had already been stored in its deposit since 1981. Moreover, the quality of the piece and its importance in completing the museum's collections of foreign paintings, especially the Flemish school, whose representation was tiny, were sufficient reasons to justify its acquisition.

#### THE DIPTYCH OF *MATER DOLOROSA* AND *CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS*, ITS INSCRIPTIONS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Two separated panels show the *Mater Dolorosa* and the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in the bust; the representation is linked directly to the Passion episodes that since the 15<sup>th</sup> century have been depicted to seek a stronger interrelationship with the *Devotio Moderna*

1. This text was submitted to the journal in 2022 when the Diptych still was in Pontevedra. In first months of 2023, the artwork passed to the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and from March 2023 is displayed as a deposit in the National Museum in Poznań in the Palace of Gołuchów.

2. DStretch is a software tool that allows the identification of very poorly preserved pigments and an easier distinction of overlap.

3. This set of paintings was purchased with another three hundred. It was done jointly by the Deputation of Pontevedra, Xunta de Galicia and the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra. The authors would like to thank José Manuel Rey García and M<sup>a</sup> Ángeles Tilve Jar for providing all the data related to the diptych from the archive of the museum, and for the images on the back of the two panels because, having used the DStretch scan, it proved possible to clarify the inscriptions as they were very faded and difficult to read with the naked eye. Information was provided in private correspondence with the authors on 14 and 23 December 2020. See Xosé Carlos Valle Pérez, "Entre a Baixa romaninade e o Renacemento. A escultura e a pintura medieva," in *75 obras para 75 anos. Exposición conmemorativa da fundación do Museo de Pontevedra*, ed. Xosé Carlos Valle Pérez, María Ángeles Tilve Jar (Pontevedra: Museo de Pontevedra, 2003), 68.

movement.<sup>4</sup> The main characters stand out on a golden background which highlights their outlines and connects them to traditional Byzantine icons.<sup>5</sup> According to the Neoplatonist theory of the Universum and divine light, this formal solution was also applied to pictures during the Late Middle Ages. The golden background creates the abstract image and reinforces the iconographical message, sculptural effect and solemnity of the representation.<sup>6</sup>

The diptych is made on oak panels (42×32 cm each) cut from a single board that confirms its Flemish provenience.<sup>7</sup> It still has frames from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, probably ones prepared especially for it by its author, which are a part of the composition since they complete the central iconography through the inscriptions that surround the two figures. The inscription around the image of the Virgin reads: “quis posset non / contristari piam matrem / contemplari / dolentem cum filio?”; while the one around Christ, “quis est homo qui non / fleret, iesum cristum / sivideret / in tanto suplicio?”. In translation, the inscription around the Virgin is: “Who would not be saddened with the mother contemplating her mournful son in so much pain?”,

while the one around Christ, “What man would not weep when he sees Christ in such tribulations?”.

Those are not the only inscriptions on the diptych. Thanks to the DStretch scans, it has been possible to read notes on the reverse of the Virgin panel that seem to have been erased on purpose (Fig. 2). The following text was written in yellow letters during the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

Q2299 2 St./ C. laauf (the meaning of the latter is unclear)

Schule v. d. Weyden 15 Ja.; (in red, inside a circle) 17; 1902 and part of a white label F. NANDEZ.

On the reverse of the Christ, in yellow and on the frame, we can read (Fig. 2):

Q2299 2St<sup>8</sup>/ C. laauf

Schule v. d. Weyden 15. Ja.; (in red, inside a circle) 17 (with a pencil, in the upper right corner) pa'uur 1902; and a small white label R° 8674.

These inscriptions provide some data about the history of the diptych, and link it with one from the Goluchów Collection that was on display in 1915 in Dresden.<sup>9</sup>

4. Valentine Henderiks, “Aura et standardisation des images flamandes de dévotion au tournant du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *La performance des images*, eds. Alain Dierkens, Gil Bartholeyns, Thomas Golsenne (Bruxelles: Université de Bruxelles, 2007), 101–109.

5. Hans Belting, *Imagen y culto. Una historia de la imagen anterior a la edad del arte* (Madrid: Akal, 2009), 576–579.

6. Jan Białostocki, *El arte del Siglo XV. De Parler a Durerro* (Madrid: Istmo, 1998), 132–135.

7. Miguel Ángel Herrero-Cortell, Isidre Puig, “Spanish fortunes of a Flemish ‘Ecce Homo’ on the Bouts family’s originals, workshop replicas, Flemish copies, and Hispanic imitations,” in *Copies of Flemish masters in the Hispanic world (1500–1700)*, eds. Eduardo Lamas, David García Cueto (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 59–74; Zahira Véliz, “Wooden Panels and Their Preparation for Painting from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century in Spain,” in *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings. Part II: History of Panel-Making Techniques*, eds. Kathleen Dardes, Andrea Rothe (Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 1995), 136–147.

8. This inscription was most likely introduced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by some curator of the Czartoryski-Działyński Collection or of the exhibition in Dresden in 1915. The other possibility is that the number was marked during the Second World War by Werner Kudlich and the abbreviation “2 St.” means “2 Stück” – two pieces.

9. Hans W. Singer, “Ausstellung von Werken aus der Sammlung Czartoryski in Dresden,” *Cicerone* 7 (1915): 131–140; Georg Minde-Pouet, “Die Kunstsammlung Czartoryski in Goluchow,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 26 (1915): 197–212.



