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Portrait painting in the time of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy : 1419-1467

Kathleen Louise Kenyon
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PORTRAIT PAINTING IN THE TIME OF
PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY:
1419-1467

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Art and Design
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Kathleen Louise Kenyon
December 1996

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ABSTRACT

PORTRAIT PAINTING IN THE TIME OF PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY: 1419-1467

by Kathleen Louise Kenyon

This study examines the development of independent painted portraits during the fifteenth century and the reign of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. It serves as an attempt to better understand the growing popularity of independent portraits amongst members of the nobility, and to determine the function that these panels may have served for their patrons. The investigation develops from the political usage of dynastic portraits, then traces artistic developments which were influenced by changing devotional practice, and which allowed the artist to assert the sitter's presence in a manner previously unknown.

Three portraits are studied at length. An examination of these panels reveals that the noble patrons of independent portraits emulated ducal patronage practice in response to a changing social structure which significantly altered the appearance of the Burgundian court.

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Robert and Muriel Kenyon, whose continual words of encouragement have inspired me to pursue my dreams.

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Introduction

During the early fifteenth century, independent painted portraits became an important new art form in northern Europe. These were relatively small panels which typically depicted the sitter bust-length, in three-quarter view, and in an undefined setting. This manner of representation resulted in a human presence which was previously not felt in the traditional profile pose. The new medium was particularly popular in the northern European court of Philip the Good, who served as duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467. Prior to Philip's reign, these panels, which emerged late in the fourteenth century, were patronized almost exclusively by ruling nobles. During Philip's rule, though, patronage patterns expanded to include a significantly larger segment of the noble population.

The presentation of these portrait sitters reflects a new interest in the depiction of an actual human being whose presence can be felt in the world of the viewer. It is because of this manner of depiction that northern portraits are usually referred to in terms of their realistic qualities. In fact, the common art historical tendency is to discuss these portraits as if realism in itself was the ultimate goal of the artist. Little attention is given to the reasons why this art form may have developed, and what function it may have served for its patrons.

This study is an attempt to further understand the growing popularity of independent painted portraits during the fifteenth century, and the function that

these panels may have served for their noble patrons. It will confirm that portraiture grew out of a dynastic tradition, yet was also influenced by artistic developments which responded to changing devotional practice. Emulation of the duke and the ideals behind the sitter's representation will be discussed in light of a changing social structure which significantly altered the appearance of the Burgundian court.

Three portraits will be discussed in length, each illustrating the ideals behind the depiction of a noble sitter. One panel, Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Baudouin de Lannoy*, serves as a declaration of noble power. Another, Rogier van der Weyden's *Portrait of a Woman*, illustrates the idealized behavior which was expected to be a part of a noble woman's public image. The final portrait, Rogier van der Weyden's *Portrait of Philippe de Croy*, addresses the importance of piety in the character of a member of the nobility.

In order to further understand the social changes which affected artistic patronage, it was necessary to research the historical background of the Burgundian Low Countries. Texts which were particularly helpful include, but are not limited to, Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans's 1986 study titled *The Burgundian Netherlands*. This text provided a rich discussion of the social, economic, and cultural climate which affected artistic patronage. Also important to this study was Richard Vaughan's series of books dealing with the history of the Valois dukes, particularly his 1970 publication which is titled *Philip the Good: the Apogee of Burgundy*.

This present study focuses on the Burgundian Low Countries and the court of Philip the Good (r. 1419-1467). The Burgundian Low Countries comprise much of modern day Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as parts of the bordering areas of western Germany and northern France. The term "Burgundian" refers to the Valois dukes, relatives of the French royal house of Valois, who expanded their land holdings from the duchy of Burgundy and who successfully united diverse regions of the Netherlands between 1384 and 1477. Philip the Good was the third Valois duke of Burgundy, having inherited the title from his father, John the Fearless (r. 1404-1419), and his grandfather, Philip the Bold (r. 1363-1404). Philip the Bold was granted the duchy in 1363 by his father, John the Good, who was king of France between 1350 and 1364.

The earliest known example of an independent portrait on panel, now located in the Louvre, depicts John the Good and was created sometime around 1360 (plate 1). The medium continued to develop through the reign of John's sons and grandsons, and culminated in the reign of Philip the Good when patronage expanded to include a larger segment of the noble population.

Prior to Philip the Good, painted portraits almost exclusively depicted the images of ruling nobles, and during the Middle Ages, rulers were depicted in painted portrait series, which served as an important means of visually promoting the image of ruling dynasties. Located in civic buildings and churches, these painted murals depicted successive generations of local rulers. They were found throughout Europe and were particularly popular in the north.

They were often commissioned by ruling nobles who sought to strengthen their images by visually connecting themselves to an impressive genealogical line. Such portraits were also commissioned by local magistrates who hoped to gain political favor by flattering local rulers.

Such a series decorated the magistrates' chamber at Ypres where murals depicted the counts and countesses of Flanders. The ruling couples stood in pairs, each carefully identified by an inscription and a coat of arms. Additions were periodically made to the series so that the visual dynastic record would be complete. Payment accounts indicate that in 1323 the artist Hanyn Soyer was commissioned to add the portraits of Louis of Nevers, count of Flanders, and his wife Margaret of France. Sometime between 1390 and 1404 the images of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders were added to the same series.¹

Another such series was painted for the Chapel of the Counts at the Collegiate Church of Our Lady in Courtrai. As at Ypres, the counts and countesses were shown standing full-length within niches, and each was carefully identified by a coat of arms and an inscription which recorded the ruler's name, significant dates, and place of burial.² This series was also updated when deemed necessary. In 1372 Jan van Hasselt was instructed to make additions to the series by his patron, Louis of Mâle, count of Flanders.³ In 1406 the artist Melchior Broederlam added the images of Philip the Bold, who died in 1404, and Margaret of Flanders, whose death in 1405 followed that of

her husband. These additions were meant to enhance the ruler's image by visually connecting him to his prestigious ancestral heritage.

Private portrait galleries also existed, yet the lack of surviving examples and limited available documentation makes it difficult to determine exactly how common this early practice was. Those documents that do exist indicate that such galleries were not uncommon during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Records reveal, for instance, that in the year 1300, Countess Mahaut of Artois commissioned Jacques de Boulogne and four other artists to add portraits of French kings to a fresco cycle in her private palace.⁴ As with the publicly placed series, this private cycle was updated when the countess felt it appropriate. A portrait of King Charles IV of France was added around 1322, the year of his coronation. These additions were used to visually connect the countess with the ruling dynasty of France.

Inventory records also reveal that the duke of Berry (r. 1360-1416), brother of Philip the Bold, assembled a portrait gallery at his castle of Bicêtre near Paris. The motivation for this gallery seems to have been much grander than that of Countess Mahaut. The images in the duke's gallery included not only the various kings and princes of France, but the Avignon Pope Clement VII and his cardinals, as well as select Roman and Byzantine emperors.⁵ A portrait series, then, was not limited to members of one's own lineage, but was a useful means of linking a noble to other important historical figures, both past and present.

The specific location of the early panel portraits which emerged in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is, in most cases, unknown. They were sometimes presented as gifts, exchanged by ruling families in order to strengthen political alliances. The French royal inventory of 1379 indicates that Charles V owned a quadriptych which was displayed in one of his primary residences, the Hôtel Saint Paul in Paris. It contained not only his own portrait, but those of his father John the Good, Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia, and Edward II of England.⁶ Although the origin of the quadriptych is undocumented, it is possible that the portraits of Charles IV and Edward II were presented to demonstrate political alliance with the French king. The portrait of John the Good may in fact be the Louvre panel which was mentioned above.

The expanded patronage of independent painted portraits amongst the nobility corresponded to economic changes which affected the social composition of the Burgundian court. These changes had begun in the fourteenth century, with a new sense of prosperity being felt in the fifteenth century by a larger segment of the population. The economic prosperity of the Low Countries during Philip the Good's reign aided in the formation of a wealthy and politically powerful merchant class whose expertise in areas such as law and finance allowed them the opportunity to rise up the social ladder and become important additions to the ducal court. The social mobility of this class caused the nobility to seek methods of retaining their position of privilege at the Burgundian court.

One way in which members of the nobility responded to this threat was by creating a visually record which would link them to the duke. They did this by following his patronage pattern, and in particular, by adopting the new medium of independent portraits which were painted on small wooden panels. By the time of Philip the Good, this medium had become an integral part of ducal patronage, and its usefulness was recognized by members of the nobility who utilized the portrait panel as a means of illustrating the ideals which separated them from the new bourgeois class which threatened their exclusive position at the Burgundian court.

Portraits of fifteenth-century nobles, then, were commissioned, in part, to demonstrate certain idealized behavioral traits. In order to make these traits more apparent to the viewer, representation moved from the detached and impersonal profile view to a more intimate pose which suggested the sitter's presence in the world of the viewer. Artists were guided in this direction by developments in devotional practice which required a more intimate depiction of religious scenes. The artist's ability to create images which directly engaged the beholder was an important factor in the development of independent portraits. The sitter's presence was now asserted in a manner not previously known.

Contemporary documents relating to these commissions, such as contracts and inventory records, have, in most cases, long since disappeared. The identities of many of the portrait sitters are unknown and a large number of

the panels themselves no longer exist. Thus, the circumstances of a portrait's commission are usually unclear. The limited information that is available, though, indicates that the underlying function of many of these portraits, whether for public or private placement, was the display of the noble qualities of the sitter, a display which served as a visual link to ducal behavior and which served to justify the sitter's exclusive position in the social hierarchy.

Political Motivation and the Development of Portrait Painting

According to Georges Chastellain, God created nobles so that they would “cultivate virtue and maintain justice, so that the deeds and the morals of these fine personages might be a pattern to others.”¹ The noble class, then, was an important component of the divine plan and was morally obligated to lead and inspire members of the lower social classes. This attitude towards class function was carefully defined so as to justify the distinctions between various segments of society. Chastellain, though, was not an unbiased writer on class function, for as the official historian to the Burgundian court his primary responsibility was to promote the image of Duke Philip the Good and the members of his court. Chastellain, then, carefully chose his words so as to flatter the class that employed him.

This flattery was particularly important during the fifteenth century when boundaries of social class were weakening, and the nobility's exclusive position within the Burgundian court was no longer guaranteed. The nobility was forced to reassess its social position and to adopt new tools of self- and class-promotion. It is in this context of political and social motivation that the increased popularity of independent portraits on panel during the fifteenth century can be understood. It reflects the aspirations of the upper nobility which strove to affirm its position of power and exclusivity by following the duke's

example and becoming important patrons of a medium which had previously been reserved for rulers.

The art form of independent portraits painted on wooden panels seems to have been particularly popular amongst members of the French royal house of Valois. In fact they appear to have been the most enthusiastic patrons of this art form during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The portrait of King John the Good in the Louvre was created around 1360, and is the earliest known example of an independent portrait on panel (plate 1). It is attributed to Gérard d'Orléans and is a traditional bust portrait in which the second Valois king of France is depicted in profile against a gold background. The profile pose continues a long tradition of ruler portraits. It dates back to ancient times when rulers were portrayed in such a manner on coins and medallions. It is for this reason that Erwin Panofsky describes the Louvre painting as "a medal *all'antica* transposed into painting."² As was the case with its ancient counterparts, no eye contact is made between sitter and viewer. Instead the king looks straight ahead, a pose which removes him from the world of the beholder and symbolizes his separation from his subjects as dictated by rules of social hierarchy. This separation is accentuated by the solid gold background, a color traditionally reserved for holy figures and ruling nobles.

Portraits of John the Good's grandsons, Louis II of Anjou (plate 2) and John the Fearless (plate 3), illustrate the continuing use of panel portraits amongst the Valois rulers. Both of these portraits were painted early in the

fifteenth century, and each, like the image of John the Good, depicts its sitter in profile. In the case of John the Fearless, though, the view is cut below the waist so as to include a larger amount of the sitter's body. Although Duke John's face is in pure profile, his body is shown turning towards the viewer, to whom he prominently displays a ring, symbol of power and ducal authority. This shift in pose suggests a reconsideration of the relationship between portrait sitter and viewer. John the Fearless, in his painted image, is aware of the beholder. And although his haughty demeanor is indicative of his superior social position, the suggested psychological connection between viewer and sitter is much stronger than that possible with the pure profile pose of John the Good. John the Fearless appears to address the viewer, whereas John the Good appears to avoid and arrogantly separate himself from the world of the beholder, a reminder of his superior social and political position.

Although of a slightly later period than is the focus of this paper, the collection of Margaret of Austria is useful in determining how a private collection of portrait panels may have been used.³ Margaret was the granddaughter of Charles the Bold, and it was through the marriage of her mother, Mary of Burgundy, to Emperor Maximilian I in 1477, that the Hapsburgs gained control of the lands formerly under the control of the Burgundian dukes. Margaret lived between 1480 and 1530 and served as regent for the Hapsburg rulers of the Low Countries from 1507 until her death. The 1523 and 1524 inventories of her castle in Mechelen describe the placement of the paintings which she owned

and reveal the political motivation behind such a collection.⁴ The castle housed over eighty portraits and included likenesses not only of her immediate family members, but also of individuals, both living and deceased, from other important ruling dynasties. Most, though, were related to her either by blood or through marriage.

