





Early Flemish Portraits 1425-1525

by Guy Bauman

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Cover: *Portrait of Francesco d'Este* by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 29)

Frontispiece: Detail of *Portrait of a Woman* by Quentin Massys (fig. 34)

Early Flemish portraits command our attention because of their unprecedented naturalness. At their most descriptive, they strike us as potentially alive; they induce in us the desire to know more about the sitters, about the workings of their minds. Viewing them in the galleries, one tries to imagine the thoughts and feelings and the histories of the individuals portrayed, but the personalities remain enigmatic and remote. Indeed, these portraits seem to conceal more than to reveal the sitters' characters.

What, then, was the intention of the painters who created these intriguing pictures? To early Flemish artists, portrait painting was but a part of a greater endeavor. Portraits were often components of larger works that fulfilled a purpose beyond that of recording individual likenesses. The contributor of an altarpiece might have himself portrayed as a witness to a sacred event; or a patron might order a portrait of himself to be paired with an image of the Virgin and Child in an attitude of perpetual prayer. Some works can be recognized as epitaphs and memorializing portraits, while others have contexts and circumstances of commission that are far from clear. Many of the portraits illustrated here are fragmentary, cut down from larger panels or parts of a larger ensemble. The original appearances of some have been altered. Some look like portraits but may not be, and others do not appear to be portraits but are.

It is the purpose of this *Bulletin*, written by Guy Bauman, Research Assistant in the Department of European Paintings, to consider the attitudes of early Flemish artists and their patrons toward portraiture and to investigate the uses of the genre at the time. Relatively little is known about these works. Documents that might give us an idea of contemporary attitudes—artists' contracts or literary descriptions—are rare. More often than not, we do not even know the identities of the individuals portrayed, let alone their reasons for wanting their portraits painted. Moreover, the number of surviving portraits is but a small percentage of those that must have been produced, making it difficult to form an accurate idea of how the genre evolved and exactly when and by whom innovations were introduced.

The hundred years embraced by this essay, from 1425 to 1525, witnessed the development of an extraordinary style of painting, termed northern Renaissance, that emerged radiantly in the works of Jan van Eyck and Robert

Campin. The tradition they founded reached its culmination in the sixteenth century with the paintings of Quentin Massys and Jan Gossart, who looked back to the founders' accomplishments and at the same time signaled a new departure by adopting Italianate classicizing forms. The painters considered here are described as Flemish—a designation used loosely to refer to the southern Netherlands, a region mostly within the borders of modern Belgium and including Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut. Many of the artists discussed in this *Bulletin* came from towns outside the region but gravitated to the cities that were northern capitals of art and commerce in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly Bruges and, later, Antwerp.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has an outstanding collection of early Netherlandish paintings that includes portraits by all the leading practitioners of the genre except Jan van Eyck. The earliest are those of the pious donor and his wife on the left wing of Robert Campin's *Annunciation Triptych* (fig. 1), a work renowned for its realism based on light and sharply defined volumes and for its rich symbolism; it is one of the treasures of The Cloisters. In the galleries at the Metropolitan we have the opportunity to compare in the works of these masters the great diversity of approach to the interpretation of their subjects. Petrus Christus's Carthusian (fig. 28), in a masterpiece of illusionism, looks directly at us from deep space, engaging us in an intimate but puzzling relationship. Rogier van der Weyden's Francesco d'Este (fig. 29) haughtily disregards us; he is the epitome of the self-possessed aristocrat, a characterization achieved more through abstraction than through detailed description. One senses something of Hugo van der Goes's own intense and fanatical personality in his portrait of the gaunt and darkly handsome man painted in the early 1470s (p. 62). Hans Memling, a less problematic painter, endows his portraits of the Portinaris (figs. 40, 41), members of a prominent Italian banking family, with nobility and presence through a polished and exquisite technique; they are uncannily real. Such Flemish pictures, it is recorded, appeared to contemporary Italian observers "to have been produced, not by the artifice of human hands, but by all-bearing nature herself."

Philippe de Montebello
Director

1. One of the most important monuments of early Netherlandish realism, this triptych, painted by Robert Campin about 1425–35, nevertheless displays certain discrepancies. Whereas the room of the Annunciation (center) and the workshop of Saint Joseph (right) are, judging by the window views, well above the street, the donor (left) is clearly at ground level. Also, the donor's panel has a greater naturalness than does the Annunciation scene, in which space is abstracted. These features must have been deliberately devised to differentiate between secular and sacred realms. Central panel, $25\frac{1}{4} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$ in.; each wing, $25\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.70)