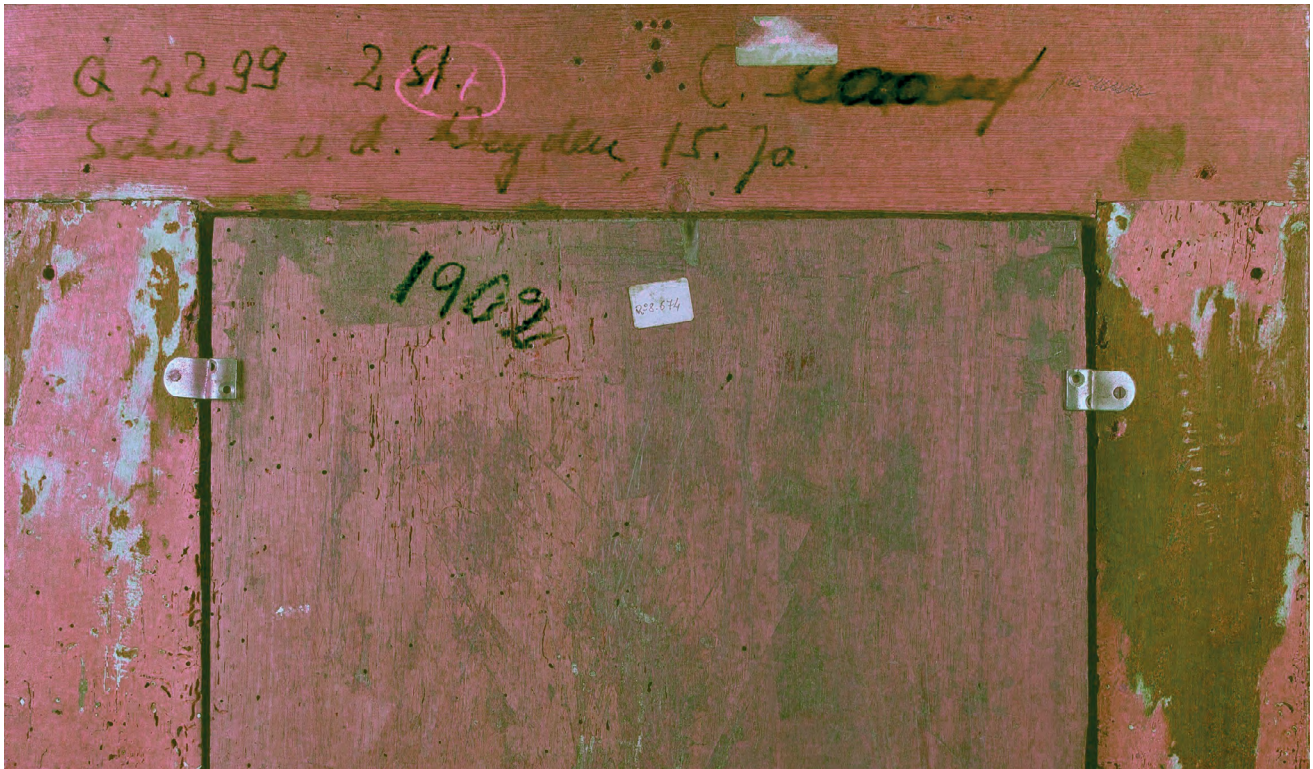
1 Circle of Albrecht Bouts, *Mater Dolorosa and Christ Crowned with Thorns*, mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, currently Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, deposit in the National Museum in Poznań



The panels had been referenced as works following the models of Rogier van der Weyden, both mentioned in the first guide of the Gołuchów Collection in 1913<sup>10</sup> and in the Dresden exhibition catalogue in 1915<sup>11</sup> that was dedicated to a part of the Czartoryski Collection. Additionally, panels were also listed in the revised guidebook of the collection before the Second World War.<sup>12</sup> This attribution was added, in writing, on the reverse of the works, possibly during the same year in which the collection was displayed in Germany since also visible is a considerably faded inscription that indicates that the diptych comes from the school of Van der Weyden (Fig. 3 and 4).<sup>13</sup> It was Max Friedländer who in 1925 first identified them as copies of a prototype by Dieric Bouts,<sup>14</sup> but of later date and not precisely linked with his workshop. Schöne held this attribution in

his monograph on Dieric Bouts published in 1938.<sup>15</sup> Davies mentioned the diptych in analyzing other copies that follow the model of the painting with same subject in the National Gallery in London (inv. no. NG711 and no. 712);<sup>16</sup> Eisler mentioned them regarding the bust of Christ held at the Clark Museum in Williamstown (inv. no. 1955.936).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, this attribution was repeated in the inventories of the National Museum in Warsaw deposits during the war.<sup>18</sup> Bermejo-Martínez reviewed the paintings on the Madrid market and considered them of evident quality, linking the diptych with the workshop of Dieric Bouts.<sup>19</sup> In 2011, Henderiks included the diptych within the workshop production of Dieric's son, Albrecht Bouts, and suggested that it could be a work of Hispanic origin.<sup>20</sup> This hypothesis was the most convenient but cannot be sustained, since

10. Nikodem Pajzderski, *Przewodnik po muzeum w Gołuchowie* (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1913), 42.
11. Singer, "Ausstellung von Werken aus der Sammlung Czartoryski," 131–140; Minde-Pouet, "Die Kunstsammlung Czartoryski," 197–212.
12. [Nikodem Pajzderski], *Przewodnik po muzeum w Gołuchowie* (Poznań: nakł. Ordynacji XX Czartoryskich, 1929), 44.
13. As indicated by the inscriptions on the reverse of the *Mater Dolorosa* panel.
14. Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei, Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent III* (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1925), 124 (no. 83b). Consideration that continues in the English reissue of 1968 curated by Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen. Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 3 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 71 (no. 83b).
15. Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin-Leipzig: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 130 (no. 19A, no. 4).
16. Martin Davies, "National Gallery. London," in *Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, vol. 3 (Anvers: De Sikkel, 1953), 35 (no. A3).
17. Colin Tobias Eisler, "New England Museums," in *Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, vol. 4 (Anvers: De Sikkel, 1961), 60 (no. A4).
18. Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie (henceforth: AMNW), sygn. 693, *Verzeichnis der vom Dr Kudlich, am 26. Und 27. März 1942, aus den Sammlungen des Museums in Goldenau, vermutlich suserwählten Gegenstände, die im Museum der Stadt Warschau sich als Deposita befinden*, 3.
19. Elisa Bermejo-Martínez, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980), 36 (no. 17c).
20. Valentine Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts (1451/55–1549)* (Bruxelles: Centre d'étude des Primitifs flamands, 2011), 375 (no. 59) (Contribution à l'étude des Primitifs flamands, 10).



