



Figs. 9, 10. Master of James IV of Scotland, Alexander Bening, Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, Simon Bening, and Gerard David, *Saint Catherine Disputing with the Philosophers* (full image and detail), fol. 824v from the Breviary of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, ca. 1515–20. Illumination on parchment, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (28 × 19.5 cm). Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Ms. Lat. 1, 99 [2138])

association with the other painters and illuminators who were completing the then-unfinished book for the diplomat Antonio Siciliano in the 1510s, among them Gerard David and Simon Bening. David's participation was sought for key miniatures as well as for the addition of specific figures, heads, and hands to certain folios.<sup>41</sup> Siciliano, whose coat of arms appears on

folio 81, probably paid for the completion of the book in order to take it back to Venice and, according to Michiel, sell it to Cardinal Grimani.<sup>42</sup> If Siciliano also commissioned the Malvagna Triptych, as well as the Doria Pamphilj Diptych, then he could have been the one, who, knowing David's specific contribution to the Grimani Breviary, asked for his similar participation in the Virgin and Child figures and heads of the female saints in the triptych (see cat. **TK**).

There are two major causes for the fact that the prestige collaboration between Gossart and David has remained undetected until now. Gossart's signature on two of the three works in question—namely, the Malvagna Triptych and the *Adoration of the Kings*—effectively eliminated consideration that another artist participated. However, as indicated by the example of Patinir and Metsys, and even later of Brueghel and Rubens, it was probably the artist who received the commission who signed the completed work. The second reason that this collaboration has been previously ignored is the relative inaccessibility for close technical study of both the Malvagna Triptych (in a regional museum in Palermo, Sicily) and the Doria Pamphilj Diptych (high up on the walls of the private apartments of the Doria family in Rome).<sup>43</sup> Once undertaken, such examinations led to new insights about the *Adoration of the Kings* as well.<sup>44</sup>

One may ask where is the documentary evidence of Gossart's presence in Bruges in collaboration with David. As Peter Stabel recently discussed, the regulations of the Guild of Saint Luke in late medieval Bruges are ambiguous about the hiring of non-guild members from other cities or countries for work.<sup>45</sup> Artists who did not belong to the guild could be active under particular circumstances or with certain strict limitations, particularly in regard to selling on the open market. Considerable leeway was given when the artist was affiliated with the court of the duke or with his entourage of nobles and state officials. Gossart qualified on all these accounts, and for his work on a handful of paintings, he was apparently viewed as exempt from the guild rules. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of the monumental *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, which Gossart produced for the chapel of the Guild of Saint Luke in Sint-Romboutskerk, Mechelen (cat. **TK**). The guild must have made a rather extraordinary exception in Gossart's case in order to commission such a large and complex work, so closely identified with their own local *métier*, from a painter who was not a member of their group.

#### *Gossart at Souburg and Wijk bij Duurstede and the Influence of Conrad Meit*

About the time that Gossart completed these works in Bruges and for locations in Geraardsbergen and Mechelen, Philip of Burgundy solidified his plans to create a humanist court at his