In the room known as the *Première Chambre*, approximately thirty single portrait panels were on display. This was one of the more public rooms of Margaret's castle, and the portraits were selected so as to convey specific messages to important dignitaries and politically influential visitors. The room included portraits of the Burgundian dukes, as well as representatives of the Hapsburg dynasty and the Spanish family of Aragon-Castile, all of whom were directly related to Margaret. It also included representatives of England's Tudor family, to whom she was not related but who were important political allies.⁵ Quite noticeable, though, was the exclusion of the French royal family to whom she was related through the Burgundian line. In fact the French were the only leading royal family of Europe whose portraits were not included in the *Première Chambre*. The reason for their exclusion was certainly political, for the French were the primary enemy of the Hapsburgs, who perceived the French as the greatest obstacle in their attempt to become the dominant political force in Europe.⁶ Thus, portraits of the French royal family were placed instead in the library, one of the private rooms of Margaret's home. This arrangement protected her diplomatic stance and implies that the portraits were carefully

chosen and placed so as to justify her position of authority in the Netherlands.⁷

The core of Margaret of Austria's collection was probably begun by her great-grandfather, Philip the Good (1396-1467). Philip was one of the fifteenth century's greatest patrons of art, and few fifteenth-century rulers seem to have been portrayed as often as he. Including manuscript images, over one hundred fifteenth-century portraits are documented, many of which survive today either as originals or as copies.⁸ These images record the idealized image which Philip tried to convey to a variety of social groups. He had himself depicted as an ideal ruler, a valiant knight, and a devout Christian.⁹ In the late fifteenth century an anonymous historian wrote that Philip was "a most unconquered Caesar, the jewel of princes and Christians, the pride of all the nobility, the true mirror, patron and example of knightly prowess."¹⁰ These were the qualities that Philip aspired to and which he tried to exhibit through his public persona.

Philip the Good's commissions included tapestries, manuscripts, metalwork and painting. In 1459 Philip the Good purchased a set of six wall hangings known as the *Alexander the Great Tapestries*, two of which are believed to be those which are now located in the Palazzo Doria in Rome. The location of the other four is unknown. The tapestries served as an allegorical reference to Philip the Good as the second Alexander the Great. In 1461 Philip was in Paris for Louis XI's triumphal entry into the city as the new king. The Alexander tapestries accompanied Philip on this trip and were hung on the façade of the Hôtel d'Artois, his place of residence in Paris, where they

proclaimed that inside the Hôtel was one of the greatest rulers of the time.¹¹

Such declarations were repeated on a much smaller scale and for a much smaller audience, in the more than fifty surviving illuminated manuscripts which contained Philip's likeness. The audience of such books would have comprised primarily the upper nobility and the inner circles of the court, people who had access to these small manuscripts. In the presentation miniature of the manuscript titled the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, Philip is shown receiving a codex from its editor while surrounded by his loyal courtiers, among which are knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The illumination depicts Philip as a promoter of culture and the arts, yet the inclusion of the knights reinforces the duke's position as a Christian prince and the embodiment of earthly power.¹² Such commissions served as visual reminders of the social superiority of Philip the Good.

During the reign of Philip the Good, independent painted portraits became an important component in the justification of one's social position. Of particular importance to Philip were the ducal portraits which formed a genealogical series in the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon. This monastery was founded in the early 1380s by Philip the Bold, grandfather of Philip the Good. Its church functioned as the family mausoleum and contained the tombs of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, the first two Valois dukes of Burgundy. It would later contain the tomb of Philip the Good. It was a showplace of the political power of the Valois dynasty, emphasizing the continuity of their reign

and serving as a counterpart both to Cîteaux, where the Capetian Dukes of Burgundy were buried, and to the royal abbey of St. Denis, the burial place of the French kings. A study of the decorative scheme of the church illustrates the manner in which the Valois dukes integrated independent painted portraits into more traditional forms of dynastic portraiture.

Now destroyed, the interior of the church was described by Georges Lengherand, mayor of Mons, who visited the complex on February 20, 1486.¹³ Lengherand's description of the church indicates that its decorative scheme was dominated by images of the Valois dukes and their wives, and supplied a visual reference to the powerful benefactors of the monastery. The nave of the church was divided into three sections, the western end reserved for the laity, and the next section to its east designated as the monks' choir. It is in this section that the Burgundian dukes were laid to rest.¹⁴ At the eastern end, just behind the main altar, were windows which were created in 1421 and 1432 by the artist Thierry Esperlant, and which contained stained glass portraits of John the Fearless and Philip the Good.¹⁵ The monks' choir also contained a large bronze foundation plaque which was decorated with the images of the kneeling donors, Philip the Good and his wife Isabella of Portugal.¹⁶

The monks' choir was also the location of the painted panel portraits of the first three Valois dukes of Burgundy. Lengherand mentioned that the portraits of both Philip the Bold and Philip the Good were hung on the north side of the choir. Philip the Bold (plate 4) was depicted in profile, the style most

avored until the early fifteenth century. Lengherand said nothing about the portrait of John the Fearless, which was probably removed prior to his visit, or was not mentioned because it was of little interest to him. That the portrait existed, though, is known by an entry in the ducal payment account of 1436. This entry indicates that the Dijon artist Jean de Maisoncelles was paid by Philip the Good for the creation of Philip's own portrait, and that his image was to be placed in the Chartreuse de Champmol next to those of his two predecessors. The three ducal portraits, together with the tombs of each of the three dukes and the images in stained glass, formed a carefully designed iconographic program which emphasized the significance of each individual duke while stressing the power and continuity of Valois rule.¹⁷

Philip the Good's portrait, which is now lost, depicted the duke wearing the scarlet robe and collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the chivalric order which he founded on the occasion of his marriage to Isabella of Portugal in 1430.¹⁸ He also wore a crown, an unusual accessory for a duke, but a significant one in keeping with Philip's political goals. Crowns are reserved specifically for kings, and although Philip never held such a title, it is one which he certainly aspired to. He was in fact offered the royal crown as an imperial vassal to Emperor Frederick III. Negotiations began in 1447, but Philip's demands were more than the Emperor could agree to. Philip insisted that not only the Burgundian territories, but the remaining lands west of the Rhine and as far as the French border be included in his kingdom.¹⁹ Consequently,

negotiations failed. But Philip did not abandon his ambitions. In 1460 he instructed his negotiator Antoine Haneron to secure his claim to revive an ancient middle kingdom, indicating that:

l'on trouve par ancienne cronisque que l'Empire ne vouloit s'extendre que jusques a Rin, et entre le Rin et le royaume de France estoit ung rayaume bel et grant.²⁰

The promotion of Philip the Good's image was not limited to the depictions in the Chartreuse de Champmol, but included the distribution of independent painted portraits. Numerous copies exist, yet the variety of poses is limited to two main types. Both are three-quarter bust portraits in which the duke looks towards his left, as was common for images of authority. Both types are attributed to lost originals by Rogier van der Weyden. The duke appears to be in his mid-fifties which would place the dating of the original panels in the late 1440s and early 1450s.²¹ In both types he is placed against a solid dark background with no indication of physical setting. He is dressed in a black robe and wears the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, symbolic of his role as valiant knight and unifier of the Low Countries. His head is held high and his solemn facial expression is indicative of the seriousness of his position as an ideal and just ruler. This appearance corresponds to Chastellain's description of Philip as being "as straight as die, with a strong back, broad shoulders and strong arms." He describes Philip as looking truly distinguished, carrying himself proudly, and moving with a strong sense of dignity.²² These portraits played a significant role in the development of independent painted portraits as

a medium which would be adopted by members of Philip's court.

The first type of ducal portrait depicts Philip the Good bareheaded (plate 5). He is presented in the latest three-quarter view pose, and his hands are not shown. The exclusion of the hands is reminiscent of the portrait of John the Good (plate 1), and results in a truncated appearance, as if the figure has been cut off just below the shoulders. It lacks the ease of transition from painted surface to the world of the beholder which is achieved when the hands are included, functioning as a bridge between the two worlds. Thus, the original model for this portrait was probably the earliest of the two types.

The second portrait type seems to have been the most popular of the two, as more than twenty fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples survive.²³ The main characteristic that separates this type from the one discussed above is that Philip wears a large black hat. His hands and other details, such as rings and other pieces of jewelry, may or may not be included. The hat itself emphasizes the formality of the portrait, yet it also helps to balance the composition. A fine example of this portrait type is found in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (plate 6). In this particular example, Philip's hands are brought together in the lower right corner and hold a rolled up document, symbolic of a highly functional, working government, with Philip as its powerful lord. Some examples of this portrait type, such as the panel in the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille, omit the hands and document (plate 7). In this case the focal point is the Duke's stern facial expression, indicating the seriousness of his position as the ruler of one of

the grandest courts in Europe. The numerous existing portraits which correspond to the Bruges and Lille examples, indicate that the duke's image was reproduced from an official drawing or painted model, eliminating the need for the sovereign to go through numerous lengthy sittings.

Inspired by Philip the Good's patronage of independent painted portraits, members of the nobility adopted this art form as a means of emulating and visually aligning themselves with the duke. One such member of the nobility was Robert de Masmines, the descendent of an old noble family in Flanders (plate 8).²⁴ His portrait is attributed to the artist Robert Campin who worked in Tournai c. 1406-1444. It was painted before 1430, the year in which Masmines was appointed to the Order of the Golden Fleece. Had it been painted after his election, he would have been depicted wearing the chain of the order which was a mandatory part of a knight's public attire.

The portrait of Masmines is unusual because it exists in two identical versions which appear to have been painted at about the same time.²⁵ The purpose for the commission and the reasons for the second panel are unclear, but Masmines was the father of two daughters and it is possible that one panel was given to each, possibly as the start of a genealogical display. Copying paintings was an acceptable practice in the fifteenth century, for as was indicated above, Philip the Good's own official panel portraits seem to have been reproduced from an original so as to distribute a recognizable image of the ruler while avoiding unnecessary time spent at portrait sittings. Whatever

the circumstances of this particular commission, Masmines emulated the duke by adopting this art form which had traditionally been dominated by rulers. By doing so he visually placed himself within the upper hierarchy of the Burgundian court.

Another new patron of independent painted portraits was Francesco d'Este, whose portrait, now in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, was painted by Rogier van der Weyden around 1450 (plate 9).²⁶ Este (c. 1433-1475) was the illegitimate son of Lionello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara. Although of Italian origin, Francesco grew up at the Burgundian court, having been sent there in 1444 to be educated with Charles the Bold, with whom he remained a lifelong companion.²⁷ Este spent most of his life in the Low Countries and served the Burgundian dukes for over thirty years. He returned to Italy on several occasions, yet he usually traveled in the capacity of Burgundian ambassador. Having been raised in the Burgundian court, his stylistic preference was that of his adopted land, and was likely inspired by ducal portraits. He is presented in the latest three-quarter view pose, as was Philip the Good. His appearance in this portrait is cool and detached. He avoids the direct gaze of the viewer, remaining calm and confident. The significance of the ring which he holds is unclear, as is that of the hammer. Both, though, seem to be symbols of authority, and the hammer may be a reference to chivalry.²⁸ A similar chivalric reference is included in the *Portrait of Antoine, the 'Grand bâtard' of Burgundy* which was painted by Rogier van der Weyden sometime

between 1456 and 1465 (plate 10). Antoine was an illegitimate son of Philip the Good and was quite active within his father's court. The chivalric reference is found in the arrow which he holds, and is also alluded to in the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece which he wears around his neck.

Another example of the expanded patronage of independent portrait panels is the *Portrait of John I, Duke of Cleves* in the collection of the Louvre (plate 11). The panel was painted in the 1450s and is attributed to Rogier van der Weyden. The sitter was the son of Mary of Burgundy, sister of Philip the Good, and like Francesco d'Este, he grew up at the Burgundian court. The painting is half of a devotional diptych, a portrait type which was quite popular by the 1450s. It belongs to the same basic class of court portraits being discussed, but was expanded on to include a second panel. The two panels were placed together. The one on the right contained the portrait of a praying donor, and the panel on the left depicted the image of the Virgin and Child. In this particular portrait, the Duke of Cleves is depicted wearing the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to which he was nominated in 1451. This accessory symbolizes the sitter's noble origins and his value to the Burgundian court. The portrait depicts the sitter as a pious individual who is well-deserving of the social rank in which he found himself.

