



JAN VAN EYCK
AND PORTUGAL'S

"ILLUSTRIOUS GENERATION"

VOL. I

BARBARA
VON BARGHAHN

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Preface

SEVERAL recent studies of Jan van Eyck's art have concerned his realistic imagery, his religious ideology, his technical facility, working methods, congruence of style with his contemporaries and followers, interpretation of new documents relating to his life, his patrons and their environment. Important questions have been raised in recent exhibition catalogues devoted to the fifteenth-century Mediterranean world, and these issues alone underscore a basic premise that further scholarship remains to be completed in Northern Renaissance art. The purpose of this book has been to analyze Jan van Eyck as a diplomat-painter, particularly with regard to his interaction with the Avis court of Portugal.

Jan van Eyck was a first-generation Northern European artist who attained an international reputation for his meticulous application of the brush and his technical virtuosity in the use of glazes, thin transparent oil layers that resulted in a translucent enamel-like surface of his wood panels (Figs. P.1–P.2). During his lifetime he undeniably was aware of his reputation as an outstanding exponent of the new Flemish style. His persistent use of pseudo-Greek letters as a signature device intimate his persistent desire to equate his artistic dexterity with that of the titan Apelles. Jan van Eyck was appointed *valet de chambre* in Bruges on May 19, 1425 to Philip the Good, and his employment papers mention the Duke of Burgundy was informed by members of his court about Jan's skill when he previously was patronized by the Count of Holland at The Hague. Writing a decade later, the same Duke whose own identification with Alexander the Great is of record, confirmed in a letter of March 13, 1435 that he "could find no other painters equal to his taste or so excellent in art and science"¹ (Fig. P.3–P.4).

¹ W.H. James Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art* (London-New York: John Lane Company, 1912), XXXVI–XXXVII, Document 24.

The year 1425, which witnessed the arrival of Jan van Eyck to the Burgundian court of Philip the Good, also was a watershed year for Italy, where the humanist study of nature and scientific measurement had led to the application of linear perspective in painting. Despite such an innovative treatment of compositional space in Florence, Jan van Eyck and his immediate followers ignored such mathematical precision. Even so, these Northern masters achieved greater fame for their panoramic landscapes that instead blended intuitive perspective with atmospheric or aerial effects.

Michelangelo's frequently cited conversation with the learned noblewoman and poet Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547) in Francisco de Holanda's treatise *Da Pintura Antigua* (1548) provides a quasi-complimentary Italian perception about the nature of Northern painting. Responding to the statement by the Marchioness of Pescara that Flemish art was "more devout" than art in the Italian manner, Michelangelo declared:

Flemish painting ... will generally speaking, Signora, please the devout better than any Painting of Italy, which will never cause him to shed a tear, whereas that of Flanders will cause him to shed many; and that not through the vigour and goodness of the painting but owing to the goodness of the devout person. It will appeal to women, especially to the very old and the very young, and also to monks and nuns and to certain noblemen who have no sense of true harmony. In Flanders they paint with a view to external exactness or such things as may cheer you and of which you cannot speak ill, as for example saints and prophets. They paint stuffs and masonry, the green grass of the fields, the shadow of trees, and rivers and bridges, which they call landscapes, with many figures on this side and many figures on that. And all this, though it pleases some persons, is done without reason or art, without symmetry or proportion, without skilful choice of boldness and finally, without substance or vigour. Nevertheless there are countries where they paint worse than Flanders. And I do not speak so ill of Flemish painting because it is all bad but because it attempts to do so many things well (each one of which would suffice for greatness) that it does none well.²

² Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antigua*, 1548, translation in E. G. Holt, *Literary Sources of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 208–9.

Francisco de Holanda (Lisbon 1517–1584) was the son of Antonis of Holland (*ca.* 1485–1557/58), a Netherlandish manuscript illuminator and portraitist patronized by King Manuel I and his intellectual sister, the Dowager Queen Leonor (Figs. P.5–P.6). Like Jan van Eyck, his career was that of an artist-diplomat, and similarly, he was an adept painter of both miniatures and panels. Francisco de Holanda also was a proficient draughtsman in the representation of topography, as proven by a royal commission he received in late 1537. In that year the twenty-one year old master was sent by King João III “to see Italy and make drawings of the fortresses and other notable and important things there.”³ Traveling overland to Valladolid in order to visit with Empress Isabel, the sister of João III, he continued east to Barcelona, where he met her husband, Charles V, King of Spain (Fig. P.7). In the company of the Holy Roman Emperor, Holanda sailed along the Mediterranean coast to Italy, arriving in Rome by August or early September. Among the dignitaries he met was the Sieneese envoy to Pope Paul III and his “grande patrone,” Lattanzio Tolomei.⁴

The humanist scholar Tolomei provided an introduction to Michelangelo and according to Holanda’s *Diálogos de Roma*, Part II of his magnum opus *Da Pintura Antigua* completed on October 18, 1548, they met three times: with Vittoria Colonna at San Silvestro in Quirinale on two consecutive Sundays, October 13 and 20 of 1538; and on the Sunday of November 10, a gathering not attended by the illustrious patroness of the arts⁵ (Figs. P. 8–P. 9). Holanda saw “nobres desenhos” in pencil by Michelangelo and was pleased to comment he received praise for his own sketches and watercolours, presumably studies of Roman monuments and art belonging to his travel album *As Antigualhas* (Escorial Palace-Monastery), but perhaps drawings of sacred themes.⁶ While Holanda remarks about informal meetings

³ Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antigua*, ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos (Oporto: 2nd ed. 1930), 58–59.

⁴ J.B. Bury, “Francisco de Holanda and His Illustrations of the Creation,” *Portuguese Studies*, I (1985–1986): 15–47, at 17–18. Bury, 15–34, provides a concise and history of Holanda’s life and work, with many citations.

⁵ The fourth dialogue concerned a meeting with Giulio Clovio and Valerio Belli on November 11, 1538. Ronald W. Sousa, “The View of the Artist in Francisco de Holanda’s *Dialogues*: A Clash of Feudal Models,” *Luso-Brazilian Review*, XV, Supplementary Issue (Summer, 1978): 43–58; Robert J. Clements, “The Authenticity of de Holanda’s *Diálogos em Roma*,” *Modern Language Association*, LXI, No. 4 (December, 1946): 1018–1028.

⁶ *Da Pintura Antigua*, 179.

with Michelangelo “in the Papal palace or in the street’ and ‘two or three times en route from the church of St. John Lateran,”⁷ clearly he had the opportunity to frequent the personal apartments of Michelangelo before he left Rome for southern Italy in 1540. That same year Holanda returned to Lisbon, after attempting to meet Titian in Venice.⁸

Lisbon was promoted to be a second Rome during the entire reign of King Joao III (1521–1557) and his queen, Catherine of Austria, Charles V’s youngest sister (Figs. P.10–P.11). The imperial ambitions of a maritime nation underlie Holanda’s “dialogues” in which the Roman High Renaissance is compared with Roman antiquity. These discussions about artistic theory are supplemented by Holanda’s treatise *Do Tirar polo Natural (On Taking Portraits from Life)*, which was concluded on January 3, 1549 and contained ten dialogues that magnified the superiority of Italianate style in portraiture. A Spanish translation of this exceptional text, as well as a translation of Holanda’s *Da Pintura Antigua* were completed on February 28, 1563 by Manuel Dinis (b. Viseu 1540), painter in Castile to Dona Juana of Austria, mother of Prince Sebastião (heir to the Avis throne under the regency of Dowager Queen Catherine of Portugal), and sister of King Philip II of Spain.⁹

Despite Holanda’s elevation of the painterly Italianate style, both the Avis and Hapsburg courts of the Iberian Peninsula preferred realistic Flemish portraiture, as attested by the numerous panels of Anthonis Mor and artists of his circle documented in the royal collections.¹⁰ The reason for such a sustained admiration of Flemish art may be attributed to the impact of fifteenth-century Northern Renaissance art beginning with the diplomatic visits of Jan van Eyck to the Mediterranean.

⁷ *Da Pintura Antigua*, 163, 179, 236.

⁸ Sylvie Deswarte, “Francisco de Hollanda et les études vitruviennes,” *A Introdução da Arte da Renascença na Península Ibérica, Simpósio Internacional* (Coimbra, 1981): 229, 237–38.

⁹ John Bury, “The Use of Candle-Light for Portrait Painting in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, No. 891 (June, 1977): 434–37. The discussion between Holanda and an aristocrat from Oporto, Braz de Pereira Brandão, presents a theoretical and practical analysis of portraiture, and is the earliest treatise on the subject. Dr. Bury kindly sent me his unpublished translation of the text, with notes and critical analysis following the APHA conference at Lisbon in 1992.

¹⁰ Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor. Art and Authority* (Zwolle: Waanders BV, Uitgeverij, 2007); Maria Kusche, *Retratos y Retratores, Alonso Sánchez Coello y sus Competidores Sofonisba Anguissola, Jorge de la Rúa y Rolán Moys* (Vallehermoso-Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2003).

Michelangelo's critique recorded by Francisco Holanda applies aptly to the art of Jan van Eyck whose "perfection of art" and handling of landscape was lauded in 1456 by the Ligurian scholar Bartolommeo Facio (1400–1457), secretary in Naples to King Alfonso V of Aragon. While Facio referred to "Jan of Gaul" in his treatise *De viris illustribus* (*Book of Famous Men*) as a "prince of painters,"¹¹ it was the Florentine Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists* (1550) who inaugurated the popular belief that Jan van Eyck invented painting with oil pigments.¹²

Not all praise lavished on the Flemish master Johannes of Bruges stemmed from Renaissance Italy. Albrecht Dürer — goldsmith of Nuremberg, Hapsburg painter and draughtsman extraordinaire — traveled to the Flemish commercial center of Ghent in 1521¹³ (Figs. P.12–P.13). As recorded in his diary of April 10, the German artist visited the Chapel of Jodocus Vijd in Sint-Janskerk, where he intently studied Jan van Eyck's most famous polyptych, which was opened at Easter. Dürer was impressed by the pictorial power of the altarpiece's brilliantly painted interior and especially the *Deësis* above the celestial landscape of the *Adoration of the Lamb*.

Emperor Charles V in 1550 ordered the cleaning of the *Ghent Altarpiece* by Lancelot Blondeel of Bruges and Jan van Scorel of Utrecht in anticipation of the 1556 meeting of the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece to be presided over by his son Philip II (1527–1598). This imperial order resulted in the discovery of a quatrain inscription which fortuitously gave the date of the painting's dedication, May 6, 1432. The same carved inscription also designated the polyptych was a work of collaboration between Hubert van Eyck, the commission's initial artist, and Jan van Eyck, "his brother, second in art." The Pandora's box of stylistic issues remains an unresolved problem due to the lack of works attributed to the ubiquitous Hubert, whose death occurred prior to September 18, 1426.

By 1426 Jan van Eyck had spent a year in service as the *valet de chambre* of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, having worked as "meyster Jan de

¹¹ Michael Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-century Manuscript of *De viris illustribus*," *Journal of the Warburg & Courauld. Institutes*, 27 (1964): 90–107; Roberto Weiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italians," *Italian Studies* 11 (1956): 1–15.

¹² Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere* (1568; 2nd edition), 2 vols. (Florence: G. Milanesi, 1878–1906), II, 565. Hubert van Eyck's name is absent in the first edition of *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori. Da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* (Florence: 1550).

¹³ Albrecht Dürer, *Diary of his Journey to the Netherlands, 1520–1521*, eds. J.-A. Goris & G. Marlier (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1971).

maelre” for Jan of Bavaria, Count of Holland, at The Hague between October 24, 1422 and September 11, 1424, and perhaps earlier employed by the Count’s brother Willem VI circa 1415–1417. Transferring to Lille by May of 1425, Jan van Eyck between 1426 and 1430 made several diplomatic missions on behalf of his ducal patron: a “distant and secret journey” in 1426; a voyage by sea to the Kingdom of Aragon in 1427; and another crossing in 1428–1429 to the Iberian Peninsula, specifically to the Court of King João I to negotiate a Burgundian-Portuguese marriage, with documented audiences before Juan II of Castile and Sultan Muhammad VIII of Granada and visits to “distant lands.”

Returning to Bruges in October of 1430, Jan van Eyck witnessed the wedding festivities of Philip the Good and Infanta Isabella of Portugal on January 7, 1430, which coincided with the founding of the new chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece on January 12. Jan moved his household from Lille to Bruges soon after the panoply of events and apparently worked for about two years completing the *Ghent Altarpiece* (Fig. P.14). This masterpiece unquestionably presents elements of the Flemish style elucidated by Michelangelo, a “view to external exactness,” and within its multi-figured landscape, the display of “masonry, the green grass of the fields, the shadow of trees, and rivers and bridges.” Innumerable studies in Flemish art over the course of the past few decades have shed light on the complexion of Northern Renaissance style. As a consequence, Michelangelo’s succinct comments to Vittoria Colonna recorded by Francisco de Holanda provide a rather limited view of what essentially is a corpus of art more layered in meaning and scope.

Recent conservation of Jan van Eyck’s works, including the application of spectrographs detecting under drawings, dendrochronological examination of panels, discoveries of documents, and theological investigations, have reversed many initial arguments regarding the artist’s career and work. Each of these remarkable efforts has built upon our knowledge of the Flemish master and his world. This book does not seek to engage in scholarly polemic, but rather, the aim has been to present another dimension of Jan van Eyck as a painter-diplomat. Scrutinizing the vast amount of past and present art historical literature, I initially pondered several obscured facets of his career. Chief among the issues that presented a formidable problem were the replicas of major lost works and the unusual provenance of certain paintings. In the course of my study, even the identification of portraits in key commissions became another avenue of exploration.

I did not begin my work as a monograph on Jan van Eyck, because either luminaries of Flemish art have accomplished such a macrocosmic analysis or scholars at the forefront of the Northern Renaissance field are engaged in recasting the traditional scholarship into a more generally informative mold. Instead, it was for pleasure that I began to work on a series of Eyckian “puzzle” sketches, not realizing that theoretical pieces would coalesce to form a larger and more complete picture. After spending nearly a decade on this avocation, the thesis of this book could be reduced to a relatively straightforward statement: Jan van Eyck was patronized in greater measure by the Portuguese royal family as by the Duchy of Burgundy. Recognizing that some facets of the arguments in this book still need polishing, I have presented the material in *seriatim* — to paraphrase Jan’s personal motto — *Als ich chan* (as the best that I am capable of doing).

As mentioned above, Jan van Eyck in October of 1428 was enlisted as a member of the Burgundian embassy sent to Portugal by Philip the Good to negotiate a marriage with Infanta Isabella, daughter of King João I and Queen Philippa of Lancaster (Fig. P.15). By February of 1429 he dispatched two portraits of the princess to the North. Immediately after sending the small works, the Burgundian ambassadors made a pilgrimage to Galicia’s center of Santiago de Compostela. Thereafter, the diplomats visited Castile, Granada and other lands. Returning to Portugal by early July, the delegation received Philip the Good’s approbation at the Avis summer residence of Sintra. Not until October of 1429, however, did the ambassadors sail for Bruges.

The *Fountain of Life*, known by two replicas which both have a history with the Iberian Peninsula, presents a composition that generally has been dated to circa 1429, about the time of Jan van Eyck’s second documented diplomatic mission to the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. P.16). Scholars have noted the sectional partitioning of the work is reminiscent of the *Ghent Altarpiece* and they also have debated the theological iconography of the subject. However, no one really has addressed the question of what happened to the lost original. Secular portraits in the left portion of the panels have been argued as “generic” figures signifying the “Church” and more specifically as King Juan II of Castile and the Burgundian ambassadors. The individuals are significant because their physiognomies are strikingly similar to the younger warriors in the *Ghent Altarpiece*’s panel of the *Holy Knights* (Fig. P.17).

In 1428–1429, Jan van Eyck was introduced to the six princes of the Avis royal house: Duarte, Pedro, Henrique, João, Fernando and their half-brother, Afonso, then Count of Barcelos. On August 15, 1415 Duarte, Pedro, Henrique

and Afonso won the spurs of their knighthood in an unprecedented expedition to North Africa which involved the Portuguese taking of the Moroccan port of Ceuta. This engagement I believe is acknowledged by the portraits provided in both the *Fountain of Life* and the Ghent panel of the *Holy Knights*.

Insofar as the lost original, I have argued that Jan van Eyck's panel was installed in the Lisbon Castle of St. George and lost in the cataclysmic earthquake of November 1, 1755 (Fig. P.18). This catastrophe destroyed innumerable monuments and treasures, and unfortunately, also historical records. Paramount among the documents were inventories that identified objects displayed in the royal residences and princely estates of the city. Among the few accounts that survived the tidal wave and ensuing fires in Lisbon was the inventory taken of the dowry belonging to Princess Beatrix (1504–January 8, 1538), younger daughter of King Manuel I (r. 1495–1515) and Queen Maria of Aragon, who in 1522 married Charles III, Duke of Savoy (1486–1553). Their son, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (1528–1580), served Emperor Charles V at Pavia (1525) and at Hesdin (1553) before his appointment as Governor of the Netherlands (1555–1559). On August 10, 1557 Emmanuel Philibert led Philip II's troops to victory in Northern France at San Quentin. Subsequently with the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis in 1559, the Savoy lands lost since 1536 were restored to his possession. The dowry inventory of Princess Beatrix identifies a few rare reliquaries, including one that illustrated the themes of a "Calvary" and "Last Judgment."

Jan van Eyck's *Calvary-Last Judgment Diptych* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. P.19) generally has been dated to 1429, and the panels have been suggested to have been purchased in Spain during the nineteenth century. Possibly the diptych was sent by Beatrice of Savoy to her elder sister, Isabel of Portugal. Emperor Charles V's beloved wife died in a convent of Toledo on May 1, 1539. My belief is that the reliquary panels initially either were the wings of the lost *Fountain of Life* altarpiece, dismantled in the making of replicas, or a reliquary diptych painted to contain supplementary portraits of members of King João I's family: Queen Philippa of Lancaster as the Cumaean Sibyl; Infanta Isabella as St. Mary Magdalene; Dom Afonso, son of the Count of Barcelos as the rider with a blue chaperon, who has been proposed as the patron; and the younger Avis Princes João and Fernando.

When Infanta Isabella sailed for Bruges in October of 1429, she was accompanied by her younger brother Fernando. There is good reason to believe, the Portuguese galleons also transported an artist by the name of João Eanes, who likely was dispatched by King Joao I to acquire knowledge

about Northern techniques. Jan van Eyck's *Hunting Festivity of Philip the Good at Hesdin* is a second composition with grouped figures known only by replicas (Fig. P.20). The history of the original masterpiece completed in 1432 is documented. Listed in the 1569 inventory taken of the king's apartments in the Pardo Palace, a hunting lodge near Madrid built by Emperor Charles V in 1547 and decorated under his son Philip II, the work over a mantelpiece of a cabinet room perished in a fire of March 1604. Like the *Fountain of Life*, the composition of which I have related to Palermo's Norman castle of Ziza, the *Hesdin Festivity* in two sixteenth-century replicas presents a vertical arrangement of space. I have analyzed the copies in France, and suggested a hypothetical identification of the secular figures assembled, including the Duke and Duchess and members of their family. I additionally have proposed the original painting presented a self-portrait of Jan van Eyck, his wife Margaret, and brother Hendrick, a master falconer. In 1432 Jan van Eyck was called to Hesdin by Philip the Good to evaluate the frescoes by Colart de Voleur. I have discussed this assignment in light of his past experience at The Hague and purported visit to Italy in 1425, and have related Jan's opinion work to the allegorical meaning of the *Hunting Festivity*.

By May of 1434 when Jan van Eyck completed the famous *Ghent Altarpiece*, he clearly was adept in the representation of group compositions. While I recapitulate scholarly arguments of interpretation, my analysis branches out to provide a new identification of portraits. I believe Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, Infanta of Portugal, was the muse behind the masterwork in Sint-Janskerk because the panels acknowledge the English and Portuguese lineage of her newborn son Josse. The infant who was baptized in the church on May 6, 1432, the day Jan's altarpiece was unveiled, could boast of having Charlemagne as a remote ancestor. More immediate, Josse shared the same bloodline as England's chivalric warriors Edward III and John of Gaunt, as well as Portugal's most renowned rulers of the Reconquest and military orders, King Afonso Henriques and King Denis. Portraits of these historical figures are postulated in the panel of the *Holy Knights*. Above all, the sacred figures on horseback, Sts. Martin, George and Sebastian, are respectively identified as the brothers of the Duchess, the Avis princes who took Ceuta — Duarte, Pedro and Henrique. Behind these heroic figures are two individuals, one bearing a crown and another portrayed with a deep blue chaperon. I have suggested they might be identified as King João I and his illegitimate eldest son Dom Afonso, whose Barcelos herald is distinguished by its deep ultramarine color.

The Ghent polyptych's *Adoration of the Lamb* equally presents biblical prophets, Early Christian apostles, martyrs, hermits and pilgrims, and also ecclesiastical leaders and authors of the Pauline Church. Within the setting of a sacred and ever verdant plateau, the pagan authors carry important meaning with respect to the laurel crowns worn by the Portuguese Princes Duarte-Martin, Pedro-George, and Henrique-Sebastian. These scions of the Avis house were called the "illustrious generation" not only for their exploits in battle, but also because they were educated authors of considerable reputation. They were weaned on classical texts in their youth, and moreover, they were fascinated with Arthurian lore (Fig. P.21–P.22). The cavalcade of the righteous Counts of Flanders and noble Lancastrian-Avis warriors converge in the context of a Pentecostal procession before the Apocalyptic Lamb of God to revive concepts of the Grail quest (Fig. P.23–P.24).

Jan van Eyck is documented to have made a final mission for Philip the Good in 1436, and while the destination remains unknown, the cost of his travels nearly equipoised the amount for the 1428–1429 excursion to the Iberian Peninsula. The chapters that concern this mission can stand on their own as an independent study, but they provide an historical perspective not considered by past scholarship. In April of 1433 King João I held a family council in Santarém to plan an expedition against the Merinides of Morocco, and possibly a collaborative venture with King Juan II of Castile against the Nasrids of Granada. Following João I's death on August 14, Prince Henrique took the lead in championing a crusade to take Tangier but not until March of 1436 did he obtain King Duarte's support. A copious number of galleons were required to secretly transport men of arms. Portugal would have looked to Flanders for assistance. Jan van Eyck in 1429 must have completed topographical studies of Andalusia, as suggested by the vegetation of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. If as conjectured in this text, he visited North Africa, as well as Granada, the coastal sketches of the Mediterranean ports would have vitally useful. Only the inscription of Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Margaret van Eyck* establishes his certain presence in Bruges by 1439.

A perception of Jan van Eyck's brand of topographical sketching appears in his drawing of *St. Barbara with her Tower* (Fig. P.25). Completed in 1437, the work has been discussed in this book with regard to the medieval Templar site of Tomar. Under Prince Henrique, the titular head of Portugal's military Order of Christ, Tomar contained a Chapel of St. Barbara which stood near a Romanesque tower constructed to simulate the Holy Sepulchre. Scholars have looked in vain for the precise locale of Jan van Eyck's *St.*

Barbara. I have argued the background views are actual locations, Lisbon viewed from across the Tagus Estuary and the building activity at Batalha's Abbey's Pantheon of King Duarte. Moreover, St. Barbara is suggested as a portrait of King Duarte's Aragonese queen, Dona Leonor, whom Jan van Eyck had met in 1428.

The same graceful female type appears as St. Catherine in the dexter wing of Jan van Eyck's *Dresden Triptych*, also dated to 1437 (Fig. P.26). The male donor of the opposite wing has never been identified. In a dispatch of March 1438 to the Benedictine Abbot Gomes Eanes of the Florentine Monastery of La Badia, King Duarte discussed the ill-fated September–October 1437 attack on the garrison of Tangier and the Portuguese surrender of Ceuta. The monarch commented that ships chartered in England and Flanders had not materialized due to the conflict between the countries, and equally Castilian ships did not sail because of diverse problems. The 1437 Moroccan expedition resulted in the unfortunate capture of a royal, Prince Ferdinand. The same youth who had participated in the venture to win his knightly spurs in 1429 had accompanied his sister Isabel to Bruges for her marriage to Philip the Good. The *Dresden Triptych* is argued to have been commissioned as a portable altarpiece for Prince Ferdinand, whose patron saint was the Archangel Michael. The hall church depicted in the center panel displaying the Virgin and Child also had been advanced as an actual location, the royal chapel of St. Michael belonging to the Castle St. George of Lisbon. Prince Ferdinand died in captivity in Morocco. Before his death at Fez in 1443 the destitute Prince sold his cache of devotional objects to Genoese merchants.

Another late painting by Jan van Eyck having a provenance in Genoa, is his *Madonna of the Church*, created as the left panel of a diptych (Fig. P.27–P.28). Despite its “Burgundian” stylistic complexion, the advocational image of the nurturing Virgin Mary is particular to Portugal and is identified as the Virgin of Nazareth, whose apparition is recorded in the chivalric history of the nation's Reconquest. I believe the *Madonna of the Church* provides an accurate view of the Romanesque Cathedral of Lisbon before the 1755 earthquake destroyed the choir and sections of the interior, including the roodscreen and important reliquary chapel of St. Vincent of Saragossa. Jan van Eyck's diptych was replicated by Jan Gossaert in 1508. While Jan's donor portrait is lost, Gossaert's panel presents a kneeling patron accompanied by St. Anthony Abbot. Augustinian monks charged with the care of the Lisbon Cathedral, a monument which stood directly opposite the Parish Church of St. Anthony of Padua, venerated the Abbot known as the “father

of monasticism.” Jan van Eyck’s original donor panel likely provided a portrait of the kneeling King Duarte, whose white horse would have alluded to St. Martin, his spiritual alter-ego.