2 Detail of DStretch scan of the panels from figure 1

the diptych was painted on oak panels, not used in Hispano-Flemish painting.<sup>21</sup> Finally, within the bibliography dedicated to the diptych by Valle Pérez from the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra, it was qualified as Dieric Bouts' work, but it was never researched in detail and individually.<sup>22</sup>

#### ICONOGRAPHY AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE DIPTYCH

The diptych presents the usual model of devotion for the *Mater Dolorosa* and the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* that had had great success since the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The scene is reduced to the busts of the Virgin and Jesus, highlighting their expression caused by the Passion. In the diptych, the author cast the shadows of the figures on the background, achieving depth and accentuating the spotlight that

illuminates them from the upper left side. The gilded back has two different patterns: the illuminated zone is covered with dots, while shadows are modelled by diagonal crossed black lines creating squares. This formal practice was common in artworks coming from the Bouts workshops and the followers of those workshops.<sup>23</sup>

The Virgin, in a three-quarter view with her hands in a gesture of prayer, directs her sad gaze towards the panel where her son is crowned with thorns. Only the transparent tears falling down her cheeks betray the mother's pain at her son's tribulations. Her face is framed by the white headdress, tight on her forehead and with the edges falling her shoulders. Her purple tunic is almost hidden by a dark blue veil covering the top of her head. The veil is wrapped swirling around her forearms, as revealed by the beautiful golden filigree

21. Herrero-Cortell, Puig, "Spanish fortunes of a Flemish 'Ecce Homo,'" 59–74; Véliz, "Wooden Panels and Their Preparation," 136–147.

22. Valle Pérez, "Entre a Baixa romaninade e o Renacemento," 68.

23. Valentine Henderiks, "D'Or et de Dieu: Rogier van der Weyden et la révolution du fond doré dans la peinture du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie du Bruxelles* 77 (2021): 129–135.



3 Back of panels from figure 1

on the edge of the mantle that reappears around the wrist. This decorative element is missing in the rest of the copies and versions of the *Mater Dolorosa*.

The figure of Christ is presented in frontal view, with his hands held together in the foreground. He wears a red robe, and blood from the wounds inflicted by the crown of thorns on his head falls in fine drops that drip down his forehead. This sense of immediacy and a moment captured in time that the painter achieves with this approach is reinforced by the transparent tears that rise in Christ's swollen and red eyes. The viewer is forced to face the pain inflicted on the

prisoner, following the ideas of the *Devotio Moderna* spread in Europe towards the end of the Middle Ages and throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which encouraged personal meditation by contemplating such scenes of piety.<sup>24</sup>

Although Panofsky defined the iconography of the half-length Virgin expressing her pain in front of her son crowned with thorns as the *Mater Dolorosa* and the *Salvator Coronatus*,<sup>25</sup> Henderiks argues against this suggestion regarding the panel of Christ because it does not fit the idea of the *Salvator Mundi* with the marks of the Passion. She supports the use

24. Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis. Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des Schmerzensmanns und der Maria Mediatrix," in *Festschrift für M. J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1927), 264–265; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1965), 23; Hans Belting, *L'image et son public au Moyen Âge* (Saint-Pierre-de-Salerne: Gérard Monfort, 1998), 219.

25. For Panofsky, this "*Imago Salvatoris Coronati*" derives from the fusion between the *Salvator Mundi* and the *Vera Icon*. See Erwin Panofsky, "Jean Hey's 'Ecce Homo.' Speculations about its author, its donor and its iconography." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, no. 3-4 (1956), 112–132, note 46.





4 DStretch scan of panels from figure 1

of the more generic terminology of “Christ Crowned with Thorns”.<sup>26</sup>

Among the copies and versions derived from the lost prototypes by Dieric Bouts, the joint scene of the *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, those preserved at the National Gallery in London (Fig. 5) and the Louvre Museum in Paris (Fig. 6) are of the best quality.<sup>27</sup> The first ones are considered works of Dieric Bouts’ workshop and are dated around 1457,<sup>28</sup> while the Parisian versions, dated towards 1500,<sup>29</sup> are from the workshop of Albrecht Bouts. Another example of the panel *Mater Dolorosa* that documents the high quality of Dieric’s workshop in the execution of the composition and not in

decorative details is the one from the Art Institute in Chicago. The typology reproduces, in bust-length, the model used for the Virgin from the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* at the Louvre Museum (inv. N° RF1) (Fig. 7), dated c. 1460.<sup>30</sup>

The diptych is closer to the Louvre variant because of the profile of the Virgin, the distribution of the mantle’s folds and the figure of Christ. However, precisely in the representation of Christ, some noticeable features are different from the examples mentioned, such as the face being more elongated, the beard is more accentuated at its edges under the chin and the cheekbones, and the orbital cavity and wrinkles of the forehead showing a more rigid treatment that gives

26. Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 213–214; Ead., “Werkstatt Dirk Bouts. Christus mit Dornenkrone, Mater dolorosa,” in *Blut und Tränen. Albrecht Bouts und das Antlitz der Passion*, ed. Ead. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016), 73.

27. *Ibid.*, 215, 374 (no. 54); 219–220, 376 (no. 64).

28. *Ibid.*, 73.

29. *Ibid.*, 220.

30. Catheline Périer-D’Ieteren and Valentine Henderiks, eds., *Thierry Bouts. L’œuvre complet* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2005), 324–329.



5 Workshop of Dieric Bouts, *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, probably about 1470–75, The National Gallery, London

the image a thinner appearance compared to the examples in London and Paris or the bust of the Virgin from Chicago. In this sense, there are more similarities with the version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 17.156–157; Fig. 8) from Albrecht Bouts' workshop,<sup>31</sup> where the shadow on the golden background is even more evident, as in the analyzed work.