The expanded patronage of independent painted portraits amongst the nobility corresponded to social and economic changes which resulted in an upwardly mobile middle class. The general prosperity of the Low Countries had

begun in the middle ages when industry and trade began to flourish. Cities such as Bruges and Ghent benefited from a geographical position which fostered the development of a large network of ports along international trade routes.²⁹ The city of Bruges, in particular, developed into a great world market. Foreign dealers and traders such as Francesco Datini, a textile dealer from Prato, set up agents there, and contributed to the local economy.³⁰ These foreign inhabitants acquired homes, settled their families and became an important segment of the local population. The native town burgesses benefited from the influx of foreigners. Moving away from work in navigation and wholesale trade, they became instead brokers and middle-men, as well as inspectors and money-changers.³¹ With its leading position in trade, Bruges became an important banking center and saw the establishment of both domestic and foreign banks. The Medici family opened one of the main branches of its banking empire there, appointing Tommaso Portinari as their local representative. His presence was so important that after twenty-five years in the city, he was appointed councillor to Duke Charles the Bold.³²

Bruges, though, was not the only city of the Low Countries to benefit from the region's economic prosperity. Trade volume throughout the ducal lands doubled between 1400 and 1475, which meant that merchants throughout the region were able to make considerable profits and improvements in their standard of living.³³ Brussels became the heart of ducal power after Brabant was acquired by Philip the Good in 1430. This shift of the court center brought

with it the presence of wealthy courtiers who's desire for material items helped to develop the local market-place. This development was beneficial to local merchants whose financial prosperity was accompanied by eventual political power.³⁴

These social changes affected the make-up of the Burgundian court, and the nobility saw its role at court displaced by well-educated middle class bureaucrats. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the dukes hired a greater number of individuals who had been educated in the latest techniques of law and finance. One such individual was Chancellor Nicolas Rolin. Born into a bourgeois family from Autun in 1376, he served as a lawyer to John the Fearless and continued moving up the social ladder until he was knighted by Philip the Good and was named chancellor in 1422. He became one of the highest ranking individuals at court, second in power to Philip the Good. He was well rewarded for his loyalty, and his vast land holdings allowed him to accumulate one of the greatest fortunes of his time.³⁵

The nobility, on the other hand, was not accustomed to achieving through work and merit. Theirs was instead a position of accumulation through inheritance and carefully arranged marriage alliances. As a result, they lacked the necessary education to carry out the administrative offices which were being appointed instead to the new bourgeoisie. As court functionaries rose up the social ladder, the aristocracy lost its monopoly on governmental affairs and had to adjust to the inclusion of this new group of policy makers.³⁶

The aristocracy, however, did retain power in several specific positions at court. These included the ducal council, the international embassies, and several positions within the ducal household. Each placed primary emphasis on the candidate's prestigious background and his knowledge of proper and traditional courtly etiquette. The aristocracy also retained its dominance in the upper hierarchy of the military sector, for military training remained an important part of a young nobleman's training.³⁷ These prime positions placed the nobility within the inner circle of the duke. Yet payment in most of these offices was relatively low, and although income from property ownership remained an important source of financial support, it was no longer enough to sustain the lavish lifestyle to which the nobility had previously been accustomed. This meant that its members needed to hold more than one office in order to maintain the level of income necessary to support their exclusive lifestyle.

These changes in social make-up were accompanied by changes in artistic patronage. The purchase of luxury items was no longer limited to the nobility, but included members of the upper-middle class who had a desire for the social prestige which accompanied displays of financial wealth. The new court functionaries and prosperous merchants became important patrons of large narrative panel painting which publicly displayed the patrons new found wealth. Commissioning works of art signified social prominence as well as a desire to emulate the nobility which had previously dominated artistic commissions.³⁸ The upper nobility was now able to commission works by some

of the finest artists of the time and artists flocked to cities such as Bruges and Brussels where there was a great demand for their skills.³⁹

Patronage of fifteenth-century painting, then, expanded to include a class which strove to affirm its social status by commissioning works from the same artists who painted for the nobility. Narrative panel painting appears to have been a medium most favored by the wealthy upper-middle class. This is the group which most often commissioned religious works such as the large altarpieces which graced church chapels. In fact most fourteenth- and fifteenth-century narrative paintings appear to have been created for municipalities, lay groups, and individual members of the new upper bourgeois class. Rogier van der Weyden was quite popular as a portrait painter amongst noble members of the Burgundian court, such as Francesco d'Este and the Duke of Cleves. Yet he was also commissioned by groups such as the Crossbowman's Guild in Louvain for whom he painted the *Escorial Deposition*, now in Madrid's Prado Museum. In addition, he maintained his primary position as official painter to the city of Brussels. Jan van Eyck was court painter to Philip the Good, yet his patrons also included a Canon of Saint Donation in Bruges, Georges van der Paele, whose image he depicted with that of the Virgin and Saints in 1436. Such commissions publicly flaunted the patron's new affluence and signified high social standing. The upper nobility, on the other hand, appear to have favored the media purchased also by the duke: costly manuscripts and luxury textiles, and independent painted portraits on panel.

The nobles who were portrayed in independent portraits represent a class which strove to affirm its position of power. Their images are symbolic of the exclusive role of the nobility as stated by Chastellain and are thus used to justify the sitter's position of privilege. Many noble families prospered under the rule of Philip the Good, for association with the duke increased one's political power and strengthened the influence of aristocratic families. Yet the period also saw the encroachment of a new bourgeois class on the exclusive world of the nobility. Nobles were aware that the social structure was rapidly changing and that these changes could ultimately affect their own lives. Thus, as social boundaries became more fluid, the nobility sought new ways in which to maintain their exclusive position within the social hierarchy. One way in which they did this was through their artistic patronage patterns. They emulated the duke and visually displayed their superiority over the upper-middle class functionaries at the Burgundian court.

II

The Influence of Devotional Practice on the Development of Portrait Painting

Discussions of early fifteenth-century northern painting often place primary focus on its "realistic" appearance. This realism can be described as the depiction of things as they appear in nature, rather than their idealized representation. A common art historical approach is to discuss northern painting as if realism in itself were the ultimate goal of the artist, and little attempt is given to the reasons why this trend may have developed. A study of early fifteenth-century northern painting reveals a move in emphasis from sharply outlined and flattened figures to the three-dimensionality of form through subtle variations of tonal change. This end in itself, though, was not the ultimate aim of the artist. Both artist and patron had a strong concern for the conveyance of the internal character of the subject and the level of psychological connection which was possible between subject and viewer. This concern was prompted by developments in new devotional practice which required a more intimate depiction of religious scenes. The artist's ability to create images which directly engage the beholder became an important factor in the development of independent portraits.

The development of a new realistic trend is illustrated by comparing two late fourteenth-century panel portraits. The first is the previously discussed

Louvre portrait of John of Good (plate 1). The king is presented in sharp profile, and form is defined by strong outlines. He is placed against a gold background which separates him from the world of the viewer. The severity of this pose dates back to antiquity and the profile portraits found on coins and medals. Emphasis in these ancient portraits was on the depiction of recognizable features, rather than a depiction of the internal character of the sitter. This aim was more easily reached through the profile portrait.¹ The function of the portrait of John the Good seems to remain bound to this ancient practice. Although the artist attempts to define three dimensional form, visible in the modeling of the forehead, cheeks, and the shadows around the nose, the sharply delineated profile forces the domination of the flat, two dimensional surface.²

Artists were quick to modernize this portrait pose, though, and the changes which developed are illustrated by comparing the Louvre panel with a portrait of Archduke Rudolf IV of Austria which was painted around 1365 (plate 12). As in the portrait of John the Good, Rudolf IV is presented bust length and without hands. In both examples the figure is tightly confined within the boundaries of the frame. Yet Rudolf IV is presented in three-quarter view and is painted in a more broadly pictorial manner than is the image of John the Good. The illumination of the upper right portion of the king's face creates shadow and defines three-dimensional form. The archduke's mouth is slightly opened, a device which enhances the life-like quality of the sitter, for he appears as if he

is about to speak. The setting remains unclear, yet the ostentatious gold background of the portrait of John the Good is replaced by a dark background of undefined space. Although the sitter's location is ambiguous, the change in background color scheme suggests the sitter's presence in the earthly sphere. In fact each of these changes implies the sitter's presence in the world of the viewer. They reveal a developing interest in a sitter who, despite his social rank, is depicted as a living human being, one who more easily relates to his subjects than does the detached image of John the Good.

This emphasis on the realistic appearance of things in northern painting can be traced back to the fifteenth century when contemporary writers described artists of the north as being more concerned than those in Italy with the faithful representation of reality.³ Bartolommeo Fazio, an Italian historian who served as secretary to Alfonso of Naples, discussed northern painting in a chapter of his 1456 essay, *De viris illustribus*. In the introduction to this chapter he wrote:

No painter is accounted excellent who has not distinguished himself in representing the properties of his subjects as they exist in reality. For it is one thing to paint an arrogant man, but quite another to paint a mean, or fawning, or impoverished one, and so forth. It is as much the painter's task as the poet's to represent these properties of their subjects, and it is in that very thing that the talents and capabilities of each is most recognized.⁴

The effort, then, was to make the surface appearance convey the psychological characterization of the sitter. As Fazio explained, an artist must depict the sitter's "feelings and emotions, so that the picture may be alive and sentient and

somehow move and have action.”⁵

Fazio continued his essay with a discussion of four artists whom he considered to be the best of his time. The four included two Italians, Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, and two northern painters, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. In his discussion of the two northern artists Fazio focused on their faithful representation of minute details and on their subtle treatment of changing light effects.⁶ He described Jan van Eyck, or “Jan of Gaul,” as being “judged the leading painter of his time,” a title which Fazio defended by describing a now lost painting by the artist which was at that time located in King Alfonso’s private apartments. The painting depicted the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the moment at which the angel Gabriel announced to the Virgin that she would bear the son of God. Fazio described Gabriel as being “of exceptional beauty and with hair surpassing reality.” On the outer side of this panel was a portrait of one Battista Lomellini whose image he described as being so life-like that “he lacked only a voice.”⁷ This focus on realism continues into the twentieth century and too often implies that the artist’s goal was simply “realism” for its own sake, and that there was no deeper, underlying cause for its development.

The focus on realism remains a starting point for many discussions of northern art by twentieth-century scholars. The spring 1986 issue of *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* is devoted entirely to early Netherlandish portraiture of the fifteenth century. Philippe de Montebello begins the

introduction by stating that "Early Flemish portraits command our attention because of their unprecedented naturalness. At their most descriptive they strike us as potentially alive."⁸ Guy Bauman, in the same issue, writes that the leading Flemish painters of the fifteenth century "made for their patrons images that appeared real and alive."⁹ And although it is difficult to disagree with these statements, the reader is left with the belief that realism for its own sake was the ultimate artistic goal of northern artists. Instead one should question the function that realism served for portrait painting.

A common explanation for the development of these realistic images is the use of the oil medium, which was adopted by northern artists early in the fifteenth century. A laborious technique, it involves placing countless layers of translucent paint over a panel which is first covered with a white chalk ground. Light penetrates the layers and reflects back through the paint, resulting in the rich glow which is commonly associated with northern art of this period. It allows the subtle light effects which flicker through the stained glass windows in van Eyck's *Madonna in the Church*, as well as the fine transparent tears which fall from the face of a grieving woman in Rogier van der Weyden's *Escorial Deposition*. Jan van Eyck has erroneously been credited with the invention of the oil medium which has actually existed since ancient times. Van Eyck, though, was a master of the technique. Tempera did not allow the subtleties and brilliance of color which can be achieved through the use of oil. The brilliant effects of the oil technique reflected the luxurious tastes of the

Burgundian court and appealed to the new court functionaries. Its ability to recreate minute details brought a new sense of life to holy images and to the noble sitters of independent portraits. Its subtle effects helped to increase the feeling of intimacy which is so common in northern painting of the fifteenth century.

The primary motivation for the development of naturalistic images originated with the demands of private devotional worship. Important changes in religious devotion evolved during the late middle ages which had a considerable impact on the visual arts during the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Northern Europe saw a shift from large institutional religious practice to an emphasis on private individual devotion. This new form of devotion required the direct participation of the individual as opposed to the indirect form of worship which was practiced through the clergy.¹¹ Religious texts became available in the vernacular so as to reach a larger audience. These texts included Saint Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*, as well as the *Meditations* of the Pseudo-Bonaventura, all of which strove to bring the pious worshipper to a heightened level of emotional response to biblical narrative, and encouraged the reader to imitate the life and Passion of Christ in his or her own life.

Further changes in religious devotion were prompted by new spiritual movements of the late middle ages such as the *Devotio moderna*. The goal of this fourteenth-century religious movement was the restoration of moral values and the improvement of discipline in churches and monasteries.¹² The

movement was inspired by such groups as the Brethren of the Common Life, an association which was organized in the Netherlands late in the fourteenth century.¹³ The movement placed particular emphasis on the importance of personal devotion, and its primary effect was felt with the laity and lower clergy who reacted against the corruption which was so prevalent amongst the upper hierarchy of the church.¹⁴

Followers of the *Devotio moderna* sought a richer inner spiritual life which was achieved through active meditation. They promoted a spirituality which could be easily followed by lay individuals. One of the principal advocates of this movement was Thomas à Kempis, who, in his *Imitatio Christi* of about 1425, suggested that devotional practice should be based on the imitation of Christ's life and Passion through a practice of daily prayer and meditation.¹⁵ Christ was meant to serve as an inspirational model to the worshipper, who, through meditation, would then be inspired to make improvements in his or her own life. The followers of this movement believed that each individual was responsible for working out his or her own way to salvation and that one's earthly life would be improved through pious actions. This practice was based not only on textual instruction, but also on a visual understanding provided by images which served as models for reflection. The faithful were encouraged to cultivate emotional responses to works of devotional art and a heightened sense of compassion through their use.