Jan van Eyck created two versions of *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata* circa 1438–40: *The Philadelphia St. Francis* (Fig. P. 29–P.30) measures (12.4 x 14.6 cm), painted on vellum and attached to a panel which dendrochronological examination reveals was of the same wood as the *Bardouin de Lannoy* and *Giovanni Arnolfini* portraits; and the *Turin St. Francis* (29.2 x 33.4 cm). St. Francis in both small works exhibits an *orans* gesture identical to that displayed by the donor of the *Dresden Triptych*, and their physiognomies are similar, sufficient to suggest a familial relationship. The effigies have been compared in this text to the gisant of Prince Henrique in the royal pantheon of Batalha Abbey, which significantly was carved with an *orans* gesture. If Henrique the Navigator identified with the crusading ideals of the *poverello* St. Francis of Assisi, his brother Pedro likely commissioned the lost painting of *St. George spearing the Dragon*, which passed to the collection of King Alfonso of Aragon in Naples. Prior to its destruction by fire, the panel was replicated by Pere Nisart (Fig. P.31). This work is discussed as a probable portrait of Prince Pedro and his Aragonese wife Isabel as the princess rescued by St. George. The realistic depiction of the port of Mallorca, then under Aragonese control, is scrutinized as a probable place Jan van Eyck visited in 1427–1429. Besides Mallorca and Sicily, Jan van Eyck probably visited another island, Madeira. The *Annunciation Triptych* with donor wing panels with Sts. Christopher and John the Baptist has been analyzed as a commission not from Italy, but from the Lomellini merchants of Portuguese Madeira (Fig. P.32).

In my book I felt it compelling to provide an idea of the places Jan van Eyck lived and visited (Figs. P. 33–P.34). While the text informs about the Flemish centers of Bruges, Lille and Hesdin, as well as Portugal’s Lisbon, Sintra, Tomar, Batalha, my initial chapters on Santiago de Compostela and Granada were discarded because they pertained to Jan’s travels and influences from Spain. These sites are the subject of a separate completed study that centers upon significant works by Jan van Eyck not covered in this book, such as his *Arnolfini Portrait*, the *Rolin Madonna*, and the Washington DC *Annunciation*.

Professional photographers and travel photographers have been most generous with their digital images, and they have been credited where requested. Otherwise images are from my archives or from public sources

such as Wikipedia Commons. Acknowledgments to scholars, institutions and individuals are provided in the citations of each chapter. I am grateful to the Embassies in Washington, DC, especially those of Portugal, Belgium and Spain. Additionally, I thank the Instituto de Camões de Portugal for their support.

My initial fascination for Jan van Eyck's diplomatic missions began at the University of Iowa under Charles Cuttler, and accelerated under Charles Sterling and Colin Eisler at New York University, Institute of Fine Arts. However, as in the case of many academic careers, these preliminary general interests were supplemented by more specialized work. For many years at George Washington University I have taught not only Northern European art, but also the art history of Spain, Portugal and their colonial dominions. These courses, which have stressed the ideological and stylistic crosscurrents between European courts, were the testing ground for some of the arguments presented in this book. So then, I have appreciated the constructive comments of my students in class lectures and also use of travel pictures collected by Jacqueline Burns, Claire Dermond, Angela Dawn Kempf, Sam Markowitz, Hayley Mirek, Naveen Philip, Karthik Ramineni and his kind friends in Lille, Melanie Samper, Daniela Wancier, Stephanie Schott and Robert Fraser.

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BARBARA VON BARGHAHN

1

Introduction: Jan Van Eyck *circa* 1425–1427

Historical Prologue: The Hague and Flanders

THE greatest Flemish titan of the International Style, Jan van Eyck (c. 1385–1441) signed the majority of his extant paintings with the Pseudo-Greek words, ALC IXH XAN S ICH CAN (As I Can/To the Best of my Ability).¹ *A Man in a Red Turban* (Figs. 1.1–1.2) is a supposed “self-portrait” *en buste* which bears the artist’s famed motto, in addition to a signature and date: *Joh[ann]es de Eyck me fecit anno 1433 21 Octobris*. Illuminated from the left in three-quarter view, the face of Northern Europe’s most renowned

¹ Robert Walter Scheller, “Als Ich Can,” *Oud Holland* LXXXIII (1968):135–39; Gustav Künstler, “Jan van Eycks Wahlwort ‘Als Ich Can’ und das Flügelaltarchen in Dresden,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXV (1972): 107–27; Dieter Jansen, *Similitudo : Untersuchungen zu den Bildnissen Jan van Eycks* [Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte, 28 (Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1988); idem., “Jan van Eycks Selbstbildnis – der ‘Mann mit dem roten Turban’ und der sogenannte ‘Tymotheos’ der Londoner National Gallery,” *Pantheon* XLVII (1989): 36–48, at 37; Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1990), 12, 148–49; Lorne Campbell et al., “The Methods and Materials of Northern European Painting 1400–1500,” in *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* XVIII (1997): 6–55, at 19, 38; S. Duban, “Authorizing Identity in Fifteenth Century Bruges: the Case of Jan van Eyck’s ‘Man in a Red Turban,’” *Chicago Art Journal* IV, No. 1 (1994): 24–34; Craig Harbison, “Realism and Symbolism in Early Flemish Painting,” *Art Bulletin* LXVI (1984): 588–602, at 601–2; Raffaello Brignetti and Giorgio T. Faggini, *L’Opera completa dei van Eyck* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1968); idem, *The Complete paintings of the Van Eycks*, with an introduction by Robert Hughes (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970); Albert Châtelet and Giorgio T. Faggini, *Tout l’oeuvre peint des frères van Eyck* (Paris: Flammarion, 1969). For a discussion about Jan’s inscriptions, see Maurits Smeyers, “Jan van Eyck, Archaeologist? Reflections on Eyckian Epigraphy,” *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies. Album Amicorum André Van Doorselaer (Acta Archaeologica Lovaiensia, Monographie*

Renaissance master is set off by a finely woven scarlet *chaperon* and fur-lined *houppelande*, apparel which indicates his high courtly status.²

Little personal information is known about the artist who gazes in such a penetrating and astute manner towards the viewer, yet Erwin Panofsky aptly states that Jan van Eyck was the first early Flemish master to sign his works and adopt a motto like the nobility, in which “pride is so inimitably blended with becoming humility.”³ Jan van Eyck is thought to have been born in the vicinity of Maeseyck, where his early training in the Meuse River valley presumably was as a manuscript illuminator.⁴ “*Meyster Jan de maelre*” is first documented at The Hague between October 24, 1422 and September 11, 1424, in service to John of Bavaria, former Prince-Bishop Elect of Liège and

VIII, ed. Daniel Poiron and Nicole Freeman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991): 25–43; Nigel Guy Wilson, “Greek Inscriptions on Renaissance Paintings,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XXXV (1992): 215–52.

² Jan van Eyck’s *Portrait of a Man in a Red Chaperon*, was sold at Christie’s on July 31, 185, lot 79, as “Van Eyck, 1435 [sic] Head of the Artist, in a Red Turban. From the Arundel Collection. A little work of the highest interest.” The work came from the estate of George Alan Brodrick (1806–1848), 5th Viscount Midleton, who resided at Peper-Harrow Park in Surry and who died childless. Jan’s *Man in a Red Turban* was sold to Henry Farrer in 1851 and purchased in the same year. See Lorne Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications and Yale University Press, 1998), 212–17; J.R.J. [Johan Rudolph Justus] van Asperen de Boer, “Technical Aspects of Some Eyckian Portrait Paintings,” *Werk: opstellen voor Hans Locher* (Groningen: 1990): 8–12. A totally different identification of the sitter is proposed by Antoine Moulouguet and Pierre Bouche, *Maître Eckhart peint par Van Eyck* (Paris: Éditions du Regard, 2001).

³ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971 rpt. of 1953 edition, Harvard University), I, 179. See Jozef Duverger, “Jan van Eyck as Court Painter,” *The Connoisseur* CXCIV (March, 1977): 172–79. Regarding Jan van Eyck, oil painting and verisimilitude, see Pim Brinkman, *Het geheim van Van Eyck: aantekeningen bij de uitvinding van het olieverven* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1993); Dieter Jansen, *Similitudo: Untersuchungen zu den Bildnissen Jan van Eycks* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988); Ed. Bontinck, *Traité de peinture à l’huile à l’usage de l’artiste* (Louvain: A. H. Reekmans, 1952).

⁴ A solitary document refers to Jan van Eyck as an illuminator, and it is the March 20, 1524 letter from Pietro Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel. See Fausto Nicolini, *L’Arte Napoletana del Rinascimento e La Lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michel* (Naples: 1925), 162; Elisabeth Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods in de Sint-Baafskathedraal te Gent. Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen VI* (Ghent: Bestendige Deputatie van de Provinciale Raad van Oostvlaanderen, 1965), *Documenten*, 15. The master’s familiarity with the medium is suggested by the some of the miniatures of the *Turin-Milan Hours*, folios given to Hand G which bear hallmarks of his style, and compositions by Hand

Count of Holland (1419–1425).⁵ Prior to this appointment, Jan might have one of several anonymous artists in the courtly circle of Willem IV (1365–May 31, 1417), the Duke of Bavaria, Count of Hainaut, and brother of John of Bavaria. The scope of Jan's early activities remains enigmatic, though he probably worked at Binnenhof Castle in The Hague (Figs. 1.3–1.9), where renovations had been constant since the fourteenth century.⁶ Artists and artisans employed by John of Bavaria would have provided secular murals, paintings on linen, statuary, ceremonial objects, and illustrated manuscripts.

Jan van Eyck has been linked with the greatly debated *Turin-Milan Hours*, a dismantled French manuscript which was completed by illuminators in Holland. Commissioned originally by Jean, Duke of Berry (1340–1416) and brother of King Charles V of France, the *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* was begun about 1389 by a disciple of the Parement Master and the miniatures by the School of Paris have been variously ascribed to Jean d'Orléans, the Limbourg Brothers, and their relations Herman and Willem Maelwael, who were influenced by André Beauneveu.⁷ The prayer book was

H, a close associate. Regarding his heritage, the dialect of annotations in Jan's 1435 drawing of *Cardinal Albergati* in Vienna have been studied. See Alfons Lieven Dierick, "Jan van Eyck's Handwriting," *The National Gallery investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. Susan Foister, Sue Jones and Delphine Cool (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 79–82, at 79; Leo van Puyvelde, "De Taal van Jan van Eyck," *Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal en Litterkunde, Verslagen en Mededelingen* (1955): 213–23; Albert Ampe and J. Goosens, "Taal en herkomst van Jan van Eyck," *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* (1970): 81–91.

⁵ W.H. James Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art* (London-New York: John Lane Company, 1912), xxxi. Document 1 records the payments to Jan van Eyck at the "Palace of The Hague," October 24, 1422 to September 11, 1424. He was paid 8 *lions* a day, and his apprentices earned 2 *lions* a day. The fact that he had apprentices would appear to indicate a master's status. Weale's information is from the Royal Archives of The Hague. For the entire text of documents pertaining to Jan van Eyck, consult W.H. James Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck. Their Life and Work* (London-New York: John Lane Company, 1908, XXXVII–XLVII. See also H. van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Max J. Friedländer, *The van Eycks – Petrus Christus*, I, from *Early Netherlandish Painting [Die Altniederländische Malerei, 1224–1937]*, 14 vols., (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, I–XI–Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, XII–XIV), with comments and notes by Nicole Veronee-Verhagen, translated by Heinz Norden (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1967).

⁶ Jacques Gelaude, *Binnenhof* (Deurle-Leie: Colibrant, 1965). Hendrik Enno van Gelder, *Het Haagsche binnenhof, een nationaal monument* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1943); Leo Tasseron, *Twaalf eeuwen Binnenhof* ('s-Gravenhage: A. A. M. Stols, 1956).

⁷ Milliard Meiss, "Preface," in Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993 rpt. of 1st ed. 1969),

still unfinished in 1413 when it was recorded in an inventory compiled by Robinet d'Étampes. Thereafter, the manuscript was separated into two parts. The finished portion, which Robinet retained is in Paris, divided between the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre; and the rest passed to John of Bavaria after the death of Jean de Berry (June 15, 1416).⁸ In the modern era his portion was divided as well. One section went to Turin, where in 1902 it was catalogued and photographed before its destruction by fire two years later. The other, formerly in Milan, passed to Turin in 1935 and survives.

Among the more revolutionary miniatures of the *Turin-Milan Hours* which were completed in the Low Countries, those attributed to "Hand G" have been singled out as subjects designed by Jan van Eyck, but their

8–19. See Eberhard König, *Les Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame des Herzogs von Berry* [Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3093, reproduced in facsimile with commentary] (Lucerne: 1992); and the Louvre (RF 2022–2024). Also consult: Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berry. Sa vie. Son action politique (1340–1416)*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1966–68); Pierre Duhamel, *Jean de Berry: le frère du roi*, with a preface by Jean-Yves Ribault (Paris: Royer, 1996); Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Les Princes des fleurs de lis. La France et les arts en 1400* (Paris: Éditions RMN, 2004); Frédéric Pleybert (ed.), *Paris et Charles V: Arts et architecture*, with the collaboration of Arnaud Alexandre et al. (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2001); Inès Villela-Petit, *Le gothique international. L'art en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Coédition Hazan-Musée du Louvre, 2004); Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry. l'art et le pouvoir* (Paris: 2000); 195–211; idem., *Charles V: le Sage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); idem., *Charles VI: la folie du roi* (Paris: Fayard, 1986); François Avril, *L'enluminure à la cour de France au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: 1978); idem., *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century, 1310–1380*, translated by Ursule Molinaro and Bruce Benderson (New York: George Braziller, 1978); idem., *L'enluminure à l'époque gothique: 1200–1420* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'image, 1995); Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987 and 1990). Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, *Les Très Belles Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (Brussels: Oeuvre Nationale pour la Reproduction de Manuscrits à Miniatures de Belgique, 1924).

⁸ John of Bavaria's portion was later divided. One section was destroyed in a fire of 1904 at the Royal Library of Turin, though some reproductions were published by Paul Durrieu, *Heures de Turin; quarante-cinq feuillets à peintures provenant des Très belles heures de Jean de France* (Paris: Typ. P. Renouard, 1902), reissued by Albert Châtelet with commentary, *Heures de Turin. Quarante-cinq feuillets à peintures provenant des Très belles heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus; Off. graf. ing. G. Molfese, 1967). The remainder survives as the *Heures de Milan* in the Museo Civico, Turin. Consult: Albert Châtelet, "Les enluminures eyckiennes des manuscrits de Turin et de Milan-Turin," *Révue des Arts* VII (July-August, 1957): 155–64; idem., *Jan van Eyck Enlumineur. Les Heures de Turin et de Milan-Turin* (Strasbourg: 1993); Georges Hulin de Loo, *Heures de Milan; troisième partie des Très-belles heures de Notre-Dame, enluminées par les peintres de Jean de France, duc*

dates have ranged broadly from 1420–25 to as late as 1440.⁹ *The Voyage of St. Julian* (f. 55v), known only by a black and white photograph taken in Turin before 1904, appears to reflect personal experience as a traveler along

de Berry et par ceux du duc Guillaume de Bavière, comte du Hainaut et de Hollande; vingt-huit feuillets historiés reproduits d'après les originaux de la Biblioteca Trivulziana à Milan, avec une introduction historique (Brussels: G. van Oest & cie, 1911; Maurits Smeyers, Bert Cardon, S. Vertongen, Katherina Smeyers and Rita van Dooren (eds.), *Naer natueren ghelike: Vlaamse miniaturen vóór Van Eyck (ca. 1350–ca. 1420). Catalogus* (Louvain: Cultureel Centrum Romaanse Poort-Peeters, 1993); Anne van Buren-Hagopian, James H. Marrow and Silvana Pettenati, *Heures de Turin-Milan, Inv. No. 47, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Torino, Kommentar-Commentary-Commentaire* (Lucerne: Facsimile Verlag, 1996); James H. Marrow, "History, Historiography, and Pictorial Invention in the Turin-Milan Hours," *In Detail. New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honor of Walter S. Gibson*, ed. Laurinda S. Dixon (Brussels: Brepols Publishers, 1998), 1–14; idem., "Une page inconnue des Heures de Turin," *Revue de l'Art* CXXXV (2003): 67–78; Maurits Smeyers, "A Mid-Fifteenth Century Book of Hours from Bruges in The Walters Art Gallery (Ms. 721) and its Relation to the Turin-Milan Hours," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* XLVI (1988): 55–75; idem., "Answering Some Questions about the Turin-Milan Hours," *Les dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Colloque VII, 17–19 Septembre, 1987*, ed. Roger van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 1989): 55–70; James Snyder, "The Chronology of Jan van Eyck's Paintings," *Album Amicorum*, eds. Jan Gerrit van Gelder, Joshua Bruyn, Jan Ameling Emmens, Eddy de Jongh, D.P. Snoep (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973): 293–97; L.M.J. Delaissé, "The Miniatures Added in the Low Countries to the Turin-Milan Hours and their Political Significance," *Kunsthistorisches Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg: Residenz Verl, 1972): 135–49; Rosy Schilling, "Das Llangattock-Studenbuch — Sein Verhältnis zu van Eyck und dem Vollender des Turin-Mailänder Studienbuches," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* XXIII (1961): 211–36; Eberhard König, Gabriele Bartz, Angelo Giaccaria and François Huot, O.S.B., *Les Feuilletts du Louvre et les Heures de Turin disparues* (Lucerne: 1994).

⁹ I have tended to take the earlier dates of 1420–24 preferred by Charles Sterling when he lectured at New York University, Institute of Fine Arts. Based upon a study of the costumes, the Count has been identified as John of Bavaria. The Hand G *Baptism* as a *bas-de-page* to *The Birth of St. John the Baptist* includes a procession of contemporary figures from the court of John of Bavaria, whose patron saint is highlighted. Because of a similar interest in water reflections, the *Voyage of St. Julian* also seems to fall within this group of "Holland" miniatures. The *Turin-Milan Hours* was acquired by the Duke of Burgundy in 1433 when he obtained Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland. Those later miniatures of the manuscript by Hand H, variously dated by scholars, must have been created by a talented artist affiliated with Jan's workshop between 1430 and 1440, perhaps his brother Lambert van Eyck. See Anne van Buren-Hagopian, "Jan van Eyck in the Hours of Turin and Milan, Approached through the Fashions in Dress," *Masters and Miniatures, Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illuminations in the Northern Netherlands, Utrecht, 10–13 December, 1989*, ed. Koert van der Horst and Johann Christian Klamt (Doornspijk-Netherlands: Davaco, 1991): 221–43.

the waterways of Holland (Fig. 1.11). The legend of Julian the Hospitaller (fd. February 12) was recounted by Vincent de Beauvais in the thirteenth century and his *vita* also appears in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. A former hunter and nobleman who was knighted by a foreign king, he slew his parents in error. The *bas-de-page* by Hand G depicts Julian hunting deer with his greyhounds. The historiated initial shows Julian in a bedroom killing his father whom he mistook for a lover of his innocent wife. The main narrative subject of the folio presents the saint's penance. In expiation for his sin, Julian and his wife not only built a hospice for the poor, but they also left their castle to ford pilgrims across a river. Like St. Christopher, Julian was popularly venerated in the Netherlands as a patron of travelers and spiritual guide for ferrymen and itinerant musicians. The painted world of *The Voyage of St. Julian* is one of remarkable verisimilitude. Reflections of light on the waves of the river provide an unprecedented sense of movement. The windswept waters create the illusion of a broad vista having with no boundaries. Hardly any foreground space is visible, and this augments the feeling of instability as the viewer can almost experience the vulnerability of the travelers crossing choppy waters. The lines of the boat's white sail lead the eye to a distant shore where a castle looms as the "safe harbor."

The same allusion to the security of a "just" realm and the benefits accruing from peace are insinuated in still another miniature (Fig. 1.12) ascribed to the hand of Master G, the *Prayer on the Shore* (f. 59v). Mounted on a white horse by the water's edge and experiencing a vision, the lead equestrian amidst a courtly retinue presumably is a Count of Holland. As suggested by the arms displayed by the standard-bearer, the rider could be John of Bavaria. Based upon dendrochronological examination, a Berlin portrait of a *Man with a Pink* (Fig. 1.13) has been dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the panel is believed to be an enlarged copy of a painting executed by Jan during his Hague period.¹⁰ Depicted in a deep rose robe beneath a grey houppelande edged at the collar and cuffs with brown marten, the sitter has a matching broad brimmed hat similar to that

¹⁰ Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*, 69; Peter Klein, "Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Bildtafeln des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Les dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Collège Érasme, VI, 12–14 *Septembre 1985*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq and Roger van Schoute (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1987): 29–40, at 31–32; Herbert Lepper, "Kunsttransfer aus der Rheinprovinz in die Reichshauptstadt," *Aachener Kunstblätter* LVI–LVII (1988–1989): 183–342, at 233, 238–39, 247, 269.

of the equestrian Count in the *Prayer on the Shore*. He also wears a silver chain with a pendant of a T-cross with a bell, the insignia of the Order of St. Anthony Abbot. Instituted in 1382 by Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut, the Antonine Order was recast as a religious brotherhood by John of Bavaria. The Berlin sitter holds three carnations in his right hand. Though the Late Gothic “pink” was a traditional emblem of love, the number of blossoms might allude to a personal devotion to the Holy Trinity. Because the Berlin sitter has been recognized in two paintings of the Epiphany in Cologne, an identification of the Berlin “Man holding Carnations” with John of Bavaria is plausible.¹¹ During the period Jan was in The Hague, the Order of St. Anthony was not confined to aristocrats, but only a person of high status would have had the means to commission the works in Cologne.

Despite the revolutionary approach to realistic effects of light, space and movement taken by “Master G” of the *Turin-Milan Hours*, without further documentation, the nature of Jan Van Eyck’s work at The Hague remains enigmatic, though probably it was in the service of John of Bavaria that he acquired some knowledge in the fine art of *drap peint*, or painting on linen. Such decorative hangings were owned by the Counts of Hainaut, and Van Eyck is suggested to have painted on cloth, notably a lost altar frontal to the *Ghent Altarpiece* that depicted “Hell” in watercolor.¹² Following the death in 1417 of his brother Count Willem VI, John of Bavaria had wrested the county of Holland from Willem’s rightful heir, his niece Jacqueline of Hainaut (1401–October 9, 1436). *The Hunting and Fishing Party*, an early sixteenth-century colored drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 1.14), captures the grounds of Binnenhof Castle during the period of Van Eyck’s employment. It is an engaging miniature showing courtiers and ladies enjoying a life of *otium*. The drawing might replicate a mural or linen painting of the residence which was commissioned by John of Bavaria soon after he left the Bishopric

¹¹ Giorgio T. Faggini, *L’Opera completa dei van Eyck, Presentazione di Raffaello Brignetti. Apparati critici e filologici* (Milano, Rizzoli, 1968); Till-Holger Borchert (ed.) et al., *The Age of Van Eyck. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting. 1430–1530*, translated by Ted Alkins, Caroline Beamish, Alayne Pullen, Julie Martin (London-New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002), Catalogue No. 35, 238. First published as *Jan van Eyck, de Vlaamse Primitieven en bet Zuiden, 1430–1530* (Ghent-Amsterdam: Ludion, exhibition catalogue, Groeningemuseum, Bruges-Stedelijke Musea, Bruges, 2002).

¹² Diane Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400–1530* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 9–11.

of Liège for Holland in 1417. Anne Hagopian van Buren has called the Louvre watercolour the first extant Dutch group portrait.¹³

Two groups of figures dominate the Louvre composition, which appears to have been left incomplete as indicated by the fact that portions of the drawing remain in grisaille. Among the nine men standing on the right side of a brook, the most prominent figure wears a black and gold silk *chaperon*. The brooch attached to one of the flaps, as well as a heavy gold necklace, suggest a nobleman of considerable wealth and power. Willem VI would have belonged to the Order of St. Antoine but he additionally was a knight of England's Order of the Garter. Equally indicative of his Willem's high status is his scarlet woolen *houppelande*, which is embroidered with gold and white flowers and trimmed in brown marten fur, and his white linen surcoat with long scalloped sleeves. The surrounding men are finely attired too, wearing fur-lined *houppelandes*, shorter *haincelains*, and fanciful headdresses. John of Bavaria traditionally has been identified as the gentleman with a fur hat whose advance into the foreground space casts shadows unto the lighter ground. Peregrine falcons held by four of the men, as well as the small greyhounds, suggest they are resting from hunting fowl.

Directly opposite Willem VI and represented in three-quarter view is Margaret of Bavaria (1374–1441), dowager countess of Willem VI. Behind her is a female with a *bourrelet* and white veil. The only woman shown frontally in the composition, she probably is Elisabeth of Görlitz, wife of John of Bavaria and granddaughter of Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia (†

¹³ Prior to the research of Anne van Buren-Hagopian, most scholars identified the Count in the Louvre watercolour as William VI. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419–1467)*, Ph.D. Dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1979), 271, reproduces the sixteenth-century inscription and its listing in the "1619 Imperial Inventory." See Otto Kürz, "A Fishing Party at the Court of William IV, Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut – Notes on a Painting in the Louvre," *Oud Holland* 71, Nos. 1–4 (1956): 117–31; Gustav Glück, "Rubens Liebesgarten," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 35 (1920–21): 49–98 at 49–54; Stephen N. Fliegel and Sophie Jugie (eds.) *L'art à la cour de Bourgogne, Le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur (1360–1420)*, with the collaboration of Virginie Barthélémy, Agnieszka Laguna-Chevillotte, Marie-Laure Grunewald, Catherine Tran et al. (Dijon-Cleveland: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon-Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004–2005), Catalogue 27, "La Partie de pêche," by Sophie Jugie, 88. On a band above are letters in gold: VETERVM BVRGVNDIAE DVCVM CONJVGVMQVE FILIORVM FILARVMQUE HABITVS AC VESTITVS. The picture which measures 22.9 x 37.5 cm is first documented in the 1619 inventory of Mathias of Austria, and recorded in 1784 in the Imperial Gallery of Paintings, Vienna.