Therefore, the diptych must be related to a copyist who could stay at Albrecht Bouts' workshop and develop his style in the circle of a master. It can be seen in the details: for example, the *impasto* brushwork that defines the texture and the folds of the headdress of the Virgin and the complexions of both figures distance this work from the more transparent and smooth technique used in the Paris, London, Chicago and New York versions. Also, despite the darkening of the paint

layer caused by time, the accentuated shadows indicate the work of an artist who knew the Dieric Bouts version but was not an author of any of the above four versions.

Reflectographic analysis of several known versions of the diptych shows the use of mechanical methods, such as pounced drawing, to simplify the copying process within the workshop. Moreover, Henderiks used the analysis of underlying drawings of several of these diptychs, the comparison between them, and the technique of execution to demonstrate that the underdrawings were made following the model from Albrecht Bouts workshop. At the same time, different artists finished or copied the paintings within the same workshop of the master.<sup>32</sup>

The author of the diptych shows a taste for the decorative style, as is apparent in the detail of both

31. Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 220–221, 376 (no. 62).

32. Ibid., 224–225; Ead., “L’atelier d’Albrecht Bouts et la production en série d’œuvres de dévotion privée,” *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art* 78 (2009): 15–28.



6 Workshop of Dieric Bouts, *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Louvre Museum, Paris

panels. The trimming on the edge of the already mentioned mantle of the Virgin and the ornamentation of the frame that complements the iconography of both panels differ from the versions attributed to the Dieric and Albrecht workshops. This more ornamental rendering of the models compared to the other copies and versions indicates a more evolved style that fits with a later date, establishing the period of its execution as the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the section of the white headdress that covers the forehead of the Virgin in the panel stands out for its transparency, absent in other versions of this subject,<sup>34</sup> which could

be an invention of its author, an artist close to Albrecht, but not to Dieric. This type of transparent headdress is common in paintings by artists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; for example, it can be found in the attires painted by Lucas Cranach the Younger, Bernard van Orley, Jan Gossaert or Jan Mostaert, painters active in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and later, whose works were popular as models of details for copying.

The frame type of both panels is *cassetta italiana*, with the recessed area decorated with rectangular cartouches edged with ornamental scrollwork supported by small angels kneeling at the top and bottom of

33. The authors would like to thank Valentine Henderiks for her observations and assessments, collected in correspondence, which helped with the correct cataloguing of the diptych.

34. The only *Mater Dolorosa* images linked to Dieric and Albrecht Bouts that exhibit this feature are the copies at Duchcov Castle (Czech Republic), a panel in a private collection in Berlin, and the version from a private collection in Luxembourg, see Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 374 (no. 53), 380 (no. 84); Ead., *Blut und Tränen*, 78–79.



7 Dieric Bouts,  
*Lamentation over  
the Dead Christ*, 1455–  
1468, Louvre Museum,  
Paris

the frames and standing on the sides. Some verses of the *Stabat Mater* from the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Gregorian Psalms appear inside the cartouches. The corners are embellished with squares that imitate old nail heads and are surrounded by ornamental scrollwork. The inscriptions directly engage the viewer, in line with the devotion promoted by the *Devotio Moderna*.<sup>35</sup> On the one hand, the ornamental decoration is typical

for 16<sup>th</sup>-century models. On the other hand, Flemish artists from the earlier period did not use frames to complement an image.<sup>36</sup>

With all this data, it is easy to understand how the entire artistic tradition of Dieric Bouts (ca. 1410/20–1475) was taken over by his son Albrecht (ca. 1451/55–1549) because he inherited “Tous les objets servant à l’art de peindre et tous les tableaux

35. Henderiks, “Aura et standardisation des images,” 101–109.

36. On this subject: Matías Díaz Padrón, “La Virgen y el Niño en la huida a Egipto de Paul Coeck van Aelst,” *Philostrato. Revista de Historia y Arte* 8 (2020): 62.

et portraits restés inachevés et incomplete.”<sup>37</sup> Consequently, as Périer-D’Ieteren points out, the rich production of images intended for private devotion that would flood the European market during the 16<sup>th</sup> century took place in this “wide and very well organised” workshop. All the prototypes of the Virgin with Child, the *Salvator Mundi*, and especially the diptychs of *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns* derived from Dieric Bouts would be reproduced and copied by the assistants and associates working in Albrecht’s workshop,<sup>38</sup> achieving variants and models that would be reproduced even until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

#### THE PROVENANCE OF THE ARTWORK

As has been mentioned at the outset, the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra acquired the diptych of the *Virgen Dolorosa* and the *Cristo Coronado de Espinas* in the mid-1990s. At that time, nothing was certain about the origin of those panels since during the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was a popular and much copied subject. Therefore, their origin was assumed to be within the Spanish network of private collectors, where this type of work was popular and in demand.<sup>39</sup> In 1982, Bermejo-Martínez included the diptych in her monograph

*Primitivos Flamencos en España*, mentioning its presence in Madrid from 1973.<sup>40</sup> Valentine Henderiks, in her monograph on Albrecht Bouts, brought together the works from the Czartoryski-Działyński Collection in Gołuchów (Poland) and followed them to the Spanish market of the early 1970s,<sup>41</sup> without relating them to the diptych formerly in Pontevedra. There is an explanation why two of the most relevant historians of the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century did not link the diptych in the Provincial Museum of Pontevedra with the earlier known origin of the panels in Spain: the main reason is that the diptych had not been reproduced with frames until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the frames are one of its most unique aspects. Without them, the diptych seemed to be another of the multiple copies of this prototype.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, in 2014 the Polish Ministry of Culture created a website with open access to the repertoires of art plundered during the Second World War<sup>43</sup> which confirms that the diptych in Pontevedra and that from the Czartoryski Collection are the same. All preserved photographs of the artistic objects from that collection are included within this database, and the complete

37. Alphonse Wauters, *Le testament du peintre Thierry Bouts, appelé aussi Thierry de Harlem et Thierry Stuerbout* (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1867), 9–10; Catheline Périer-D’Ieteren, “L’atelier de Thierry Bouts et ses pratiques,” in *Thierry Bouts. L’œuvre complet*, eds. Catheline Périer-D’Ieteren, Valentine Henderiks (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2005), 179.

38. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 40; Périer-D’Ieteren, “L’atelier de Thierry Bouts,” 182.

39. Friedländer explains how these devotional diptychs had a very active market in Germany, the Nordic countries and Spain. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 40; Jacques Lavalleye, *Les Primitifs Flamands. Collections d’Espagne. II. Répertoire des peintures flamandes des quinzième et seizième siècles* (Anvers: De Sikkel, 1958), 22–24. Bermejo-Martínez brought together ten such diptychs located in the territory of Spain, see Bermejo-Martínez, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos*, 34–38. The same author includes another one in 2001. Ead., “Importantes pinturas de los Países Bajos en colecciones privadas españolas,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 295 (2001): 217–238, 235.

40. Bermejo-Martínez, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos*, 36 (no. 17c).

41. Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 375 (no. 59).

42. Valentine Henderiks collected all the known variants of the diptych in her monograph, about 235 works worldwide. *Ibid.*, 373–406.

43. <http://lootedart.gov.pl/en>, accessed December 16, 2020. Maria Romanowska-Zadrożna, “Katalog strat wojennych,” *Cenne, bezcenne, utraczone*, no. 6 (2002): 12.



8 Posthumous workshop copy after Dieric Bouts, *The Mourning Virgin* and *The Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1525, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

image of the diptych is reproduced (no. 38234).<sup>44</sup> Pontevedra's diptych was mentioned in research on the despoliation in Poland and in another study of panels of Flemish origin bearing portraits of Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII (currently titled *Portrait of a Young Courtier*), attributed to Jan Mostaert.<sup>45</sup> However, the history of the paintings within the Czartoryski-Działyński Collection is more complex and extends back to the times of Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska (1830–1899), founder of the collection in Gołuchów. The collection of paintings and antiquities was arranged there after the castle had been

restructured in the French Neo-Renaissance style. Artworks were acquired mainly during the Działyńska's stay in Paris, where she resided at the Hotel Lambert until her wedding in 1857.<sup>46</sup> Most likely, it is there that she acquired the diptych, at the time attributed to a follower of Rogier van der Weyden. In 1893, due to political tensions between the nobility of Polish origin and the German government, Działyńska issued the ordinance (*Fideikomiss*) on her properties to protect the integrity of her collection, which could be inherited only by the males of her lineage and would continue to bear her surname. After Działyńska's death,

44. <http://lootedart.gov.pl/en/producto-war-losses/object?obid=38234>, accessed December 16, 2020.

45. Monika Kuhnke, "Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta. Historia dwóch obrazów ze zbiorów Muzeum w Gołuchowie," *Muzealnictwo* 47 (2006): 198–208.

46. Teresa Jakimowicz, "Od kolekcji 'Curiosités artistiques' ku muzeum: zbieractwo artystyczne Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej w latach 1852–1899," *Studia Muzealne* 13 (1982): 15–73.

her collection was managed by her nephew Prince Witold Czartoryski.<sup>47</sup>

In the first guide of Gołuchów Castle, edited in 1913 by Nikodem Pajzderski, the two panels were mentioned as *Mater Dolorosa* and *Ecce Homo*, displayed in an antechamber of the dining room on the first floor and described as works of Rogier van der Weyden, with an annotation that they were replicas.<sup>48</sup> The diptych was still in the same location and with the same description in 1929, as confirmed by the reissued guide.<sup>49</sup> The placement of the works in Gołuchów was made most likely at the initiative of the founder and her heirs did not intervene in any remarkable way in the arrangement of the collection. Unfortunately, the artworks in question are not visible in the few photos taken in Gołuchów before 1939, except the one taken by Antoni Pawlicki in 1913 (currently in the photographic collection of the Jagiellonian University Museum, inv. no. MUJ 3219/F).<sup>50</sup>

Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, Maria Ludwika Czartoryska née Krasińska (1883–1958) managed Gołuchów Castle and all its assets on behalf of her son Augustyn. Between May and June 1939, she commissioned fifty chests of different sizes to evacuate the most relevant works of the family collection to his home in Warsaw. The evacuated objects

were selected by the curator, who marked them with stickers whose remains can still be seen today on the back of the panels.<sup>51</sup> Only eight paintings of small size were taken out of the residence; most likely among those was also the diptych analyzed in this study. The chests with the antiques were buried under the floor of Czartoryska's house at 12 Kredytowa Street in Warsaw, while the eight paintings decorated her apartment.<sup>52</sup>

Some of the chests commissioned by Czartoryska stayed in Gołuchów, probably so that the occupants would not perceive that a large part of the collection had been relocated away from the building. However, in the 1940s, Maria Ludwika Czartoryska received a written request to deliver her collection to the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Region. Over the next few months, she responded to the requests by avoiding giving up her possessions. Two years before, her eldest son Augustyn had married María de los Dolores of Bourbon-Two Sicilies and Orléans. Apparently, during the war, the family link with the Spanish nobility protected the assets of the Czartoryski family only to some extent, since, in the autumn of 1941, Alfred Schellenberg, director of the museums of the Warsaw district, threatened Czartoryska, forcing her to hand over her works of art to the General Governorate.<sup>53</sup> After consultations with Stanisław

47. Danuta Marek, *Ordynacja gołuchowska Izabelli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej (1830–1899)* (Poznań, 1994), 4; Ead., “Kolekcja gołuchowska,” in *Zbiory publiczne a kolekcjonerstwo prywatne. Problematyka ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego w przeszłości i dzisiaj*, ed. Jadwiga Lipińska (Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2000), 63–68.

48. Pajzderski, *Przewodnik po muzeum w Gołuchowie*, 42.

49. [Nikodem Pajzderski], *Przewodnik po muzeum w Gołuchowie*, 44.