Northern artists of the fourteenth century responded to the demands of the new spirituality by finding new ways to heighten the illusionistic impact of their images, and to involve the worshipper directly in the experience of holy persons.¹⁶ They developed pictorial devices, one of which was the *Andachtsbild*, in order to address these new devotional needs. The *Andachtsbild*, or devotional picture, removes holy figures from their familiar narrative context and instead focuses on specific moments and details which directly display the compassion and love of Christ and the Virgin for humankind. Devotional images of the Pietà, or of Christ displaying the stigmata, were designed to guide the worshipper to intense contemplation of the sacred subject matter which was meant to be felt with strong emotion and physical compassion.¹⁷

An early example of *Andachtsbilder* can be seen in a painting attributed to Jean Malouel, court painter to Philip the Bold. The painting (plate 13), created between 1400 and 1415, is a tondo, or round painting, and is known as *The Grand Pietà* or the *Lamentation of the Holy Trinity*. The coat of arms on the reverse indicates that the painting was commissioned by Philip the Bold. In the center of the painting is the dead Christ whose body is supported by the arms of God the Father. The small white dove, symbolic of the Holy Spirit, is located between the two and completes the Trinity. The Virgin and the apostle John are on the right, and to the left are mourning angels. The scene has been isolated so that there is no indication of setting, and the lifeless body of Christ is pushed

forward towards the viewer, as if being displayed by God the Father so that the viewer will be aware of his or her own sin, while witnessing this suffering which is accepted in his name. The painting is thus meant to remind the faithful of his or her obligation to live a moral, pious life inspired by the life of Christ.

Other examples of *Andachtsbilder* can be seen in a series of paintings created for the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon. Jean de Beaumetz, also court painter to Philip the Bold, was ordered to paint twenty-six devotional paintings for the monastery, twenty-four of which were likely intended for the monks' cells, with the remaining two destined for the prior. The Cleveland Museum of Art owns a *Crucifixion* which is believed to be one of the original twenty-six panels (plate 14). At the center of the panel is the figure of Christ on the cross. He is flanked on the viewer's left by the grieving Virgin and two women who provide her with physical support and try to ease her emotional pain. On the other side is the apostle John and a kneeling Carthusian monk. The figures are placed against a gold background and there is no spatial indication which would detract from the extreme emotion of the scene. Blood flows from the wounds of Christ's body. The Virgin is limp with grief and John's emotional pain is expressed in the wringing of his hands and the way in which he twists his head in sorrow. Emphasis is on the pain of Christ, a pain which he endured for the salvation of humankind. The inclusion of the monk serves as a point of reference for the worshipper, meant to inspire in much the same way as the donor portrait in a devotional diptych. *Andachtsbilder* were meant to be

viewed during meditation, and the emotionality of the scene was meant to inspire the worshiper to live a moral life based on the teachings of Christ.

Fifteenth-century artists, then, were faced with a growing demand for images which would foster personal involvement in religious worship.¹⁸ This demand resulted in the development of half-length depictions of the Virgin and Child which became especially popular in the mid-fifteenth century. It also brought about a growing demand for themes such as the *Man of Sorrows* or *Head of Christ*, which was of Byzantine origin and became one of the most common images of private devotion during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹

The connection between devotional painting and the popularity of fifteenth-century portraiture can be better understood by examining these holy "portraits," such as the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Head of Christ*. These half-length devotional images became an increasingly common format in the late fourteenth century. They were included as illustrations in Books of Hours and became quite common on small painted panels.²⁰ The duke of Berry's inventories indicate that he owned at least three painted versions of the *Man of Sorrows*.²¹ These panels emphasized the psychological relationship between subject and viewer. This psychological connection was made by presenting a close-up view of holy persons through the window-like opening of the frame, bringing the image closer to the viewer's reality.²²

A mature example of this type of devotional portrait can be seen in the *Head of Christ* which is attributed to Jan van Eyck (plate 15). Known only through copies, this bust-length portrait depicts a close-up image of Christ which is cut just below the shoulders and looks directly out at the viewer. Such images were common in Byzantine practice. The gold background, though, is replaced by a solid dark background indicative of an earthly setting.²³ Christ has direct eye contact with the viewer and whenever the viewer moves, Christ's gaze appears to follow. This direct contact with the viewer brought a new sense of life to the image and allowed the worshipper to communicate through prayer in a more personal manner than had previously been encouraged.²⁴ The worshipper is confronted with a detailed description of a human face, believed to be the true likeness of the historical Jesus.²⁵ No longer the two-dimensional image of eastern practice, Van Eyck represented Christ as a living being who looks out at the viewer. The lifelike quality of the portrait allows for a strong sense of intimacy and emotional connection with the holy figure on the part of the worshipper. Such images contributed greatly to the rise of portraiture in Europe.²⁶

The isolated holy image was a logical model for secular portraits of nobles in their attempt to define their place in the social hierarchy. The visual elements which were developed to bring holy figures into the world of the viewer were utilized in portraits of noble courtiers so as to increase the psychological connection between sitter and viewer. The viewers of secular

independent portraits would, in many cases, have been the bourgeois court functionaries. The frame became an imaginary window through which the beholder gazes at the sitter.²⁷ This window effect is aided by the inclusion of the sitter's hands, sometimes on the bottom section of the frame or on a painted ledge. The placement of hands in combination with the frame bridges the space between sitter and viewer and increases the impression that the sitter is being viewed through an actual window. Just as religious images were used in devotion, meditation, and contemplation to bring holy individual's closer to the worshiper, so close-up secular portraits were used to increase the noble sitter's presence in the world of the beholder.

The concept of the window is seen at its finest and most explicit in an illumination from the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*.²⁸ Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, sits before a window and reads a small Book of Hours. The window itself is open, and looks into a church inside which the Virgin and Child are attended by angels, and are adored by several female members of court. One of these women is thought to represent Margaret of York, Mary's step-mother and third wife of Charles the Bold. This illumination takes the illusionistic window concept a step further than do most fifteenth-century portraits. The reader looks through a window to a scene of a pious noble, who sits in front of a window which in turn opens to a scene of devotion.

Frames were an important element through which the artist created the illusion of communication between sitter and viewer. Both actual and painted

extensions of the original frame were used, as were painted parapets, to bridge the distance between pictorial and actual space. The *Portrait of Philip the Good* in the Bruges Groeningemuseum (plate 6) depicts the duke resting his hands on the lower edge of the frame in the lower right hand corner of the panel. The hands are not confined within the painted space, but could easily reach outward into the viewer's world. The anonymous artist who painted the portrait known as *The Man With the Pinks* in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie extended the actual frame to the panel itself. What appears to be the inner part of the frame is actually an illusion which is painted onto the panel. Shadows from the sitter's hands are painted on to this fictional section of the frame so as to give the appearance that they move out from the picture plane into the world of the observer. These devices bridge the gap between actual and pictorial space and bring the external world of the viewer into the "fictitious" world of the sitter.

Portraits of the early fifteenth century owe their enormous popularity to this new sense of personal involvement between viewer and portrait sitter. The psychological connection which was achieved is directly linked to developments in devotional painting. Artists responded to changes in devotional practice by developing images which were more intimate, and more closely related to the reality of the viewer. This in turn influenced the direction of portrait painting and its usage by the nobility. Although the audience of noble portraits seems to have been limited, in most cases, to court circles, this audience included the bourgeois court functionaries who were encroaching on

the exclusive world of the nobility. The nobility emulated the duke by adopting his patronage pattern and thus defined themselves within the social hierarchy of the Burgundian court.

III

A Portrait of Baudouin de Lannoy

During the reign of Philip the Good, independent portraits on panel were commissioned almost exclusively by noble members of the upper hierarchy of the Burgundian court. Such paintings were created for a variety of reasons, one of which was the display the ideals of noble authority. This appears to be the motivation behind the creation of a portrait in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (plate 16). The sitter is a stern-faced man who is dressed in formal attire and holds in his hands a staff, symbol of high office. These elements signify that the portrait represents the public image of the sitter, who has been identified as Baudouin de Lannoy, governor of Lille during the reign of Philip the Good. Although the details of the commission and the original placement of the panel are unknown, the formality of the painting suggests a location of high visibility. Biographical information about Lannoy confirms the likelihood that the portrait commemorates his years of loyalty to the duke, and serves as a means of inspiration to the viewer by displaying the rewards for his fidelity.

The portrait of Lannoy is no longer within the original frame, a common location for inscriptions identifying sitter and artist. Yet the image reveals that the sitter was a member of the nobility and was strongly associated with the Burgundian court. The first and most obvious element of this indication is the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece which the sitter wears around his neck.

This alone indicates that he was associated with the Burgundian court and was of noble background, for the order was an elite organization with membership limited to thirty-one knights, each of noble and legitimate birth, and each, in the early days of the order, coming from the Burgundian Low Countries. The next clue to his social status is found in the clothing that he wears. The tall, dark-brown fur hat is reminiscent of the one worn by the wealthy merchant Giovanni Arnolfini in the double portrait by Jan van Eyck. Yet the sitter also wears a crimson brocaded robe which is trimmed with fur and decorated with gold thread, certainly not the costume of an upper-middle-class merchant.¹

Furthermore, the staff which he holds is a symbol of authority, indicating that he held a position of high office. The combination of these elements reveal that the sitter was in a position of power within the upper hierarchy of the Burgundian court.

The sitter's identity is preserved within a collection of drawings known as the *Recueil d'Arras*. These drawings consist primarily of portraits of the Netherlandish nobility, and most of the identified subjects come from the regions of Hainault, French Flanders, and Artois. The *Recueil* is of special importance because of the inclusion of numerous drawings after paintings which are now lost. It was assembled between 1566 and 1574 and is attributed to Jacques Le Boucq of Valenciennes, who died in 1573 and is known to have been a portraitist.² Le Boucq was herald to Emperor Charles V and may have been the Valenciennes artist who painted coats of arms of the knights of the

Order of the Golden Fleece for the 1559 chapter meeting in Ghent.³ He traveled extensively throughout the Netherlands and during his journeys copied paintings, stained glass windows and other effigies. The *Recueil d'Arras* itself represents only a small portion of the large collection of portrait drawings which Le Boucq compiled over the years.⁴ In 1900 Louis Dimier made the connection between the Berlin portrait and a drawing in the *Recueil* which appears to be an exact reproduction of the painted panel.⁵ An inscription below the drawing identifies the sitter as "Baulduyn de Lannoy dict le besque seigneur de Molembais."⁶ The inscription appears to be of a later date than the drawing, as do most of the inscriptions in the collection, yet the identification is generally believed to be accurate.

Lannoy came from a noble family from the Hainault region which had a strong history of ducal service. Prominent members of Baudouin's own generation included his brothers Guillebert and Hugh, who successively held the title Lord of Santes.⁷ Guillebert de Lannoy (1386-1462) was both councillor and ambassador to Philip the Good, and was also active in military service. He was also a writer, authoring such essays as *Instruction d'un jeun prince*, *Enseignements paternal*, and *Enseignements de la vraie noblesse*.⁸

Like his brother, Hugh de Lannoy (1384-1456) was also active in the military. By the end of 1406 he was chamberlain to John the Fearless and later held the same position under the rule of Philip the Good. In 1410 he was named to the ducal council and from 1414 to 1424 was governor and sovereign

bailiff of Lille, Douai and Orchies. During the reign of Philip the Good he was active, above all, in diplomatic work which included delegations to Spain, Rome, and England. Then, between 1433 and 1440, he served as governor of Holland.⁹

Baudouin de Lannoy was born into this prominent family sometime around 1389, and lived until 1474. He was the third son of Ghillebert de Lannoy, lord of Santes and Beaumont, and Catherine Gobiart de Corbion, lady of Molembaix. Baudouin became lord of Solre-le-Château through marriage to his second wife, Adrienne de Berlaymont. In November of 1408, Baudouin accompanied John the Fearless to Paris, soon after the assassination of the duke of Orleans. In 1423 he was appointed governor of Lille.¹⁰ He served as chamberlain to Philip the Good and in 1424, succeeding his brother Hughes, became entrusted with the Flemish government of the Walloon provinces. He was then named sovereign bailiff of Lille, Douai and Orchies, a position which his son Baudouin II de Lannoy-Molembaix was to occupy between 1485 and 1501.