1378), Duke of Luxembourg. The daughter of John, Duke of Görlitz and Governor of Luxembourg († 1396), died in 1451 *sine prole* (without issue), and encumbered by debts, she ceded the strategically important territory of Luxembourg to Philip the Good in 1441. Her portrait establishes a parameter for dating the *Hunting and Fishing Party* to circa 1440. Elizabeth's niece, Jacqueline of Bavaria, extends a fishing pole over the stream. Set within the undulating hills and forests of Binnenhof Castle, the Louvre *Fishing Party* seems to have its *fons et origo* in Medieval Romances describing the "fishing for love."¹⁴ This amorous subject in turn could derive from an opulent banquet on the Nile River described by Lucan in his *De Bello Civili* (X, 155–71: dated 62–63 A.D). Plutarch (45–120 A.D) in his *Parallel Lives* mentions the same feast in which the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra ordered a diver to attach a huge salted fish to Anthony's line. He comments in his introduction that the "most glorious lives" did not furnish the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men, and that often less momentous acts, an "expression or a jest" were more informative about character. The *Fishing Party* is a Flemish Plutarchian allegory paralleling Jacqueline of Bavaria with Egypt's renowned queen. Just as Cleopatra had three husbands (Ptolemy, Julius Caesar and Marc Anthony), Jacqueline of Hainaut similarly achieved notoriety for her multiple marriages.¹⁵ Her husbands have been identified

¹⁴ If the Louvre drawing is based upon a lost Eyckian prototype, it is impossible to know if the model illustrated an ancient theme or a popular variation of the "Romance of the Rose," such as courtly ladies fishing on the "Island of Love." Such a subject appears in King René of Anjou's (1409–1480) *Le Coeur d'Amor Épris* (Vienna, Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex Vindobonensis 2597, 1460–65), f. 55. Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Daniel Poirion, Franz Unterkircher, *Le coeur d'amour épris* [facsimile edition of the miniatures in the *Codex Vindobonensis* 2597 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Vienna], (Paris: Philippe Lebaud Editeur, 1981); Otto Pächt, "René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck," *Cahier de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises* VIII (1956): 41–51; Pierre Carré, "Le Roi René prisonnier du Duc de Bourgogne à Dijon et son oeuvre de peintre," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* II (1964): 67–74. A woodcut of the *Grand Jardin d'Amour* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett) does in fact show the entourage of Jacqueline of Bavaria and Frank van Borselen in such a chivalric setting. Henry P. Rossiter, "The Little Garden of Love," *Bulletin – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* LXIII (1965): 196–202; Guillaume de Lorris [fl. 1230] and Jean de Meun [† 1305], *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1974); Daniel Poirion, *Le Roman de la Rose* (Paris: Hatier, 1973).

¹⁵ Franz von Löher, *Jacobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit*, 2 vols. (Nördlingen: Beck, 1862 and 1869); *idem.*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jacobäa von Bayern*, 2 vols. Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften X (1867): 1–111 and 207–336; E. Le Blant, *Les Quatre Mariages de Jacqueline Duchesse en Bavière*

among the four men on the opposite shore, the last spouse being Frank van Borselen, who she secretly wed in the summer of 1432, the year he was elevated as the Count of Ostrevant. Frank is recognizable as the prominent figure with a black *chaperon* who stands to the left of John of Bavaria.

Jacoba, daughter of Willem VI and Margaret of Bavaria, was first married in 1402 when she was only three, and her husband, Jean de Touraine was eight. Based upon a drawing in the *Recueil d'Arras*, Jean de Touraine can be identified as the figure standing behind Willem VI in the Louvre drawing. Jean and Jacqueline of Bavaria lived at the Château du Quesnoy under the protection of Willem VI. When Jean's brother, the Duc de Guyenne died on December 14, 1415, he became dauphin. Jean departed for Compiègne on December 26, 1416 but died from a sudden illness on April 5, 1417. Jacqueline then was betrothed in 1417 to Jean IV, Duke of Brabant (1403–1427), and did not wed her cousin until April 4 of 1418 (Easter) at the Hague, after the death of Willem VI.

In the Louvre drawing, a nobleman kneels by the stream beneath Jacqueline and extends a fishing pole. Garbed in a white notched *chaperon* and a scarlet, fur-lined *heuppe*, his tunic opens on both sides to reveal his large green sleeves and scalloped linen surcoat. This finely dressed individual is no mere fisherman, but likely Jacqueline's betrothed, the Duke of Brabant. Though he was nephew of the astute John the Fearless (1371–1419), Jean IV lacked the same acumen as the Duke of Burgundy for governing vast estates.¹⁶ With the Treaty of Maartensdijk signed in April of 1420 at Tholen, he actually cost Jacqueline her inheritance when he consigned the governing of Holland and Zeeland to John of Bavaria. Furious with this empowerment to her uncle, Jacqueline sought the assistance of King Henry V and fled on April 11, 1420 with her mother to London from her husband's court at

(Paris: 1904); Johannes Godefridus Frederiks, "Het geheim huwelijk van Gravin Jacoba," *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedinis en oudheidkunde* 3, VIII (1894): 47–70; Anselme Decourtray and Léopold Devillers, *Particularités curieuses sur Jacqueline de Bavière, comtesse de Hainaut*, 2 vols. (Mons: E. Hoyois, Société des Bibliophiles Belges, 1838 and 1879); Frans de Potter, *Geschiedinis van Jacoba van Beieren, XXXI, 8 série (Mémoires de l'Académie Royal de Belgique: Brussels: 1881).*

¹⁶ André Uyttendaele, "Les origines du conseil de Brabant: la chambre du conseil du duc Jean IV," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* XXXVI (1958): 1135–72; Edmund de Dynter, *Chronique des ducs de Brabant*, ed. P. de Ram, 3 vols. (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, Hayez, 1854–57).

Brussels.¹⁷ In 1422 she married Duke Humphrey (Hunfried) of Gloucester, one of the several sons of King Henry IV. They divorced in 1426. Humphrey might be identified in the Louvre drawing as the falcon-bearer who stands between Willem VI and John of Bavaria. A second man beside Willem VI holds a *créance* or *flière*, a rod with a long cord used to retrieve falcons. Outfitted in a scarlet *chaperon* and yellow *hancelain*, he may be Albert of Bavaria, whose notorious affair with Agnes Bernauer († 1435), a woman of low birth, is documented. Based upon their attire, two additional men have been tentatively identified in the Louvre drawing as political opponents of Willem VI. Outfitted in black with a solitary golden pin, Jan van Arkel's rounded yellow hat with a black band is head gear that signifies the rebellious Cabelijou faction. Wilhelm van Arkel, Jan's heir, likely stands beside him garbed in scarlet. Loved by Jacoba, Wilhelm van Arkel was killed at the Battle of Gorichem on December 1, 1417 (Figs. 1.15–1.16).

The 1420 inventory of Jean the Fearless's collection of tapestries records eleven panels that illustrated the Duke and Duchess Margaret of Bavaria participating in a plover hunt.¹⁸ This set which included equestrian figures seems to accord with a pictorial tradition in palatine decoration — the painting of frescoes that combined family history in the form of grouped portraits with secular activities which highlighted the status of the sitters. The Louvre watercolor often is cited with regard to the early work of Jan van Eyck at the Binnenhof Palace in The Hague. However, the work is unusual because it is partly in grisaille. Conceivably the artist elected to portray the group of eight women in night light as the moon was associated by the late Gothic aristocracy with the vicissitudes of fortune, even “lunacy,” of courtship. A bipartite representation of a landscape lighted by the moon and sun to denote sexual differences—the dreamy approach of woman versus the pragmatism of men — would be quite novel, though Barthélemy d'Éyck's *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amours Épris*, ca. 1457–1475 contains a folio which illustrates women fishing at night on an “island of love.” By contrast with this subject, the Louvre watercolour seems to be less a nocturnal theme as an uncompleted scene of courtly figures flanking a brook in daylight.

¹⁷ Georges Gysels, “Le départ de Jacqueline de Bavière de la cour de Brabant, 11 Avril 1420,” *Miscellanea Historica in Honorem L. van der Essen* (Brussels: 1947).

¹⁸ Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*, 47, refers to the 1420 inventory and listing of nine large panels and two smaller ones of the bird hunt.

Why would a sixteenth-century master complete half his composition in grisaille? Was he confronted with a mural that was left unfinished? Was the original by the hand of an artist so highly regarded by the court of Burgundy that no follower was asked to color in the under drawing? Was the panel based upon a fresco in the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels which Philip the Good acquired in 1430? (Figs. 1.17–1.21). The portraits in the Louvre drawing combine to date the composition circa 1440, that is, just after the installation of the new ducal logis at the residence, a project which has been dated to the years 1431–1436. Philip the Good's restoration of the Brabantine Coudenberg Palace culminated in the decade-long building of a huge Great Hall which commenced about 1451 and was completed in 1463.¹⁹ A fire on February 3, 1731 destroyed most of the Baroque Imperial

¹⁹ Alphonse Wauters and Alexandre Henne, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Perichon, 1845; and augmented edition, 1968–69, 4 vols. Edited by Mina Martens, Brussels, Éditions "Culture et civilisation"); Edgard Goedleven, *La Grand-Place de Bruxelles: au coeur de cinq siècles d'histoire* (Bruxelles: Editions Racine, 1993); Dom Joseph Kreps, "Bruxelles, Residence de Philippe le Bon," *Bruxelles au XV^e Siècle* (Brussels: exhibition catalogue, 1953): 155–63; Antoine Guillaume Bernard Schayes, "Analectes. XVI. Incendie du palais ducal et des gouverneurs-généraux, à Bruxelles, en 1731," *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* IX (1852): 87–92; *idem.*, "Analectes. XXXI. Documents inédits sur les travaux exécutés au château des ducs de Brabant et à son parc, à Bruxelles pendant les XV^e et XVI^e siècles," *Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* XI (1854): 315–38; *idem.*, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique: depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'époque actuelle*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: 1853, 2nd ed); Placide Fernand Lefèvre, *L'Organisation Ecclésiastique de la Ville de Bruxelles* (Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1942); Paul Saintenoy, *Les Artes et les Artistes à la Cour de Bruxelles*, II (Brussels: 1934); Louis-Prospér Gachard, *Inventaire des archives des chambres des comptes*, 5 vols. (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1837–1979); and reprint edition, *Inventaire des archives des chambres des comptes: précédé d'une notice historique sur ces anciennes institutions*, 7 vols. (Bruxelles: Archives générales du Royaume, 1996); Krista de Jonge, "Het paleis op de Coudenberg te Brussel in de vijftiende eeuw. De verdwenen hertolijke residenties in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in een nieuw licht geplaatst," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* LX (1991): (A), 5–38; *idem.*, "De Europese context," in Arlette Smolar-Meynart et al., *Het Paleis van Brussel. Acht eeuwen kunst en geschiedenis* (Brussels: 1991): (B), 161–72; Krista De Jonge, "Estuves et baingneries dans les résidences flamandes des ducs de Bourgogne," *Bulletin Monumental* CLIX, 1 (2001): 63–76, at 70–73 (Coudenberg Palace); Jozef Duverger, *De Brusselsche Steenbickeleren, Beeldhouwers, Brouwmeesters, Metselaars, enz. du XIV^e en XV^e eeuw* (Ghent: 1933); *idem.*, *Brussels als Kunstcentrum in de XV^e en de XVI^e eeuw* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1935); P.-P. Bonenfant, "Les restes tangibles de l'Aula Magna de Philippe le Bon," in Arlette Smolar-Maynard and André Vanrie, *Le Quartier Royal, Bruxelles* (1998): 96–113; Werner Paravicini, "Die Residenzen der Herzöge von Burgund, 1363–1477," Werner Paravicini and Hans Pätze, eds. *Fürstliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*

Palace, including Philip the Good's Renaissance logis. This sector of the residence would have been used for courtly audience prior to the building of the Great Hall and likely it would have been decorated with art that affirmed the duke's right to rule. The detailed study of the "Fishing Party" alludes to the integration of Jacqueline of Bavaria's heritage within Philip the Good's Burgundian dominions. If the Louvre work is regarded as a vestige of a lost set of frescoes by Jan van Eyck, the picture should not be associated with the beginning of his documented career in Holland. Rather the watercolor hints at the final creative activity of a diplomat-artist who served the Duke of Burgundy until his death in 1441.

John the Fearless, who held the dual titles of Count of Flanders and Duke of Burgundy, was assassinated in September of 1419 at Montereau by Armagnac henchmen of the French Dauphin Charles VII.²⁰ Subsequently, Philip the Good (1396–1467), Count of Charolais, became the third Duke of Burgundy and twenty-sixth Count of Flanders (Fig. 1.22).²¹ Soon after his father's death, Philip had attempted in Ghent to reconcile Jacqueline and

(Vorträge und Forschungen des Konstanzer Arbeitskreises für mittelalterliche Geschichte, XXXVI) (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991): 207–63.

²⁰ Albert Mirot, "Charles VII et ses conseillers assassins présumés de Jean sans Peur," *Annales de Bourgogne* XIV (1942): 197–210; Jacques, Comte d'Avout, *La querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons. Histoire d'une crise d'autorité* (Paris: Gallimard, 1943); Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: la maudite guerre* (Paris: Libr. Académique Perrin, 1988); idem., *L'Etat bourguignon, 1363–1477* (Paris: Perrin, 1999); Jean Favier, Colette Beaune, et. al., *XIV^e et XV^e siècles: crises et genèses* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996); Thomas Basin (1412–1491), *Histoire de Charles VII*, edited and translated by Charles Samaran, 2 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres", 1933 and 1944); Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France*, 3 vols. edited by Vallet de Viriville (Paris: P. Jannet, 1858); G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 6 vols. (Paris: 1881–91); Johan Huizinga, "La Physionomie Morale de Philippe le Bon," *Annales de Bourgogne* IV (1932): 101–29, reprinted in *Verzamelde Werken* II (Haarlem: 1948): 216–37; idem., "L'État bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France et les origins d'une nationalité néerlandaise," *Le Moyen Âge* XL (1930): 171–93 and XLI (1931): 92–93; Yvon Lacaze, "Le rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XV^e siècle. La Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* CXXIX (1971): 303–85.

²¹ M. de Barante (Amable-Guillaume-Prospér Brugière, Baron de Barante: 1782–1866), *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois, 1364–1477*, ed. Louis Prosper Gachard, 12 vols. (Paris-Brussels: Dufey, 1837–38); Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre*, 6 vols. (Brussels: 1857–50); Walter Prevenier and Willem Pieter Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, translated by P. Kin and Y. Mead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, translated from German by Malcolm Letts (London-New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929); idem., *Am Hofe der*

her uncle. However, the terms of the Duke's peace settlement greatly favored John of Bavaria, and they summarily were rejected by Jacqueline. By 1422, the year she obtained a divorce from Jean IV of Brabant, Philip the Good had solidified an English alliance to fight the Dauphinist legions of Charles VII.²² The succession to Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland still was disputed, however, and the Low Countries remained in a state of civil unrest. In 1423 by sanction of the anti-pope Benedict XIII at Peñíscola, Jacqueline wed Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1391–1447). During the spring of that same year, he claimed the triple title of Count to the counties of Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland. Humphrey and Jacqueline raised an army, crossed

Herzöge von Burgund (Basel: 1926); Louis Cloquet, *Les Maisons anciennes de Belgique* (Ghent, Impr. V. van Doosselaere, 1907); Dom Urbain Plancher [1667–1750], *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne* [Dijon: A. de Fay-L. N. Frantin, 1739–1781] with an introduction by Jean Richard, 4 vols., reprinted (Farnborough, Hants: 1968) and (Paris: Éditions du Palais Royal, 1974); J.L. Bazin, "La Bourgogne de la mort du duc Philippe le Hardi au traité de Arras, 1404–1435," *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire, d'Archéologie et de Littérature de Beaune* (1897): 51–269; Ernst von Basserman-Jourdan, *Die Standuhr Philipps des Guten von Burgund* (Leipzig: 1927); Paul Bonenfant, *Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1943 and 1955, 1958); idem., "L'Origine des surnoms de Philippe le Bon," *Annales de Bourgogne* XVI (1944): 100–103; Remmet van Luttervelt, "Les Portraits de Philippe le Bon," *Les Arts Plastiques* V (1951): 182–96; Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique, II. Du Commencement du XV^e siècle à la mort de Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1900; rpt. 4th ed. 1947); Lucien Febvre, "Les ducs Valois de Bourgogne et les idées politiques de leur temps," *Revue Bourguignonne* XXIII (1913): 27–50; Claude Courtépée [1721–1781] and Edme Béguillet, *Description Générale et Particulière du Duché de Bourgogne*, 7 vols. (Paris: 1775–85), reprinted in 4 vols, 3rd ed. with preface, notes and corrections by M. Pierre Gras and Jean Richard (Paris: Horvath-Avalon, FERN, 1967–68); Jacques Duclercq (Seigneur de Beauvoir en Ternois, b. 1420), *Mémoires sur le Règne de Philippe le Bon*, ed. Baron de Reiffenberg (Frédéric-Auguste Ferdinand Thomas), 4 vols. (Brussels: 1823; 2nd ed. J.M. Lacrosse, 1835–36); idem., *Mémoires sur le Règne de Philippe le Bon (1448–1467)*, ed. Jean Alexandre C. Buchon, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France* (A. Desrez, 1836; rpt. 1938), 1–318; Antoine Zoete, *De beden in het graafschap Vlaanderen onder de hertogen Jan zonder Vrees en Filips de Goede (1405–1467)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1994); Bernard and Henri Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des Comptes des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (1363–1477)*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1902–1908); Sylvain Laveissière, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art de Bourgogne* (including documentation by Bernard Prost and Paul Brune (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1980).

²² Paul Bonenfant, "Actes concernant les rapports entre les Pays-Bas et la Grande Bretagne de 1293 à 1468 conservés au château de Mariemont," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* CIX (1944), 53–125; idem., *Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1958); Alphonse Bossuat, "Le Parlement de Paris pendant l'occupation anglaise," *Revue Historique* CCXXIX (1963): 19–40; Joseph Calmette and

the English Channel to Calais. By autumn of 1424 the couple had assumed control of most of Hainaut, establishing their headquarters at Mons.²³

While Philip the Good had persuaded Philip, Count of St. Pol (1404–1430) and brother of Jean IV, to join in Burgundian-Brabantine union of arms against the English aggressors, the death of John of Bavaria at Delft on January 6, 1425 gave the Duke of Burgundy the title of governor to the lands which were so hotly contested. While her husband was mustering troops in England, Jacqueline was taken prisoner at Mons. Imprisoned at the ducal castle of Ghent, she managed to escape to Gouda, from where she assembled partisan forces from the region of Utrecht. Her martial power, however, ended with the decimation of her navy at Zevenbergen on April

Eugène Déprez, *Europe occidentale de la fin du XIV^e siècle aux guerres d'Italie*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1937 and 1939), I (1937): *La France et l'Angleterre en conflit. Histoire générale. Moyen Âge*, ed. G. Glotz; Edward Scott and Louis Gilliodts van Severen, eds. *Le Cotton manuscrit Galba B. I. Transcrit sur l'original. Documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'Angleterre et la Flandre* (Brussels: Hayez, impr., Commission Royale de Histoire, 1896); John Silvester Davies, ed. *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI written before the year 1471; with an appendix, containing the 18th and 19th years of Richard II and the Parliament at Bury St. Edmund's, 25th Henry VI and supplementary additions from the Cotton. ms. chronicle called "Eulogium,"* 3 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1856; edition New York: AMS Press, 1968). James Hamilton Wylie and William Templeton Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–29). Nelly Johanna Martina Kerling, *Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the late Thirteenth Century to the close of the Middle Ages* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954); J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422–1432," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVIII (1965): 145–62.

²³ Kenneth Hotham Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (London: A. Constable and company, Ltd., 1907). Philip the Good challenged Humphrey to a duel at Bruges to settle the dispute over Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland. See Vickers, 1667–67; Jozef Duverger and J. Versyp, "Schilders en borduurwerkers aan de arbeid voor een vorstenduel te Brugge in 1425," *Artes Textiles* II (1955): 3–17; Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy*, 5. The four letters are in London (British Museum, MS. Add. 21357, f. 7–10). Also consult Roberto Weiss, "Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Tito Livio Frulovisi," *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays*, 2 vols. (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957): 218–27. Regarding Burgundian relationships with the Church during the fifteenth-century, consult: Adriaan Gerard Jongkees, *Staat en Kerk in Holland en Zeeland Onder de Bourgondische Hertogen (1425–1477)* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1942); Édouard de Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique*, IV [L'Église aux Pays-Bas sous les ducs de Bourgogne et Charles Quint, 1378–1559] (Brussels: l'Édition Universelle, 1945–49); idem, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique des origines aux débuts du XII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: l'Édition Universelle, 1940).

11, 1427.²⁴ Jean IV of Brabant died on September 3, 1427, yet the final blow to Jacqueline's ambitions was delivered by Pope Martin V, who ruled her union with Humphrey of Gloucester to be invalid on January 9, 1428. With the loss of anticipated English support, she signed the Treaty of Delft on July 3, 1428, which basically designated Philip the Good as heir-apparent to Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland and co-equal shareholder of their revenues. A proviso of the document assured the Duke's immediate control of the three counties if Jacqueline wed again without his approval.²⁵ On August 4, 1430, Phillippe of St. Pol, then Burgundian governor of Paris, died childless, and as his heir Philip the Good acquired Brabant and Limbourg. In October of 1430, Philip leased the administration of Holland in return for a portion of the revenues for a period of eight years to the lords of Borselen — Frank, Filips and Floris. Jacqueline secretly wed Frank van Borselen, former treasurer of John of Bavaria. When her marriage to the Zeeland nobleman was revealed in the summer of 1432, Philip the Good invoked the Treaty of Delft. By April of 1433, he achieved his goal of becoming the absolute ruler of the Low Countries.²⁶

The Duke of Burgundy maintained several grand houses. The *Hôtel de la Salle* in Lille was renovated at the time of his marriage to Infanta Isabel of Portugal (January 7, 1430) but rebuilt substantially between 1453 and 1473 on

²⁴ J.J. Lambin, "Reddition de Zevenbergen à Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne," *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de la Belgique* V (1837): 13–16; K. Burman, ed., *Utrechtsche jaarboeken van vijftiende eeuw, 1402–1481*, 3 vols. (Utrecht: 1750–54).

²⁵ Philip the Good's territorial expansion and conflicts with Jacqueline of Bavaria are discussed by Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 29–53. Also consult Pierre Cockshaw, *Les Chroniques de Hainaut, ou, Les ambitions d'un prince bourguignon*, ed. Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (Brussels-KBR, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); idem., *Le personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1384–1477)* (Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA, 1982).

²⁶ Philippe of St. Pol had inherited Brabant from Jean IV of Brabant in 1427 who died without issue. Bernard Édouard de Mandrot, "Jean de Bourgogne, duc de Brabant, comte de Nevers et le procès de la succession," *Revue Historique* XCIII (1907): 1–45. Sigismund, King of Hungary, attempted to obtain Brabant but to no avail. See Louis Jean Guillaume Galesloot, "Revendication du duché de Brabant par L'Empereur Sigismund, 1414–1437," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 4, V (1878): 437–70; Franz von Löher, "Kaiser Sigmund und Herzog Philipp von Burgund," *Müncher Historisches Jahrbuch für 1866* (1866): 305–419. Regarding Holland during the period of Jan van Eyck's patronage by Philip the Good, consult: Petrus Johannes Blok, "Holland und das Reich vor der Burgunderzeit," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1908): 608–36; idem., "Philips de Goede en de hollandsche steden in

the *Place Rihour* (Figs. 1.23–1.28).²⁷ The quadrangular residence comprised wings around a central courtyard with attendant corner staircase towers. The Duke's quarters were situated close to the chapel and the ceremonial stairway, which are the only surviving remnants of the residence. The lower chapel, *salle de gardes*, today is a tourist office, while the upper chapel with its two oratories has trefoil windows and vaulted ceilings. Rihour's Great Hall designed for entertainment, occupied nearly the entire southern wing, and opposite it was the *Aile des Dames*, which contained the quarters of the Duchess of Burgundy. As discussed by Krista de Jonge, who has extensively studied the evolution of Burgundian ducal houses, there were no constraints

1436," Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde LVIII, B2 (1924): 33–51; idem., *Eene Hollandsche stad onder de Bourgondisch-Oostenrijksche heerschappij* ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1884). Raimond van Marle, *Le comté de Hollande sous Philippe le Bon* (The Hague: 1908); Theodorus Helenus Franciscus van Riemsdijk, "De oorsprong van het Hof van Holland," *Geschiedkundige opstellen aangeboden aan Robert Fruin* (The Hague: 1894): 183–208; idem., *De opdracht van het ruwaardschap in Holland en Zeeland aan Philips van Bourgondië* (Amsterdam: Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde VIII, 1906): 1–82. Johan Carel Marinus Warnsinck, *De zeeoorlog van Holland en Zeeland tegen de wendische steden der duitsche Hanze, 1438–1441* (The Hague: 1939); Taeke Sjoerd Jansma, "Philippe le Bon et la guerre hollando-wende, 1438–1441," *Revue du North* XLII (1960): 5–18.

²⁷ Auguste Leman, "La cour des ducs de Bourgogne à Lille," *Les Faculté Catholiques de Lille* XIII (1922–23): 293–306; Max Bruchet, "Notice sur la construction du Palais Rihour à Lille," *Bulletin de la Commission Historique du Département du Nord* XXXI (1922): 209–99 (264 for the Great Hall 1453–1463); Francis Salet, "Le Palais Rihour à Lille," *Congrès Archéologique de France CXX^e session, Flandre* (Paris: 1962): 175–85; Georges Hulin, "Guy Guilbaut, conseiller, trésorier et gouverneur-général de toutes les finances de Philippe le Bon, et premier maître de la chambre des comptes de Lille," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand* XIX (1911): 329–41; *Histoire de Lille – I. Des Origins à Avènement de Charles Quint*, ed. Guy Fourquin (Lille: 1970), especially essays by Gerard Sivery, "Histoire Economique et Sociale," 111–270; Henri Platelle, "La vie religieuse à Lille," 309–417; Jacques Gardelles, "L'Art à Lille – Les Monuments," 421–56; Jacques Gardelles, "Un grand édifice disparu: la collégiale Saint-Pierre à Lille," *Bulletin Monumental* CXXVI (1968): 325–44; Édouard Hautcoeur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale et du Chaire de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 3 vols. (Lille-Paris: A. Picard, 1895); Jean-Marc Soyez and Jacques Gardelles, "L'Activité artistique à Lille dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle – (d'après les archives de la Chambre des comptes et de la Collégiale Saint Pierre)," *Revue du Nord* LII (1970) 455–61. My thanks are given to Krista De Jonge for her clarification of the architectural projects of Philip the Good. See Krista De Jonge, "Bourgondische residenties in het graafschap Vlaanderen. Rijsel, Brugge en Gent ten tijde van Filips de Goede", *Handelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent*, [Gent], nieuwe reeks, LIV (2000): 93–134, at 95–109 for Rihour, inclusive of photographs.

of a pre-existing residence at Lille, and for this reason Rihour was an ideal modern palace which established a precedent for aristocrats who built their own lavish town mansions during the mid to late fifteenth century.²⁸

In Bruges, the *Cour de Princes*, or *Prisenhof* Palace (Fig. 1.29), was refurbished by Philip the Good for the wedding ceremonies of 1430. At that time, the ducal apartments were situated in a fourteenth-century tower which provided access to an audience room.²⁹ But the residence was augmented considerably in 1446–1449 when the *Hôtel Vert* was created as part of a private sector. During this period, Isabel of Portugal erected a new storey above the fourteenth-century hall. Her new apartments challenged Philip to expand his own quarters above the old kitchens overlooking the garden between 1456 and 1459. His apartments were raised a storey to accord with those of his wife. As noted by De Jonge, the upper level of the two ducal apartments had parallel pitched roofs which were joined by a transversal corridor (*allée*).³⁰ The Duke kept this private corridor of communication

²⁸ Krista De Jonge, “L’Architecture de Cour à l’Époque de Marguerite d’York: Nouvelles Tendances,” *Publication du Centre Européen d’Études Bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XV^e s.)*, Rencontres de Malines (25 au 27 septembre 2003), “Marguerite d’York et son temps,” XLIV (2004): 103–12, on Rihour as model for noble houses of the Burgundian elite.

²⁹ J.A. van Houtte, *Bruges. Essai d’Histoire Urbaine* (Brussels: La Renaissance de livre, 1967); Adolphe Julien Duclos, *Bruges. Histoire et Souvenirs* (Bruges: K. van de Vyvere-Petyt, 1910); Jean-Jacques Gailliard, *Revue Pittoresque des Monuments qui décoraient autrefois la Ville de Bruges et qui n’existent plus aujourd’hui* (Bruges: 1850); Francis Salet, “Les tombeaux de Bourgogne à Notre Dames de Bruges,” *Congrès Archéologique de France CXX* (1962): 45–54; Louis Gilliodts van Severen, ed., *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Fr. Gobbaerts, 1874–75); *idem.*, *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges, 13^e–16^e Siècle*, 7 vols. (Bruges: 1871–78); A. van Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Épisodes de la vie des ducs de Bourgogne à Bruges* (Bruges: 1937).

³⁰ De Jonge, “Bourgondische residenties in het graafschap Vlaanderen. Rijsel, Brugge en Gent ten tijde van Filips de Goede”, 109–26. See also De Jonge, “*Estuves et baingneries* dans les résidences flamandes des ducs de Bourgogne”, 67–71 for the *Prisenhof* at Bruges, inclusive of bibliography. Luc Devliegheer, “Demeures gothiques de Bruges,” *Bulletin de la Commission royale des monuments et des sites*, nouv. Sér., IV (1974): 64–65. Also consult: Monique Somme, “Femmes et espaces féminins à la cour de Bourgogne au temps d’Isabelle de Portugal (1430–1471),” in Jan Hirschbiegel and Werner Paravicini, *Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. 6 Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Stuttgart: 2000): 61–66. For the Great Gallery of 1467–1468, see Francis Salet, “Le fête de la Toison d’Or de 1468,” *Annales de la société royale d’archéologie de Bruxelles* LI (1966): 5–29; *idem.*, “La fête de la Toison d’Or et le mariage de Charles le Téméraire, Bruges, mai-juillet 1468,” *Handelingen van het genootschap voor geschiedenis Brugge* CVI (1969): 5–16.

locked because it was designed as a repository for his treasures, including a *mappa mundi*, clocks and other precious objects. The double-storied halls created at the *Prisenhof* typically contained a large fireplace in the middle of a dividing wall and vaulted ceilings supported by arcades. Octagonal tower staircases served as a means of access to the less private spaces of the residence. One such turret was situated near the entrance front gate in the Noordzandstrate, and it communicated with a new long dining hall built in 1467–1468. Philip the Good also created a new chapel at the *Prisenhof*. Installed between 1448 and 1452, the edifice rose alongside the ducal apartments.

Philip the Good frequented Ghent, Mons, Ardilly, Turnout, Sluis, Louvain, Limbourg and a host of other towns in Burgundy only occasionally.³¹ Two or three months of the year he spent at Lille, Bruges and Brussels and he made frequent excursions to the constellation hunting lodges near the towns. Due to conflicts with the Dauphinists, Philip the Good never used the residences in Paris (Figs. 1.30–1.31) he inherited from John the Fearless. The *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, purchased in 1363 by Philip the Bold (1342–1404) and enlarged, was rarely visited after 1380. The huge *Hôtel d'Artois*, with its surrounding gardens and separate buildings lodging officials of the court, fell into neglect. The same fate was shared by the *Hôtel de Conflans* outside Paris.³²

³¹ Albert van de Walle, “Le Château des Comtes de Flandre à Gand,” *Congrès Archéologique de France CXX* (1962): 101–7; Edward van Even, *Louvain Monumental ou Description Historique de Tous les Édifices Civile et Religieux de la Dite Ville* (Louvain: 1860); idem, *Louvain dans le passé et le présent. Formation de la ville, événements mémorables, territoire, topographie, institutions, monuments, oeuvres d'art* (Louvain: Auguste Fonteyn, 1895; rpt. Louvain: Frankie, 1967).

³² Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 39 and note 1; idem., *John the Fearless. The Growth of the Burgundian Power* (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1966); idem, *Valois Burgundy* (London: Allen Lane, 1975); Also consult Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris 1400. Les Arts sous Charles VI*, with contributions by François Avril et al. (Paris: exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Fayard, 2004), which contains a comprehensive bibliography on the epoch of Charles VI and the International Style. For Burgundy under the predecessors of Philip the Good, see *L'Art à la cour de Bourgogne. Le mécénat de Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur (1360–1420)* (Dijon- Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, 2004); Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne, avec des documents inédits et des pièces justificatives*, 9 vols. (Dijon: Impr. Darantière, 1885–1905); idem., *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne 1363–1419* (Paris: Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1888); idem., *La Collection de*

Despite his political break with Valois France, Philip the Good did spend time at Dijon (Figs. 1.32–1.35), where his grandfather had built a pantheon for the Dukes of Burgundy at the Carthusian Chapterhouse of Champmol (1394–1400).³³ In the medieval town, he ordered several additions to the ducal residence between 1450 and 1455, notably the *Salle des Gardes* and the *Tour de la Terrasse*.³⁴ The first chapter meeting of the Philip the Good's new Order of the Golden Fleece was held in 1431 at Lille on November 30, the feast day of St. Andrew, but knights of the institution met annually thereafter at Bruges, Dijon, Brussels, Arras, St. Omer, Ghent, Mons and

Bourgogne à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles Lettres de Dijon* (1895–1896): 325–430; Barthélemy Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Les Chefs des finances duciales de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur (1363–1419)," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* IV (1937): 5–67; idem., "Les Dons du roi aux ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur (1363–1419)," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* VI (1939): 113–144; VII (1940–1941): 95–129.

³³ Henri David, *Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne et co-régent de France de 1392 à 1404; le train somptuaire d'un grand Valois* (Dijon, Impr. Bernigaud et Privat, 1947); idem., *Claus Sluter* (Paris : P. Tisné, 1951); idem., "Philippe le Hardi au début de XVe siècle," *Annales de Bourgogne* XVI (1944): 137–57, 201–28; Patrick M. de Winter, *The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (1364–1404)* (New York: Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1976). For the Carthusian complex in general see: Cyprien Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les Documents des Archives de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Montreuil-sur-Mer-Tournai: 1898, 1901, 1905); William Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Norman: 1971); Pierre Quarré, *La Chartreuse de Champmol. Foyer d'Art au Temps des Ducs Valois* (Dijon: Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne, 1960); idem., "Les Caveaux des Ducs de Bourgogne à la Chartreuse de Champmol," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* XXII (1953): 115–21; "La Chartreuse de Champmol, centre d'art européen," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgondo-médiannes* (III (1961): 72–79; Hendrik Jacobus J. Scholten, "De Chartreuse bij Dijon en haar Kunstenaars 1379–1411," *Oud Holland* LXXXI (1966): 119–44; Jacques Dupont, "Les peintures de la Chartreuse de Champmol," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1937): 155–57.

³⁴ Henri Chabeuf, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire du palais ducal – La Salle des Gardes," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* XIII (1895–1900), 25–32; Pierre Gras, "L'Hôtel de Philippe le Bon à Dijon," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon* (1955–57): 31–34; Arthur Kleinclausz, "L'Hôtel des Ducs de Bourgogne à Dijon," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Modern* XXVII (1910): 179–90; 275–86; idem., "Les peintres des Ducs de Bourgogne," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Modern* XX (1906), 161–76, 253–68; idem., "Les architectes des Ducs de Bourgogne," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Modern* XXVI (1909): 61–74; Salomon Reinach, "Three Panels from the Ducal Residence at Dijon," *The Burlington Magazine* L (1927): 234–45.

The Hague.³⁵ In January of 1432 the official seat of the chivalric order was established in Dijon's church of *Sainte-Chapelle* which until the French Revolution stood beside the ducal residence.³⁶

³⁵ Vaughan, *Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 161, who also states that in 1435 a decision was made to hold the chapter meetings in the spring or early summer, because November was deemed too short for festivities. For the Order of the Golden Fleece see: Pierre Cockshaw, Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, E. Beltran, et al, *L'ordre de la Toison d'or : de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau, 1430–1505 : idéal ou reflet d'une société?* (Bruxelles : Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Turnhout : Brepols, exhibition catalogue 1996); *La Toison d'Or. Cinq Siècles d'Art et d'Histoire*, Bruges exhibition (Brussels: 1962); Vicomte Charles de Terlinden, "Les origines religieuses et politiques de la Toison d'Or," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgundo-Médianes* V (1963): 35–46; *idem.*, *Der Orden von Goldenen Vlies* (Vienna-Munich: 1970); Frédéric-Auguste Ferdinand Thomas Baron de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or, depuis son institution jusqu'à la cessation des chapitres généraux; tirée des archives mêmes de cet ordre et des écrivains qui en ont traité* (Bruxelles: Fonderie & imprimerie normales, 1830). Henri Marie Bruno Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'or. Notes sur l'institution et l'histoire de l'ordre (depuis l'année 1429 jusqu'à l'année 1559)*, (Bruxelles, G. van Oest & cie, 1907, 2nd ed.); Luc Hommel, *L'Histoire du noble ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Brussels: A. Goemaere, 1947); Charles Arthur John Armstrong, "La Toison d'Or et la loi des armes," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgundo-Médianes* 5 (1963): 71–77; Victor Tourneur, "Les orgines de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or et la symbolique des insignes de celui-ci," *Academie Royal de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et Sciences Morales* XLII, 5 série (1956): 300–23; George Dogaer, "Des anciens livres des statuts manuscrits de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgundo-Médianes* 5 (1963), 65–70; Julius von Schlosser, *Der Burgundische Paramentenschatz des Ordens von Goldenen Vliesse* (Vienna: 1912); Francis Salet, "La fête de la Toison d'Or de 1468," *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie, Bruxelles* LI (1966): 5–29; *idem.*, "La 'Croix de serment' de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or," *Journal de la Savants* (June 1974): 73–94; Antoon Viaene, "De Orde van het Gulden Vlies laatste Ridderparade van het westen," *West-Vlaanderen* 65, XI (1962): 352–67.

³⁶ Pierre Quarré, "La chapelle du duc de Bourgogne à Dijon 'lieu, chapitre et collège' de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgundo-médianes* V (1963): 56–64; *idem.*, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Dijon. Siège de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Paris: Hachette, Dijon exhibition catalogue, 1962); *idem.*, "Six fragments de vitraux provenant de la Sainte-Chapelle de Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* XXV (1959–62); *idem.*, "Deux panneau de l'armorial de la Toison d'Or de la Sainte-Chapelle de Dijon," *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* XV (1975): 318–25; *idem.*, "La Toison d'Or," *L'Oeil* XLIX (January, 1959): 14–23, 70; Jules d'Arbaumont, *Essai Historique sur la Sainte Chapelle de Dijon* (Dijon: 1863); Pierre Gras, "Les armoires des chevaliers de la Toison d'Or à la Sainte Chapelle de Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* XXIII (1947–53): 241–51; F. Marion, "Quelques vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle de Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* XXI (1936–39): 258–60.

From 1425 until 1428 the war in Holland, in great measure a civil battle, had occupied Philip the Good and taxed his revenues. By contrast to Jacqueline's feudal support, the Duke of Burgundy was buttressed by his merchants, particularly those in the commercial center of Bruges, where there rose several "houses" of foreign nations.³⁷ Still it was a long and costly conflict. Philip's optimistic attitude towards the outcome is revealed by his taking time in the midst of a serious campaign to consider the refurbishing of his palatine estates. Jan van Eyck had remained at The Hague until the death of his patron John of Bavaria in January of 1425. The Duke of Burgundy summoned him to the *Prisenhof* in Bruges unquestionably because of his artistic experience at the Hague.³⁸ Jan was appointed Philip the Good's

³⁷ Philip was supported by Burgundian nobility in the 1420s. See Paul Renoz, "Une assemblée de nobles bourguignons pour la défense duché, 1426," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* XXII (1961): 125–33; *idem.*, *La chancellerie de Brabant sous Philippe le Bon, 1430–1467* (Bruxelles, Palais des académies, 1955). Following the sublimation of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainaut, he secured capital from Italian bankers. The scope of this study of Jan van Eyck does not encompass economic conditions in Burgundy, but information about Philip the Good, the merchants of his municipalities, and the diverse nations which had commercial centers in Bruges can be found in the following: Armand Grunzweig, ed. *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici* (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire: 1931); *idem.*, "Un plan d'acquisition de Gènes par Philippe le Bon, 1445," *Le Moyen Âge* XLII (1932): 81–110; P. Dancoine, *L'Évolution des Finances Bourguignonnes* (University of Lille: Thesis, 1957); John Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au XV^e siècle. Les conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1955–57); Louis Lièvre, *La monnaie et le change en Bourgogne sous les ducs Valois* (Dijon: Imprimerie veuve P. Berthier, 1929); Peter Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands, 1433–1496* (Cambridge: Thesis, 1963), published (Leiden: Brill, 1970); *idem.*, "Coinage, taxation and the Estates General of the Burgundian Netherlands," *Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États* XL (1966): 61–88; *idem.*, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003); R. de Rover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge: Mass: Cambridge University Press, 1948); Jules Finot, "Étude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et la République de Gènes au moyen âge," *Annales du Comité Flamand de France* XXVIII (1906–7); *idem.*, *Étude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et la république de Gènes au moyen âge* (Paris: A. Picard, 1906); *idem.*, "Relations commerciales et maritimes entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au moyen âge," *Annales du Comité Flamand de France* XXIV (1898), 1–353, reprinted as *Étude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au moyen âge* (Paris: A. Picard, 1899); Charles Verlinden, "À propos de la politique économique des ducs de Bourgogne à l'égard de l'Espagne," *Hispania* X (1950): 681–715; Michel Mollat, "Recherches sur les finances des ducs Valois de Bourgogne," *Revue Historique* CCXIX (1958): 285–321.

³⁸ The artistic environment of Bruges is discussed by Jozef Duverger, "Jan van Eyck as Court Painter," *The Connoisseur* CXCIV (1977): 172–79; *idem.*, "Brugse Schilders ten

valet de chambre the week of May 19–25 of 1425 and given an annual wage of 100 *livres parisis*, lodgings in Lille, and tax exemptions. Dovetailing his appointment was the command “to execute paintings whenever the Duke wished.”³⁹

Jan van Eyck’s 1425–1426 “Secret Journey”

Marcus van Vaernewyck (1518–1569) in his *Spiegel der Nederlanscher Audtheyt* (1568) states that Jan became a “confidential advisor to Philip of Burgundy, who much valued his constant company and presence.”⁴⁰

tijde van Jan van Eyck,” *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* IV (Brussels: 1955): 83–120.

³⁹ W.H. James Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art* (London-New York: John Lane Company, 1912), XXXI–XXXII. Document 3 (August 2, 1425) records payment of 20 *livres* from the accounts of the Duke of Burgundy to “Iohannis de Heecq, varlet de chambre et peintre de mon dict seigneur” to cover moving expenses from Bruges to Lille. Mention is made of letters patent dated May 19, 1425 appointing Jan the official painter of Philip the Good. The document is in Lille, Archives of the Department of the North, B 1931. In 1426 (after March 9: Weale, Document 6, XXXII) three payments of 50 *livres* each are designated to “Jehan de Heick, jadiz pointre et varlet de chambre de feu monseigneur le duc Jehan de Bayvière.” This document in Lille (Archives of the Department of the North) brackets Jan’s salary from “Midsummer, 1425, to December, 1426.” He typically was paid in two half-yearly moieties. For a information about Burgundian currency, see Vaughan, *Philip the Good, The Apogee of Burgundy*, xvii, who states that gold coins in Burgundy were “partly French, partly Burgundian and partly Rhenish or imperial. Of French coins, the two most important were the *crown* or *écu à la couronne*, valued at £1 2s 6d of Tours or 40 *groats*, and the *salut*, valued at 48 *groats*. Which was the standard gold coin of Lancastrian France....The pound of Tours (*livres tournois*) was four-fifths of the pound of Paris (*livres parisis*). Vaughan amplifies about the systems of money, but documents indicate Jan van Eyck was paid with *livre parisis*. Also consult: Anatole de Barthélemy, *Essai sur les monnaies des ducs de Bourgogne. Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d’Or* (Dijon: 1849); Françoise Dumas-Dubourg, *Le monnayage des ducs de Bourgogne, 1363–1477, Positions des thèses soutenues à l’École des Chartres* (1957), 57–64, published (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut supérieur d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art, Séminaire de numismatique Marcel Hoc, 1988); Hendrik Enno van Gelder and Marcel Hoc, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas bourguignons et espagnols, 1434–1713* (Amsterdam: J. Schulman, 1960); Alphonse de Witte, *Histoire monétaire des Comtes de Louvain, Ducs de Brabant et Marquis du Saint Empire Romain*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: 1896).

⁴⁰ Leo van Puyvelde, “Les Reis van Eyck naar Portugal,” *Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde — Verslagen en Mededeelingen* (1940), 17–27, at 20–26. Despite Van Eyck’s proficiency as an illuminator, there are no books illustrated by his hand in the

Documents in Lille do not inform about Jan's initial artistic work for the Duke of Burgundy, which had to be negligible as no mention is made relating to his activity at any of the ducal estates which were being remodeled and augmented. Accounts do reveal, however, that he was called to a different type of service, that of a traveling diplomat. From the beginning of his employment at Bruges, Jan was sent abroad as Philip the Good's honored representative. He made three diplomatic trips in 1425–1426, 1427 and 1428–29, and a fourth in 1436. The voyages of 1427 and 1428–29 were to the Iberian Peninsula, and they involved the Duke's quest for a third wife.

As "Count of Charolais," the teen-aged Philip in June of 1409 married Michelle (b. 1395) the daughter of King Charles VI of France (Fig. 1.36). Following her sudden death on July 8, 1422 and burial in the Old Abbey of St. Bavo at Ghent, Philip remarried on November 30, 1424. His second wife, Bonne d'Artois, was the widow of Philippe, Count of Nevers and Reuthel (1389–1415). Like her predecessor, Bonne died prematurely without providing an heir. Due to his conflict with the Dauphinists, Philip did not seek a new bride from the ducal houses of France. There were no prospects in Bohemia. Elizabeth (1409–1442), daughter of King Sigismund, in 1421 became the wife of Albert II, Duke of Austria (1397–1439). On August 26, 1426, the Lille documents record:

Payment to Iohannes de Eick of 91 *livres* 5s of 40 *groats* Flemish to the pound for a certain pilgrimage which the Duke had ordered him to perform in his name and on account of a secret journey which

collection of Philip the Good, aside from the debated folios of the *Turin-Milan Hours*. See Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1967). For manuscripts acquired by Philip the Good's predecessors, see Pierre Cockshaw, "Mentions d'auteurs, de copistes, d'enlumineurs et de libraires dans les comptes généraux de l'État bourguignon (1384–1419)," *Scriptorium* XXIII (1969): 122–44; Bernard Bousmanne and Céline van Hoorebeeck, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000–2003). Jan van Eyck appears to have been engaged as a palatine decorator and painter of small panels. Secular murals or paintings on linen for the Duke of Burgundy do not survive. However, Jan is documented in 1432 at Hesdin Castle, where his opinion was sought regarding the work in progress, a cycle of frescoes pertaining to Jason, which were completed by Colard le Voleur and his assistants between 1431 and 1433. See Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, xxxv, Document 17 (Lille: Archives of North, B, 1942).

he had ordered him to make to certain distant places of which no mention was to be made.⁴¹

Between September of 1425 and March of 1426 Jodocus Vijd of Ghent served as a member of an embassy sent to Holland and Zeeland by Philip the Good.⁴² Though this delegation which included Jan's patron of the *Ghent Altarpiece* was dispatched to handle political matters, they would have returned with news about any viable candidates for marriage. Jan van Eyck had traveled with the Burgundian embassies in 1427 to Aragon and in 1428–29 to Portugal for the specific purpose in each case of providing a realistic likeness of a prospective bride for Philip's consideration. Because Bonne d'Artois had died on September 17, 1425, his polemical earlier voyage of 1425–26 also may have involved some preliminary reconnoitering for potential brides. More likely, however, Jan was dispatched to draw topographical views of strategic sites which would be critical to have if the political ambitions of the Duke were to be realized.

Municipal records in Ghent for March 9, 1426 substantiate that Jan's brother, "Master Hubrechte," the "painter" was finishing work in the church of Saint Sauveur in accordance with the will of Robert Poortier and Avezoete, his wife, dated March 9, 1425. For their tomb in the "Chapel of Our Lady" Hubrechte had installed an altarpiece capped with a statue of St. Anthony [Abbot].⁴³ Town archives of Ghent also indicate the death of Jan's brother occurred about September 18, 1426.⁴⁴ What work Hubrechte completed on the *Ghent Altarpiece* commissioned by Jodocus Vijd for his chapel in Sint-Janskerk was left unfinished. Even if Jan did not travel with him to Utrecht, Duke Philip would have been sufficiently indebted to Vijd to loan his court painter after 1430 to the ongoing project in Ghent.⁴⁵ The Lille document attests that Jan van Eyck did not merely undertake a "secret journey" to

⁴¹ Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, xxxii–xxxiii (Document 7), the Department of the North, B 1933.

⁴² Elisabeth Dhanens, *VI. Het retabel van het Lam Gods in de Sint-Baafskathedraal te Gent, Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen* (Ghent: Bijlagen, 1965), 87. The document was discovered and published in 1957 by Jozef Duverger.

⁴³ Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, xxxii (Document 5), Ghent: Town Archives.

⁴⁴ Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, xxxiii (Document 8): Ghent Town Archives. Record of a receipt by municipal treasurers of "6s. gr. from the heirs of Lubrecht van Heyke, tax on the property of the deceased."

⁴⁵ Charles Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art* 33 (1976), 7–82, at 28.

“distant places,” but also that he made a “pilgrimage.” Therefore, it may be useful to review some of the documented missions which were funded by the Duke of Burgundy.

Philip the Good’s sustained interest in Asia Minor which began during his youth. On September 25 of 1396, the year of his birth, an ill-fated crusade to Nicopolis was led by his father, John the “Fearless” when still Count of Nevers (Figs. 1.37–1.38). The Ottomans under Sultan Bayezid I defeated the Burgundian army of Duke Philip the Bold.⁴⁶ The story of the conflict must have been repeated often during the years Philip the Good grew to maturity. Almost immediately after the assassination of his father in 1419, he envisioned a second crusade, one which he would lead in alliance with England.⁴⁷ Philip the Good’s plans were the basis for the reconnaissance travels of Guillebert de Lannoy, the *porte-bannière* of the Duke. Guillebert left Sluis in May of 1421, crossed Prussia, Poland, the Ukraine and the Crimea, before visiting Constantinople, Rhodes, Jerusalem, Cairo and Crete. Returning by way of Venice in 1423, he composed an account of his voyage which he delivered in London.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 59–78; Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1978); Nicolae Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l’histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, 6 vols. (Paris, E. Leroux, 1899–1916), especially volume three (1902). At age five, Philip the Good played in the parkland of Hesdin dressed as a Turk. For this anecdote, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy*, 268.

⁴⁷ Sterling, “Jan van Eyck avant 1432,” 29. Regarding the English alliance, he cites Margaret Wade Labarge, *Henry V, the Cautious Conqueror* (London: London: Secker and Warburg, 1975), 100ff. Philip the Good clearly hero-worshipped his father, as indicated by a comparative study of their patronage, interests and aspirations. See Carl Nordenfalk, “Hatred, Hunting and Love. Three Themes relative to some Manuscripts of Jean sans Peur,” *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in honor of Milliard Meiss*, 2 vols. ed. Irving Lavin and John Plummer (New York: New York University Press, 1977); Henri David, “Jeunesse de Jean, second duc valois de Bourgogne, le double mariage de Cambrai (12 Avril 1385),” *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen* (Antwerp: 1957): 57–76; Léon Mirot, “Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405 d’après les comptes de la chambre aux deniers,” *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France* (1938): 129–45.

⁴⁸ Charles Potvin, ed. *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy [1386–1462], voyageur, diplomate et moraliste* (avec des notes géographiques et une carte par J.-C. Houzeau) (Louvain: Impr. de P. et J. Lefever, 1878), 160–61, 196–97; Oskar Halecki, *Gilbert de Lannoy and his discovery of East Central Europe*, *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* II (1943–44): 314–31; Erich Maschke, “Burgund und der preussische Ordenstaat. Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der ritterlichen Kultur Europas im späteren Mittelalter,” *Syntagma Friburgense*.

Guillebert de Lannoy also was called upon to negotiate another more urgent problem closer to home, one which occupied the attention of Duke Philip between 1422 and 1431. In 1428–29 Philip sent Guillebert to Germany (Fig. 1.39), ostensibly with the purpose of talking directly with Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368: r. 1411–1437) (Fig. 1.39) about the heretical followers of John Hus (c. 1369–July 6, 1415), theologian of the University of Prague (1409). Hus had ignited a revolution against the Church in Bohemia, and though Philip and Sigismund had corresponded about an expedition against the Hussites in 1422 and again in 1427, a grander plan had evolved. In this campaign, the Duke of Burgundy was to lead a contingent of 15,000 troops with the support of the Dukes of Brabant, Brittany, Savoy and the Bishop of Liège. Their armies were to be bolstered by support from England in the form of 4000–6000 archers dispatched by Philip's brother-in-law, John of Lancaster, (1389–1435), the Duke of Bedford.⁴⁹ Plans for a Burgundian expedition to Bohemia continued until 1431, but the expedition never materialized because the Hussites' power had dissipated by 1433.⁵⁰ The 1421 and 1428 travels of Guillebert de Lannoy essentially were directed towards obtaining information which would be crucial for military stratagems of Philip the Good's army. On still another

Historische Studien, Hermann Aubin zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht (Constance: 1956), 147–72. Guillebert was the brother of Hue de Lannoy, Lord of Santes, and councilor of Philip the Good in the 1420s, as well as stadholder of Holland in 1433. See Bernard Moreau (with the collaboration of Edmont Derreumaux), *Histoire de la ville de Lannoy* (Lys-lez-Lannoy: Editions Cercle d'études historiques de Lys-Lez-Lannoy, 1995). Concerning pilgrimages to Jerusalem, see Beatrice Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages occidentaux en Terre Sainte: Une pratique de la 'Dévotion Moderne' à la fin du Moyen Age? Relation inédite d'un pèlerinage effectué en 1488," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* LXXII (1979): 106–33 and 330–428; Francis Rapp, "Les Pèlerinages dans la vie religieuse de l'Occident médiéval aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Les Pèlerinages de l'antiquité biblique et classique à l'occident médiéval*, ed. Freddy Raphaël et al. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1973): 117–60; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975); idem., *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2003).

⁴⁹ Burgundy was to contribute 1000,000 crowns per month, 3–4000 gentlemen-of-arms, and 4000 archers and crossbowmen. About 4–6,000 archers were to be provided by Henry of Beaufort († 1449), second son of John of Gaunt, and bishop of Winchester. See Eberhard Windecke, *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigismunds*, ed. W. Altmann (Berlin: 1893), 160–61; Yvon Lacaze, "Philippe le Bon et le problème hussite: Un projet de croisade Bourguignon en 1428–1429," *Revue Historique* CCXLI (1969): 69–98; and Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 68–70 and 68 note 3.

⁵⁰ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 70.

voyage, however, Lannoy combined his diplomatic reconnaissance with a pilgrimage on behalf of his lord (Fig. 1.40). On March 4, 1431 he sailed to Great Britain, though the specific nature of his journey is unknown. Guillebert's itinerary in 1431 is documented through ducal expense accounts. From Calais he sailed to Sandwich and then proceeded to London. He then traveled north to Scotland, where he met with King James I (1394: r. 1406–1437) and Queen Joan (m. 1424; † 1445), daughter of John of Beaufort, the Count of Somerset. Docking at Dunbar, he passed to Edinburgh and Stirling castles before riding south to the port of Dumfries. On May 27 Guillebert's ship sailed for Ireland, where he made a pilgrimage for his lord at the famed shrine of St. Patrick's Isle in Lough Erne.⁵¹ Conceivably the purpose of Guillebert's trip was to resolve trading issues which had been the focus of a delegation which sailed to Scotland in 1426, a joint embassy sent by Philip the Good and the Four Members of Flanders.⁵² The date of this embassy's voyage coincides with Jan's "secret journey," and there were pilgrimage sites in England, such as Glastonbury. Despite the English-Burgundian alliance, the notion that an artist would join the Burgundians on their trip to Scotland seems implausible. The mission, after all, pertained to matters of "commerce." In any case, Jan had the opportunity to briefly visit London on his return to Flanders from Portugal in 1429, when the Lusitanian fleet was compelled to dock in England.

Philip the Good typically dispatched representatives to make a holy pilgrimage in his name. Bertrandon de la Broquière (Figs. 1.41–1.42), Andrieu de Toulangeon, Lord of Mornay and Geoffrey de Thoisy appear to

⁵¹ *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, 166–73; 205–7; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 110–111 and 110 note 2.

⁵² Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 110 and note 2. He cites: André Joseph Ghislain Le Glay [1785–1863] et al., *Lille, Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Nord. Archives civiles, Série B, Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, 10 vols. (Lille, Impr. de L. Danel, 1865–1906), I, 376; Louis Gilliodts van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges, 13^e–16^e siècle*, 7 vols. (Bruges: 1871–1878), IV, 485; Octave Delepierre and Félix Pierre Jean Priem (eds.), *Précis analytique des documents que renferme le dépôt des archives de la Flandre-Occidentale à Bruges* (Bruges: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1^e série, 3 vols., 1840–42 and 2^e série, 9 vols., 1845–58), II, 29–30; 40; Frans van Mieris, *Groot charterboek der graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en heeren van Vriesland*, 4 vols. (Leyden: P. van der Eyk, 1753–56), IV (1756). Also consult Chrétien César Auguste Dehaisnes [Canon], *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille: L. Quarré, Mémoires de la Commission Historique du Département du Nord, documents inédits, 1–3, 1886).

have had the sanction of the Duke of Burgundy, when they left Venice on May 8, 1432 bound for Jerusalem. When the nobles arrived back to Burgundy in July of 1433, Bertrandon appeared before Philip the Good at Pothières garbed as a “Saracen.” He gave the exotic outfit to his lord, along with a copy of the *Qur’an* and the horse which he had ridden from Damascus.⁵³ The outfit resurfaced as one of the costumes worn by a performer in a famed banquet at Lille held on February 17, 1454. Philip the Good’s crusading aspirations were highlighted in the “Feast of the Pheasant” wherein Hance, the court giant appeared as a “Saracen of Granada.”⁵⁴

In 1425 Philip’s bastard brother, Guyot of Burgundy, was sent to Jerusalem in the company of his councilor and chamberlain, Jehan de Lannoy, the Lord de Roubaix and Herzeele. They were joined by four additional *seigneurs*.⁵⁵ In his discussion of the trips made by Jan van Eyck before 1432 on behalf of Philip the Good, Charles Sterling finds the terminology of the ducal accounts to be perplexing. He notes the absence of the word “secret” in the ducal records pertaining to Guillebert de Lannoy’s travels to Germany (1421) and the two pilgrimages to Jerusalem by Guyot of Burgundy (1425) and Bertrandon de la Broquière (1432).⁵⁶ Bertrandon de la Broquière received 200 *livres* for his expenses to the Holy Land.⁵⁷ If Jan van Eyck traveled to Jerusalem with Guyot of Burgundy in 1425–26, and was allotted the lesser sum of 91 *livres*, this discrepancy can be explained. The journey’s expenses would have been borne by Philip the Good’s brother and Jehan de Lannoy, a prominent nobleman who had known the Duke since his youth and owned vast estates in Flanders. Both would have contributed donations to places of pilgrimage in the Duke’s name.

⁵³ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 270 and note 1. He cites: Lille: Archives départementales du Nord, B1948, f. 162b. See Charles Henri Auguste Schefer and Henri Cordia (eds.), *Le voyage d’outremer de Bertrandon de La Broquière: Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l’histoire de la géographie*, XII (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892; reprinted Farnborough: Gregg, 1972).

⁵⁴ Henri Beaune et J. d’Arbaumont (eds.), *Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche, maître d’hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, 4 vols. (Paris: La Société de l’Histoire de France, Librairie Renouard, 1883–88), II, at 368 (account: 340–81).

⁵⁵ Léon de Laborde (Marquis), *Les ducs de Bourgogne, Études sur les lettres, les arts et l’industrie pendant le XV^e siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon frères, 1849–1852), I, 234. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 270 and note 1.

⁵⁶ Sterling, “Jan van Eyck avant 1432,” 29.

⁵⁷ Schefer (ed.), *Le Voyage d’outremer de la Broquière*, vol. XII, xvii.

Scholars have speculated that Jan was sent to the Holy Land, and moreover, that he visited Italy (Fig. 1.43). If he accompanied Guyot of Burgundy, the ostensible purpose of the delegation's trip was a holy pilgrimage. Traveling with Guyot's retinue, Jan perhaps left the party on reconnoitering excursions to create topographical sketches of strategic harbors and terrain for the Duke. Such expeditions certainly could be termed "secret." Geoffrey de Thoisy, former companion of Bertrandon de la Broquière made a second voyage for Philip the Good when he was appointed captain of the newly-formed ducal *grande nave* (1438) sent to Rhodes on March 25, 1441.⁵⁸ His *nave* and three additional large galleons, probably supply ships, departed Sluis on May 8. They sailed across the Bay of Biscay to Lisbon, Ceuta and Barcelona, before docking at Villefranche near Nice. From that base, Thoisy continued onto Rhodes to fortify the Hospitallers against Egyptian attack.⁵⁹ Traveling by sea was perilous, and even in 1441 Philip was sufficiently concerned about his *nave* to dispatch a caravel to the Bay of Biscay a few weeks after Thoisy sailed to inquire about his expedition.⁶⁰ Guyot of Burgundy in 1425 likely took a conventional overland route followed since the Crusades by numerous Flemish pilgrims to Palestine. Riding on horseback via Vézelay to Lyons, he would have crossed the French Alps to Milan or Genoa, procured a vessel in Venice or Naples, and sailed to Jerusalem.⁶¹ Escorted by Franciscans to the most sacred sites of Christendom, his ducal embassy would have returned

⁵⁸ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 270 and note 3. He cites Hubert Nelis, *Catalogue des chartres du sceau de l'Audience*, I (Brussels: G. Van Oest et cie, 1915), 11; Le Glay et al. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales du Nord, Série B*, VIII, 17.

⁵⁹ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 270 and note 3; Lille: *Archives départementales du Nord*, B1972, f. 92; Le Glay et al. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales du Nord, Série B*, VIII, 18.

⁶⁰ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 270.

⁶¹ In the Musée d'Art et Archéologie de Laon is a wing of an altarpiece commissioned in 1410 by Pierre de Wissant (ca. 1340–1420) for the Chapel of Mary Magdalene in the Cathedral of Laon. The reverse side of the panel is missing its paint along the left side, but it displays five apostles standing in a vaulted chamber: John the Evangelist, James the Minor, Bartholomew, Matthew, James the Major and Matthias. Below them is an arched gallery containing the figures of five prophets holding scrolls. The front side of the altarpiece panel contains the Annunciate Gabriel with a kneeling Canon Wissant being introduced by St. Mary Magdalene. The lost wing of the retable would have displayed the "Annunciate Virgin Mary" and the remaining six apostles and prophets on the reverse side. Considering the early date of 1410 assigned to this work, and the unusual representation of the prophets (close in aspect to the pair in the *Ghent Altarpiece*), it might be pondered if Jan van Eyck visited Laon on his 1425 pilgrimage on behalf of Philip the Good. The panels of Canon Pierre de Wissant have been attributed to Colart de Laon (active 1377–1411), based upon

to Italy by way of Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and Sicily.⁶² Reaching the port city of Ostia, they logically toured Rome, before traveling northwards along established trade routes through commercial centers. Traversing the French Alps, they would have returned overland to Flanders ideally before the onset of winter.

the master's only secure work, a posthumous portrait of *Louis d'Orléans* in the Convent of the Célestines. Some attempt has been made to link the artist of the *Wissant Wing* with the Master of Rohan (*Grandes Heures de Rohan*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrit Latin 94710). Commissioned by Yolande of Aragon, widow of Louis II of Anjou, the *Rohan Hours* has been redated to circa 1430, due to affinities in style with other works among them, *St. René and a Portrait of Louis II d'Anjou*, folio 51 of the *Heures de René de Anjou* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 1156A); and three folios from a *Book of Hours* purportedly owned by Yolande of Aragon (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 62), that capture her likeness at the time of her second marriage in 1431 to François, the first *Duc de Bretagne*. The late dating of the *Rohan Hours* may preclude identification of the manuscript's chief artist as Colart de Laon. Considering the Rohan Master was active in Paris as early as the English occupation of 1415, perhaps the primary master sprang from Colart de Laon's atelier. See catalogue entries by Inès Villela-Petit, *Paris 1400. Les Arts sous Charles VI*, ed. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, with contributions by François Avril et al. (Paris: exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Fayard, 2004): Catalogue No. 202 "Volet du retable de Pierre de Wissant," 322–23; idem, Catalogue No. 232, "Grandes Heures de Rohan," 371–73; Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, *Les Heures de Rohan* (Paris: Draeger frères, 1973); Millard Meiss, French painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols., with the assistance of Sharon Off Dunlap Smith and Elizabeth Home Beatson (London: New York: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 256–77, 272–74 (*Wissant Wing*), 352–53. For Colart de Laon, consult: Philippe Henwood, "Peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des années 1400: Colart de Laon et les statues de 1391," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* CXXIII, No. 6 (October, 1981): 95–102; Ulysse Robert, "Documents inédit sur Colart de Laon," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* (1880–1881): 18–19. For the portraits of Louis I and Louis II of Anjou, see Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Représentations de Louis I^{er} d'Anjou et portraits de Louis II," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1984): 722–45.

⁶² Francis E. Peters, Jerusalem: *The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Joshua Prawer, *The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); Louis Hughes Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament. Recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1954–56); idem., *Bethléem, le sanctuaire de la nativité* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1914); Louis Hughes Vincent and Félix Marie Abel, *Jérusalem Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1914), II, "Jérusalem Nouvelle"; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310* (London-New York: Macmillan-St. Martin's Press, 1967); Theodericus of Würzburg, *Libellus de locis sanctis* [Description of the Holy Places], translated by Aubrey Stewart (London: 1896; 2nd ed., with new introduction and bibliography by Ronald G. Musto, New York: Italica Press, 1987).

General scholarly consensus postulates that Jan van Eyck visited Italy prior to the painting of his *Ghent Altarpiece* of 1432 (Fig. 1.44).⁶³ As evidence for a stay in Florence in 1426, Charles Sterling has pointed to Jan's *Zachariah* and *Micah*, who witness the *Annunciation* below from arched recesses. He identifies Italian counterparts in the *Adoration of the Magi Altarpiece* by the Umbrian artist Gentile da Fabriano (1370/85–1427) (Fig. 1.45).⁶⁴ Similarly shown with scrolls, Gentile's prophets appear in the frame of the retable, beneath roundels of Archangel Gabriel and the Annunciate Virgin. Created in 1423 for the wealthy Florentine banker Palla Strozzi, the painting of the Epiphany illustrates a magnificent courtly cortege within which a knight's accoutrements are highlighted, a sword and spurs. Strozzi belonged to the Order of the Golden Knights.⁶⁵ He appears to have sought to record his chivalric membership when he commissioned Gentile's painting for the sacristy–family pantheon of the *Santa Trinità* Church. Gentile's processions between Jerusalem and Bethlehem are remarkably kindred to Jan's "Adoration of the Lamb," where legions of worshippers foregather from distant points to celebrate the *adventus* of a Messiah. Van Eyck may have met Gentile da Fabriano before January of 1427, the commencement date of his frescoes in the nave of San Giovanni in Laterano (Figs. 1.46–1.47). Gentile's half-length biblical figures in grisaille are seated within *aeduaclae* having stone ledges. Their scrolls unfurl beneath the socles. Derived from ancient Roman funerary reliefs, Gentile's classical murals no longer survive, but they were copied by Francesco Borromini (1599–1664) before their destruction. Though the frescoes must be dated later than Jan's "secret journey," he might have seen preparatory drawings in Florence. Jan's earliest

⁶³ Millard Meiss, "'Highlands' in the Lowlands, Jan van Eyck, the Master of Flémale and the Franco-Italian Tradition," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LVII, No. 6 (May–June, 1961): 273–314; Lotte Brand Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 171, 205–6; Elisabeth Dhanens, *The Ghent Altarpiece* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 103–12; Monika Cämmerer-George, "Eine Italienische Wurzel in der Rahmen-Idee Jan van Eycks," *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Kurt Bauch zum 70. Geburtstag von seinen Schülern*, eds. Margrit Lisner and Rüdiger Becksmann (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1967): 69–76; *idem.*, *Die Rahmungen der toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento* (Strasbourg: 1966); Kurt Bauch, "Bildness des Jan van Eyck," *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: 1967, originally published in 1961): 79–122, at 109ff.

⁶⁴ Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," 31.

⁶⁵ Alison Cole, *Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1995; 2nd ed. 1997), 21.

portraits show sitters before stone parapets and with scrolls which echo Gentile's illusionism.⁶⁶

Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* panels of the *Cumaean* and *Erythraean Sibyls* do not seem to have a clear prototype in Flanders. Portrayed with scrolls, his paired oracles do resemble, however, the wise matrons in the fresco of *Christian Wisdom in the Spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas* in the Church of Santa Maria Novella (Figs. 1.49–1.50).⁶⁷ Created between 1365 and 1377 by Andrea Bonaiuti (Andrea da Firenze) for the Dominican *Cappellone degli Spagnoli*, fourteen aristocratic maidens personifying the sacred and profane sciences sit within niches above a row of equally numbered men signifying diverse professions. One damsel is portrayed with a phylactery. The infusion of divine wisdom is a thematic refrain of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. Jan van Eyck's *Sibyls* are shown above Jodocus Vijd, town mayor. Though he was not depicted with emblems signifying his municipal appointment, his upward gaze insinuates his guidance by the Holy Spirit. Equally, the centerpiece panel of the *Adoration of the Lamb* shows golden rays extending from the Pentecostal dove to the most learned men of earth's history — pagan authors, biblical prophets, holy disciples, and exegetes of the apostolic Church. Bonaiuti's *Triumph of the Church* in the same chapel reveals a paratactic disposition of ecclesiastical and secular figures. The realm of *Ecclesia Triumphans* is portrayed behind the community of the righteous on earth. Above the landscape of the heavenly Jerusalem is the Apocalyptic

⁶⁶ Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," 33. Noting Jan van Eyck was the only Flemish painter to sign and date his works, Sterling, 31, remarks that Gentile has left six signed works, and that Jan would have seen the signed Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* and *Quaratesi Polyptych*. See Keith Christiansen, *Gentile da Fabriano* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982); Andrea De Marchi, *Gentile da Fabriano: un viaggio nella pittura italiana alla fine del gotico* (Milan: Federico Motta, 1992); Charles Sterling, "Un tableau inédit de Gentile da Fabriano," *Paragone* CI (1958): 26ff.

⁶⁷ For information about the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella see: Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* (New York: College of Fine Arts, New York University, 1979), Section VI, Vol. VI: Andrea Bonaiuti; G.A. Schüssler, "Zum Thomasfresco des Andrea Bonaiuti in der Spanischen Kapelle am Kruezzgang von Santa Maria Novella," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXIV (1980): 251–74; Alexander Perrig, "Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages," *The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Rolf Toman (San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 1995), also published as *Die Kunst der Italienischen Renaissance* (Cologne: Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH: 1995), at 80–84 (36–97: entire essay).

Christ enthroned over a sacrificial altar with the Lamb of God. The *Ghent Altarpiece* does not duplicate the compositions of Bonaiuti's lunettes in the Spanish Chapel, but Jan may have been inspired by his riveting imagery.

Like his "Sibyls," Jan's figures of "Adam and Eve" (Figs. 1.51–1.52) occupy niches in the *Ghent Altarpiece*, and Milliard Meiss has compared them with the paintings on the entrance columns of the Brancacci Chapel: Masolino's (1383–ca. 1440) *Temptation of Adam* on the right; and Masaccio's (1401–ca. 1428) *Expulsion* on the left.⁶⁸ Constructed in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine by the Florentine silk merchant Pietro Brancacci, the chapel's frescoes magnify St. Peter the Apostle as revealer of God's plan of the Redemption.⁶⁹ Masolino was employed by Felice, Pietro's grandson, in 1424. Masaccio joined him a year later. If Jan van Eyck toured the Brancacci Chapel in 1426, he would have seen a work in progress and had the opportunity to meet Masaccio, but perhaps not Masolino, who had left Florence in the summer of 1425. Jan may have studied Masaccio's *Pisa Altarpiece* completed in 1426 for Giuliano di Colino degli Scarsi da. S. Giusto (Fig. 1.53). If he did not see the work or its preliminary studies in Florence, he might have visited Pisa's Church of the Carmine where the polyptych was installed in the patron's family chapel. The centerpiece *Madonna and Child* presents a naturalistic infant sitting securely on his mother's lap and gobbling grapes. Though Van Eyck resurrects Masaccio's image of a solid matron in his *Rolin* and *Lucca Madonnas*, a greater sense of decorum governs his representation of the infant Christ, who even is portrayed reading. Jan also seems to have admired Taddeo Gaddi's 1337–38 *trompe l'oeil* in the Florentine church of Santa Croce (Figs. 1.54–1.56) as his still life recollects the fresco of a painted trefoil niche with a paten, pyx and flasks. Masaccio's *Calvary* (Naples: Capodimonte Museum) which once was above his *Madonna and Child*, has been discussed by Charles Sterling with respect to similar Eyckian subjects (Figs. 1.57–1.59): a *Calvary* in Venice (Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Cà

⁶⁸ Milliard Meiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance," *Venezia e l'Europa, Atti del XVIII^o Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte* (1955) (Venice: 1956): 58–68.

⁶⁹ Luciano Berti, *Masaccio* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967), Luciano Berti and Rossella Foggi, *Masaccio: catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence: Cantini, 1988); Umberto Baldini, *Masaccio* (Firenze: Edizioni d'arte Il Fiorino, 1990); idem, *Masaccio* (Milano: Electa, 2001); Umberto Baldini and Ornella Casazza, *La Cappella Brancacci* (Milan: Olivetti: Electa, 1990) and English edition, *The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes* (New York: Abrams Publishers, 1992); Paul Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino. A Complete Catalogue* (London-New York: Phaidon Publishers and Abrams Publishers, 1993); Andrew Ladis, *The Brancacci Chapel, Florence* (New York: George Braziller, 1993).

d'Oro) which has a provenance in Padua from the mid-fifteenth century; a Berlin-Dahlem *Calvary*, the *Crucifixion* of the *Metropolitan Diptych*; and illumination of Calvary ascribed to Hand H in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (Museo Civico).⁷⁰ What most engaged Sterling's attention was Masaccio's portrayal of an anguished *Mater Dolorosa* almost completely enveloped by her heavy blue mantle like a Franco-Flemish *pleurant*, and Jan's consistent depiction of an emotive Mary Magdalene, like the Pisa *Magdalena* with her back to the viewer and upraised arms.

Though Masaccio's *Pisa Altarpiece* has been related to the diverse Eyckian "Crucifixions," an even closer parallel may be found in the Paduan Church of *S. Antonio* (Fig. 1.60). The *Capella di S. Giacomo* (Chapel of St. James the Elder) was built in 1372–76 by the Venetian architect and sculptor Andriolo de'Santi. Fourteenth-century Padua had been governed by *condottieri* of the powerful Carrara family and when *S. Giacomo* was built, it was ruled by the enlightened Francesco I *il Vecchio* (1325: 1355–1388). During the concurrent expansionist wars against Venice in 1372–73 and 1378–81, Francesco I was advised by Bonifacio Lupi di Soragna. A courtier of high standing, he funded the building and decoration of the *Capella di S. Giacomo*.⁷¹ Adjoining the church of St. Anthony on the right transept, the chapel of St. James was decorated with frescoes between 1376 and 1379 by Altichiero da Zevio (c. 1330–after 1390), an artist from Verona⁷² (Figs.

⁷⁰ Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," 31, 80 note 83 (Masaccio's *Pisa Altarpiece*) and 45–52 (Eyckian "Calvaries"). Regarding the "double versions" of the "Calvary" theme, they are believed to have been created in Jan van Eyck's workshop after a lost prototype by the master. Probably by a copyist, rather than an artist in Jan's atelier, the *Crucifixion* in Padua (Museo d'Art Medievale e Moderna) essentially replicates the Venice *Crucifixion* (Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Cà'd'Oro). See Till-Holger Borchert, "Introduction. Jan van Eyck's Workshop," *The Age of Van Eyck. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430–1530*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert (London: Thames & Hudson, exhibition catalogue, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 2002), 24–25; Catalogue No. 34 (Cà' d'Oro *Crucifixion*, dated 1440–1450), 238; and Catalogue 85 (Padua Museo d'Art Medievale e Moderna *Crucifixion*; dated to 1460–1470).

⁷¹ Perrig, "Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages," *The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, 93.

⁷² For Altichiero see Francesca Flores d'Arcais, *Altichiero e Avanzo. La cappella di San Giacomo* (Milan: Electa, 2001); Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Altichiero und Avanzo* (Bonn: 1966); M. Plant, "Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero's Frescoes in the S. Felice Chapel, S. Antonio," *Art Bulletin* LXIII (1981): 406–25. Perrig, "Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages," *The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, 93–96.

1.61–1.62). *The Crucifixion* (840 x 280 cm) painted largely in earth tones has been discussed as a precursor of panoramic pictures. Jan's interest in sweeping panoramas and architectural illusionism may originate with this exceptional painting (Fig. 1.63).⁷³ *S. Giacomo's* interior has been compared with Venice's *Palazzo Ducale*. At the bottom of the *Crucifixion* mural and running between genuine red columns of the chapel is an illusionistic balustrade, which functions to isolate the space of Golgotha. The false railing cleverly establishes the spectator's point of view as the balcony of Pontius Pilate's *praetorium*. Pilate's judgment hall would have been analogous to Padua's assembly hall in the Palazzo Raggione built in 1305, one of the largest of its kind in Western Europe. A real altar in front of the *Crucifixion* gives Altichiero's fresco the veneer of a "triptych." The altar is both a symbol of divine sacrifice and in the context of other sarcophagi in the chapel, an allusion to the Holy Sepulchre and Christ's triumphant Resurrection.⁷⁴ In projecting Van Eyck's trip to Italy circa 1425–26, the inspiration he seems to have drawn from Altichiero's frescoes is significant.

Next to Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua was the second most important male saint of the Friars Minor. If Jan visited Anthony's tomb, as appears to be the case, such a visit amplifies about the nature of the trip taken by Guyot of Burgundy and his fellow travelers on Philip the Good's behalf. They were to make a pilgrimage to the primary shrines of the Franciscan Order in Italy and in Palestine. In the crusading spirit of his time, St. Francis of Assisi had twice attempted to convert the Saracens. In 1212 he was shipwrecked and when he tried again the subsequent year, he fell ill. Finally in 1219 his missionary goals were realized when he sailed east with a few friars and met with Malek al-Kamil in Damietta. Though he failed to convert the Sultan of

⁷³ Albert Châtelet, *Les Primitifs hollandais. La peinture dans les Pays-Bas du Nord au XV^e siècle* (Fribourg: Office du livre, 1980), 49; idem, *Early Dutch painting: Painting in the Northern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century*, translated by Christopher Brown and Anthony Turner (New York: Rizzoli Publishers, 1981); Paul Durrieu, "Les Van Eyck et le Duc Jean de Berry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* LXII, ser. 5, I (1920): 77–105, especially 100.

⁷⁴ Charles Coüason, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, translated from French by J.-P. B. and Claude Ross (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1974). John Wilkinson, with Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan, *Jerusalem pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988); Braulio Manzano Martín, *Inigo de Loyola, peregrino en Jerusalén (1523–1524): según la "Autobiografía" del santo, los tratados de los franciscanos Medina y Aranda y las monografías de Fussly, Hagen, el marqués de Tarifa y de otros peregrinos españoles y europeos* (Madrid: Encuentro Ediciones, 1995); Henri Victor

Egypt in 1223, Francis returned from the Holy Land with a singular honor. He and his friars were the appointed custodians of Christ's Sepulchre. The ancient citadel of Jerusalem is illustrated in the background landscape of the Eyckian replicas of *Christ on the Way to Golgotha* (Budapest: Musée des Beaux-Arts) and *Calvary* (Venice: Cà d'Oro). It also is visible in the *Crucifixion* of the *Metropolitan Diptych*. While Jan's vistas appear to be more generic than specific, and even include architecture which seems more Flemish than Palestinian, the Holy Sepulchre, Mosque of Omar, and Tower of David are recognizable landmarks which are not found in Altichiero's *Crucifixion* (Figs. 1.64–1.66).⁷⁵

When in the Holy Land, Jan must have sketched several historical structures, the surrounding terrain, and undoubtedly exotic strollers which struck his fancy. Like most pilgrims touring Jerusalem, he would have realized immediately that the sites of the Passion mentioned in the bible were obscured by buildings erected in the wake of Constantine and Queen Helena. He and his companions were escorted by the Friars Minor who, since 1300, had been charged with the task of guiding visitors to the sanctuaries. When the Burgundian delegation departed Palestine, a sizable donation would have been given in the name of Philip the Good. In 1437 the Duke covered the expenses for the installation of stained glass window with his coat-of-arms in the Church of Our Lady of Mount Sion near Jerusalem.⁷⁶ Several sites in Italy were associated with Francis *il poverello*.

Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte, rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e [et] XIII^e siècles* (Paris: Réimprimé de l'édition, 1882; rpt. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1966).

⁷⁵ The Budapest *Way to Calvary* is generally attributed to the workshop of Jan van Eyck. See Henri L.M. Defoer, Vrijgevege herders of op sensatie beluste boeren? Een laatmiddeleeuwse beeldengroep uit de Noordelijke Nederlanden," *Antiek* XIX (1985): 353–56; Zsuzsa Urbach, "Research Report on Examination of Underdrawings in Some Early Netherlandish and German Panels in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, *Les dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Colloque VIII, 8–10 Septembre, 1989*, ed. Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq and Roger van Schoute (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 1991): 77–93, at 83–86. For the New York *Crucifixion*, see Hans Belting and Dagmar Eichberger, *Jan van Eyck als Erzähler: frühe Tafelbilder im Umkreis der New Yorker Doppeltafel* (Worms: Werner'sche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983); Dagmar Eichberger, *Bildkonzeption und Weltdeutung im New Yorker Diptychon des Jan van Eyck* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1987); Adam S. Labuda, "Jan van Eyck, Realist and Narrator: On the Structure and Artistic Sources of the New York *Crucifixion*," *Artibus et Historiae* XIV, No. 27 (1993): 9–30.

⁷⁶ Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, 117, discusses the Duke of Burgundy's patronage of Eastern religious establishments, including the chapel on the purported site

Besides Assisi, there was the *Convento di Fonte Colombo* southwest of Rieti in Latium. With a grotto where the saint fasted and beheld the infant Christ in a tree-trunk, an apparition not unlike that experienced by Philip the Good when fighting the Dauphinists at Mons-en-Vimeu (Abbeville) on August 31, 1421, a vision which led him to found the Franciscan Order of the Dry Tree.⁷⁷ The nearby *Convento di Greccio* was at the summit of a cliff over two thousand feet in height, and St. Bonaventura (1221–1274), biographer of St. Francis, had dwelled in one of the monastery's cells. Decorated with frescoes by Giotto, its "Chapel of the Crib" was famed for the first Nativity crèche made by Francis in 1223. Legend relates that when he offered Christmas Mass, the statue of Christ in the manger came alive. At Assisi, the Burgundians would have visited the basilica of *San Francesco*, which was believed to mark the crypt of St. Francis (Fig. 1.66). Jan would have seen Simone Martini's fresco cycle of the "Life of St. Martin of Tours" and a host of other Late Gothic works which paid tribute to the memory of Francis.⁷⁸ Other shrines visited by the Burgundians would have been *Santa Chiara*, which was raised between 1257 and 1265, with its reliquaries and tomb of St. Clare and the *Duomo San Rufino*, site of Francis and Clare's baptism. On the fringe of Assisi, a little over a mile away was the *Convento di San Damiano*, where Francis was inspired by a "speaking" crucifix to found his Order and where Clare lived until her death in 1253. The basilica of *Santa Maria degli Angeli* was situated three miles west of Assisi. Clare professed her vows in the small ninth-century chapel called *Porziuncola*. In its hospital for pilgrims, Francis died on October 3, 1226. To visit the place where Francis received the marks of the stigmata on September 14, 1224, Jan and his companions had to travel north to Arezzo as La Verna is situated nearly thirty miles from the town (Figs. 1.67–1.70). The most conclusive proof

of the Pentecost which was built with Burgundian funding and decorated with stained glass and tapestries. He cites A. Couret, *L'Ordre du Saint Sepulchre de Jérusalem depuis Ses Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris: 1905).

⁷⁷ Alphonse de Schout, "Confrère de Notre-Dame de l'Arbre Sec," *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 4^e série, 28 (1876–77): 141–87, at 142–44 (Origin of the Confraternity).

⁷⁸ Adrian S. Hoch, *Simone Martini's St. Martin Chapel in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi* (Philadelphia: Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983); Andrew Ladis, *Franciscanism, the Papacy, and Art in the Age of Giotto* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *The Poverty of Riches: St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *Saint Martin* (Tours: A. Mame, 1881).

of Jan's pilgrimage can be found in his two versions of *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata* (Turin: Galleria Sabauda; Philadelphia Museum of Art). The striated rock formations of the chalky cliffs and vegetation comprising the "bed of St. Francis" divulge a first-hand acquaintance with the topography of La Verna. Jan's devotional panels have been juxtaposed with a photograph of the site and reasonably compared with *St. Francis in Ecstasy* painted ca. 1475–80 by the Venetian Giovanni Bellini (New York: Frick Collection).⁷⁹ A provenance with the Adornes family in Bruges has been suggested for Jan's "Stigmatization" pictures based upon a will executed by Anselm Adornes (1424–1483) on February 10, 1470.⁸⁰ According to this testament, two panels of *sinte Fransoys by meester Jans handt van Heyck* were bequeathed to Anselm's daughters Margaret and Louise. The document further stipulates that each painting be given little shutters (*duerkens*) to close off the little paintings (*tavereelkins*) painted with "good likenesses" of Anselmo and his wife.⁸¹ This addendum suggests the Adornes works were of a small scale. The Philadelphia *St. Francis* (12.4 x 14.6 cm) on vellum and the Turin *St. Francis* on panel (29.2 x 33.4 cm) will be scrutinized further in this study, but both attest to Van Eyck's certain knowledge of the Friars Minor sanctuary at La Verna.⁸²

Jan's suggested trip to Italy in 1425–26 would have exposed him to monumental imagery, but apparently he was not seduced by what he saw. Besides volumetric form, Van Eyck equally must have seen Italian innovations in the representation of space. However, his stay in Florence would have been all too brief to acquire a true mastery of Brunelleschian principles underlying Tuscan experiments in illusionism. Realistic detail predominates over *la grande manière* even in his larger paintings of the *Madonnas* for Chancellor Rolin (1434–35) and Canon van der Paele (1436–37). Concurrently with these commissions for private chapels, he created

⁷⁹ Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," 29–31.

⁸⁰ Alphonse de Poorter, "Testament van Anselmus Adornes, 10 febr. 1470 (n.st.)," *Biekorf* 37 (1931): 225–39. The document is in Brussels, Koninklijk Instituut voor Kunstpatrimonium, B132567.

⁸¹ Noël Geirnaert, "Anselm Adornes and his Daughters, Owners of Two Paintings of Saint Francis by Jan van Eyck," *The National Gallery investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. Susan Foister, Sue Jones and Delphine Cool (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 163–68, at 163.

⁸² Catherine Reynolds, "The King of Painters," *The National Gallery investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. Susan Foister, Sue Jones and Delphine Cool (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 1–16, at 4–5.

exquisite devotional panels which can best be described as miniatures. With respect to Italian *chiaroscuro*, Jan's command of light and shadow was unsurpassed, reflecting his expertise in the oil medium and his inherent understanding of natural illumination. His oeuvre persistently reveals an abiding concern for accurate simulation of interior environments, landscape, and atmosphere.

Jan van Eyck's imitation of sculpture does evidence his interest in *sotto in sú*, the unusual effect rendered by linear perspective of causing the viewer to look up. His "Adam" of the *Ghent Altarpiece* stands with his foot protruding from the base of his niche, a peculiarity which may stem from his observation of Nanni di Banco's *all'antica Four Crowned Martyrs* (1410–13) who converse in a semicircle on the façade of Florence's Or San Michele. In Venice Jan also would have seen the *The Temptation of Adam and Eve* by Filippo Calendario which adorns a corner of the Doge's Palace. These carvings, in addition to Calendario's *Expulsion from Eden* on the corner between the Molo and the Piazzetta and his *Drunkenness of Noah* on the corner nearest the Ponte della Paglia, are recalled in the historiated capitals of Jan's *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* (Figs. 1.71–1.72). Similar to Altichiero da Zevio's fresco of the *Crucifixion* in the basilica of S. Antonio in Padua, Jan's panel of 1434–35 has a distinctive panoramic vista, and significantly, the mountain range depicted in the landscape perspective has been suggested to be the Alps. Jan's stunning portrait of Philip the Good's astute chancellor has been generally dated to the signing of the 1435 Treaty of Arras, as Rolin was a primary negotiator of the Flemish peace accord with France. Jan might have viewed the conflict between the Burgundians and Armagnac Dauphinists as similar to the discord which once existed between Padua and Venice. A second fresco by Altichiero in the *Capella di S. Giacomo* (Fig. 1.73) on the west wall above the choir stalls is even more iconographically complex than his *Crucifixion*. It presents an unprecedented analogy between Padua and Spain's kingdom of Asturias, equating the Venetian Wars with the Christian Reconquest. Altichiero's mural honors the chapel's patron St. James, whose remains were discovered at Compostela in the early ninth century. The composition divides neatly into three sections like consecutive stage sets of a theatrical play. On the far left St. James appears in a dream to the slumbering Ramiro I, king of Asturias (842–850), urging him to fight the Moors. The middle ground as a "second act," illustrates Ramiro I's meeting with his counselors of the *Cortes* to obtain their approval for a military campaign. As the climax to the story, the landscape on the far right

shows Ramiro I assembling his troops in expectation of a miracle at Clavijo, eight miles south of Logroño (La Rioja Province). James already has made a theophany, as he destroys the walls of the enemy castle in the distance.

Legend relates that the Christians were victorious in 844 because James descended from heaven upon a white horse brandishing a sword and holding a white banner with a red cross. In the wake of Clavijo, the battle cry of the Reconquest was “*Santiago Matamoros*” (St. James the Moor slayer). The chivalric Order of *Santiago de la Espada*, with its distinctive red cross which resembled a sword blade, was founded in 846 as a brotherhood. In 1175 the rule of St. Augustine was adopted officially under Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). Uniquely incorporating married knights not just as *confrères*, but as full members, it had the two-fold goal of protecting pilgrims traveling to the shrine of Compostela and defending the boundaries of Christendom against Moorish invasions.⁸³ Alexander Perrig has perceived that Altichiero’s representation of King Ramiro’s “throne room” is the “oldest surviving group portrait of a court.”⁸⁴ Because the baldachin was adorned with the lily standard of Anjou, he suggests the bearded ruler can be identified as Louis I “the Great” of Hungary (1342–1382). Louis became deeply embroiled in the political affairs of Northern Italy and Naples, and in Padua’s conflicts with Venice, he lent his support to Francesco I in large measure due to Bonifacio Lupi. Perrig identifies four important figures in the throne room of the “King Ramiro”: Bonafacio Lupi on the left, whose helmet is inscribed with the word *amor*; Francesco I of Padua, who faces him on the right as the only figure in profile; the humanist poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) of Arezzo, who sits full-front with a book, perhaps his *Il Trionfi*; and beside him, Lombardo della Seta, Paduan jurist and antiquarian who had advised Bonafacio in legal issues pertaining to the *Cappella S. Giacomo*.⁸⁵

The Angevin Charles Robert (1301–1342) of Naples was the father of Louis of Hungary. After Charles had established the main seat of the Anjou kings at Visegrád, Louis rebuilt and enlarged the royal palace between

⁸³ Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War. The Military Religious Orders* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1995 rpt. of 1st ed., 1972), at 151–52.

⁸⁴ Perrig, “Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages,” 93.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 93–94. The presence of the poet and jurist, Perrig states (94): “transforms this council of war (as it was in the legend) into a council of peace in the humanist spirit, debating diplomat ways of avoiding war rather than strategies of victory.” He also suggests that the two men might have played an important role in the “conception of the chapel’s decoration.”

1350 and 1360 (Fig. 174). Visegrád was occupied until 1408, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) transferred the court to Buda. In 1385 he had married Maria (1370–1395), daughter of Louis the Great. Unlike Buda, Louis' late fourteenth-century palace still stands.⁸⁶ With regard to Altichiero's palatine architecture, it may have been designed to suggest Visegrád. But the triple-arched throne room and "bedchamber of honor" reached by a flight of steps, seems to reflect some familiarity with building projects of Ramiro I in Oviedo, specifically his palatine complex of *Santa María de Naranco* (Figs. 1.75–1.76).

Rising two stories in height and built according to a rectangular plan, the *piano nobile* of *Santa María de Naranco* opens on either side with a triple-arcade which functions as a *mirador* in the classical tradition of scenic *belvederes* in villas described by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*. Within Ramiro's former palace is a barrel-vaulted Great Hall, eleven by four meters, with lateral arcades. A double staircase on the north end provides access to the upper storey's vestibule or *aula regia*, a reception chamber unique to Europe in the ninth century, but found at Charlemagne's palace at Aachen (792–805). Just as Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel was connected by a covered passageway to his palace, *San Miguel de Liño* (Fig. 177) originally was a tall, triple-aisled church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and it stood in the shadow of *Santa María de Naranco*.⁸⁷

What van Eyck might have taken from Altichiero fresco is its spatial arrangement which elicits the possibility of movement through the

⁸⁶ Júlia Kovalovszki, "The Age of the Anjou Kings (14th Century)," *Historical Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum. Guide 2. 11th to 17th Centuries*, ed. Judit H. Kolba (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Helikon Books, Ltd., 1996), 17–22, at 17. Also consult Stéphanie Méséguer, ed., *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des Princes Angevins du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, exhibition catalogue Abbaye royale de Fontevraud, 2001), especially the essay by Sándor Csernus with the participation of Noël-Yves Tonnerre, "Charles-Robert (1308–1342) et Louis le Grand (1342–1382)," 155–67.

⁸⁷ John F. Moffitt, *The Arts in Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 40–44 (Oviedo and Ramiro I as builder). For Asturian architecture also see John P. O'Neill, *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500–1200* (New York: 1993); Pedro Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967). For Aachen see Ludwig Falkenstein, *Der Lateran der karolingischen Pfalz zu Aachen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1966); idem., *Karl der Grosse und die Entstehung des Aachener Marienstiftes* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1981); Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz*, with an introduction by Erich Stephany (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1972; idem., *Der Dom zu Aachen: Architektur und Ausstattung* (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1994); idem., *Der Karlschrein und der Marienschrein im Aachener Dom* (Aachen: Einhard, 2002).

composition. The theatrical tableaux of King Ramiro in *S. Giacomo* evoke the *locus amoenus* of a villa-palace: a “bedchamber of estate”; reception hall; and adjoining courtyard where men-of-arms would wait attentively for their lord. Jan’s devotional paintings reveal a kindred delight in playing with the flow of architectural space. Altichiero did not portray Ramiro I in the physical act of bringing the Madonna’s image to his reception hall as St. James commanded. However, he highlighted the ruler’s Marian devotion by the small icon of the “Virgin and Child” which is depicted among the appointments adorning the most private room of his palace. The arcaded throne room of Altichiero’s metaphorical portrait of Louis the Great contrasts with the intimate setting of a royal bedchamber. Louis is on public display, as are the councilors of his court, whose wise advice is sought to resolve the conflict between Padua and Venice. As noted by Alexander Perrig, the impression is more that of a “council of peace” than one of “war.”

No group portrait by Jan van Eyck is known to have been painted showing the family of Chancellor Rolin or for that matter, Philip the Good in a formal audience before members of his court, though the Versailles *Hunting Festival of Philip the Good* (Figs. 1.78–1.82) has been discussed as a lost Eyckian replica revealing the influence of murals painted between 1400 and 1407 for the Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trent.⁸⁸ The panoramic effect of landscape is limited only by the poles which separate the labors associated with the twelve months. The same intense realism of the flora and fauna in the Eagle Tower resurfaces in Jan’s *Ghent Altarpiece*. A visit to Italy in 1426 would have afforded Jan van Eyck the opportunity to travel to important pilgrimage centers of southern France, including not only Vézelay but also Autun, the hometown of Chancellor Nicolas Rolin. The cathedral of Autun which was reputed to have contained the relics of St. Lazarus had a magnificent roodscreen with stone statues which may have been created by some of the sculptors responsible for the Burgundian mausoleum at Dijon. St. John the Baptist from Autun’s lost *jubé* is not far removed from Jan’s Ghent image of the saint in grisaille.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck. Die Begründer altniederländischen Malerei*, ed. Maria Schmidt-Dengler (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1989), 115–16. See also Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck: and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, with a foreword by Arthur Rosenauer, ed. Maria Schmidt-Dengler, translated by David Britt (London: Harvey Miller, 1994).

⁸⁹ An even closer correspondence exists between the Ghent St. John the Evangelist and an alabaster statue of the apostle attributed to the workshop of Antoine le Moiturier in the Augustinian church of Saint-Jean at Bar-le-Régulier in the Côt-d’Or. Founded by

As will be discussed, replicas after Jan van Eyck's lost *Fountain of Life* display a similar interest in sculpture, demonstrated by a rood screen decorated with turrets of chanting angels and an intricately carved canopy over the hieratic Christ in Majesty. With their foreground figures of the Church and the Synagogue, the compositions also reveal some familiarity with Alichiero's quasi-secular frescoes. As a footnote to the Altichiero's "Petraich," the heavenly elect of the *Ghent Altarpiece* include ancient Roman poets and Hebrew philosophers. But also sacred warrior-princes crowned with laurel are represented, and they are identical to the contemporary royals portrayed in the structured "group portrait" of the *Fons Vitae*.⁹⁰ For too long the replicas of the *Fountain of Life* have remained in the shadow of the *Ghent* polyptych. To understand Jan van Eyck the artist encompasses an analysis of his courtly position as ambassador extraordinaire. This study seeks to reveal that the premier painter of Bruges was patronized as assiduously by the Avis family of Portugal as Duke Philip the Good.

The 1427 "Secret Voyage" To Aragon

Following Jan van Eyck's return to Bruges after his 1425–1426 "secret journey" and pilgrimage, he probably did not even have time to dip his brush in pigments before he was called upon to make another trip on his lord's behalf. This second excursion, however, seems to have been marked by a profound change in status. The suggestion has been made that he traveled to Italy and Jerusalem in 1425 as a companion of Guyot of Burgundy and Jehan de Lannoy. Because Jan would have just entered the service of Philip the Good when he left Flanders, whatever reports communicated by the élite *familiar* about the artist following their trip must have been highly favorable. This, combined with the Duke's pleasure over the sketches Jan would have done abroad, are factors which might clarify his meteoric rise in social standing. From being an accompanying member of a Burgundian retinue on pilgrimage, within a year he is appointed to the position of an

the counts of Nevers, the institution had been under the dominion of the bishop of Autun since 1336.

⁹⁰ As noted by Perrig, "Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages," 93: "In Padua, where the historian Titus Livius (59 BC–AD 17) was revered like a saint, a poet was crowned in the ancient Roman style, in 1315, the first time this had been done since antiquity."

ambassador sent to negotiate with the ruler of an important European kingdom which traded extensively with Italy. According to the *Cour de Comptes* of Lille, on October 27, 1426 Jan received a substantial amount of money as an advance, three times the amount of his annual salary. The document pertaining to this diplomatic excursion in 1427 states:

Payment to Iohannes de Eick of 360 *livres* of 40 *groats* Flemish to the pound, in settlement of amount due to him for certain distant secret journeys made by order of the Duke.⁹¹

The purpose of the voyage was to negotiate a marriage contract between Philip the Good and Isabel (1409–1443), the eldest daughter of Jaime II, the Count of Urguell (Figs. 1.83–1.85). At the beginning of July 1427, Jan set sail for Catalonia in the company of Baudouin de Lannoy, Lord of Molenbaix, and Jehan de Lannoy, Lord of Roubaix. Dropping anchor at Barcelona on July 27, they were greeted with the news that Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Sicily (1394: r. 1416–1458) had transferred his court to Valencia to escape recent earthquakes. They joined the monarch in the second capital of the kingdom, spending the months of August and September with the court. During that time Jan van Eyck must have created a portrait of Isabel de Urguell and completed sketches of Valencia and its environs, as well as works of art which he found interesting.