50. Kuhnke, “Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta,” 199.

51. The portrait of Charles VIII was recorded by Pajzderski with the number 2033, while the portrait of his wife with 2034. On the remains of the sticker on the *Mater Dolorosa* the number 2409 is still visible. Kuhnke, “Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta,” 199; Agnieszka Woźniak-Wieczorek, “Problematyka restytucji na przykładzie rozproszenia kolekcji gołuchowskiej,” *Santander Art and Culture Law Review* 1 (2015): 251–252; Monika Kuhnke, “Gołuchów, historia stworzenia i rozproszenia kolekcji,” *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone*, no. 6 (2002): 6–9.

52. AMNW, sygn. 696, *Protokół przewiezienia do Muzeum części zbiorów Gołuchowskich z domu przy ul. Kredytowej 12 w Warszawie, stanowiącego własność XX. Czartoryskich*, 2.

53. Kuhnke, “Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta,” 200.

Lorentz, director of the National Museum in Warsaw, Czartoryska decided to deposit her collection in the institution, received in person by Schellenberg on 2 December 1941.<sup>54</sup> The chests from her house and the eight paintings, including the diptych, were stored on the first floor of the National Museum.<sup>55</sup>

In March 1942, the director of the Museum in Troppau, Werner Kudlich, selected 82 objects from the entire Gołuchów collection to be transferred to Kraków and from there to the Third Reich. There were four panels among them: the *Mater Dolorosa* and *Ecce Homo*, and the above-mentioned portraits of Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII. The paintings were classified as objects of the first category.<sup>56</sup> Until the end of the following year, they were not moved due to the delay in their cataloguing, which provoked a conflict between Hermann Voss (who was to become the future director of the never-completed Führer Museum) and Siegfried Rühle, the director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Poznań, protector of the integrity of the Gołuchów collection.<sup>57</sup> Until 1944, the Czartoryski-Działyński Collection remained in Warsaw but, due to the Warsaw Uprising and the intensified military activity in the General Governorate, and following the devastation of the National Museum

throughout August,<sup>58</sup> in the first days of October 1944 the most valuable objects were ordered to be sent to Fischhorn Castle in Austria. On 9 October, the director of the National Museum in Warsaw noted the transfer of 17 wooden chests of Gołuchów objects. Among those, inside the chest number 13, there were eight paintings and liturgical vessels but with annotations that did not come from Gołuchów.<sup>59</sup> Still, it was not specified whether the diptych from Pontevedra was among them.

On 16 August 1945, the delegate of the National Museum in Warsaw, Bohdan Urbanowicz, was in Fischhorn, then under American occupation, to effect the return of the missing works to the National Museum in Warsaw.<sup>60</sup> While classifying the objects, he prepared a diary in which he mentioned some pieces from Gołuchów Castle, such as vessels, enamels and other antiques.<sup>61</sup> In April of the following year, the first trains carrying the works of art left for Warsaw. However, none of the eight paintings is mentioned in the documentation of the returned objects. Therefore, they had disappeared before Urbanowicz's arrival or never even reached Fischhorn.

The portrait of Charles VIII was sold in New York in 1948 and deposited by the new owner at the Virginia

54. AMNW, sygn. 696, *Protokół przewiezienia do Muzeum części zbiorów Gołuchowskich z domu przy ul. Kredytowej 12 w Warszawie, stanowiącego własność XX. Czartoryskich*, 1–3.

55. AMNW, sygn. 696, *Anlage 5, Verzeichnis der aus dem Museum Goldenau verschleppten Gegenstände*, 10; Kuhnke, "Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta," 205. The catalogue numbers of the documents mentioned by Monika Kuhnke were updated by the Archives of the National Museum in Warsaw; the present text refers to the new catalogue numbers.

56. Kuhnke, "Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta," 200.

57. Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu, *Korespondencja z okresu wojny. List Gottfrieda Reinera (w imieniu dr Vosse) do dyrektora Kaiser Friedrich Museum w Poznaniu dr Siegfrieda Rühle z dnia 6 XII 1943 r.*

58. In his memoirs, Stanisław Lorentz recalls a great loss of artworks from the Collection of Gołuchów. See Stanisław Lorentz, "Muzeum Narodowe w latach 1939–1954," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 2 (1957): 37–41.

59. *Ibid.*, 50.

60. Bohdan Urbanowicz, "Dziennik Fischhornu," in *Walka o dobra kultury, Warszawa 1939–1945*, 2, ed. Stanisław Lorentz (Warszawa: PIW, 1970), 387.

61. *Ibid.*, 339, 381.



Museum of Fine Arts in 1952. Its pendant, the portrait of Anne of Brittany, belonged to the Arch-Bishop of Salzburg after the Second World War, and in 1959 was also sold in New York.<sup>62</sup> The diptych of *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns* under analysis here arrived in Madrid in unknown circumstances.

The diptych seems to be a relevant artwork to consider as a part of the Bouts family legacy, even if it is not directly linked with their hand. This artwork documents the popularity of the iconographical model created by Dieric Bouts in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which lasted for at least the next hundred years. His son Albrecht, who inherited the workshop, continued spreading pictures created by his father and his apprentices, copying them for the needs of the Flemish market. At the same time, this version of the *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns* shows that their close collaborators from his circle and followers copied templates from the Bouts workshop. The formal analysis and comparison with other versions of iconography of this type linked with Bouts' milieu show that the diptych, formerly in Pontevedra, was made by a different hand than the versions

attributed to Dieric and Albrecht Bouts. The author employed a smoother style and strong *chiaroscuro* for effigies. He paid more attention to decorative details of the composition than the Bouts workshop, and followed the 16<sup>th</sup>-century fashion in the Virgin's head-dress. For the bust of Christ, he followed Albrecht's expressive style, not Dieric's models. Even if the diptych has few common features with the Parisian, London and Chicago versions, it is similar to the panels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York and other lower-quality copies around the world. However, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century frame and its ornaments, typical of the middle of the Cinquecento, further confirm the later execution date of the diptych. The author of the composition might have been a follower of Albrecht Bouts or came from his circle, as indicated by the difference between the styles of Bouts and the author of the diptych. The author can be tentatively defined as the Master of the Diptych from Pontevedra-Gołuchów, perhaps a member of Bouts' workshop. Still, the scant knowledge about him and, at this moment, the single identified artwork do not indicate he could have been as relevant a painter as his master had been.