Early Flemish Portraits

1425–1525

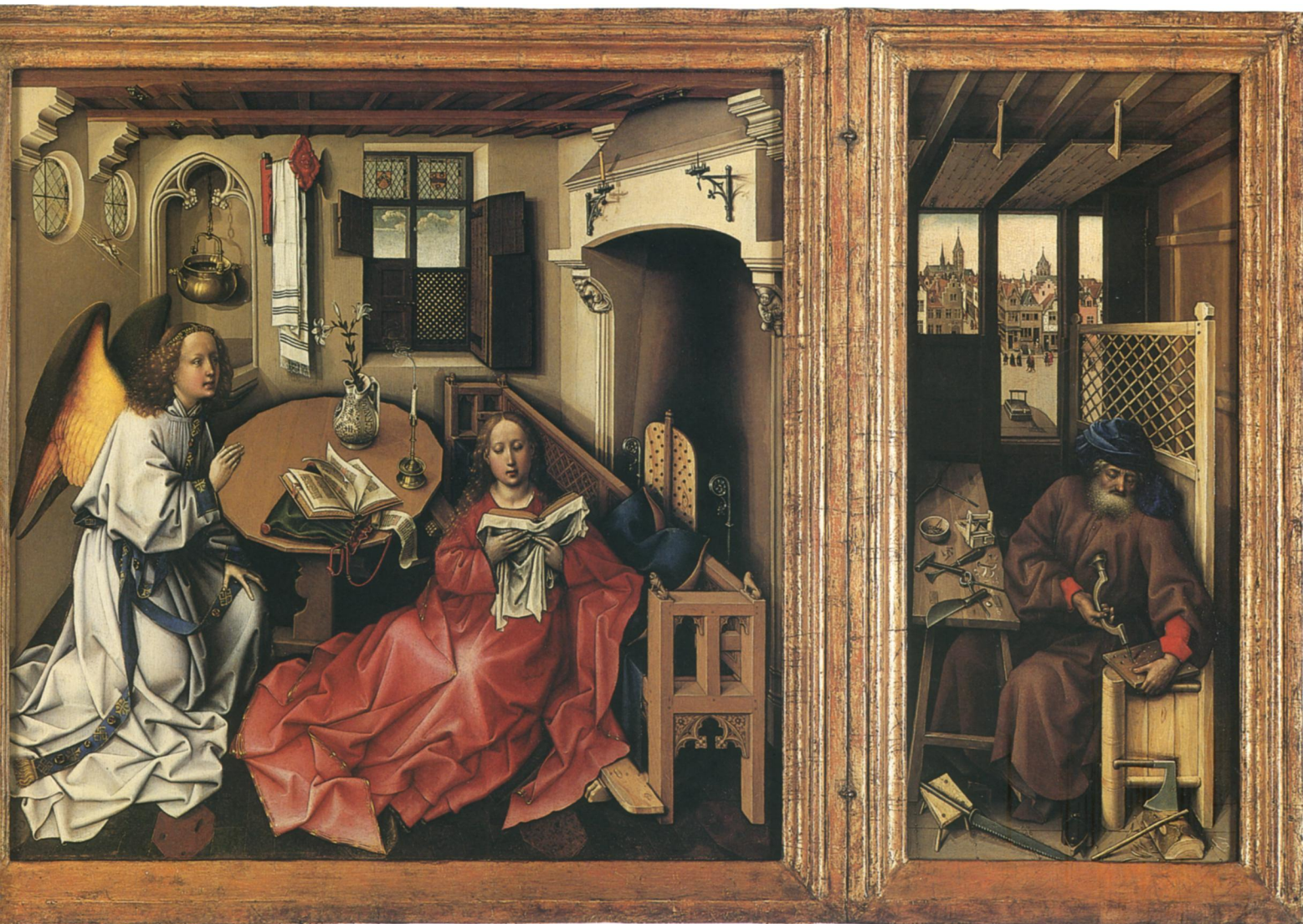
It is frequently observed that the rise of the portrait during the Renaissance was a logical result of man's rediscovery of himself in a newly anthropocentric age. It is less often observed that northern European artists were the first, in the early 1400s, to perfect the technical means to paint in a style particularly suited to the creation of lifelike portraits. The oil-base medium, first exploited to the fullest by Hubert and Jan van Eyck (giving rise to the legend of their invention of it), allowed painters to simulate the appearance of the real world with all its variety of textures and nuances of light and shadow. Flemish paintings, particularly portraits, were admired in Italy precisely for the naturalness this technical perfection allowed. In 1456 Bartolomeo Fazio, a Genoese humanist at the Neapolitan court of Alfonso V of Aragon, expressed such appreciation in his description of the donors' portraits on a now-lost triptych by Jan van Eyck. Fazio wrote, "On the outer side of the same picture is painted Battista Lomellini, whose picture it was—you would judge he lacked only a voice—and the woman he loved, of outstanding beauty; and she too is portrayed exactly as she was."

During the fifteenth century the leading painters of Ghent, Bruges, Tournai, Brussels, and Louvain made for their patrons images that appeared real and alive, be they mysteries of the Church, such as the Incarnation, or portraits of a wealthy and powerful local patrician and his wife. These artists observed and recorded the visual properties of the physical world more closely and carefully than had ever been done before. Theirs was the power to create the illusion of a reality in which mortal and divine beings met. An awareness of this capability led them to develop a refined,



internally logical system of pictorial representation that distinguished between levels of reality and often separated the temporal from the sacred.