Lannoy received generous rewards for his service to the duke. He is said to have been given a cloak by Philip the Good in 1427, a reward for years of loyalty to the sovereign. It has been suggested that this cloak is the one which he wears in the Berlin portrait, although there is no firm evidence to confirm this theory.¹¹ A greater reward was given in 1430 when Lannoy was named knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the chivalric order which was

founded by Philip the Good the same year. Lannoy had previously been part of the 1428 embassy to Portugal to negotiate the marriage of Philip and Isabella. After the arrangements were complete, he and the other members of the embassy accompanied the future duchess on her voyage to Flanders. Lannoy certainly would have been involved in other important ducal missions, yet the 1428 embassy is important in forming a connection between he and Jan van Eyck.

The attribution of the portrait to van Eyck again begins with the *Recueil* drawing. Below Lannoy's name are the words "attribué à Jan van Eyck." Although the inscription seems to have been added at a later date, the attribution is generally acknowledged as correct because of the stylistic similarities between this and other portraits by the court artist. First is the appearance of suspended consciousness. This is a common characteristic of van Eyck's subjects, and is demonstrated by a comparison of the Berlin panel with van Eyck's portrait of *Tymotheos* (plate 17). Both reveal a similar far-off gaze and the sense of deep concentration which is characteristic of van Eyck's style.¹²

The next Eyckian element is the lighting formula. Light falls on the further side of the face, leaving shaded areas on the side nearest the viewer. This enhances the solidity of the form and allows the face to stand out against the dark background. Although not exclusive to the style of van Eyck, this system results in the clear relief of flesh on the side of the face closest to the viewer,

and allows the artist to describe the surface of the skin with minute, descriptive detail. This last aspect is a fundamental feature of the Eyckian style. What is unusual about this portrait, though, is that the sitter is placed further back in the picture than are van Eyck's other subjects, with the face taking up less than one third of the panel. Such placement may have been necessary so as to fit the tall hat into the composition.

Baudouin de Lannoy and Jan van Eyck would have had several opportunities to meet. As court painter to Philip the Good, van Eyck spent the years between 1425 and 1428 in Lille, the same period in which Lannoy served there as governor. In addition, they were both members of the 1428 embassy to Portugal to negotiate the marriage between Philip and Isabella. Van Eyck's involvement in this mission was in the capacity of court painter. Portraits were an important part of royal marriage negotiations, with the painted image serving as a visual supplement to the embassy's report. Van Eyck was entrusted with the duty of painting two portraits of Isabella, each to be sent back to the duke by courier, one by sea and the other by land.¹³ Van Eyck's accomplishment of this task is confirmed by a contemporary chronicler who wrote that, after the delegation was received by King John of Portugal at his castle in Avis on January 12 and 13, 1429:

"les dits ambaxadeurs, par ung nommé maistre Jehan de Eyck,
varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoigne et
excellent maistre en art de peinture, firent paindre bien au vif

le figure de ma dite dame l'infante Elizabeth." ¹⁴

Although the opportunity existed, it does not appear that the portrait of Lannoy was painted during this embassy.

Several key events in Lannoy's life are important factors in both the dating of the portrait and in determining its possible function. First is the embassy to Portugal. Van Eyck may have had the time and opportunity to paint Lannoy's likeness during this trip, yet Lannoy wears the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece to which he was not elected until the year 1430. It has been suggested that the portrait is an early work by van Eyck with the chain being added at a later date. ¹⁵ This, though, is not consistent with the apparent age of the sitter. Lannoy was born sometime around 1389 and the sitter of this portrait appears to be approximately fifty years of age. These elements lead most scholars to date the portrait between 1436 and 1438. This dating is consistent with the theory that the portrait may have been painted for a function of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Maximilian I, third sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, commissioned a statute book in 1478, the year of his installation. The book contained the portraits of the original members of the order, and it is likely that the knights would have had their portraits commissioned for various official events, which certainly could have been the case with the Berlin panel. ¹⁶ While the details of the Lannoy commission have not been satisfactorily determined, it is clear that the portrait commemorates Lannoy's years of loyalty while in the

service of the duke. More than simply celebrating his membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece it serves as a formal and public acknowledgment of Lannoy's political importance and commemorates his faithful service to the duke.¹⁷

Lannoy's membership into the Order of the Golden Fleece is an important indication of his value within the court of Philip the Good. As governor, councillor and ambassador to the duke, Baudouin de Lannoy was an important member of the upper hierarchy of Burgundian government, and was worthy of membership in this exclusive organization. In fact, all three Lannoy brothers were among the first twenty-four members of the order, all elected at the first chapter meeting which was held January 10, 1430 in Bruges. Hughes de Lannoy was the seventh nominee. His merit as knight, leader and diplomat in the service of the Burgundian lands was without doubt the basis of his nomination.¹⁸ Ghillebert de Lannoy was the twelfth to be elected, and Baudouin was the nineteenth member. Membership in the order was used to unify the nobles and to secure the longevity of Burgundian power. Yet it also enhanced the political and social prestige of the individual members.

Although the original location of this portrait is unknown, the formal appearance of the sitter suggests that it was placed either in a public setting, or in a location where it was visible to important individuals who moved amongst court circles. This setting may have included a family gallery, in the same spirit as the collection of Margaret of Austria, but on a much smaller scale, for the

Recueil d'Arras includes the portraits of other Lannoy family members.¹⁹

According to Elisabeth Dhanens, the portrait of Lannoy, or possibly a copy, was well-known in the Low Countries. Its influence is present in a composition of the sixteenth century, now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, which depicts an episode from the life of St. Bernard. It is also reproduced as a drawing in Peter Paul Rubens's *Costume Book*, now located in the collection of the British Museum.²⁰

The *Costume Book* is a collection of sketches drawn on forty folios. On these pages Rubens drew nearly two hundred and fifty studies of historical and exotic costumes. The majority of them reflect the fashions of late-medieval Netherlands, Burgundy and Germany.²¹ Many of the book's portraits correspond to drawings in the *Recueil d'Arras*, and although the possibility that Rubens directly studied the *Recueil* can not be ruled out, it is more likely that his familiarity with the collection was through copies of the *Recueil* which were made by Antoine de Succa. Succa was a portraitist and genealogist to Albert and Isabella, the early seventeenth-century regents of the Hapsburg dynasty. He was also a colleague of Rubens. His *Mémoriaux* was a collection of drawings based on those in the *Recueil d'Arras* and included a copy of the drawing of Baudouin de Lannoy.²²

This official portrait of Baudouin Lannoy shares many similarities with the portrait panels of Philip the Good. In his own public portraits, Philip the Good was depicted as the perfect ruler. The duke, in the Bruges portrait, holds a

rolled up document which symbolizes a highly functional, working government, a government which was under Philip's control. Lannoy holds a staff of high office, also indicative of his position of power. As in the ducal portraits, the artist isolated Lannoy against a dark, undefined space, eliminating any elements which may avert attention from the serious expression of the sitter. The only possible distraction are the hands and the staff which are controlled by the compositional design. The viewer's eyes are led down the staff to the sitter's hands, but they are then guided back up towards the sitter's face by the v-shaped collar, which is accentuated by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece around his neck. Although Lannoy looks out towards the viewer's space, he remains psychologically distant, much as Philip the Good does in his own official portraits, such as the Bruges panel. This detachment, though, would have been fitting for a sitter of his class and political position.

The various drawn copies, the painting in Cologne, and the official nature of the Berlin portrait indicate that the original painting was at one time hung in a location of high visibility. As a depiction of noble character, Baudouin de Lannoy's portrait would have demonstrated the duty to one's land and sovereign and the rewards that accompanied loyalty and service. The portrait symbolizes the strong sense of duty that this nobleman felt towards his sovereign and the recognition that he and members of his social class were responsible for maintaining the noble way of life. His apparent sense of dignity is enhanced by the seriousness of his facial expression, a seriousness which

emphasizes the solemn duty of the sitter. Lannoy was amongst a select few at court, holding positions unreachable for the majority of the population. His loyalty and sense of authority allowed he and his class to attain levels and rewards of which most people could only dream.

IV

A Portrait of a Lady

Around 1405, Christine de Pisan wrote that “the ladies of the court ought to be models of all good things and all honour to other women.”¹ Pisan was France’s first professional female writer, and her strong associations with both the royal house of France and the Burgundian court gave her first hand knowledge of the behavioral practices of the nobility. Like Chastellain, she recognized the obligatory function of the nobility to serve as models of behavior for the lower social classes. In her book titled *Les trois vertues*, Pisan advised noble women to appear modest, to show outward signs of piety, and to avoid excessive displays of wealth. Rogier van der Weyden’s *Portrait of a Lady* (plate 18) in Washington’s National Gallery corresponds to this advice and reflects the outward behavior to which noble women were expected to strive. The sitter of this portrait is unidentified and the circumstances of the commission are unknown. Yet an examination of the panel reveals its correspondence to the idealized behavior which was expected of women of wealth and its indebtedness to portraits of women within the inner circle of the Burgundian court.

The woman portrayed is placed against a deep blue-green background in an undefined setting. She is presented in half-length, and is posed in three-quarter view. Her glance is in line with the direction of her body, as are her

hands which are brought together in front of her to rest on the frame. She has a high forehead, the dome-like shape of which is exaggerated by a transparent veil which frames her head and emphasizes the sitter's placement at the forward picture plane. Her expression is calm and reserved, and she glances downward as if avoiding the gaze of the beholder.

The identification of the woman in this portrait is unknown. The panel is not inscribed and it is no longer within the original frame, a common location for identifying inscriptions. There are no heraldic devices which may connect her to a particular family, and her features do not resemble those of any identified portraits.² John Walker of the National Gallery wrote that the sitter has been tentatively identified as Marie de Valangin, who was an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good and was married to Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny. There is no solid evidence to support this identification, though, which seems to be based solely upon an apparent resemblance to the features of Philip the Good.³ As Lorne Campbell explains, she appears to be a woman of wealth, but she is not dressed in the extravagant manner that would be expected of the daughter of a duke.

The sitter's demeanor is characteristic of women of high social standing who were associated with the Burgundian court. In fact Colin Eisler referred to the panel as having the appearance of a "society portrait with the elegant appearance of restrained hauteur characteristic of the Brussels court of Philip the Good."⁴ This restrained appearance is a result of the highly developed

sense of etiquette which dominated life at court. The same reserved appearance is visible in the Dijon portrait of Isabella of Portugal (plate 19), wife of Philip the Good. It is also seen in the Louvre portrait of Margaret of York, the third wife of Charles the Bold who became duchess of Burgundy after Isabella of Portugal.

The clothing of the Washington woman also suggests that she was a woman of wealth. Her clothing is, of course, rather modest in comparison to the elegant, gold trimmed attire of the duchess. A comparison with the clothing of a woman in Berlin, though, who's portrait is also attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, indicates that the woman in the Washington portrait was probably not a member of the middle class, but belonged to a class of higher social standing. The subject of the Berlin portrait dresses in a more practical manner, her white veil appearing to be much heavier than the delicate translucent veil of the woman in Washington. The transparent veil of the Washington woman drapes over a headdress which is decorated with a delicate checkered pattern. A similar translucent fabric covers her chest and follows the lines of the dress which rests upon it. This translucent fabric appears to be included as a statement of fashion, rather than for any practical purpose. Her dress is also accentuated, and wealth indicated, by the metal buckle of her woven red belt which is delicately decorated with minutely detailed tracery. Such details are not found in the clothing of the woman in Berlin, who, despite the fur trim of her dress, seems to dress more for practicality than does the woman in the

Washington portrait.

Scholars attribute the Washington painting to Rogier van der Weyden through stylistic analysis. The characteristics of Van der Weyden's style can be understood by comparing his portraits with those of Jan van Eyck. Both artists adopted the three-quarter view pose, and both placed their sitters against a dark background of undefined space. Van Eyck's figures emerge from that space, as is illustrated in the earlier discussed portraits of Baudouin de Lannoy and Tymotheos. Van der Weyden's sitters, on the other hand, stand out against the background. In the case of the Washington portrait, the woman is separated from the dark setting by the light colored veil, which also serves to frame her head and emphasize her placement at the forward picture plane. This same framing technique is found in the Berlin portrait.

Also characteristic of van der Weyden's style is the soft treatment of the flesh. In the work of van Eyck, great emphasis is placed on the texture of the skin, with its numerous lines and creases. They are visible in the face of Baudouin de Lannoy, particularly around the eyes and on either side of the mouth. This effect is achieved by illuminating the far side of the face, leaving that closest to the viewer in shadow. The faces of van der Weyden's sitters, though, are fairly evenly lit so that there are no strong tonal contrasts. As a result, little attention is given to the texture of the skin, which appears smooth and soft. Emphasis is on form, which is defined by strong contours and flowing lines, emphasizing the grace and beauty of the image. In the Washington

portrait, the sense of reserve and passivity is enhanced by the linear emphasis and lack of tonal contrast. Van der Weyden's style was very formal and was quite popular amongst the conservative patrons who were active at court. His sitters, such as Francesco d'Este and the Duke of Cleves, all give the same impression of reserve and guarded behavior.