62. Kuhnke, "Dworzanin i dama Jana Mostaerta," 201–202.

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## STRESZCZENIE

*Wędrowka dyptyku. Problem autorstwa i proveniencji wizerunków „Mater Dolorosa” i „Chrystusa cierniem koronowanego” z dawnej kolekcji w Gołuchowie*, Oskar J. Rojewski, Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez

Od grudnia 2019 r. międzynarodowa prasa wielokrotnie podejmowała temat dyptyku z przedstawieniami *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego*, przechowywanego do 2023 r. w Museo Provincial de Pontevedra w Hiszpanii. Przed II wojną światową ta nieduża dwuskrzydłowa kompozycja (42×32 cm) należała do Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej i znajdowała się w pałacu w Gołuchowie. W latach 70. XX w. była własnością hiszpańskiego kolekcjonera z rodziny Fernández-López, od którego trafiła do muzeum w Pontevedra. Dzieło budziło zainteresowanie nie tyle ze względu na walory artystyczne czy proveniencję, ile z uwagi na fakt, iż mogło należeć do grupy obiektów zrabowanych przez wojska III Rzeszy.

Niniejszy artykuł jest prezentacją analizy dyptyku przeprowadzonej z zastosowaniem metod: DStretch, ikonograficznej i ikonologicznej, które pozwalają na ponowne przemyślenie kwestii atrybucji i pochodzenia dzieła. Badania techniczne pozwoliły na potwierdzenie niderlandzkiej proveniencji dyptyku, o czym świadczy zastosowanie w podobrazii dębowych desek bałtyckich, na których namalowano wizerunki *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego*. Tym samym przypuszczenia o powstaniu dyptyku w kręgu hiszpańskim, wysuwane na podstawie czarno-białych zdjęć publikowanych w *Katalogu strat wojennych polskiego Ministerstwa Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego*, nie potwierdziły się. Analiza skanów DStretch umożliwiła odczytanie niewidocznych inskrypcji na odwrociu dyptyku i powiązanie obrazów na skrzydłach ołtarza z dziełami łączonymi wówczas ze szkołą Rogiera van der Weydena, prezentowanymi na wystawie kolekcji Czartoryskich-Działyńskich w Dreźnie w 1915 r. Atrybucja dzieła szkole van der Weydena została utrzymana przez Nikodema Pajzderskiego, kustosa kolekcji, i była powtarzana w kolejnych przewodnikach po zamku w Gołuchowie. Po raz pierwszy dyptyk został powiązany z działalnością kręgu Dierica Boutsy, artysty czynnego w Leuven w 2. połowie XV w., przez Maxa J. Friedländera w 1925 r. Hipoteza niemieckiego

uczonego była wielokrotnie powtarzana, m.in. przez Wolfganga Schöne, Martina Daviesa i Elisę Bermejo-Martínez, którzy badali dzieła o tej samej tematyce i kompozycji, wywodzące się zarówno z warsztatu Dierica Bouts, jak i jego syna Albrechta. Dopiero w 2011 r. Valentine Henderiks wskazała na hiszpańskiego naśladowcę Albrechta Bouts jako na możliwego autora dyptyku.

Dzieła o podobnej tematyce, wywodzące się z kręgu niderlandzkich mistrzów działających na przestrzeni XV i XVI w., obrazowały epizody pasyjne i stanowiły ważny element *devotio moderna*. Istotnym elementem dyptyku są jego XVI-wieczne ramy. Znajdujące się na nich inskrypcje potwierdzają związki wizerunków z ruchami dewocyjnymi. Kompozycja *Mater Dolorosa* otoczona jest inskrypcją: „Kto się smutkiem nie poruszy, gdy rozważy boleść duszy Matki wraz z jej Dziecięciem?”, a przedstawienie *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego* wersem: „Gdzież jest człowiek, co łzę wstrzyma, gdy mu stanie przed oczyma w mękach Matka ta bez skaz?”. Ikonografia dzieła stanowiła przedmiot badań Erwina Panofsky’ego, który wskazał genezę ujęcia *Mater Dolorosa* w dziele Dierica Bouts *Oplakiwanie Chrystusa* (ok. 1455–1468; Luwr, Paryż). To właśnie fragment z tej kompozycji posłużył jako model dla ujęcia Marii, kilkakrotnie kopiowanego przez artystę. Oryginał powstały w warsztacie Dierica nie zachował się, przetrwały za to liczne wersje autorstwa jego naśladowców i kopistów, m.in. w kolekcjach National Gallery w Londynie, Luwru, Institute of Art w Chicago czy Metropolitan Museum of Art w Nowym Jorku.

Analiza porównawcza dzieł o identycznej kompozycji pozwoliła na wskazanie detali świadczących o zmianach zachodzących w ikonografii *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego* na przestrzeni XV i XVI stulecia. Ze względu na kompozycję, utrzymanie tonacji kolorystycznej, brak cieni oraz jednorodne złote tło najbliższe otoczeniu Dierica Bouts wydają się wersje dyptyku z Paryża, Chicago i Londynu. W wersjach z Nowego Jorku i Pontevedra można zaobserwować dążenie do większej szczegółowości, lżejsze laserunki szat *Mater Dolorosa* i prześwity tkaniny. Dramatyzm wizerunku Chrystusa, impasty w partiach twarzy obu wizerunków, mocne kontrasty czy też cienie na złotym tle i iluzjonistyczne ramy świadczą o pochodzeniu dzieła z warsztatu naśladowców rodziny Bouts, bliższych kręgom artystycznym Albrechta, aktywnego w pierwszej połowie XVI w.

Poparcie tezy o związkach dyptyku z Pontevedra z warsztatem lub naśladowcą Albrechta Bouts stanowi także wspomniana oryginalna rama w typie *cassetta italiana*, dekorowana rollwerkami i puttami, sugerująca, że dzieło powstało nie wcześniej niż w I. połowie XVI w. Tym samym analizowany dyptyk, którego kompozycja mogła być autorskim pomysłem Dierica Bouts, można powiązać z działalnością jego syna Albrechta bądź twórców z jego kręgu. Kontynuowali oni praktykę realizowania zamówień na wizerunki dewocyjne, kopiując w XVI w. prototypy wypracowane wcześniej w warsztacie Boutsów.

Jak wspomniano, dyptyk z Pontevedra przynajmniej od lat 70. XX w. znajdował się na terenie Hiszpanii, a do Museo Provincial de Pontevedra został ostatecznie przekazany w latach 90. Elisa Bermejo-Martínez w monografii *Primitivos Flamencos en España* (1982) potwierdziła obecność dzieła w prywatnej kolekcji w Madrycie. Valentine Henderiks, analizując dyptyk z Gołuchowa, którego reprodukcja (bez ram) znana jej była z *Katalogu strat wojennych*, nie powiązała go z tym znajdującym się w Pontevedra. Kamieniem milowym w badaniach nad kolekcją gołuchowską

były publikacje Moniki Kuhnke, która wspomniała o obecności dyptyku wśród najważniejszych dzieł należących do Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej.

Kolekcja gołuchowska powstała po 1857 r. i składała się z paryskich zakupów Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej. Księżna, ze względu na brak potomstwa, zabezpieczyła integralność zbiorów, zakładając w 1893 r. ordynację, którą objął książę Witold Czartoryski. Pierwsza informacja na temat interesującego nas dyptyku pochodzi z 1912 r. i znajduje się w przewodniku po zamku w Gołuchowie, autorstwa Nikodema Pajzderskiego. Wedle edycji z 1929 r. dyptyk znajdował się tamże w pomieszczeniach pierwszego piętra.

Przed wybuchem II wojny światowej Maria Ludwika z Krasińskich Czartoryska zarządzała ordynacją gołuchowską w imieniu swojego syna Augustyna, męża hiszpańskiej arystokratki Marii de los Dolores Burbon-Sycylijskiej. Między majem a czerwcem 1939 r. księżna zamówiła piętnaście skrzyń w celu przewiezienia dzieł sztuki z Gołuchowa do jej domu w Warszawie. Ostatecznie tylko osiem obrazów opuściło pałac, wśród nich dyptyk. W trakcie wojny okupanci wielokrotnie zwracali się do księżnej z żądaniem wydania kolekcji, otrzymując wymijające odpowiedzi. 2 grudnia 1941 r. Maria Ludwika z Czartoryskich Krasińska, w porozumieniu ze Stanisławem Lorentzem, zdeponowała swoją kolekcję sztuki w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie.

Niedługo później, w marcu 1942 r., Werner Kudlich wybrał 82 przedmioty z kolekcji gołuchowskiej, które miały zostać przewiezione do Krakowa, a stamtąd do Rzeszy. Na liście obiektów figurował dyptyk. Ze względu na przedłużające się prace inwentaryzacyjne transport nie doszedł do skutku. Po wybuchu powstania warszawskiego, w październiku 1944 r., z Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie wywieziono do zamku Fischhorn siedemnaście skrzyń z dziełami sztuki, wśród których znajdowały się także i te pochodzące z Gołuchowa. Inwentarz wywiezionych obiektów nie wymienia jednak dyptyku z przedstawieniami *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego*. W sierpniu 1945 r. Bohdan Urbanowicz, oddelegowany przez Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, udał się do Fischhorn w celu restytucji zrabowanych dzieł. Zdołał odzyskać m.in. część kolekcji gołuchowskiej. Jego zapiski nie zawierają jednak żadnej informacji na temat dyptyku, który w niewyjaśnionych okolicznościach ponad dwadzieścia lat później został sprzedany w Madrycie.

Dzieło z muzeum w Pontevedra jest ważnym ogniwem w *œuvre* rodziny Bouts ze względu na fakt, że dowodzi utrzymania warsztatu Dierica przez jego syna Albrechta. Świadczy o kontynuacji tradycji wykonywania obrazów dewocyjnych cieszących się powodzeniem w XVI w. oraz o ciągłości powstawania kompozycji będących specjalnością warsztatu. Autorzy artykułu dowodzą, że styl twórcy dyptyku z Pontevedra nie jest tożsamy ze stylem Dierica. Za taką tezę przemawiają kontrasty i silniejsze efekty *chiaroscuro* w portretach *Mater Dolorosa* i *Chrystusa cierniem ukoronowanego*. W opinii autorów niniejszego studium artysta, który stworzył to dzieło, powinien być utożsamiany z Albrechtem Boutsem lub jego kręgiem; niewykluczone, że był on członkiem bądź współpracownikiem warsztatu. Szczegółowe poznanie dziejów dyptyku po 1944 r. jest niemożliwe ze względu na brak dokumentacji, która mogłaby wyjaśnić okoliczności, w jakich znalazł się na hiszpańskim rynku antykwarycznym.

## NOTY BIOGRAFICZNE

Oskar J. Rojewski – absolwent Szkoły Doktorskiej na Uniwersytecie w Walencji i Uniwersytecie Jakuba I. Adiunkt w Instytucie Nauk o Sztuce Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach. Realizował staże podoktorskie na Uniwersytecie w Kopenhadze i Uniwersytecie Rey Juan Carlos. Zajmuje się recepcją malarstwa niderlandzkiego przełomu XV i XVI w. na dworach europejskich, migracjami artystycznymi oraz problematyką uroczystości dworskich.

Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez – stopień doktora historii sztuki uzyskała na Uniwersytecie w Santiago de Compostela. Dyrektor Instituto Moll. Centro de Investigación de Pintura Flamenca i wykładowca na Uniwersytecie w Burgos. Stypendystka Museo Nacional del Prado oraz Museo Provincial de Pontevedra. Zajmuje się malarstwem niderlandzkim i działalnością artystów niderlandzkich w Hiszpanii w XVI i XVII w. oraz związkami artystycznymi, społecznymi i ekonomicznymi między Niderlandami i Monarchią Hiszpańską.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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