An *Epiphany* of the *Altarpiece of the Virgin of Pobla Llarga* is exemplary of the naïve Flemish realism which characterized the art of Aragon after 1430 (Fig. 1.86–1.88). Painted about 1430, the anonymous work may depict the terrain of Valencia and appears to illustrate Aragonese royalty. Attired in a mantle of cloth-of-gold, King Ferdinand I (1380: r. 1412–1416), kneels before the infant Christ. Beside him on the ground is his golden crown which rests on a red velvet balzo. The middle Magus might be identified as Juan II (1397–1479), Ferdinand's son, who ascended the throne of Navarre in 1425. Wearing a green velvet silk *houppelande* with ochre scalloped collar, his gold-embroidered white undergarment is visible beneath long sleeves trimmed with brown marten fur. Juan II's brother, Alfonso V (1394–1458), is portrayed with a crown resting on a balzo tintured rust orange. Even

⁹¹ W.H. James Weale and Maurice W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art* (London-New York: John Lane Company, 1912), xxxiii (Document 9), Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, B 1935.

more resplendent in his long azure *houppelande* lined with ermine pelts, he is the only Magus to display a pearl and ruby necklace.⁹²

Valencia is situated close to the Mediterranean on the right bank of the Turia River and its port of El Grao is about two miles east of the city center. The *Epiphany* shows two palaces (Figs. 1.89–1.90). The royal house situated near the golden star of Bethlehem could be might be Romanesque palace of Estrella, the city selected in the twelfth century by the Kings of Navarre as their center. On the Ega River, Estrella was named by pilgrims traveling to Santiago. Legend relates that on May 25, 1085, shepherds were guided by falling stars to a statue of Our Lady of the Hill. The *Epiphany* palace on the right may be the administrative seat of the Aragonese Crown in Valencia which stood on the site of a Moorish *alcázar*. In 1238 Jaime I of Aragon ousted the powerful ruler Muhammad ibh Sâ'id, and his successors modified the Arabic palace (Figs. 1.91–1.92).⁹³

⁹² For information about the Valencian altarpiece, consult: Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos* (Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2001), 176–79; C. Rodrigo Zanzosa, “En torno al Retablo de Puebla Larga,” *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* (1991): 31–34. Both Melchior and Baltazar are prominently depicted in the *Epiphany*, but Juan II did not become king of Aragon until the death of Alfonso V in Naples on June 27, 1458. Concerning the Neapolitan *Portrait of Alfonso V* which was painted in 1455, and measures 59 x 45 cm, see Everett Fahy, “Alfonso V de Aragón,” *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo. Viajes de Artistas e Itinerarios de Obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el Siglo XV*, ed. Mauro Natale (Madrid-Valencia: exhibition catalogue, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza and Museo de Bellas Arts de València, 2001), No. 90, 527–29. See also: *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico*, Naples exhibition catalogue (Bologna: 1977), 105–108, 112, 239. Indispensable material on the rule of Alfonso V is provided by Alan Frederick Charles Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press-Oxford University Press, 1990); idem., *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press-Oxford University Press, 1976).

⁹³ Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región. novedades y rectificaciones*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1969–70); idem., *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (almoravides, almohades y benimerines)* (Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956); idem., *Historia política del Imperio Almohade*, 2 vols. (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1956–57); Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, 5 vols. (Valencia: Anubar, 1976–1988); Pierre Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la Reconquête: XIe–XIIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1990–1991); Francisco Elías de Tejaday Spínola, *El concepto del reino de Valencia en don Jaime I el Conquistador* (Valencia: Círculo Cultural Aparisi y Guijarro, 1978); Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon

Jan van Eyck had brought with him a portrait of Philip the Good to Valencia, which was given to Alfonso V and taken by that monarch to Naples where it was copied by the Neapolitan artist Colantonio (active 1440–1460). Neither the original portrait nor its replica are extant.⁹⁴ Jan likely carried a portfolio of drawings to Catalonia and Aragon, but the brevity of his excursion, a mere two months, would not have permitted an opportunity to paint. Jan's visit to Catalonia and Aragon was all too cursory in 1427 for there to be any decisive imprint upon his art, other than an interest in local flora which seems to surface in the landscape of his *Ghent Altarpiece*. The Aragonese marriage negotiations in 1427 floundered, likely over the issue of dowry, and Philip the Good's ambassadors departed Valencia on October 1, 1427. The embassy probably sailed directly from Valencia to Barcelona and then Genoa, returning overland to Flanders. At some point on their diplomatic mission they may have visited the Balearic island of Mallorca.

The Burgundian diplomats arrived to Lille sometime before October 17, the date the magistrates of Tournai hosted a reception for the Lords of Molenbaix and Roubaix.⁹⁵ On October 18, the feast day of St. Luke, Jan van

Press, 1976–1978). Between 1492 and 1498, however, the residence was rebuilt as a new and grander commercial exchange for Valencia's silk merchants. *La Lonja* rose in a Flamboyant Gothic style on the edge of the *Plaza del Mercado* near the town market and its great hall still stands with its decorated portals, star-vaulted ceiling, twisted pillars supporting ogival arches and bays with window traceries. Little remains, therefore, of the palace in Valencia where Alfonso V would have welcomed the Burgundian diplomats.

⁹⁴ Penny Howell Jolly, *Jan van Eyck and St. Jerome: A Study of Eyckian Influences in Colantonio and Antonello da Messina* (Philadelphia: Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1976), 83–86. Concerning Alfonso V as patron, also see: M.A. Skoglund, *In Search of the Art Commissioned and Collected by Alfonso I of Naples, Notably Painting* (Columbia: Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, 1989); Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Art and Political Identity in Fifteenth-Century Naples: Pisanello, Cristoforo di Geremia and King Alfonso's Imperial Fantasies," in Charles M. Rosenberg, ed., *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy 1250–1500* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press 1990), 11–37.

⁹⁵ Jacques Paviot, "La Vie de Jan van Eyck selon les documents écrits," *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'art de Louvain* XXIII (1990): 83–93, at 86 and note 24, for Jan's visit to Tournai in 1427 (Tournai *Comptes d'entremise* of 1427, wine given to *Johannes peintre* on the feast of St. Luke) and his return a year later on March 23, 1428. For information about the kingdom of Aragon and count-kings during the Middle Ages consult Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon. A Short History* (Oxford-New York: Clarendon-Oxford University Press, 1986); idem, *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

Eyck is documented as receiving *vin d'honneur*, a ceremony which logically took place in the house belonging to the Guild of Painters. Upon the return of his emissaries, Philip the Good would have been fully informed about the meetings in Valencia. He also must have received news that Alfonso V's sister, Leonor (1400?–1445), already had been pledged to Prince Duarte of Portugal. Named for her Portuguese mother, Leonor de Albuquerque (1374: m. 1393–1435), the daughter of Pedro I of Portugal, Princess Leonor wed Duarte at Coimbra in 1428. The Flemish ambassadors might have urged their Lord to consider the hand of Duarte's sister, Isabel. Though the *Infanta* was thirty years of age, she was of eminent royal status, and considering the Burgundian-English alliance, her matrilineal bloodline was of the house of Lancaster. For a ruler contemplating a crusade to eradicate the memory of Nicopolis, a marriage to the daughter of the Avis King João I offered Lusitania's ships and men-of-arms. Beyond that, the resources of the maritime Kingdom also included wool, which could be exported to the weaving centers of Flanders.

Nearly a year would pass after their return from Aragon before Jan van Eyck and the same dignitaries would set sail for Lisbon. Their 1428–29 voyage brought a learned princess to Flanders, the daughter of Philippa of Lancaster, who was as well-versed in literature and the arts as her brothers. Jan van Eyck retained a high stature at court throughout his documented career and he appears to have enjoyed the patronage of both Burgundy and Portugal. Philip the Good's esteem for the diplomat-painter is proven by his generous stipends, but particularly by a letter dated March 13, 1435 in the Lille Archives. The dispatch bearing the ducal monogram sharply rejects an exchequer's plan to reduce the artist's stipend as an economic measure. Tripling Jan's salary to 360 *livres parisis*, the Duke additionally remarks that another painter could not be found "equally to his taste nor of such excellence in his art and science."⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, XXXVI–XXXVII, Document 24. Writing to officers of the Chamber of Accounts at Lille, Philip the Good verified the registration of "Jehan van Eyck's" letters patent granting a life pension. The letter is in the Lille Archives of the Department of the North, Parchment B 1955. According to Weale, 18, the life pension marked an enormous increase in salary. In lieu of the annual 100 *livres parisis* paid in two installments, Jan received 360 *livres* of 40 *groats* Flemish currency.

The 1428–1429 “Secret Voyage” to Portugal

A Mission on Behalf of the Duke of Burgundy

JAN van Eyck arrived in Portugal on December 16, 1428 as a member of a diplomatic retinue charged with the mission of arranging a marriage between Philip the Good of Burgundy and Princess Isabel, daughter of King João I (1357–1433). At the time of his visit to the Avis court, Van Eyck had held the prestigious position of *valet de chambre* for three years.¹ An official account of the embassy names the prestigious delegates sent on the Duke’s behalf. Heading the group was Jehan de Lannoy, Lord of Roubaix and Herzelee, councilor and first chamberlain, who had traveled a year earlier with Jan to Aragon. Another former traveling companion to Spain was Baudouin de Lannoy (b. 1386/7). Called “Le Beghe,” the Lord of Molenbaix (Molombaix) and Governor of Lille, held a distinguished place in the entourage. In 1433, shortly after his return to Flanders, he was appointed chamberlain by Philip the Good. Jan van Eyck’s portrait of *Baudouin de Lannoy*, dated about 1436–38, reveals his high status and affluence (Fig. 2.1–2.2).² Around his neck is the distinctive collar of the

¹ Amaury Louys de La Grange, Baron, “Itinéraire d’Isabelle de Portugal...,” *Annales du Comité Flamand de France*, LXII (1938), 13ff; J.G. Lemoine, “Autour du voyage de Jean van Eyck au Portugal in 1428,” *Cahiers de Bordeaux* (1954), 17ff; César Pemán y Pemartin, *Juan van Eyck y España* (Cadiz: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Cadiz, 1969); Charles Arthur John Armstrong, “La Politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois,” *Annales de Bourgogne* XL (1968): 5–58; 89–139; Charles Sterling, “Jan van Eyck avant 1432,” *Revue de l’Art* 33 (1976), 7–82, at 33–37.

² Angelica Dülberg, *Privatporträts: Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 1990), 218; Dieter Jansen, “Jan van Eycks Selbstbildnis –

Order of the Golden Fleece founded by Philip the Good on January 10, 1430. His purple-brown *heuque*, worn over a wine-red long sleeved garment, is of silk velvet and is trimmed in the same brown fur as his tall hat.³ Though the fabric is woven in one height of pile, not the two-pile type known as *velours sur velours*, it is brocaded with gold thread to simulate vegetal motifs which shimmer as brightly as his collar.⁴

Andrieu de Toulougeon (André de Thoulougeon), Lord of Mornay, and Jan van Eyck enjoyed the same status and received the same travel stipend as Bardouin de Lannoy. The four diplomats were accompanied by “numerous gentlemen,” including chamberlains and councilors under Toulougeon’s aegis; Master Gille (Giles), a learned Doctor of Canon Law and provost of Harelbeke (Harlebek), charged with the supervision of a councilor (Constable); and Baudouin d’Oignies (Baoudouin d’Ongnies), squire and steward of expenses, who was assisted by a clerk. Identified members of the retinue also included: Master Jean Hibert, the Secretary; four attendants —

der ‘Mann mit dem roten Turban’ und der sogenannte ‘Tymotheos’ der Londoner National Gallery,” *Pantheon* XLVII (1989): 36–48, at 45–46; Peter Klein, “Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Bildtafeln des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Les dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Collège Érasme, VI, 12–14 Septembre 1985, ed. Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq and Roger van Schoute (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1987): 29–40, at 31–32.

³ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971 rpt. of 1953 edition, Harvard University), I, 197, comments: “Baudouin de Lannoy and Jan van Eyck lived in Lille up to the end of 1429. Both were members of the missions to the Iberian peninsula, and Sir Baudouin wears a cloak made of twelve *ells* of purple gold brocade (*drap d’or violet-cramoisy*) which he had received as a present from Philip the Good in 1427.”

⁴ Lisa Monnas, “Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Jan van Eyck,” *The National Gallery investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. Susan Foister, Sue Jones and Delphine Cool (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 147–62, at 149. In comparing the ambassador’s velvet with that of Chancellor Rolin in the Louvre *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* (1434), she notes: “The pattern worn by de Lannoy is smaller in scale than that of Nicolas Rolin’s velvet: the larger the pattern repeat, the more expensive the cloth... The textile worn by Nicolas Rolin has brown silk velvet pile woven in two heights. In the lower register of pile, there are small flecks of highlights which denote metal loops woven among the pile to look as though they have been scattered... This was a type of velvet known in Italy as *alluciolato* or lit up.” She also points out that the *velours sur velours noir tissu d’or* were velvets purchased by Philip the Good in 1432–33, which cost more than the standard *velours sur velours brochié d’or* because they probably “incorporated effects of bouclé gold wefts.” Also see Lisa Monnas, “‘Tissues’ in England during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Bulletin du Centre Internationale de Textiles Anciens* (1998), 63–80; Lisa Monnas and A. Vial, “Developments in Figured Velvet Weaving in Italy during the 14th Century,” *Bulletin du Cieta* (1986): 63–112.

Jean de Baisse, Oudot Brain, Héctor Sacquepées; Pierre de Vaudrey, a “cup-bearer”; and two lawyers, Renty and Portejoie.⁵ The Burgundian envoy left the Duke’s palace in Lille with a generous stipend for travel. Embarking on two Venetian galleys at Sluis, they departed from the port on October 19, 1428 and arrived the next day in England. They remained in Sandwich until November 13, awaiting the arrival from London of two additional Venetian ships. The embassy was compelled by adverse weather to dock at Camber and Plymouth, before docking at Falmouth on November 25. The vessels left on December 2, sailing through the Bay of Biscay and disembarking at Bayonne (Bayona) on December 11. Departing from the southern Galician port on the 14th, the fleet drew anchor two days later at Cascais, six leagues from Lisbon, where they arrived on December 18 (Fig. 2.3).

The electric atmosphere of the Avis court is reflected in the chronicler’s account of the reception provided the Burgundian envoy by royal family and members of their household.⁶ The description given by the Flemish chronicler recounting the festive ceremonies and grand tours of 1428–1429 reads as follows:

At that time the king of Portugal was in a town called Estremos (Fig. 2.4–2.8), three or four days’ journey from Lisbon, with his children, including my lady the infanta [Elizabeth]..., and a large gathering of lords, knights, squires, ladies, and people of all estates, at a celebration which was about to begin for the reception of Madam Leonor, infanta of Aragon, wife of my lord the infante Duarte, eldest son of the said king of Portugal. So the ambassadors immediately sent Flanders King-of-Arms to the king of Portugal with letters explaining their arrival and its cause...

When the king of Portugal received the ambassadors’ letters, he wrote and invited them to come to see him and, as soon as they were able to provide themselves with horses, they set out towards him. But when they were only three or four leagues from the place where he was, he wrote asking them to delay their arrival till further notice, since he wanted to have his children, who had

⁵ W.H. James Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck. Their Life and Work* (London-New York: John Lane Company, LV–LXXII; Pemán, *Juan van Eyck y España*, 30.

⁶ All quotations of the account are from Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 178–84. See Brussels, *Archives Générales du Royaume*, CC 132, folios 157–166 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Portugais 20.

recently departed, with him. So they waited at a place called Reols [Arraiolos] until 12 January [1429], when the king sent for them. On that day, the ambassadors left Reols and arrived at a town called Aviz [in the historical province of Alentejo], where the king was, being honourably met by some princes of the royal house and other gentlemen and notables in number, who gave them a magnificent and joyous reception.⁷

The Burgundian retinue had observed Christmas at Arraiolos, a town just south of Évora (Figs. 2.9–2.10), and would have stayed in the fourteenth-century fortress, massive ruins of which still exist. After riding north, the diplomats reached Aviz’s “Castle of the “Knights of São Bento” (1214), which overlooked the junction of the Sêda and Avis Rivers (Figs. 2.11–2.13). The chronicler’s account relates:

Next morning, 13 January, after mass, the king sent for the ambassadors, who presented him with letters from my lord of Burgundy and made the customary reverences and salutations. The king received them kindly and joyfully and agreed to hear their credentials after dinner that day; at which time the said ambassadors appeared before the king in his council chamber in the presence of Dom Pedro, Dom Henrique and Dom Fernando, his children, the count of Barcelos [Afonso, illegitimate son of João I and Ines Pires] and other notables. The main reason why my lord [the Duke] of Burgundy had sent them was then notably expounded, in Latin, through a doctor, his councilor, that he was well pleased with their arrival and that he would take advice on what they had said and expounded on behalf of my lord of Burgundy and would then reply. At this point, the ambassadors withdrew to their lodgings.

On the same day, towards vespers, the king sent word to them that, since he was very busy and could not therefore easily attend to their business in person, he had asked my lord Duarte and his other sons to act for him in this matter. On the next day and the days following the affair was further discussed with them or some of them, and in conclusion, a document was drawn up in writing. At the same time, the ambassadors arranged for a *valet de chambre*

⁷ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy*, 179–80.

of my lord of Burgundy named Jan van Eyck, who was an exquisite master of the art of painting, to paint my lady the infanta Elizabeth from life; and they also diligently informed themselves in various places through various people of the reputation, bearing, and health of that lady...⁸

On February 12, one painting of Princess Isabel was sent to Flanders by sea with Pierre de Vaudrey, squire and cup-bearer of the Duke, and a “pursuivant of arms” called Renty. A second portrait was taken overland in the care of Jehan de Baissy, squire, and Portjoie, another “pursuivant.” Each messenger from Lisbon carried summaries of the negotiations for the Portuguese marriage.⁹

Polemical Portraits of the *Infanta*

In 1429 Jan van Eyck seems to have rejected the profile portrait to explore the three-quarter view. Not only did this approach revealed more of a face, but also tonal modulations enhanced three-dimensionality and provided a more realistic likeness. Though both his portraits sent from Avis to Flanders are lost, a seventeenth-century pen and ink drawing of Infanta Isabel on bluish paper (34 x 23 cm/13¼ x 9") was published by Louis Dimier about 1922 (Fig. 2.14).¹⁰ Sold in Paris from the London Parsons collection three years later, this drawing in the Eyckian manner was observed by Kurt Bauch

⁸ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 180.

⁹ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 180. For general information, consult: W. Devreker, “Isabella van Portugal,” *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* (1977): 406–14; Camille Looten, “Isabelle de Portugal, Duchesse de Bourgogne et Comtesse de Flandre,” *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 18 (1938): 5–22; Jane Friedman, “A New Look at the Imagery of Isabelle of Portugal,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 1, No. 4 (Summer 1982): 9–12. Luis Reis-Santos, *Obras-primas da pintura flamenga dos séculos XV e XVI em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1953); idem., *Masterpieces of Flemish Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in Portugal* (Lisbon: 1962), 15–16; Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, “D. Isabel de Portugal, duqueza Borgonha: Notas documentos para a sua biographia e para a historia das relações entre Portugal e a cõrte de Borgonha,” *Arquivo Historico Português* 3 (1905): 81–106.

¹⁰ Louis Dimier, “Dessin du portrait d’Isabelle de Portugal par Van Eyck,” *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1921): 116; idem., “Un portrait perdu de Jean van Eyck,” *La Renaissance de l’art français et des industries de luxe* V (Paris, 1922): 541–42, ill.). Also consult: Salomon Reinach, “Un Portrait d’Isabelle de Portugal,” *Revue Archéologique* 5, vol. XV (1922): 174.

as late as 1960 in southern Germany.¹¹ The drawing affirms Jan's interest in a naturalistic setting, as he presents a shadowy window parapet that obscures the divisions between the imaginary and real worlds. The four sides of the outer frame of the portrait bear the inscription:

*Cest la pourtraiture qui fu envoie a Philippe duc [top]
de bourgoingne et de brabant de dame ysabel fille de Roy Jehan [right]
de portugal et dalgarbe [Algarve], seigneur de cepta [Ceuta] par lui [bottom]
conquise qui fu depuis femme et espeuse de desus dit duc Philippe. [left]*

At the top of the inner frame the sitter is further identified with the words: LINFANTE DAME ISABEL. Additional decoration includes paired squares at the corners of the outer and inner frames of the Golden Fleece insignia, the flint and firestone. Bisecting both frames on all sides are emblematic initials, PY, which denote "Philippe et Ysabel," and were emblazoned also on the wedding gown worn by the Princess in Flanders. Van Eyck portrayed Dona Isabel with a sense of self-assurance seated within a strongly lighted niche behind a stone windowsill. Suspended from her necklace of gold is a "baroque" pearl and gemstone pendant, which undoubtedly was selected to compliment her turban. Set jaunty on her head, it was constructed of a stiffened foundation of linen covered in gold silk or velvet. The large dome was covered with a reticulated network of raised gold mesh accented at intervals with hundreds of pearls and, a gold, pearl encrusted head band. The drawing of the Infanta Isabel has been compared with the Erythraean Sibyl in the *Ghent Altarpiece* (213.5 x 36.1 cm), who also displays a pearled turban inspired by Islamic design (Fig. 2.15).¹² The Ghent oracle wears a voluminous velvet *houppelande* with short sleeves bordered by a wide mink collar and deep cuff bands of the same fur. Beneath her *houppelande*, she

¹¹ Kurt Bauch, "Bildnisse des Jan van Eyck," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahresheft*. 1961/62 (Heidelberg, 1963): 96–142 (especially 85–91 for the *Portrait of Isabel of Portugal*), reprinted in *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: 1967): 79–122 (at 85–87, 89–91, Figs. 20 and 28, he discusses the *Dimier Drawing*, *Tymotheos* and the *Ghent Altarpiece*). Also consult Charles Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *La Revue des Arts* 33 (1976), 7–82, at 33–34.

¹² Kurt Bauch, "Bildnisse des Jan van Eyck," 90, Fig. 21. The Ghent Sibyl wearing red robes and an exotic white turban headdress was called the "Erythraean Sibyl" by Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, I, 240. However, a persuasive argument for re-identifying the figure as the "Cumaean Sibyl" was provided by Dagmar Eichberger, *Bildkonzeption und Weltdeutung im New Yorker Diptychon des Jan van Eyck* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 80–81. The same red-robed woman with a white turban

wears a long-sleeved velvet *robe décolleté* trimmed across the square cut neckline with a delicate embroidered band that bears an inscription in old Gothic letters. The word METAPARO (metaphor) appears across the band of her royal blue velvet bodice. Wilhelm Stein, the first to identify the Ghent Sibyl with a pearl headdress as Isabel of Portugal, also related the inscription of her banderole to the birth of an heir to the dynastic House of Burgundy: REX ADVENIET PER SECUA FUTURUS SCILICET IN CARNE.¹³ The scroll provides a compelling allusion to the ducal scion as a *Cristomimetes*.

The general consensus is that Jan van Eyck painted two identical likenesses of the Infanta which were dispatched to Duke Philip by sea and overland. The portrait transported by horseback would have had to been a miniature or a painting on linen. The second work transported on a Portuguese galleon might have been a panel, but more likely it was executed in the same medium. Challenging the authenticity of the inscription of the Dimier portrait drawing, Elisabeth Dhanens has proposed that Van Eyck instead painted at Avis a lost archetype of the Louvre portrait traditionally identified as *Isabel of Portugal* (Fig. 2.16).¹⁴ Housed since 1951 in Dijon (Musée de Beaux-Arts: 29.5 x 22.6 cm/11¾ x 9"), this painting provides a three-quarter view of the Princess, which accentuates the soft contours of a youthful face, delicately formed rosebud mouth and demure demeanor of the deep set, downcast eyes. She wears a gown tightly fitted across the deep bodice that terminates in a square Renaissance neckline which is ever so slightly arched across the bosom and displays a decisive familiarity with prevailing French fashion modes of the period. Completing the formal attire, Isabel's outer red velvet gown with voluminous sleeves is bordered in brown marten fur.

Princess Isabel's tall dark brown *henin* is covered with a beautiful cut and voided brick-red silk velvet, brocaded in gold threads and accentuated the

appears beside the mourning Virgin Mary in the *Crucifixion* panel of the *New York Diptych*. Eichberger identified her as the Cumaean Sibyl based upon her prophecies of Christ's Passion and his Apocalyptic return to earth. As observed by Adam S. Labuda, "Jan van Eyck, Realist and Narrator: On the Structure and Artistic Sources of the New York *Crucifixion*," *Artibus et Historiae* XIV, No. 27 (1993): 9–30, at 12, the representation of the Erythraean Sibyl near the Virgin at Calvary extends the theme of prophecy to the pendant panel of the *Last Judgment*.

¹³ Wilhelm Stein, "Die Bildnesse von Rogier van der Weyden," in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XLVII (Berlin, 1926): 1–37.

¹⁴ Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (New York-Antwerp: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, Ltd.-Mercatorfonds, 1980), 132–33.

length of the center panel with a stuffed roll of matching fabric. Descending from the seam lines of the center panel is an ornate band of gold braid, encrusted with grey-blue pearls, rubies and hanging droplets that frames her ears and encircles the back of the neckline and head. The dome shaping her head is a complex design with the lines of seed pearls bisected at intervals by four pearls clustered around a ruby. These pearl clusters are evocative of the five shields on the Portuguese coat-of-arms. The heraldic shields signify the five Moorish kings vanquished in the Reconquest by King Afonso Henriques I (1094: r. 1139–1185), founder of the nation of Portugal. Based upon his legendary vision of the crucified Christ on the eve of his victory at Ourique (July 25, 1139) against the Muslim governor of Santarém, the bezants within each shield further symbolizes the five wounds of Calvary.¹⁵ Mounted atop the architectonic headdress that rises majestically off Isabel's forehead is a cloth fall of matching patterned fabric piped in gold and edged in pearls, which drapes gracefully around her back, shoulders and arms.

The single most striking accessory is the heavy gold plaque necklace that encircles Princess Isabel's throat. Each plaque linked in sequence has been set with a domed pearl held fast in a bezel setting and further ornamented with pendants of the Burgundian fleur-de-lis. The pendants, in fact, replicate the shape of those found on the escutcheon of King João I, which are blue and located in the cross points of the outer red band (Fig. 2.17). Suspended from the center concentration of pearls in Isabel's necklace is a longer golden pendant distinguished by a setting of three large pearls with golden tassels terminating in three smaller pearls. While there is definite correlation with the general line and silhouette in the feminine mode of French fashions during the first half of the fifteenth century, Isabel's dress is basically

¹⁵ José Mattoso, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096–1325)*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985; 5th ed. 1995); *idem.*, *Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa. A Família e o Poder* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1981); Antonio Brandaó [1584–1637], *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*, with an introduction by Artur de Magalhães Basto (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1945); Mário Gonçalves Viana, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Porto: Editora Educação Nacional, 1938); Mário Domingues, *D. Afonso Henriques. Evocação histórica* (Lisbon: R. Torres, 1970); Duarte Galvão [1446–1517] *Chronica de el-rei D. Affonso Henriques*, ed. Gabriel Pereira (Lisbon: Escriptorio, 147 rua dos Retrozeiros, 1906); Alfredo Pimenta, *Ainda a batalha de Ourique* (Lisbon: Edição do autor, 1945); Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Ensaio histórico sobre o significado e valor da tomada da Santarém aos Mouros em 1147, no 8.º centenário, 1147–1947* (Santarém: 1947); Jean-Pierre Leguay, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, Maria Angela Beirante, *Portugal das invasões germânicas à "reconquista"* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1993).

reflective of the strong *mudéjar* influences that permeated the character of the fabrics, color, and selection of garments worn in the court of Portugal from the early years of the Renaissance and extended into the next century. The rapidly compounding sense of individuality and understated elegance that dominated the mode of dress on the Iberian Peninsula was destined to leave an indelible mark in the history of costume that would have a widespread influence on the direction of European dress for several centuries yet to come. Besides the Louvre panel portrait, there are two additional representations of the Infanta wearing an identical *henin*. One is a drawing dated 1560 in the *Brabants Wapenboek* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 285 x 240 mm), which carries an identifying inscription, “Isabella, fille du Roy Jehan de Portugal” (Fig. 2.18).¹⁶ The other in Ghent (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 22 x 29 cm) faces a likeness to the right of Philip the Good *en buste* (Fig. 2.19). Between the figures are their respective armorials of Portugal and Flanders. This work and two other double portraits in the same venue, *Jean the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria* and *Charles the Bold and Isabelle of Bourbon*, are early sixteenth-century copies after a lost series of the “Valois Counts and Countesses.”¹⁷

Princess Isabel of Portugal met Philip the Good’s retinue in a blue brocaded cloak opens at both sides. Her headdress of blue velvet was so extraordinary that the embassy took her for a knight.¹⁸ Her velvet headdress would have been a turban like the one in the Dimier drawing, and magnificently embellished with pearls. The envoys found the Infanta’s sense of style to be somewhat eccentric by Burgundian standards, but their misidentification of the daughter of King João I does reveal her proclivity

¹⁶ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. III 878 C, folio 33, dated to the end of the sixteenth century and published by Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 132–33, ill. 85.

¹⁷ Ghent, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. S–98. See Georges Hulin de Loo, “Le Portrait d’Isabelle de Portugal au Louvre,” in *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Gand* XI (Ghent, 1903): 241–43. See Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, “Le Portrait d’Isabelle de Bourbon (?)”, *Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon*, with the collaboration of Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, No. 139 (Brussels: Centre national de Recherches “Primitifs flamands,” 1986): 1–20 and plates, at 12–17. Rather than Duchess Isabel, she identifies the Louvre–Dijon and Ghent portraits as Isabelle of Bourbon (1435–1455). Her attribution is based upon the *gisant* of Charles the Bold’s second wife in the Cathedral of Antwerp, not only her costume but also her penchant for heavy necklaces.

¹⁸ William Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1971), 68.

for dramatic attire. Dona Isabel, who sustained a taste for opulent fabrics in the 1440s, may have ushered in a vogue for the *henin*. She liked low and open necklines, as proven by the *Ghent Altarpiece Erythraean Sibyl* and the Dimier drawing, and she continued to prefer such décolletage as she advanced in age. By 1457 the Duchess of Burgundy has distanced herself from her husband, retreating to her castle at La-Mote-au-Bois (Fig. 2.20) where she adopted the Clarissa habit. The courtly account of Aliénor de Poitiers documents the drastic alteration of Isabel's appearance after her retirement from public affairs. Observing the Duchess had worn expensive silks with a long train in 1445 when she met Marie of Anjou (1404–1463: m. 1422), wife of King Charles VII (1403–1461), Aliénor remarks Isabel had abandoned trains and silks at the baptism of her granddaughter (Mary of Burgundy: 1457–1481).¹⁹

The Ghent panel of *Philip the Good* marks a departure from his usual black attire which he preferred after the 1419 assassination of his father, John the Fearless. The Duke of Burgundy's robe in this double portrait is of gold and scarlet brocade and the neckline is bordered in marten fur. His attire is clearly celebratory, and certainly appropriate for the dual commemoration of a formal ducal marriage at Sluis (January 7, 1430) and the founding of his order of the Golden Fleece (January 10, 1430). The colors of that institution, red and gold, are suggested by his luxurious robes, and he displays the gold collar of the chivalric order around his neck. The July 1420 inventory of the Philip the Good's wardrobe mentions a silk hat with flowers, gold spangles and peacock feathers decorated with rubies and pearls, each valued at 50,000 crowns. A ducal hat with an ostrich feather was admired by a visitor to the Coudenberg Palace of Brussels in the winter of 1465–66, who was sufficiently impressed to note its worth at 110,000 crowns.²⁰ The headgear of the Duke in his Ghent portrait, however, is a basic black *chaperon* adorned with an *agrafe* in the form of a gold cross inset with pearls, a fastener which signifies his title as Lord of Burgundy. No other replicas exist showing Philip

¹⁹ Margaret Scott, *The History of Dress Series. Late Gothic Europe 1400–1500* (London: Mills and Boon, Ltd., 1980), 163; idem., *Medieval Clothing and Costumes: Displaying Wealth and Class in Medieval Times* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2004). See Aliénor de Poitiers, "Les Honneurs de la Cour," in La Curie de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, ed. M. Ch. Nodier, II (Paris: 1826): 171–267.

²⁰ Malcolm Henry Ikin Letts (ed.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 1465–1467* (Cambridge: Publications of the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, CVIII, 1957), 28. The hat was evaluated at 60,000

the Good in a red and gold *houppelande*, though he wore cloth of gold and in 1432–33 purchased a velvet known in Italy as *allucciolato* and *velours sur velours noir tissu d’or* in the North, a rich double pile velvet with small loops of gold woven in the lower register.²¹

Because several portraits of Isabel survive showing her in the same sumptuous *henin*, perhaps all descend from a lost prototype as suggested by Elisabeth Dhanens. On February 12 of 1429, however, Jan van Eyck may not have sent identical paintings from Avis to his illustrious patron. Rather, he might have forwarded two distinct portraits: one of the Infanta with a pearl-studded turban; and the other showing her with a *henin*.²² Both ornate headdresses would have been part of her dowry. The Louvre *henin* is distinguished by a lavish display of not only gold, but also numerous rubies and pearls. If King João I wanted to impress a suitor with the wealth of his nation, then certainly two different portraits of his daughter in costly raiment would have served the purpose. The Dimier drawing of Infanta Isabel may have been only a vague copy after Jan van Eyck’s original portrait, but it reveals his abiding interest in masonry. The compositional placement of the sitter within a shallow niche conforms with Jan’s portraits circa 1432 in the closed panels of the *Ghent Altarpiece*, and especially to his *Tymotheos of Miletus*. Isabel sits before an open parapet of the medieval Avis Castle and rests her hands upon the stone moulding. The niche behind her is mostly

crowns and the ostrich feather attachment on the hat at 50,000 crowns. From Bohemia, the traveler Leo of Rozmítal and his German companion Gabriel Tetzl were given a tour of the cabinets of gold, silver and jewels. They were informed by the Duke Philip’s keeper that it would take three days to view the treasures. See Vaughan, *Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 151 and note 1. For the July 1420 Inventory, see Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales du Nord antérieures à 1790, Série B, Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, ed. Le Glay et al, *Série B*, 10 vols. (Lille: 1863–1906), VIII, 161–64. For reasons this inventory was taken in 1430–32, consult Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419–1467)*, Ph.D. Dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1979), 334. Also review consult Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “The Practical Logistics of Art: Thoughts on the Commissioning, Displaying, and Storing of Art at the Burgundian Court,” *In Detail. New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honor of Walter S. Gibson*, ed. Laurinda S. Dixon (Brussels: Brepols Publishers, 1998), 27–48, at 41–42.

²¹ Monnas, “Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Jan van Eyck,” 149. See also Kurt Zangger, *Contribution à la terminologie des tissus en ancien français attestés dans les textes français, provençaux, italiens, espagnols, allemands et latins* (Zurich: Arts Graphiques Schüler, 1945); Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu (troisième partie)* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909) reprinted and augmented in 2nd ed., 1929.

²² Weale, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Their Life and Work*, 177–78.

in shadows, save for an odd spotlighting of the wall near her left shoulder. Could this area have been altered from the original? While the posing of the Infanta's hands focuses attention upon bejeweled fingers, her right hand extends, not quite resting upon the left, but more braced. This same right hand might easily have held the roll stick of a banderole unfurling in the space of the spotlight.

Among the Castilian courtiers within the inner circle of the Hapsburgs, Diego de Guevara († 1520) had served as chamberlain to Philip the Fair before entering the service of his sister, Margaret of Austria, governess of the Spanish Netherlands between 1507 and 1530. Guevara bequeathed Jan van Eyck's *Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* to Archduchess Margaret.²³ Additionally, according to the 17 July 1516 inventory of her paintings at Mechelen (Malines Castle between Antwerp and Brussels), Guevara gave his patroness a portrait described as follows:

A small panel with the face of a Portuguese which Madame was given by Don Diogo. Made by the hand of Johannes, and it is made without oil and on linen, without cover or thin veneer.²⁴

This same work was described in an inventory taken at Malines between July 9, 1523 and April 17, 1524:

Another panel of a young woman, dressed in the mode of Portugal, her robe of deep red trimmed with marten fur, holding in her right hand a banderole with a little St. Nicolas at the top, called the beautiful Portuguese.²⁵

What precisely was the Portuguese "mode" if not the highly unusual headdresses, like the pearl-netted turban and the crested helmet of velvet

²³ Jan Karl Steppe, "Mécénat espanol et art flammand au XVIe siècle," *Splendeurs d'Espagne et les ville belges*, I (Brussels: 1985), 247–82 at 254–55. Jozef Duverger, "De Werken van 'Johannes' in de Verzamelingen van Margareta van Oostenrijk," *Oud Holland XLV* (1928): 210–20.

²⁴ "Ung moien tableau de la face d'une Portugaloise que Madame a eu de Don Diogo. Fait de la main de Iohannes, et est fait sans huelle et sur toille, sans couverte ne feullet" (Lille: Archives of the Department of the North, *Inventaire des Peintres, etc. de Marguerite d'Autriche dressé en 1516*, B 3507). See André Joseph Ghislain Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche ... de 1507 à 1519*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard et cie, 1839), II, 468–89.

²⁵ "Ung aultre tableau de une jesusne dame, accoustrée à la mode de Portugal, son habit rouge fourré de martre, tenant en sa main dextre ung rolet avec ung petit saint Nicolas en

which so fascinated the Burgundian embassy? These inventory descriptions provide some relevant information. First, the work in question was done on linen, a medium which would have been easily transported by horseback by the messengers dispatched to Flanders from Avis castle. Second, to judge by the extant portraits of Infanta Isabel, she ostensibly preferred fabrics of gold and crimson colors trimmed in fur. Third, Jan van Eyck depicted her as the *Erythraean Sibyl* holding a metaphorical scroll in the *Ghent Altarpiece*. If the Portuguese woman in the Malines portrait can be identified as the Infanta Isabel, what transparent meaning would Saint Nicholas have had for the Avis court and how was this fourth-century bishop relevant to the dynastic marriage being arranged?

Regarding the lost painting from the Archducal Castle of Malines, one aspect of the story of Nicholas has some bearing upon the selection of the saint's image for the scroll held by Infanta Isabel, namely, his rescue of three girls from prostitution by throwing three bags of gold as dowry into their window at night (Figs. 2.21–2.22).²⁶ This tale which accounts for Nicholas' emblematic “three balls,” and the traditional numerical association of three with the Holy Trinity, also may explain the tripartite pearl design of the heavy gold pendant attached to the necklace worn by the Princess in the Louvre-Dijon portrait. Isabel's favorite gold-crimson robes are redolent of the Pentecostal colors. St. Nicholas was revered at the lofty shrine of Montserrat in Catalonia, a Benedictine citadel nestled within serrated mountaintops (Figs. 2.23–2.24). During August and September of 1427, when the Lords of Molenbaix and Roubaix attempted to negotiate a marriage contract at the court of Alfonso V of Aragon (r. 1416–1458), Jan van Eyck might have visited the famous pilgrimage site of Montserrat. The Catalonian sanctuary in the early fifteenth century already had achieved fame for its relics from

hault, nommée La belle Portugaloise” (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert: *Inventaire des Peintures, etc. de Marguerite d'Autriche, dressé en son palais de Malines, le 9 Juillet, 1523*). This reference was provided by Weale, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Their Life and Work*, 177–78, who also commented, “A copy of this portrait is said to be in the collection of M. Abbegg at Mannheim.” For the 1523–1524 inventory of the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, consult Heinrich Zimerman and J. von Fiedler, “Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. und K. Haus-, Hof-, und Staats-archiv in Wien,” in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 3 (Vienna, 1885), No. 2979: XCII–CXXIII.

²⁶ Edward G. Clare, *St. Nicholas. His legends and iconography* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1985); L. Petzold, “Nikolaus von Myra (von Bari),” in *Lexikon der christlichen ikonographie*, eds. E. Kirshbaum and Wolfgang Braunfels, VIII (Rome-Freiburg-Basil-Vienna: 1976), cols. 45–58.

the Holy Land, in particular, the Holy Sepulchre. Despite these sacred objects, the most cherished treasure which attracted numerous pilgrims from afar was a dark statue of the Virgin Mary (*La Moreneta*) housed in a Romanesque shrine. According to pious legend, the image had been carved by the Evangelist Luke and given by St. Peter to Eterius, the first bishop of Barcelona. When the Moors conquered the region in 717, the statue was sequestered in a cave where it remained until its location was revealed in the ninth century. Music and mystical light attracted three shepherds tending their flocks at sunset on the banks of the Llobregat River near Olesa. Returning to the site at the same time with a crowd of villagers, they witnessed the same phenomenon for four consecutive Saturdays. The final evening a beam shone on a particular crag, and the next day the statue was discovered.²⁷

Portuguese Hospitallers sustained nearly as strong devotion to the Virgin of Montserrat as their Benedictine counterparts in Catalonia. Moreover, the coastal towns of both kingdoms held St. Nicholas in great esteem as a protector of sailors. Portrayed often with a ship or an anchor, and even in the act of calming a storm, the saint who was said to have attended the Council of Nicea (325) had special relevance for a seafaring nation whose founder, King Afonso Henriques I, had experienced a Constantinian vision (Fig. 2.26). Portugal's identity as a Marian nation began with the ruler who united the regions from the northern center of Guimarães to the Alentejo, the land south of the Tagus known in antiquity as Trastagana. In the wake of each successful engagement with the Moors, Afonso Henriques I had erected churches and shrines to thank the Virgin Mary for her intercession. This practice was continued by King João I, who dedicated his Batalha Abbey to Our Lady of Victory after the battle of Aljubarrota (August 15, 1385).

Fifteenth-century Portugal asserted devotion to the Immaculate Conception with great fervor, the feast of which had been observed in Anglo-Saxon monasteries since 1128 due to the influence of the Benedictine St. Anselm (1033–1109; cd 1720). *Infanta* Isabel's mother, Queen Philippa of Lancaster (1360–1415), had introduced the Salisbury rites to the Avis court. As proven by Prince Duarte's *Book of Hours* in Lisbon's Torre do Tombo, the feast of St. Nicholas (December 6) was commemorated by the Royal

²⁷ Isabel Allardyce, *Historic Shrines of Spain* (Quebec-New York: Franciscan Missionary Press, 1912, 45–69 (“Our Lady of Montserrat at Barcelona”).

House of Avis. It marked the vigil of the even more important holy day of the Immaculate Conception (December 8).²⁸ Regarding the representation of St. Nicholas on the banderole held by *la belle Portugaloise*, the saint from Asia Minor has a certain relationship with the oriental Sibyls of the *Ghent Altarpiece* depicted above the subject of Gabriel’s salutation to the Virgin Mary. His December feast coincides with the beginning of the four week liturgical season of Advent which culminates in Christmas.

Jan van Eyck’s visit to Portugal occurred just after the marriages of *Infanta* Isabel’s two oldest brothers Duarte and Pedro. Prince Duarte (31 October, 1391 at Viséu–1438) wed Leonor (1400?–1445), the sister of Alfonso V of Aragon in September of 1428. Prince Pedro, Duke of Coimbra and Lord of Montemor (9 December, 1392 at Lisbon–1449), had just returned from a lengthy trip to attend Duarte’s wedding festivities in Coimbra, and en route had arranged his own betrothal in Valencia to Isabel of Urguell (1409–1443). When Philip decided against Isabel of Urguell, her portrait was dispatched by King Alfonso V to Lisbon by the painter Lluís Dalmáu.²⁹ The availability of the daughter of Jaime II must have been communicated to Pedro by correspondence, as in 1427 he was in the Balkans with Emperor Sigismund.³⁰ The marriages between the houses of Portugal and Aragon have certain relevance for vernacular devotion not only to St. Vincent of Zaragoza, but also to St. Engratis. The cult of the Early Christian

²⁸ D. Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, translated by Dom Laurence Shepherd (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1949); Frederick George Holweck, *Calendarium liturgicum festorum Dei et Dei Matris Mariae, collectum et memoriis historicis illustratum* (Philadelphia: American Ecclesiastical Review, 1925). Like Nicholas, the English theologian Anselm shared the attribute of a ship, and he too was venerated as a patron of sailors and merchants. An even stronger connection between the two saints is worthy of comment. Prior to his appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury (1093), Anselm had attended the Council of Bari (Apulia) to resolve issues raised by the Greeks concerning the Holy Spirit. There, that same year of 1087, some merchants had enshrined the reputed relics of St. Nicholas which they purloined from Myra in Lycia.

²⁹ Sterling, “Jan van Eyck avant 1432,” 32–33. See César Pemán, *Juan van Eyck y España*, 33–34, 56–62.

³⁰ Eberhard Windecke, *Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds*, ed. Dr. von Hagen (Leipzig: 2nd ed. 1899), 160–61; Docsachi Hurmuzachki (Baron), *Documente privitoare la Historia Românilor*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: 1895–97); Nicolae Iorga, “Un prince portugais croisé en Valachie au XV^e siècle,” *Revue Historique du Sud-est Européen* III (1926): 8–13; *idem.*, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité orientale*, 10 vols. in 11 (Bucharest: 1937–1945): IV, 26–33; Mário Gonçalves Viana, *As viagens terrestres dos Portugueses* (Oporto: 1945): 155–57; Frei Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, “O

virgin martyr had flourished in Aragon and southern France, where her feast day was celebrated as April 16. By the late fifteenth century she was identified as the Portuguese princess Engracia, who, en route to wed a prince of Roussillon, passed through Spain. According to her hagiography in the *Peristephanon* by Aurelius Prudentius, she and her fourteen attendants were tortured and killed in 304 by Dacianus, the Roman proconsul, for refusing to worship pagan gods.³¹

The best known representation of St. Engracia is a panel that once formed the central section of an altarpiece created about 1475 by Bartolomé Bermejo, an artist from Córdoba who worked in Aragonese centers between 1468 and 1484 (Fig. 2.27).³² Bermejo's effigy of *St. Engracia* has all the hallmarks of a royal portrait because the virgin martyr is magnificently attired to reflect high status. Her dark blue cape is lined with green brocade, which also forms the collar, and it is bordered with gold embroidery and jewels. Engracia wears a rich surcoat of cloth of gold over a burgundy *cotta*. Her jacket of the same wine-red color is edged in ermine. Set against a wooden throne carved with flanking reclining lions and decorated with eight-pointed geometric Moorish designs, she holds a martyr's palm and the spike which was driven into her skull. Her relics were discovered at Saragossa in 1389.³³ Engracia's flaxen hair is plaited in two braids on either side of

Infante D. Pedro na Áustria-Hungria," *Brotéria* LXVIII (January-June, 1959): 17–37. Francis M. Rogers, *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961), 40–45, cites several additional sources, and mentions, 40–41, that Sigismund issued an order from Ofen (Buda) to Prince Pedro in Cologne on October 18, 1426, forbidding any exchange with the "Lands of Duke Philippe of Burgundy as well as with Holland, Zeeland and other places illegally seized by the Duke." Rogers, 322 note 14, cites Bruno Kuske (ed.), *Quellen zur geschichte des Kölner handels und verkehrs im mittelalter*, 4 vols. (Bonn, P. Hanstein, 1917–34), I (1923), 248. At that time Sigismund was attempting to wrest control of Holland, Zeeland and the Hainaut. See Franz von Löher, "Kaiser Sigmund und Herzog Philipp von Burgund," *Münchener Historisches Jahrbuch für 1866* (1866): 304–419 and Bertalan Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund. Ikonographie* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1972).

³¹ Martín Carrillo (1561–1630), *Historia del glorioso San Valero, obispo de la ciudad de Çaragoça, con los martyrs de San Vicente, Santa Engracia, San Lamberto y los innumerables martyrs naturales patrones y protectores de la Ciudad de Çaragoça* (Zaragoza: 1615).

³² For information concerning Bartolomé Bermejo, also called Bartolomé de Cárdenas (ac. 1468–1495), consult: Judith Berg-Sobré, "S. Engracia Revisited," *Fenway Court* (1980): 34–42; Judith Berg-Sobré and Lynette M. F. Bosch, *The Artistic Splendor of the Spanish Kingdoms: The Art of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, exhibition catalogue, 1996), 14–18; Ana Galilea Antón, "Bartolomé Bermejo y el retablo de Santa Engracia. Estado de la cuestión," *Urtekaria Anuario* (1989): 15–31; Eric Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo* (London: Paul Elek, 1975): 17–21.

her face. Bound under her chin, a transparent veil secures her headdress and covers her forehead. The similarity of her headdress with those of the Erythraean Sibyl in the *Ghent Altarpiece* and Infanta Isabel in the Dimier drawing suggests that the pearl-studded *balzo* was a specifically Portuguese type of headdress. Engracia's has a centerpiece, a square-cut emerald set within a golden triangle. Capping the headdress is a crown, consisting of golden oak leaves with alternating cabochon ruby and emerald flanges topped by pearl finials.

In another extant panel of the dispersed altarpiece, *The Capture of St. Engracia*, the virgin martyr is portrayed with a less ornate headdress, but riding a grey horse adorned with a livery of the same Avis green as her cape (Fig. 2.28). When creating his sacred “portraits,” Bermejo may have had access to the actual robes and headdress worn by Leonor of Aragon upon her marriage. Following the death in 1438 of King Duarte, his queen returned to Spain, where she died in 1445. Though Leonor's remains were later transported from Toledo to Batalha Monastery, her household effects would have remained in Spain. The wedding dowry of the younger daughter of Ferdinand I is evoked by the pearls, square-cut emeralds and double ruby clusters of Engracia's cape, her tall crown with finials fashioned like the fleur-de-lys arms of the Avis cross, necklace of interlocking gold rings that replicates the gold patterns of her pearl headdress, and ruby and gold betrothal rings. The Burgundian embassy of Philip the Good had arrived too late to attend the Coimbra wedding of Prince Duarte and Leonor of Aragon. However, they did attend royal celebrations of their marriage at Arraiolos Castle and witnessed the grand entry of Leonor on horseback into Lisbon in late May of 1429 after returning from a three-month sojourn to Spain (Figs. 2.29–2.30).

³³ Judith Berg-Sobré and Lynette M. F. Bosch, *The Artistic Splendor of the Spanish Kingdoms*, 14, state St. Engracia's skull with its nail hole was preserved in Zaragoza's Benedictine convent of San Engracia, which was built on the site of an Early Christian oratory.

Jan's Grand Tour: Lisbon to Porto

From February until May of 1429, the Burgundian delegation had embarked on a grand excursion of Portugal and Spain. The chronicler's account of the embassy's journey to Galicia, Castile and Andalusia is tantalizingly laconic, particularly when the topography of Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* reveals how much this voyage impressed him. The scribe merely states:

While they were waiting to hear from my lord [the Duke] of Burgundy in reply [to the portrait and letters sent February 12], some of the ambassadors, that is to say the lord of Roubaix, Sir Baudouin de Lannoy and Andrieu de Toulangeon, together with the above mentioned Baudouin d'Oignies, Albert, bastard of Bavaria ... and other gentlemen and familiars, traveled to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, and thence went to see the duke of Arjona, the king of Castile, the king of Granada and several other lords, countries and places.³⁴

The majority of present-day roads in Portugal and Spain lie on a network of commercial routes established by the Romans. Those trading routes of Lusitania, running essentially north and south near the Atlantic coast, can be traced with greater ease. Portuguese conviviality, so integral an aspect of the nation's character, assure a premise that the Burgundian embassy was escorted to the most important centers of the realm. From Avis Castle, Jan van Eyck and his companions followed a fairly direct route to Santiago de Compostela. Prior to leaving the Alentejo region, they might have visited the walled citadel of Crato, the main headquarters of the Hospitaller Order of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 2.31). The Burgundians would have lodged at nearby Flor da Rosa, the spacious residence of the sixth Grand Prior of Crato whose monks followed the Benedictine rule. Leaving Crato the diplomats would have traveled northeast to Abrantes and stayed at the thirteenth-century fortress overlooking the town before proceeding to Tomar. From the citadel, which will be discussed later, the Portuguese escorts likely proceeded to Ourém (Figs. 2.32–2.33), where the Burgundian delegates would have been quartered in the large castle of Afonso, Count of Barcelos (1370–1461). The estate once belonged to King João I's closest ally and advisor, Dom Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360–1431). Prior to professing the vows of a Carmelite,

³⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 180.