In Robert Campin's *Triptych of the Annunciation* of about 1425–35 (fig. 1), which includes the earliest Flemish portraits at the Museum, the artist has taken obvious care to give his subjects a convincing physical presence. His desire to represent the mystery of the Incarnation as timeless yet real has caused him to set the Annunciation in a fifteenth-century domestic interior. The observation of natural detail is so thorough that objects consistently cast their multiple shadows in accord with the various light sources. A similar degree of pictorial sophistication is exhibited in the panel of the male donor, who, with his hat in his hands, kneels reverently. Although the door before him opens onto the Annunciation scene, the donor is framed in a space of his own, out-of-doors and apart from the inner



sanctum. Moreover, while the room of the Annunciation and the workshop of Saint Joseph in the right wing are, judging by the views from their windows, clearly above street level, the donor is at ground level. Nonetheless, he appears, in his devotion, to be allowed a view of the holy event through the open door, the casement of which is visible along the left edge of the central panel.

There may be even more subtle distinctions between temporal and sacred realms. The donor seems to occupy his space more convincingly than do the figures of the Annunciation, which are abstracted—one might say spiritualized—in a flattened pattern, and the folds of his garment hang more naturally. Such stylistic dissimilarities have led some scholars to believe that the donors' panel is by a second artist, but these dissimilarities may merely reflect varying approaches to the different kinds of subjects.

Although fifteenth-century Flemish artists

may have considered portrait painting an activity significantly different from painting religious subjects, it could be argued that they regarded some half-length depictions of the Virgin and Child as belonging to a portrait tradition. Painters' guilds throughout Europe operated under the protection of Saint Luke, who was believed to have been a portraitist. The legend, of Greek origin and known in western Europe since at least the tenth century, holds that Luke made one or more portraits of the Virgin. Representations of Saint Luke as an artist, such as that by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 2), became popular in Flanders during the period considered here.

In 1440 Fursy du Bruille, a canon at Cambrai, brought from Rome a picture of the Virgin and Child believed to have been painted by Saint Luke (fig. 3). He bequeathed it to Cambrai Cathedral in 1450, and in the following year the picture was installed in the chapel of the Trinity, where it became widely

2. According to legend, Saint Luke was a painter and depicted the Virgin Mary at least once. In this work of about 1435–40 by Rogier van der Weyden, Luke draws her portrait in silverpoint. The composition of the painting is freely adapted from one by Jan van Eyck in the Louvre that features a portrait of the donor Nicholas Rolin praying to the Virgin and Child. It has been suggested that this work, and two other versions, in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, are contemporary exact copies of a lost original by van der Weyden. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson, 93.153



venerated. The image owes its appeal to an especially tender treatment of the subject, with mother and child embracing cheek to cheek, but the source of its subsequent fame was its reputation for effecting miracles. In 1454 a member of the cathedral chapter commissioned Petrus Christus to make three copies of the picture, and in the next year he ordered from Hayne de Bruxelles twelve more, one of which is generally considered to be a picture in Kansas City (fig. 4). The Museum's exceptionally fine *Virgin and Child* by Dieric Bouts (fig. 5) is obviously derived from the same model, although slightly removed. This work is remarkable for its natural detail—the com-

monness of the Virgin's hands, for instance—yet its dependence upon what the artist quite possibly believed to be an authentic portrait of the Virgin cannot be denied.

Can we question whether Bouts considered this work to be a portrait? It is not, of course. The difference between Bouts's *Virgin and Child* and a true portrait lies not so much in the religious theme of the subject as in the relationship between the artist and the subject. The difference in the relationship can be demonstrated by comparing the Bouts to the Museum's *Portrait of a Carthusian* by Petrus Christus (figs. 6, 28), dated 1446. Because of the incised gold halo, it has been suggested



3. Considered during the fifteenth century to be a portrait of the Virgin made by Saint Luke, the Notre-Dame de Grâce is, in fact, a late fourteenth-century Italian replica of an Italo-Byzantine model that apparently originated about 1300 in Tuscany. Cathedral of Cambrai

4. This Virgin and Child after the Notre-Dame de Grâce of Cambrai (fig. 3) is one of several attributed to Hayne de Bruxelles, who was commissioned in 1454/55 to make twelve copies of the Cambrai icon. Other versions possibly by Hayne in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels, and in the Church of Saint Martin, Frasnes-lez-Buissenal (Belgium), are much closer to the Cambrai painting than the Virgin and Child illustrated here. It has been suggested that the Kansas City version might be associated with one of three lost copies commissioned in 1454 from Petrus Christus. Although this picture cannot, on stylistic grounds, be attributed to Petrus Christus, it possibly was painted after a prototype by him and would seem more to reflect Christus's style than that of any of the other copies attributed to Hayne de Bruxelles. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson Fund



5. Like the picture attributed to Hayne de Bruxelles, the Museum's fine Virgin and Child by Dieric Bouts, painted about 1455–60, derives from the Cambrai Notre-Dame de Grâce. This relationship suggests how the artist might have regarded the painting as part of a portrait tradition. