

*A Triptych of the Flagellation with
Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard* from
the workshop of Jan van Dornicke in
the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum



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**BILBOKO ARTE
EDERREN MUSEOA
MUSEO DE BELLAS
ARTES DE BILBAO**

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Part of the exceptional collection of Flemish painting at the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, this small triptych has the *Flagellation of Christ* for its central theme and portrayals of two Benedictine saints, Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard on the lateral wings [fig. 1]¹. It is unusual both for the combination of themes and for the lack of any spatial consistency between them, there being no uniting feature between the main scene, shown in an interior, and the laterals, both situated in landscapes. However, the lateral panel measurements coincide with the space occupied by the central one, suggesting some intent in the combination of scenes, possibly determined by a specific commission or by the need, for reasons unknown, to adapt different paintings to a single structure².

Identified in the earliest catalogues of the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum as an anonymous work, the painting was rightly placed in the Flemish school of the second quarter of the 16th century³, despite arriving at the Museum as a German work, and despite Allende-Salazar judging it to be by a Flemish painter in line with Hieronymus Bosch and Jan Mostaert⁴. In his essay on Flemish paintings at the Museum, Castañer classified it as a work by an anonymous master of around 1500, further fine-tuning the attribution in the essay by relating it to the Antwerp school and the Mannerist workshops then proliferating in the city. Even so, as with works by Barend van Orley, he avoided naming any workshop in particular⁵.

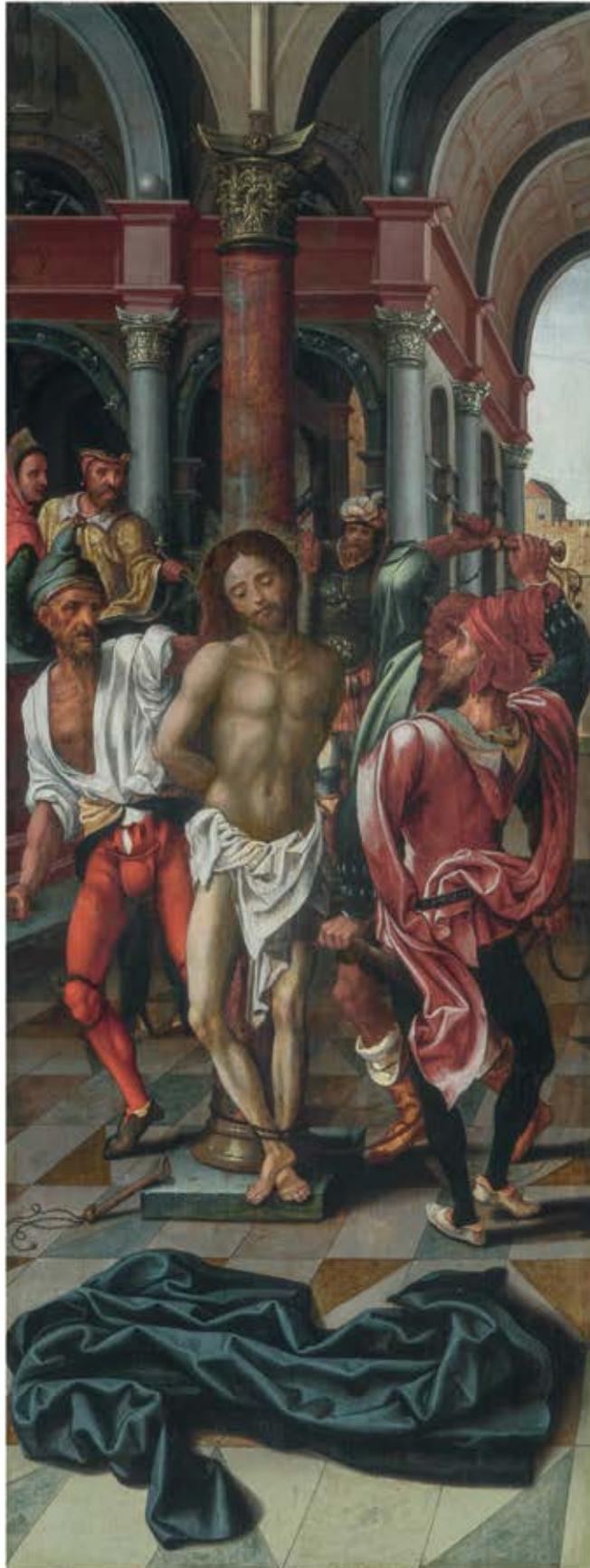
1 All three panels have overlaps at the edges, suggesting they were painted in the original frame.

2 On adapting paintings in larger wooden structures as part of a specific taste of Spanish clientele, see Martens 2010, pp. 233-234, 240-242. Disparate works were often brought together in response to a special devotion of the promoter of the works included in a particular structure. Montero/Cendoya 2001; Diéguez 2005.