The Washington panel echoes an earlier portrait, located in London's National Gallery, which is also attributed to Rogier van der Weyden (plate 20). The attire of the sitter in the London portrait is almost identical to that of the Washington sitter.⁵ She wears a similar headdress, covered with an identical translucent veil which frames the head in the same manner as is seen in the Washington portrait. Their dresses are also similar, although the neck line in the London portrait is cut a bit higher than that of the dress worn by the woman in Washington. The poses of the two women are identical, with the hands brought together, one on top of the other, resting on the inner edge of the frame. They also share the same lowered gaze and thoughtful expression. There are stylistic variations, though, indicating different periods in van der Weyden's career. The outer silhouette of the sitter in the London portrait is stiffer, and there is less reference to underlying form. The elongation of the features is more pronounced in the Washington portrait. These differences lead scholars to believe that the London portrait is dated much earlier than the Washington panel, probably created in the late 1440s, with the Washington portrait being painted around 1460.⁶

The original function of the Washington portrait is unknown, yet it may have been intended as a pendant, paired with a portrait of the woman's husband. Although there is no physical evidence to prove this theory, and no portrait of a male has been satisfactorily identified as being the corresponding panel, the subservient pose may imply the right side to a pair, similar to the pendant portraits of a man and woman by Robert Campin in London's National Gallery. Tradition dictated that in such a pairing, the portrait of the husband was located on the left, and that of the wife on the right. The possibility of this portrait being a devotional panel is ruled out by the placement of the hands as if they are resting on the frame. Had it been intended as a devotional diptych, the hands would have been brought together in prayer as in the diptych of the duke of Cleves (plate 11).

The woman's downward gaze is indicative of her modesty, but also suggests the piety which was expected to play a dominant role in the lives of late-medieval women. It is for this reason that images of fifteenth-century women from the Low Countries often share a strong similarity to contemporary images of the Virgin, who rarely makes eye contact with the beholder. The same idealized qualities of modesty, purity, and gentleness are visible in images of noble women. Although of a slightly later period, images of Margaret of York, third wife of Charles the Bold, demonstrate the importance of pious behavior in the outward appearance of noble women. Numerous portraits exist of Margaret, most of which are manuscript illuminations. Most depict the pious

side of the duchess, implying a genuine spirituality and a sense of moral responsibility towards her subjects. One such illustration, found in a book of moral and religious treatises in Oxford's Bodleian Library, depicts Margaret of York in her private tent, kneeling in prayer.⁷ A small prayer book is open in front of her, and she faces a small devotional panel, probably depicting the Virgin and Child. Behind her are two court women, possibly ladies in waiting, who follow her example by also kneeling in prayer. The three women display the same downward gaze and pensive expression which is such a dominant aspect of the woman in the Washington portrait.

Another illumination which demonstrates the importance of piety in the lives of noble women is the *Seven Acts of Charity*. This illustration is attributed to the Master of Girart de Roussillon, and is found in the manuscript titled *Benois seront les miséricordieux* by Nicolas Finet. Margaret of York appears much more active in this illustration, for she feeds the hungry, visits the sick, and prays for the dead.⁸ Yet she retains the same downward gaze, suggestive of modesty and timidity, as is seen in the above example of the duchess at prayer. Her portraits depict the active piety that was expected of noble women and provide a model that other women could follow.

Images of Isabella of Portugal (plate 21) would also have been important models for the Washington portrait. Isabella was the most important woman at the Burgundian court for forty years. Born in 1397, she married Philip the Good in 1430 and lived until 1471. Over thirty portraits of the duchess survive, most of

which are manuscript illuminations, but which also include some panel portraits. Some of these panels would likely have been displayed in the ducal palaces. Portraits of the duchess were meant to convey certain idealized qualities which were appropriate to a woman of her social position. Like the images of Margaret of York, they included acts of religious piety and charity. The Bruges Groeningemuseum owns a panel by Petrus Christus, which is part of a dismantled altarpiece. It depicts Isabella kneeling at her prie-dieu with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary standing behind her. Saint Elizabeth was an important model for noble women, for the thirteenth-century princess dedicated the later years of her life to the care of the sick and needy.

Images of Isabella also include an illumination from the Master of the Flemish Privileges in Vienna.⁹ Isabella sits on a throne, next to her husband, as he grants privileges to the citizens of Ghent. The illustration depicts the sympathetic character of the duchess, for she gently gazes down at the citizens while delicately holding the hand of her husband. Such images were meant to convey the compassionate qualities of the duchess while illustrating her support for her husband and his policies.

The Dijon portrait of Isabella of Portugal (plate 19) would have been an appropriate model for the Washington portrait. Painted around 1430, it depicts a youthful Isabella at the time of her marriage to Philip the Good. The formality of the portrait is emphasized by her costume, which includes an elaborate headdress, or hennin, which is decorated with brocaded gold cloth and is

trimmed with pearls and precious gems. Her clothing is much grander than that of the woman in the Washington portrait, yet it is fitting for the wife of a duke and illustrates Christine de Pisan's advise that a woman should dress according to her station in life. Identification of the sitter as Isabella of Portugal is secured by the provenance of a similar panel in Ghent, which also includes Isabella's coat of arms.¹⁰ That this portrait, or another from which it was copied, was placed in a location of high visibility, is attested to by the numerous copies which exist. They include a miniature in bust length in the Royal Library in Brussels, as well as the panel in Ghent in which the duchess faces the accompanying image of her husband.¹¹

The Washington panel corresponds to the characteristics of Isabella of Portugal in the Dijon panel. The depiction of Isabella illustrates Christine de Pisan's advise that a good princess "will always behave respectably and speak softly; her conduct will be kindly and her expression gentle and pleasant, greeting everyone with lowered eyes."¹² She stresses the inspirational significance of the nobility by stating that "the mere look of the wise lady and her subdued reception is enough of a sign to correct those men and women who err and to inspire them with fear."¹³ The woman in the Washington portrait has the same downward gaze as the duchess, implying the outward signs of modesty which were expected of a woman of the Burgundian court.

The Washington *Portrait of a Lady* remains a mystery in that the identity of the sitter is unknown. Although she is a woman of wealth, the modesty of her

clothing makes it difficult to place her within the upper levels of the nobility. She does, though, exhibit the characteristic modesty and reserve which was so characteristic of women of high social standing during the fifteenth century. These characteristics place her amongst the wealthy classes and reflect the inspiration of portraits of noble women such as Isabella of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy.

V

A Portrait of Philippe de Croy

According to Georges Chastellain, one of the primary duties of the nobility was the augmentation of religious faith. As defenders of Christianity, this privileged social class needed to publicly display their piety. The nobility's dedication to the Christian faith was meant to inspire the less fortunate towards a moral, spiritual life. Yet pious displays were also used to solidify a noble's position amongst his or her peers and to justify a position of privilege. This validation certainly played a role in the creation of the small devotional portraits which were popularized in the mid-fifteenth century. Rogier van der Weyden's devotional portrait of Philippe de Croy (plate 22) is a fine example of this type of self-promotion. As part of a diptych, Croy is in perpetual prayer to the Virgin and Child on the accompanying panel. Additional aspects of his character are put aside and the focus is limited to his spiritual devotion. Yet a study of Croy's biography lends insight into the function of this diptych as a means of justifying his position to a society in which religion was a dominant factor of daily life.

The sitter of this portrait is identified on the reverse by a coat of arms and an inscription which reads: "[Phil]ippe de Croy [Seig]neur de Sempy."¹ The portrait, then, was painted sometime between 1454 and 1461, the years in which Croy held this title. The monogram in the upper left corner has not yet been interpreted, but it is found in many of the manuscripts which were at one

time part of Croy's collection. This particular painting, or one similar to it, is described in a 1629 inventory of paintings belonging to one of Philippe's descendants, Alexandre d'Arenberg, Prince of Chimay.²

The Croy were a very powerful family during the reign of Philip the Good. They were among the closest advisors to the duke, a tradition which continued during the reign of Philip's son, Charles the Bold. In fact, Charles's wife, Margaret of York, was godmother to a grandson of Croy who was born in the year 1500.³ The Croy originated as a small, relatively insignificant family from Picardy, but grew into one of the fifteenth century's most prominent and powerful families. Its upward mobility was the result of ducal connections, beginning at the time of Philippe's grandfather Jehan, lord of Croy. He was no doubt aided in his advancement at court by the fact that his sister, Agnes de Croy, was a mistress of Duke John the Fearless. Having come from humble beginnings, the family strengthened its political position through careful marriage alliances. By the time Jehan was killed at Agincourt in 1415, he had successfully placed his family within the upper hierarchy of the Burgundian court so that his son Anthoine, the uncle of the sitter of this portrait, was a member of the great council as early as the 1420s.⁴

Anthoine de Croy became the principle confident and favorite advisor to Philip the Good. He and Chancellor Nicolas Rolin were among the primary negotiators of the 1435 Peace Treaty of Arras.⁵ Anthoine became so powerful that in 1442 he and Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournai and president of the great

council, served as the two principal governors of the Burgundian Netherlands during one of Philip the Good's absences.⁶ By 1456, Anthoine was serving as governor of Luxembourg, Namur, and Boulogne, in reward for his loyalty to the duke.

Despite the power of the Croy, many of the older noble families were unable to accept them as part of their own social group. The constable of Saint Pol strongly opposed the marriage of his daughter to one of Anthoine de Croy's sons, despite the fact that the prospective groom was first chamberlain and first councillor to Philip the Good. The constable disapproved of the union because, as the chronicler d'Escouchy explained, "the young lady concerned came from a lineage as noble as the French royal lily, while Croy was merely one of the gentry." Such disapproval by the old established nobility was likely the result of envy, for the Croy were generally respected because of their good relations with ruling nobles.⁷

Philippe de Croy was born around 1434, probably in the city of Mons, and died in 1482 in Bruges.⁸ He was the son of Anthoine's brother, Jean de Croy and Marie de Lalaing. Philippe married Walburge of Meurs, daughter of Count Vincente and Anne of Bavaria, with whom he had six children. He spent most of the period from the mid-1450s with his father and uncle at the Burgundian court, from which they were exiled in March of 1465, the result of their monopoly on political power and their connection with the French royal crown. They were pardoned by Charles the Bold in 1468.⁹

Philippe de Croy spent nearly his entire life within the inner circle of the Burgundian court. His association with the court began at a young age, for he was educated with the future duke, Charles the Bold. He served as both soldier and ambassador to Philip the Good and in 1457 was appointed ducal chamberlain. He became governor of Hainaut around 1456 and in 1472 succeeded his father as count of Chimay. During the 1470s he served as councillor and chamberlain to Charles the Bold and in 1474 was appointed stadtholder of the duchy of Guelders.¹⁰ According to Panofsky, Croy was reputed to be one of the most cultured and chivalrous members of the Burgundian court.¹¹ Chastellain, with whom Philippe was acquainted, described him as courageous, sensible, and gifted.¹²

The prominence and power of the Croy family made them appropriate candidates for membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece. Like the Lannoy family, they were among the original members of the order. Philippe's uncle Anthoine was the fifteenth nominee, and Philippe's father, Jean de Croy was the twenty-second member. Both were elected to the founding chapter which was held in Bruges in January of 1430. Philippe himself was the seventy-fourth member of the order, being elected to the Valenciennes chapter which was held on March 2, 1473.¹³ The diptych was painted prior to his election, for he is presented without the chain of the order.

The portrait of Philippe de Croy is half of a devotional diptych, a portrait type which became quite popular during the mid-fifteenth century. Van der

Weyden is credited with popularizing these half-length panels which, according to Panofsky, developed in part from half-length representations of the Virgin interceding with Christ.¹⁴ Devotional diptychs consist of two panels. The one on the right is a half-length portrait in which the donor's hands are brought together in prayer. The panel on the left usually depicts the image of the Virgin, often accompanied by the Christ child. They, too, are presented in half-length. The donor's hands sometimes hold prayer beads, such as those which are held by Philippe de Croy.

Five surviving devotional diptychs are attributed to Rogier van der Weyden. All five appear to have been painted between the years 1450 and 1464. Four of the sitters, including Croy, are identified as members of the Burgundian nobility. They are Laurent Froimont (plate 23), Jean Gros and John I, Duke of Cleves (plate 11). The fifth portrait, located at Upton House in Warwickshire, is of an unidentified young man. All five portraits illustrate the sitter's active devotional life, for each sitter prays to the object of his devotion in the accompanying panel.

The left hand panel of the Croy diptych is believed to be a painting of the Virgin and Child in half-length which is now in the collection of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California (plate 24). The association between the two panels was made by Hulin de Loo in 1927. Max Friedländer disagreed with this pairing, explaining that the gold background of the panel of the Virgin and Child does not continue over to the portrait of Philippe de Croy.¹⁵

A gold background in the Croy panel, though, would be inappropriate. The Virgin and Child are representatives of the heavenly sphere in which a gold ground is fitting. Philippe de Croy, on the other hand, represents the temporal half of the diptych and rules of protocol relegate him to an earthly setting.