3 Plasencia 1932, p. 64, no. 288; Lasterra 1969, p. 142, no. 329.

4 Allende-Salazar 1931, p. 223.

5 Castañer 1995, pp. 61-63.



1. Jan van Dornicke (active 1505-1527), workshop of
Triptych of the Flagellation with Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, 1520-1530
Oil on oak panel, 86 x 33 cm (central panel); 86 x 14.2 cm (lateral panels)
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
Inv. no. 69/329

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Although the scenes seem not to belong to the same iconographic programme, the figure types and underlying drawing in the three, perceptible in many cases at first glance, show that the same artist was entrusted with the execution of this design in the workshop. The drawing combines fluid, concise strokes delimiting character profiles, folds in the robes and details of the architectures [fig. 2] with other short, parallel strokes marking the shaded areas in flesh tones and clothing [fig. 3].

An engraving by Martin Schongauer from around 1480 [fig. 4] served as model for the central Flagellation scene. The engraving was hugely popular throughout the 16th century⁶. In the centre of the scene, the painter reproduces the red jasper column to which Jesus is tied, the tunic that was ripped from Him in the foreground and the gestures and poses of the three executioners who mete out the punishment decided on by Pontius Pilate. The only variations from the design of the engraving are to be found in the clothes of the executioner on the right who, with his back to the spectator, wears a hooded jerkin, and the position of the right arm of the executioner on the left, who, with his white shirt open, holds Jesus by the hair while he flays Him with the scourge. The painter has enhanced the interior set by presenting, further back, several richly dressed characters with Phrygian caps, who watch from a parapet on the left as Jesus is tortured. One of these figures, a bearded man who points his baton of command towards the main scene, is Pontius Pilate, while his clean-shaven companion, shown in profile, is one of the high priests who had sought the prisoner's death⁷. The scene takes place in a classical porticoed patio with a coffered barrel vault, round arches and decorative murals in architraves and spandrels. A bearded centurion in the background behind the flogging column puts the finishing touch to this classical *praetorium*. He is portrayed in a turban and military uniform of short tunic with decorated half-body *subarmalis*, *grebas* on the legs, *caligae* and lance (or *pilum*), a fore-shadowing perhaps of the centurion who punctures Christ's ribs on Golgotha⁸.

In the lateral wings, Saint Benedict is shown as a clean-shaven young man with the black habit of the Order and accompanied by the crow that flees with the poisoned bread before the saint can eat it. He rests the abbot's crosier on his right shoulder, while holding the Book of the Order in his left hand⁹, the book replacing the chalice of poisoned water visible in the reflectography [fig. 5], where the poison is signalled by a small serpent-like dragon emerging from the receptacle¹⁰. Now hidden by the book, this attribute would have alluded to the episode of the crow in the foreground, both referring to the attempt by the monks of Vicovaro to poison Saint Benedict¹¹.

Saint Bernard, renovator of the Benedictine Order, is portrayed in a similar way although with a white habit. Deep in the book open in his hands, he also rests the abbot's staff against his shoulder¹². Both figures are similar in proportion and aspect: delicate features preside over a marked jaw and cheekbones, small nose

6 Copies exist of the engraving made by Monogramista IC of Cologne, by Wenzel von Ölmutz, by Adriaen Hybruechts in 1584, by Alois Petrak and by other anonymous engravers. *Hollstein. Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer*, XLIX, Rotterdam, 1999, no. 22.

7 Louis Réau. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. 3 vols. Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1955-1959, vol. I/II, p. 454.

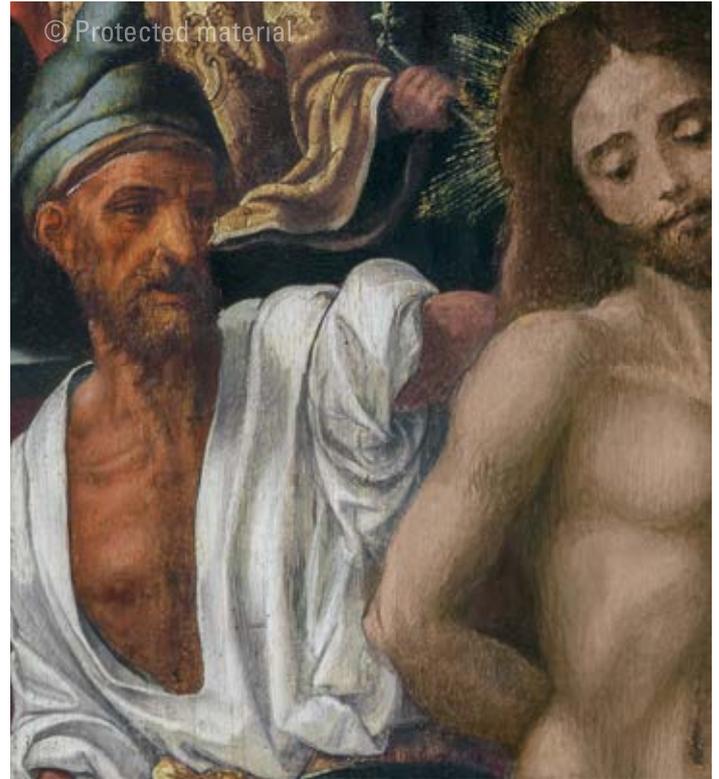
8 Although the story of the Flagellation is told by all four evangelists (Matthew: 27, 26; Mark: 15, 15; Luke: 23, 16, 22; John: 19, 1), the major contributions to the surrounding iconography were made in the texts of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Revelations* of Saint Bridget, the *Meditations on the Passion* by the Pseudo-Bonaventure, and the Mediaeval *autos sacramentales*. Louis Réau, *op. cit.*, t. II, vol. 2 (*Nouveau Testament*, 1957), pp. 452-453.