The religious implications of a devotional diptych relate to the role of the Virgin as mediator. She intercedes between heaven and earth, or between her son and the worshipper. She is approached by the faithful as a mother whose love is reserved not only for her son, but for humankind.¹⁶ The donor of such a diptych contemplates a vision to which he or she prays. In the case of the Croy diptych the vision is that of the Virgin and the Child. The disconnected gazes indicate that the panel of the Virgin and Child is only the result of Croy's meditation. The Virgin and Child do not actually appear to him, but are a vision brought on by intense worship.¹⁷

In the five surviving devotional diptychs attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, the format of the donor panels are the same as plain, bust-length portraits, where the sitter is presented in three-quarter view. The devotional function is indicated by the hands, which are brought together in prayer.¹⁸ The praying hands themselves serve as a device which visually connects the two panels. In the Croy diptych, the visual counterpart to the donor's hands is found in the book with which the Christ child plays, probably either a Bible or a Book of Hours. The Child, supported by the Virgin's hand, leans toward the book which serves as a compositional device to connect the two panels by repeating

the position of Croy's hands. The book itself may allude to Croy's love of manuscripts, as he was reputed to be a great admirer and collector of books. More likely, though, it is a reference to Christ as representative of the word of God. Both prayer books and beads were a common component of devotional diptychs and would have been included in order to remind the observer of the importance of carrying out his or her own meditations.

The original placement of the Croy diptych is unknown, yet it was likely placed in a location where it was visible to members of the upper hierarchy of the Burgundian court. The bed chamber was a common location for devotional images, as is illustrated in the *Annunciation* by the Master of Moulins in the Chicago Art Institute. Within this painting is a small panel which depicts the *Holy Face* or *Salvator Mundi* on the wall above the bed.¹⁹ Larger compositions were often hung in a niche or bay where they could be shut off from the rest of the room, when desired, with a curtain. Bedrooms in the fifteenth century were not merely private quarters, but were also used as public reception rooms as is illustrated in contemporary manuscript illuminations. Two miniatures in particular, illustrate this point. The first is a dedication miniature which depicts Christine de Pisan presenting a book to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria.²⁰ The formal presentation takes place in the queen's bed chamber and includes the company of six other court women. The second illustration depicts Charles VI and Pierre Salmon.²¹ Charles sits, or leans, on the edge of the bed, in conversation with the humble Salmon. On the other side of the room are three

official looking court functionaries, who witness the formal discourse between Charles VI and Salmon.

The bedroom is the same location of a devotional image which is found in a painting now located in the Antwerp Musée des Beaux-Arts (plate 25). This small devotional diptych was painted by an anonymous Bruges master around 1449. The right hand panel contains the image of the Abbot Christian de Hondt at prayer in his chamber. The panel on the left, to which de Hondt prays, is a vision of the Virgin in the Church, a copy after the painting by Jan van Eyck which is now in the collection of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. In the background of the right hand panel is a diptych which hangs on the wall above the bed. In the left panel of this background diptych is a *Descent From the Cross*, and on the right panel is the image of a praying individual, probably the Abbot de Hondt himself.²²

Inspiration for Croy's displays of piety would have been found in images of Philip the Good. As Christian sovereign, Philip was the protector of the Christian faith. A series of Papal Bulls issued between 1453 and 1458 by Popes Nicholas V and Calixtus II, refer to Philip as a "fervent athlete and intrepid champion of the Christian religion."²³ He was obsessed with the idea of a crusade and the dream of leading Christian knights in an eastern campaign against the Turks. Throughout his reign he made several attempts to organize such a crusade, and this was probably a primary motive behind the foundation of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The 1451 chapter meeting focused on

gaining support for such a campaign and the chancellor of the order, Jean Germain, delivered a lengthy speech on the subject. Three years later Philip and other members of the nobility formally pledged themselves to the crusading cause at the elaborate banquet known as the Feast of the Pheasant, which took place in Lille on February 27, 1454. The crusade never occurred, but it remained a dominant goal throughout Philip's reign and support for this cause may have prompted the nobility to commission portraits such as the Croy diptych.²⁴

Philip the Good's pious nature, then, was an important aspect of his public image. Thus, he was frequently seen in the court chapel of his Brussels palace attending mass.²⁵ In the Brussels Bibliothèque Royale is a manuscript which contains the image of Philip the Good in private prayer in front of a devotional image (plate 26). He is represented in the interior of a church with the celebration of the mass in progress. Yet to the right of the high altar is a private tent in which Philip the Good prays. He kneels at his prie-dieu and reads from a Book of Hours. Hanging in front of him is a small diptych, on the left of which is a half-length *Virgin and Child*, and on the right a kneeling figure, probably meant to represent the duke himself.²⁶ It was the duke's duty to display outward signs of faith, and it was politically beneficial for the nobility, as disciples of his cause, to do likewise.

The examples above illustrate the usage of devotional diptychs during the fifteenth century. Yet they also illustrate that displays of private piety

probably also served a social function, providing visible reminders to the observer of the sitter's piety. Philip the Good's diptych could be placed within his private tent, where it would have been visible to those with access to his inner circle, as well as to select clergy. It could also be displayed in yet more public circumstances, possibly in a chapel or even on the walls of one of the many palaces that he owned. The de Hondt image was located in what appears to be the abbot's private bedroom, yet as is illustrated above, bed chambers were a common location for receiving guests. The presence of the diptych would have reminded the visitor of the sitter's pious nature.

As important members of Philip the Good's court, nobles strengthened their alliance with the sovereign by showing outward signs of support for his causes, such as his desire to organize a crusade. They were the duke's representatives and were expected to follow the same rules of behavior and to reflect the same morals as he. Noble members of the court demonstrated their piety and inspired pious acts in others.

Private piety was an important component of Croy's image. The focus of his diptych is on his spiritual and devotional needs. By placing the two panels together, Philippe de Croy continually meditates on the image of the Virgin and Child. He prays to the Virgin with the hope that she will intercede on his behalf to her son. Thus, the portrait serves an important function in Croy's spiritual well-being. Yet the panel also served a public function. Anyone who came across the diptych would be reminded of Croy's devout nature. They would be

visually reminded that he fulfills his moral obligation as a pious Christian and defender of the faith, and as a noble member of the Burgundian court.

Conclusion

During the fifteenth century, independent painted portraits became an important medium of artistic patronage amongst noble members of the Burgundian court. The obstacles in determining the motivation behind these commissions are many, for in most cases contemporary contracts and inventory records are lost. A study of the individuals who commissioned these works, though, helps us better to understand the motivation behind the adoption of this artistic medium, which developed out of a dynastic tradition and as such, had previously been restricted to rulers.

The nobility responded to changes in class structure. The economic prosperity of the Low Countries resulted in the formation of an upwardly mobile middle class. Members of this class were being appointed to court positions, through which they were able to significantly improve their standard of living. The increased power of this bourgeois class threatened to weaken the exclusive position of the nobility which had traditionally dominated court affairs.

In response to these social changes, the nobility sought new ways to visually link themselves with the duke. Thus, they followed his patronage pattern and adopted the new medium of independent painted portraits in emulation of his practice. They had themselves depicted displaying idealized noble characteristics which served to justify the traditional class structure which was rapidly disappearing.

In order to make these noble traits more visible to the viewer, the impersonal profile pose of traditional practice was replaced by the three-quarter view pose. This pose, combined with the immediacy of the bust-length depiction of a sitter in an undefined space, allowed the artist to make the sitter's presence felt in a manner not previously known. Artists developed this ability because of changes in devotional practice which required a more intimate depiction of holy persons. By strengthening the sense of the sitter's presence in the world of the viewer, the idealized traits became ever more visible.

This study is certainly not the final word on the function of independent painted portraits at the Burgundian court. Instead, it serves as a starting point from which further research is warranted. Of particular interest would be additional study relating to the imagery of noble women, whose surviving portraits are considerably fewer than those of noble males. Also of interest would be an investigation of middle-class patronage, which would serve as a point of comparison in the hope of gaining a fuller understanding of the possible function of independent painted portraits during the time of Philip the Good.

Appendix I

Genealogical Chart

Appendix II

Illustrations

1. Attributed to Girard d'Orléans. *Portrait of John the Good*. c. 1360. 55.6 x 34 cm. Louvre, Paris (R.F. 2490). ©Photo RMN. Copied with Permission.

2. Anonymous artist. *Portrait of Louis II, Duke of Anjou*. c. 1412-1415. Watercolor on paper. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Illustration source: Millard Meiss, *French Painting at the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon, 1967).

3. Anonymous artist. *Portrait of John the Fearless*. Early copy of lost original. Louvre. Paris (MI 831). ©Photo RMN. Copied with permission.

4. Anonymous French artist. *Portrait of Philip the Bold*. Fifteenth century copy of lost, late 14th century original from the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon. 42 x 28 cm. Copyright - Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (3977). Copied with permission.

5. Copy after original attributed to Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Philip the Good*. Oil on panel. Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (397). Copied with permission.

6. After Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Philip the Good*. Copy from the second half of the 15th century. Oil on oak panel. 32.5 x 22.4 cm. Groeningemuseum, Bruges (0.203.1). Copied with permission.

7. Copy after original attributed to Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Philip the Good*. Oil on panel. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille (824). Copied with permission.

8. Robert Campin. *Portrait of Robert de Masmines*. Before 1430. Oil on canvas. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz Gemäldegalerie. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders. Copied with permission.

9. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Francesco d'Este*. c. 1460. Oil on panel. 29.8 x 20.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.43). Copied with permission.

10. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Antoine, the 'Grand Bâtard' of Burgundy*. c. 1456-1464. Oil on oak panel. 39 x 28.5 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (1449). Copied with permission.

11. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Jean I, Duke of Cleves*. After 1451. Oil on panel. Louvre, Paris (20223). ©Photo RMN. Copied with permission.

Rudolfus Archidux Austriae etc.

12. Anonymous artist. *Portrait of Rudolf IV of Austria*. c. 1360-1365. Tempera on parchment, mounted on wood panel. 38.7 x 22.2 cm. Erzbischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Vienna. Illustration source: Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

13. Jean Malouel. *The Grand Pietà*. c. 1400-1415. Louvre, Paris. ©Photo RMN. Copies with permission.

14. Jean de Beaumetz. French. Active 1361, died 1396. *The Crucifixion with a Carthusian Monk*. c. 1390-1395. Tempera on panel. 56.6 x 45.7 cm.
©The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1996, Leonard C. Hanna Jr., Fund, 1964.454. Copied with permission.

15. After Jan van Eyck. *Portrait of Christ*. Copy from the first quarter of the 17th century of 15th century lost original. Oil on oak panel. 33.4 x 26.8 cm. Groeningemuseum, Bruges (0.206.I). Copied with permission.

16. Jan van Eyck. *Portrait of Baudouin de Lannoy*. c. 1436-1438. Oil on panel. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz Gemäldegalerie. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders. Copied with permission.

17. Jan van Eyck. *Portrait of a Young Man (Tymotheos)*. 1432. Oil on oak panel. 34.4 x 19 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London (NG0290). Copied with permission.

18. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of a Lady*. c. 1460. Oil on oak panel. 34 x 25.5 cm. ©Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.44[44]). Copied with permission.

19. Anonymous Flemish artist. *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*. c. 1430. Oil on panel. 30 x 22 cm. Copyright - Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (CA 1968 n. 2). Copied with permission.

20. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of a Lady*. Late 1440s. Oil on oak panel. 38.5 x 29 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London (NG1433). Copied with permission.

21. School of Rogier van der Weyden (Copy after original attributed to Rogier van der Weyden). *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*. Early 16th century. Oil on wood. 47 x 38 cm. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (78.PB.3). Copied with permission.

22. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Philippe de Croy*. c. 1454-1461. 49 x 30 cm. Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (254). Copied with permission.

23. Rogier van der Weyden. *Portrait of Laurent Froimont*. c. 1450. Oil on wood panel. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (4279). Copied with permission.

24. Rogier van der Weyden. *Virgin and Child*. c. 1454-1461. Oil on panel. 49 x 32 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California (HEH 26.105). Copied with permission.

25. Master of 1449. *Diptych of Christiaan de Hondt*. Right panel. c. 1449.
31 x 14.5 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (256).
Copied with permission.

Endnotes

Introduction:

¹ This building was destroyed during the First World War. See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 41.

² These murals were discovered during the mid-nineteenth century. Too damaged for restoration, copies were made and the originals were then covered with new versions. See Campbell, 41.

³ Louis of Mâle had planned for his tomb to be located in the chapel of St. Catherine in the church of Our Lady in Courtrai. In 1388 his tomb was moved to Lille because of political unrest in nearby Ghent. The completion of his tomb was commissioned by Philip the Good during the mid-1450s. It was erected in the chapel of Notre Dame de la Treille in the church of St. Pierre in Lille, and was destroyed in 1793 during the French Revolution. See Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1979 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1996), 65-68.

⁴ Smith, 283.

⁵ The castle was destroyed during riots in 1411. It is unknown what medium was utilized to create these portraits. Campbell, though, believes that they were painted, and that the figures were depicted full-length. See Campbell, 44.

⁶ Smith, 280.

Chapter I: Political Motivation and the Development of Portrait Painting

¹ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), 59.

² Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harper and Row, 1971) 1:170.

³ Such detailed documentation is unavailable for the earlier courts of Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold. Circumstantial evidence, though, suggests that Philip the Good may have possessed a portrait gallery which may

have formed the core of Margaret of Austria's collection. See Smith, 282.

⁴ Mechelen is located in north-central Belgium along the Dijle River, just a few miles northeast of Brussels. See Dagmar Eichberger and Lisa Beavan, "Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria," *Art Bulletin* 77 (Jan. 1995): 226.

⁵ Eichberger and Beavan, 237.

⁶ Eichberger and Beavan, 243.

⁷ Eichberger and Beavan, 237.

⁸ Smith, 286-7.

⁹ Smith, 9.

¹⁰ Written by the anonymous author of the *Lyon Coronné*. See Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy* trans. Doreen Weightman (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 202-3.

¹¹ Smith, 94-5.

¹² Smith, 1.

¹³ The Chartreuse de Champmol was the first stop on Lengerand's two year pilgrimage which included such destinations as Venice, Rome, and the Holy Land. See Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "The Chartreuse de Champmol in 1486: The Earliest Visitor's Account," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 106 (July-Aug. 1985): 1.

¹⁴ The tombs of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal were unfinished.

¹⁵ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Jean de Maisoncelles' Portrait of Philip le Bon for the Chartreuse de Champmol: A Study in Burgundian Political Symbolism," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 99 (January 1982): 10.

¹⁶ Smith, "The Chartreuse de Champmol," 3-4.

¹⁷ Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, 34.

¹⁸ This is the earliest known portrait of Philip in the attire of the Order. Several copies survive, including an alabaster portrait bust of around 1500 which is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon.

¹⁹ Smith, 21.

²⁰ "One can find through old chronicles that the Empire did not want to extend itself only up to the Rhine, and between the Rhine and the kingdom of France was a beautiful and great kingdom. See Smith, 22, fn. 4.

²¹ Smith, 286-7.

²² Calmette, 129.

²³ Smith, 289.

²⁴ Masmines was born sometime between 1385 and 1390 and died in Namur in September of 1430. See Eric Balthau in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle: Notices bio-bibliographiques publiées sous la direction de Raphaël de Smedt*, Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter

Lang, 1994), 54.

²⁵ One panel is in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, the other in the Thyssen collection in Madrid. Campbell refers to the Thyssen version as a replica contemporary with the Berlin panel. See Lorne Campbell, "Robert Campin, the Master of Flémalle, the Master of Mérode," *Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 860 (November 1974): 643, fn. 73.

²⁶ The sitter's identity has been determined by a coat of arms and the inscription "francisque", both which are located on the reverse of the panel. Other inscriptions on the reverse include, 'm e', which may stand for 'Maarchio Estensis', and 'voir tout', which may be Este's personal device. The inscription 'non plus courcelles' is thought to be a later addition. See Lorne Campbell, *Van der Weyden*, (New York: Harper Row, 1980), 90-91.

²⁷ Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 174), 165.

²⁸ Ernst Kantorowicz, "The Este Portrait by Roger van der Weyden," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3 (1939-40):176-77.

²⁹ The goods themselves were handled in the towns of Damme, Sluis, and Middelburg. Bruges, though, was one of the most important European trade centers throughout the Burgundian era. It was there that international trading companies, brokers and bankers established their headquarters. See Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands* trans. Dr. Peter King and Yvette Mead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 97.

³⁰ Prevenier and Blockmans, 104.

³¹ Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* trans. Malcolm Letts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), 5.

³² Prevenier and Blockmans, 115.

³³ Prevenier and Blockmans, 193.

³⁴ The economic prosperity of Brussels was not long-lived. Finding it economically beneficial to have Philip the Good and his court of wealthy nobles in Brussels, the town offered gifts and financed many of the duke's policies in order to obtain favors and stabilize the city's economy. By 1459 the treasury was extremely low and local inhabitants were overtaxed. See C. Dickstein-Bernard, "Rogier van der Weyden in the City of Brussels, and its Painters Guild," in *Rogier van der Weyden-Rogier de le Pasture* ed. Musée Communal (Brussels, 1979), 36-40.

³⁵ Craig Harbison, *Jan Van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 100-111.

³⁶ Prevenier and Blockmans, 133.

³⁷ Prevenier and Blockmans, 132-4.

³⁸ Shirley Neilson Blume, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study in*

Patronage (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 1.

³⁹ During the fifteenth century approximately thirty-one percent of the members of the corporation of image makers in Bruges had immigrated from within and beyond the borders of the Burgundian Low Countries. See Maximilliaan P.I. Martens, "Bruges in Petrus Christus's Lifetime," in *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 6.

Chapter II: The Influence of Devotional Practice on the Development of Portrait Painting

¹ J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books), 35.

² The painting has been heavily restored and it is unknown how much of this shading is the work of the original artist and to what extent it is the result of later attempts to repair damage.

³ Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 227-8.

⁴ Michael Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 98.

⁵ Baxandall, 98.

⁶ Craig Harbison, "Realism and Symbolism in Early Flemish Painting", *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 4 (Dec. 1984): 588.

⁷ Baxandall, 102.

⁸ Philippe de Montebello, introduction to "Early Flemish Portraits, 1425-1525," by Guy Bauman, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 40, no. 4 (Spring 1986): 3.

⁹ Guy Bauman, 3-4.

¹⁰ James H. Marrow, "Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 154-4.

¹¹ As Craig Harbison explains, the clergy of fifteenth century Flanders complained of a lack of piety amongst the laity, complaining that the number of people attending church ceremonies was quite small. See Craig Harbison, "Religious Imagination and Art-Historical Method: A Reply to Barbara Lane's 'Sacred and Profane'," *Simiolus* 19, no. 3 (1989): 202.

¹² Prevenier and Blockmans, 152.

¹³ Lloyd William Benjamin III, *The Emphatic Relation of Observer to Image in Fifteenth Century Northern Art*, Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1973), 86-7.

¹⁴ Clerics were known to collect works of art, keep mistresses, and father

illegitimate children. In many cases they behaved more like laymen and neglected their responsibilities to the church while in pursuit of material gain.

¹⁵ Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 86.

¹⁶ Marrow, 152-61.

¹⁷ Marrow, 157.

¹⁸ Joel Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 51.

¹⁹ The *Man of Sorrows* is connected to a legend which describes St. Gregory the Great seeing an apparition of the Lord during the celebration of Mass in S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome. Afterwards he had an image made which depicted the vision and he promised indulgence to all those who prayed before the image. See Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984), 25.

²⁰ Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon, 1967), 14.

²¹ Meiss, 61.

²² Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages*, trans. Mark Barysis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990), 51.

²³ Ainsworth, 86-88.

²⁴ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Responses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 162.

²⁵ The true likeness of Christ was said to have been miraculously recorded during his lifetime. The legend explains that Saint Veronica wiped the sweat from the face of Christ with her veil when he was on his way to Calvary. The image of his face miraculously became imprinted on the fabric. The so-called *Very Icon* thus became an important devotional image during the late Middle Ages. The saint is shown holding the veil, as if displaying it to the worshipper, which bears the true image of Christ.

²⁶ Belting, 221.

²⁷ Alistair Smith, *Early Netherlandish and German Painting* (London: National Gallery, 1985), 32.

²⁸ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1857, folio 14v.

Chapter III: A Portrait of Baudouin de Lannoy

¹ Ludwid Baldass, *Jan van Eyck* (New York: Phaidon, 1952), 77.

² These dates are determined by the inscriptions which identify sitters and their titles. See Lorne Campbell, "The Authorship of the Recueil d'Arras," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 302.

³ Campbell, 305.

⁴ Kristin Lohse Belkin, *The Costume Book*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Bruchard, no. 24 (London: Harvey Miller and Son, 1980), 40.

⁵ Elizabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1980), 329.

⁶ "Baudouin de Lannoy, known as 'le besque', Lord of Molembais." 'Le besqu' is generally translated as 'the stammerer', but it may also be a reference to 'le ber', meaning 'Baron' or 'Seigneur'. See Philippe de Ghellinck Vaernewyck in, *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle*, 56.

⁷ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: the Apogee of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970), 193.

⁸ Jacques Paviot, in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle*, 43-4.

⁹ Hanno Brand, in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle*, 33-34.

¹⁰ Ghellinck Vaernewyck, 56-7.

¹¹ Panofsky wrote that the cloak was a gift from Philip the Good in 1427. See Panofsky, 197.

¹² Panofsky, 197.

¹³ Van Eyck's involvement in this secret mission is discussed by a contemporary chronicler who wrote that Jan received a payment in 1428 described as: "*du voyage qu'il fait présentement avec et en la compagnie de mon dit seigneur de Roubaix dont il ne veult aucune déclaration estre faicte*" ("for a journey that he is at present making with and in the company of the Lord of Roubaix, of which no other mention is to be made"). See Dhanens, 49.

¹⁴ "The ambassadors had painted, by Jan van Eyck, chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy and an excellent master of the art of painting, a portrait from life of the face of the Infanta Elizabeth." See Dhanens, 49-50.

¹⁵ Dhanens, 329.

¹⁶ Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, 298.

¹⁷ Upton, 27, n. 13.

¹⁸ Brand, 33.

¹⁹ Campbell, 307.

²⁰ Dhanens, 329.

²¹ Belkin, 32.

²² Campbell, 313.

Chapter IV: A Portrait of A Lady

¹ Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or The Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London: Penguin Books, 1985) 15.

² John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Washington: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 244.

³ Hand and Wolff, 244, fn. 13.

⁴ Colin Eisler, *Early Netherlandish Painting: The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1989), 20.

⁵ According to Martin Davies, it has been suggested that the portrait is the pendant to a portrait of a man which was at one time in Indianapolis as part of the Clovis fund. The only connection between the two panels, though, seems to be in the measurements which in itself is not enough to link the two paintings. See Martin Davies, *The National Gallery, London* 3 vols. Les primitifs flamands, I: *Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, no. 11 (Antwerp: De Sikkels, 1970) 2: 217.

⁶ Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 97.

⁷ Ms. Douce 365, fol. 115.

⁸ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9296, fol. 1.

⁹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2583, fol. 13. See Prevenier and Blockmans, 216.

¹⁰ Jane B. Friedman, "A New Look at the Imagery of Isabelle of Portugal," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 1, no. 4 (Summer 1992): 10.

¹¹ Brussels, Royal Library, Ms., III 878c. See Dhanens, 132.

¹² Pisan, 47.

¹³ Pisan, 75-6.

Chapter V: A Portrait of Philippe de Croy

¹ Lorn Campbell, *Van der Weyden*, 86.

² Campbell, *Van der Weyden*, 86.

³ Thomas Kren, "Some Illuminated Manuscripts of 'The Vision of Lazarus' From the Time of Margaret of York," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 145.

⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 336-7.

⁵ Paul De Win, in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle*, 50.

⁶ Vaughan, 337.

⁷ Prevenier and Blockmans, 139.

⁸ Croy died September 18, 1482 in Bruges, and was buried in the church of Cordeliers at Mons. See Wilko Ossoba, in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle*, 71.

⁹ Louis XI of France successfully acquired important towns along the Somme as part of the agreement made in the Treaty of Arras. This agreement was made with the help of the Croy, who received payment from the French king for their assistance. This infidelity to the Burgundian duke resulted in the banishment of Anthoine, Jean and Philippe de Croy in 1465. They spent the period of their exile in France. Jean and Philippe were forgiven by Charles the Bold on August 26, 1468. Antoine received clemency on May 5, 1473, and was given back most of his property and his titles in September of 1473, but only after having humbly requesting pardon of the duke in the presence of the chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece. See Ossoba, 51.

¹⁰ Ossoba, 150.

¹¹ Panofsky, 295.

¹² Ossoba, 150.

¹³ Ossoba, 150.

¹⁴ Panofsky, 394.

¹⁵ Martin Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 235; Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 12 vols. trans. Heinz Norden (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1967-75), 2:67-8.

¹⁶ Marina Warner, *Alone in All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 285-6.

¹⁷ Craig Harbison, "Vision and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus* 15, no. 2 (1985): 101.

¹⁸ The diptychs of Philippe de Croy and the Duke of Cleves are about four inches higher than the portrait of Jean de Gros. The taller format allowed the elongated and praying hands to be more easily integrated into the composition, and also allowed the donor's head to be placed lower on the panel so as to appear subservient to the Virgin and Child.

¹⁹ Ringbom, 37-8.

²⁰ *Presentation to Isabeau of Bavaria*, "Christine de Pisan, Collected Works," British Library, Harley ms. 4431, fol. 2(3). See Sandra Hindman, "The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment," *The British Library Journal* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1983): 94.

²¹ *Charles VI and Pierre Salmon*, Geneva Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, ms. fr. 165. See Panofsky, vol. 2, fig. 69.

²² Ringbom, 38.

²³ Prevenier and Blockmans, 232.

²⁴ Calmette, 163.

²⁵ Prevenier and Blockmans, 248.

²⁶ Ringbom, 32.

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