9 *Vita et miracula Sanctissimi Patris Benedicte. Ex Libro Dialogorum Beati Gregorii Papae et Monachi collecta et ad instantiam Devotorum Monachorum Congregationis eiusdem S. ti Benedicti Hispaniarum aeneis typis accuratissime delineata*, Rome, 1578; Jacobus de Voragine. *La leyenda dorada* (The Golden Legend) (ed., Madrid : Alianza, 1982, vol. I, pp. 200-201).

10 My thanks are due to Bilbao Fine Arts Museum Conservation & Restoration Department for indicating this discovery made during reflectography analysis of the painting.

11 Louis Réau, *op. cit.*, vol. III/I, pp. 197 and 200-201.

12 Jacobus de Voragine, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 3-14.



2-3. Jan van Dornicke (active 1505-1527), workshop of
Triptych of the Flagellation with Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, 1520-1530
 Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
 Underlying drawing in plain sight (details)

and mouth, and a tonsure around a remarkably harmonious quadrangular patch of scalp. Both faces actually tend more to the feminine, in line with the aesthetics of goodness appreciable in their countenances. Some attempt has been made to achieve unity between the surrounding landscape and the characters portrayed, largely through two devices. One involves placing in the foreground a particular detail directly linking the scene with nature: the crow in the Saint Benedict panel and the rock with the split tree trunk next to Saint Bernard. The other is the use of the thin outline of a tree in the intermediate ground behind the two figures, differentiating their space and opening up the high-horizon view. These two devices give the lateral panels a clear visual relation, underscored by the thorough, decorative brush strokes in the leaves of shrub and tree.

There is a certain family likeness in the way the faces of all the figures in the triptych are designed: quadrangular in outline, with short eyebrows over heavily accentuated eye sockets, straight noses highlighted here and there and heavy, semicircular moustaches which merge with beards cut close to the chin and which are either peaked or open at the tip. The executioners' beards are less tidy, while the figures in the background and Jesus have thicker beards. Something similar happens to the noses, Christ's and the Benedictine saints' noses being more harmonious, the executioners' more exaggerated. These characteristics, together with the traces of the underlying design, enable us to link the triptych with the production of Jan Martens van Dornicke's workshop, one of the most prolific in Antwerp in the early decades of the 16th century¹³.

¹³ On Jan van Dornicke and his work, not only as workshop master, but also as art dealer and printer, see Bergmans 1957, p. 27; Szymycki 1981, pp. 219-220; Martens 2004-2005, pp. 67, 71; Ewing 2007, p. 92.

Jan Martens van Dornicke was known only as the Master of 1518 and the Master of Dielegem Abbey¹⁴ until, in 1966, Marlier identified him with Jan Mertens, a painter from Doornik (Tournai)¹⁵, following documentary evidence provided by Bergmans¹⁶. Born into a family of sculptors¹⁷, he was closely related with the sculpture workshops to which he gave designs and where he was entrusted with the painting¹⁸. Jan van Dornicke was traditionally considered to be in Antwerp from at least 1505¹⁹, where he remained until his death in around 1527, when Pieter Coeck is registered as being master of the painters' guild, thus continuing with his father-in-law's workshop²⁰. Périer-D'leteren sees Jan van Dornicke as the apprentice of Jan Gossart registered in the city's painters' guild in 1505 under the name of "Hennen Mertens"²¹, a suggestion taken up by Ainsworth, who notes it as a distinct possibility²². In 1507 Van Dornicke appears in the guild of painters when registering Tijssen Marijn as an apprentice²³, and again in 1509 and 1511 registering an unidentified youngster and Jeroen Boels, respectively²⁴. After this date, in 1512, he is recorded in documentation of the city of Antwerp from 6 February as "Jan Martens, who is called Van Dornicke, painter"²⁵. In 1515 he is described as the widower of Lysbeth Puynders and father of five young children²⁶.

Jan Martens van Dornicke eventually ran a highly productive workshop working in the Mannerist style in Antwerp, possibly directly linked with his father's sculpture workshop²⁷. For Marlier he is, in terms of composition and models, the most old-fashioned master of the entire group then working in the city²⁸, something that might be explained by his dependence on issues deriving from his father's workshop.

14 The conventional name was given by Friedländer in 1915 when he linked a series of works with the *Triptych of the Virgin* in St. Mary's Church in Lübeck, with the date 1518 showing on the sculpted part: Friedländer 1915. Friedländer links the Master of Dielegem Abbey, the name assigned to the master of the *Triptych of the Life of Mary Magdalene* in Les Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique, Brussels (inv. no. 329), from the old abbey of Dielegem, west of Brussels, with the production of the Master of 1518: Friedländer 1974, pp. 30-31.

15 Marlier 1966, pp. 112-115, 117-145. In 2002 Campbell once again differentiated the work of the Master of 1518 and the Master of Dielegem Abbey, suggesting the two were working in different cities, the former in Antwerp and the other in or around Brussels: London 2002, p. 162; Campbell 2014, p. 553. Campbell thinks the *Triptych of the Magdalene* in Brussels (inv. no. 329) still provides the guidelines for identifying the work of the Master of Dielegem Abbey, and links it to the *Vocation of Saint Matthew* in the Royal Collection in the UK (LC45). However, some features of the latter painting are remote from the work of the Master of 1518 and of the Master of Dielegem Abbey. Discrepancies about whether the Master of 1518 can be identified with Jan van Dornicke persist to this day (Jansen 2007, p. 86, note 16; Born 2010, pp. 131-140, 264-275); such discrepancies sit alongside traditional stances that follow Marlier's line: Ainsworth 2014a, pp. 23-25.

16 Bergmans 1957, p. 27.

17 There is speculation that his father, Jan Mertens, might have had a workshop in Doornik (Tournai) before moving to Antwerp. He is recorded as master of the painters' guild of Antwerp in 1473: Rombouts/Van Lierus 1961, vol. I, p. 22. In 1478, 1481 and 1487 he figures as dean of the guild: *ibid.*, pp. 28, 31 and 39. Between 1484 and 1487 he registered Heynken van Wouwe and Tonken Vermolen as apprentices: *ibid.*, pp. 36 and 40.

18 Marlier 1966, p. 113. Born 2002 is more specific on this issue.

19 Marlier 1966, p. 112.

20 Rombouts/Van Lierus 1961, vol. I, p. 108.

21 Périer-D'leteren 1995, p. 1055; Rombouts/Van Lierus 1961, vol. I, p. 63. "Henne" may be an archaic form of Jan. My thanks are due to Professor Didier Martens for his philological suggestions about this name, which he very convincingly links to the form Johannes, seeing in the formula Henne a localism for Jan. Personal correspondence with the author.

22 Ainsworth 2010, p. 9; Weidema 2012, p. 8.

23 Rombouts/Van Lierus 1961, vol. I, p. 66.c.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 72 and 76. The painter Jan Martens and Neel van Dornicke may possibly be related to the same Mertens family. The former is registered as master of painting in the Antwerp guild in 1509, where he is described as the son of Jan, "Jansone": *ibid.*, p. 71. In note 2 on page 71 Rombouts and Van Lierus relate this Jan Martens with the sculptor. However, he might also be one of Jan van Dornicke's sons: see notes 17 and 18. Neel van Dornicke appears in 1508 as a master: "Neel van Dornicke, son of Mertens". Although he is not specifically described as a painter or sculptor, as he calls himself "Van Dornicke", it may be that he is a son of our painter, Jan van Dornicke: *ibid.*, p. 69. However, he might also be son of Merten van Dornicke, who is recorded as dean of the painters' guild in 1497 and 1500; despite not knowing which art he practiced, we can be fairly sure he was directly involved with the family painting and sculpture workshop of Jan Mertens and Jan van Dornicke in Antwerp: *ibid.*, pp. 52 and 55.

25 "Jeane Mertens die men heet Van Dornicke schildere (...)" . Felix Archief, Antwerpen, Vonnis boeken 1509-1513, fol. 203-204v. V# 1234, quoted in Szymdki 1981, p. 219.

26 We do not know if he had older or independent children. Among those cited as young children are Ana, later to become wife to Pieter Coeck van Alst and who would die in 1529, and Adriana, who married Jan van Amstel before 1527 and died in 1562: Bergmans 1957, p. 27.

27 Friedländer 1915, pp. 65-71; Born 2005a, pp. 16-17.

28 Marlier 1966, p. 112.



4. Martin Schongauer (1435/1450-1491)
Flagellation, c. 1480
Burin engraving on paper, 16.3 x 11.6 cm
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford
Inv. no. WA1863.2146



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 5. Jan van Dornicke (active 1505-1527), workshop of
Triptych of the Flagellation with Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, 1520-1530
 Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
 Infrared reflectography (detail)

There was a phase in his career when Jan van Dornicke was clearly dependent on engravings as source material, perhaps in his early work associated with his cooperating on mixed sculpture and paint pieces, like the one Born refers to in the Lübeck triptych²⁹. For this author, Van Dornicke is the master most influenced by German graphics of all those working in Mannerist workshops in Antwerp in the first three decades or so of the 16th century³⁰. This coincides with the central scene in the Bilbao triptych. Comparison of the underlying drawing (visible here in the clothing of the executioners, Jesus's loincloth and flesh colourings, and in the figures of Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard) with the design of the beggars' vestments in the scene of *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Giving Bread to the Poor* in the Musée des beaux-arts de Belgique in Brussels (inv. no. 2,600)³¹, and those of Joseph's tunic and cloak in the *Apparition of the Angel to Saint Joseph* in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart [fig. 6], both works judged to be from Jan van Dornicke's workshop, shows them to be similar. Even the handling of the folds is very much in the same spirit in all the works mentioned.

Quite unmistakable is the face of the executioner to the left of Jesus. It is a model Van Dornicke habitually employed in his paintings. He makes use of it for the figure of the seated priest with an open book in his *Jesus Among the Doctors* in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp (inv. no. 357) and especially for the figures of the Magi in many of his multiple *Epiphanies*. One of the foremost of these is the one in the old Finck Collection in Brussels and the one in Saint Plechelmo Church in Oldenzaal (Low Countries), where the face of

29 Born 2002, p. 588.

30 Born 2005b, p. 198.

31 In the catalogues of the Brussels museum this scene appears as *Woman Giving Alms* as part of the works of compassion: Pauwels 1984, p. 555, no. 2600. This confusion of themes is habitual in the saint's iconography: Louis Réau, *op. cit.*, vol. II/1, p. 418; Jacobus de Voragine, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 730-731.



7. Pieter Coeck van Aelst (1502-1550), workshop of
Pentecost, c. 1530-1540
 Oil on panel, 83.8 x 62.2 cm
 Iziko Museum of South Africa. Art Collections, Cape Town, South Africa

the flagstone floor with alternating pink, ochre and blue tones in a design of triangles and squares, similar to the one found in the *Annunciation* on the reverse of the privately owned *Adoration of the Shepherds* triptych³⁴.

It was quite normal for Jan van Dornicke and his son-in-law Pieter Coeck to share models for more popular works and, as Marlier notes, for Coeck's early works as well³⁵, thus leading to a synthesis of models and sources. The exchange of models, figures and designs enabled different painters to contribute to the same work under the master's direction³⁶, which means that sorting out who did what can at times be quite a complex task³⁷. Given this work procedure, the involvement in this triptych of another artist, following the Van Dornicke workshop guidelines, should not be ruled out. The infrared reflectography shows slight modifications to the position of the back foot of the executioner on Christ's left, which is now not so low as it originally was, and in the tunic in the foreground, which lowered the original outline of the upper section of the garment [fig. 8].

34 Marlier 1966, p. 113; Poel 2005, p. 206.

35 Marlier 1966, pp. 117-145, 184. Something that was again demonstrated at the recent Pieter Coeck van Aelst exhibition in New York: Ainsworth 2014a, pp. 25-30.

36 The use of cartoons or models at Pieter Coeck's workshop and the influence of Jan van Dornicke in these compositions and figures are explained by Buijsen, Van den Brink and Ainsworth: Buijsen 2000, pp. 12-13; Ainsworth in New York 2014, pp. 36-39 ("Adoration of the Magi"). On their workshop methods, see Jansen 2006 and note 33 of this essay.

37 This was emphasized by Born 1993; Godfrind-Born 1995; Born 2005b, p. 199; Born 2010. Whilst preparing this essay, I contacted Annick Born about this, although unfortunately no answer was forthcoming prior to publication.

Bearing in mind the ground covered to this point with regard to Pieter Coeck's period of activity at his father-in-law's workshop, one might be tempted to date this triptych to between 1520 and 1530. However, we need to be aware that the word "pinxit" is inscribed in black on the upper edge of the book held by Saint Benedict, with the numbers "1 5 0[?] 6" on the spine, arranged two by two [fig. 9]. The inscription and date were imposed on the original colouring at an undetermined time, perhaps when the original frame was altered for some reason and there was a need to register the fact³⁸. Of course the frames were the best places for inscriptions on Flemish paintings and triptychs, and precedents for this came from Jan van Dornicke's workshop, with the date 1518 on the *Retable of the Life of the Madonna* from the church at Lübeck³⁹. If we accept this hypothesis as valid, taking into account that Jan van Dornicke's workshop had been operating in the city from the early 16th century, as explained above, we would be looking at one of the first works produced in the Jan van Dornicke workshop in Antwerp at the turn of the century, prior to the powerful influence of the Mannerists so evident in the works of Van Dornicke from around 1515-1521. However, the date on the spine of the book could also refer to the year when one of the attributes of Saint Benedict was altered and the 0 of the date might in fact be a 6 that has lost its upper section, to judge by the similarity between it and the way the adjacent 6 is written, which would mean the year was 1566. I cannot choose between the two possibilities, and prefer to leave the matter open to question. However, the location of the date is highly unusual and is directly linked to the word "pinxit" on the book's upper border.

Provenance

The triptych came to the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum as part of a large collection of paintings Laureano de Jado Ventades (Portugalete, Bizkaia, 1843-Bilbao, 1926) bequeathed to the Museum in 1927⁴⁰. In the group of Flemish paintings the triptych is recorded as a work of "the German school of the 16th century"⁴¹.

Laureano de Jado made many of his acquisitions in Madrid, a good place for artwork exchanges between private individuals and with a thriving antiquarian trade in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Amongst the 15th and 16th century Flemish paintings he acquired at the time on the Madrid market was the *Burlesque Feast* by Jan Mandijn, also in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum (inv. no. 69/168), from the Marquis of Salamanca's old collection⁴².

Prior to its acquisition by Jado there is no hard evidence about the triptych's previous provenance. However, as a hypothesis and taking the unusual combination of themes portrayed as a starting point, it is very tempting to think that this triptych was one of the paintings belonging to Leonor de Mascareñas, governess to Philip II and his son Prince Charles, and donated to the Franciscan convent she founded in Madrid in the mid-16th century, called *Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles* (Our Lady of the Angels)⁴³. Situated between the

38 The back of the triptych has polychrome-free binding over the entire surface. The ebony and ivory frame the work had before the 2014 restoration is much later than the 19th century.

39 Born 2002, pp. 585 and 600, note 27.

40 Works by Goya, Velázquez, etc: Mur 1990, p. 155; Vélez 1992, pp. 166-219; Cava 1995, p. 101.

41 Vélez 1992, p. 177, no. 117.

42 Known to have been in the Marquis of Salamanca's collection in 1861, 1868, 1872-1879. It had previously belonged to José de Madrazo, the Count and Countess of Altamira and the Marquis of Leganés. On the Leganés Collection, Pérez Preciado 2008, vol. II, p. 258; on the painting of Jan Mandijn in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum and provenance, see Sánchez-Lassa/Rodríguez Torres 2003; Diéguez 2012, vol. II, pp. 895-913.

43 "Donation by Leonor de Mascareñas of goods and objects to the convent of Our Lady of the Angels in the Borough of Madrid on 27 September 1564 which she stipulated in the endowment of its foundation on 17 June 1563". Historic Protocols Archive of Madrid (AHPM), Leg. 448, fol. 466r-470v. "Madame Leonor endowed this house in two thousand ducats of income, gave it many and very rich ornaments, and much silver for the service of the Altar, and provided all the offices of all that was necessary". Pedro Salazar y Mendoza. *Chronicle and History of the Foundation and Progress of the Province of Castilla*. Madrid, 1612, p. 383; Geronimo de Quintana. *To the Very Ancient, Noble and Esteemed Borough of Madrid*. Madrid, 1629, fol. 421r.



8. Jan van Dornicke (active 1505-1527), workshop of
Triptych of the Flagellation with Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, 1520-1530
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
Infrared reflectography

Alcázar and the convent of the Royal Discalced nuns, on the same block as Santo Domingo (Saint Dominic)⁴⁴, the convent was founded on 17 June 1563⁴⁵, the church being completed two years later, after the death of the founder in 1586⁴⁶. When the objects endowed were delivered to the convent for daily use and religious purposes on 27 September 1564 the lot included twenty-four altarpieces of different sizes⁴⁷. Amongst them was one of the copies Michael Coxcie made of Roger van der Weyden's *Descent* now in the Royal Chapel of Granada as a deposit of the Prado Museum (inv. no. P01894)⁴⁸, the Prado's *Triptych of the Redemption* (inv. nos. P01890 to P01892)⁴⁹ and, one might conjecture, this *Triptych of the Flagellation* in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum⁵⁰.

The 1564 document describes the work in terms perfectly recognisable today: "Another [altarpiece] of the column with two doors, Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard"⁵¹. The painting remained in the convent until its confiscation in the 19th century, when a commission from the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid visited the building and took note of the paintings and their locations in 1835⁵². It was in the "Main Choir": "70. An altarpiece showing the Scourges to the column and on the doors, two Saints of the Order, St. Bernard and St. Benedict painting on panel of 1 *vara* (roughly one yard)"⁵³. The height coincides with the current measurements of the triptych, something to be taken account of in relating it to the triptych in the Bilbao museum. This item also tells us the work was saved from the fire at the convent in 1617, which several authors believe may have affected part of its art collection⁵⁴.

44 The convent was located in what is now known as Costanilla de los Ángeles. The name's direct connection with the convent is clear in the deed of sale by Dominican nuns to Leonor de Mascareñas of several houses adjacent to their convent for the foundation of the Poor Claires of Our Lady of the Angels. This proximity helped the nuns to escape from the fire that broke out at the convent in 1617, when a wall collapsed and they were able to run to the neighbouring Saint Dominic convent. National Historical Archive (AHN), Clero, Carp. 1.370. *Deed of sale made by the convent of Saint Dominic the Royal to Leonor de Mascareñas*, Notary Cristóbal de Peñalver, 16 December 1562; José Antonio Álvarez y Baena. *Historic Compendium of the Glories of the Royal Borough of Madrid. Court of the Monarch of Spain*. Madrid, 1786, p. 123; Ramón de Mesonero Romanos. *Old Madrid. Walks Down the Historic Streets and Houses of this Borough*. Madrid, 1861 (ed., Madrid, 1990, p. 96); Soriano 1996, pp. 46 y 51.

45 AHN, Clero, Carp. 1.370. *Deed of Foundation of the Convent of Our Lady of the Angels*, AHPM, Leg. 448, fol. 466r. and Leg. 451, fol. 339r-341r.

46 Geronimo de Quintana, *op. cit.*, p. 421v.; Soriano 1995.

47 See note 43.

48 AHPM, Leg. 448, fol. 466r; Diéguez 2010, p. 110.

49 This triptych has been attributed to Brussels painter Vrancke van der Stock. However, attempts to identify the Master of the Redemption in the Prado with this artist have caused no little controversy, and authors of the most recent research have preferred to keep the artist's generic name. Bermejo 1980, vol. I, p. 140; Steyaert 2013; Campbell/Pérez Preciado 2015.

50 Not included among the works from the convent was the moralised portrait of *Saint Catherine* attributed to Portuguese painter Domingo Carvalho in the Prado Museum (inv. no. P01320), a suggestion made by Cruzada Villaamil and rejected by Gómez Nebreda 2002, pp. 41-42. It makes sense for the Portrait of *Leonor de Mascareñas* attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello and his circle, from the Counts of Limpías's collection, to have been part of the convent's endowment, although no inscription concerning its location has come to light: Sánchez Cantón 1918; Toledo 1958, p. 110, no. 125; Andrés 1994, pp. 365-366. Doubts subsist with regard to the *Crucifixion* in the Prado Museum (inv. no. P0663) from the Bosch legacy which Gregorio de Andrés notes came from the Convent of the Angels.

51 Archive of the Valencia Institute of Don Juan (AIVDJ), Madrid, Dispatch 109, box 153, *Deed of the Monastery of Los Ángeles and Testament of the Founder, Leonor Mascareñas*, 1584, fol. 1094; Andrés 1994, p. 360, no. 6.

52 "Inventory prepared by the Commission of the Noble Arts, required by order of the government from the San Fernando Royal Academy and comprising Messrs. Juan Gálvez and Francisco Elías; in the convent of Franciscan nuns (commonly known as *los Angeles*) of this Court". Archive of the San Fernando Academy, Madrid (AASFM), Files 35-17/1; 35-21/1; 35-25/1; 35-10/1 and 35-2/1. This list enables us to verify that the convent had greatly increased its original collection of paintings, thanks in part to donations and private promoters who had their own chapel in the church, and to the need for proper outfitting. In 1652 the High Altarpiece was being gilded. On either side were the Saint Joseph and the Immaculate Conception retables, all executed by painters of the 17th-century Madrid School. Antonio Ponz, *Journey in Spain*, V (ed., Madrid: Aguilar, 1947, p. 466); Juan Agustín Cean Bermúdez. *Historic Dictionary of the Most Illustrious Professors of the Fine Arts in Spain*, II. Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1800, pp. 168-169; vol. IV, pp. 81-83 and 163.

53 "Paintings deposited at the Academy from the convents of Madrid and other provinces according to the note of the Custodian to the Board of Management of the Museum of the Trinity". Archive of the San Fernando Royal Academy (ARASFM), Files 130-2/7, no date (transcription in Gómez Nebreda 2002, p. 56, no. 70).

54 Andrés 1994, p. 362; Gómez Nebreda 2002, p. 42.



9. Jan van Dornicke (active 1505-1527), workshop of
Triptych of the Flagellation with Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, 1520-1530
 Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
 Inscription and date on Saint Benedict's book (detail)

Nebreda identifies the description of the *Ecce Homo* retable with Saint Bernard and Saint Benedict in the arrival of the endowment at the convent of the Angels in 1564 and the San Fernando Academy list with the *Triptych of the Flagellation* by the Master of Álvaro de Luna in the Prado Museum (inv. no. P01291)⁵⁵. However, the lateral wings of this triptych are divided up to portray various scenes⁵⁶: the two lower ones show seated characters with books and kerchiefs in their hands and in the upper two we see the Pope receiving the orders of Saint Bernard and Saint Benedict⁵⁷, which is not mentioned at all in any of the documents cited. The mere appearance of the two Benedictine orders in the upper part was motive enough for Nebreda to link the Prado triptych with the work in the old convent of the Angels, together with not knowing the provenance of the Prado triptych.

Only a fraction of the two hundred-plus paintings recorded at the convent in 1835 by the Academy commission were actually on display there⁵⁸. The other works were presumably stored haphazardly on the premises, with no attempt made to classify them by theme, measurements or provenance. This facilitated a state where paintings removed from there at some undetermined point in time should appear in the most mysterious way on national and international art markets or in the hands of private collectors. The Academy is known to have auctioned its collection from 1816 to 1826, a procedure Navarrete Martínez shed light on⁵⁹,

55 Ibid.

56 On this retable, Post 1933, pp. 378-380.

57 The iconography of the upper scenes is associated more with the figure of Saint Gregory the Great, as the character, shown in both scenes receiving the order of Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard, is a Pope, and Saint Gregory was the great promoter of the Benedictine order during his papacy. Louis Réau, *op. cit.*, vol. III/II, p. 609.

58 "Note on the paintings that the Custodian of the Academy of St. Fernando has collected from the Convent of Franciscan nuns called *Los Ángeles*" (transcription in Gómez Nebreda 2002, p. 60). This handover involved 18 works, eleven of which ended up in the Museum of the Trinity in 1838.

59 Navarrete 1999, pp. 379-381.

at which private individuals and antiquarians had access to works that, in principle, were considered not of the first rank, but there could be found works of fine quality among them⁶⁰. It would not be surprising to find that the Academy had continued this practice at later dates, encountering outlets for works from secularized convents on the pretext of “lack of space and the need to raise funds”⁶¹. The entry of this group of works in the habitual channels for the market meant that many collectors then putting their collections together gained access to paintings which, before secularization, they would have had little or no chance of acquiring. Lázaro Galdiano and Pablo Bosch in Madrid and Laureano de Jado in Bilbao were among the beneficiaries of this circumstance⁶².

Although nobody has denied Laureano de Jado Ventades’s place as a major philanthropist, not enough attention has been paid to either his taste in art or his activity as an art collector. He remains a fundamental figure for the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, as he contributed greatly to its growth in 1927 with the donation of his art collection.

It is a great temptation to identify this triptych in the museum in Bilbao with the one kept at the convent of Our Lady of the Angels in Madrid from the late 16th century, but the truth is we have no hard evidence to support this hypothesis beyond what we have seen here, together with the fact that the dispersal of the old collection of paintings from the Madrid convent and the formation of Laureano de Jado’s art collection are consecutive in time.

60 Discussing the *Portrait of Leonor de Mascareñas* in the Counts of Limpías’s collection, Sánchez Cantón says the painting was bought from the convent of the Angels in Madrid after secularization by the antiquarian Rafael García Palencia, and that he sold it to the Vega Inclán Collection. Sánchez Cantón 1918, pp. 104-105.

61 Navarrete 1999, p. 378; Arana 2013, p. 27.

62 On Lázaro Galdiano as collector, see, among others, Álvarez Lopera 1997; Glendinning 1999; López Redondo 2007-2008. Pablo Bosch is known to have acquired Gérard David’s *Rest on the Flight Into Egypt* in the Prado Museum (inv. no. P02643) from a convent in Navarra. There is also some doubt about the Prado’s *Crucifixion* (inv. no. P02663), which Andrés notes as coming from the convent of the Angels, a suggestion Gómez Nebreda rejects precisely because of its origins in the Bosch Collection: Andrés 1994, p. 361; Gómez Nebreda 2002, p. 42. Until further information becomes available to back this hypothesis, it will have to be kept in reserve, although it would not be at all surprising to find that Pablo Bosch had acquired the *Crucifixion* from the convent of the Angels, which would end up in the Prado Museum like the rest of the works from this convent that entered the Museum via the San Fernando Academy.

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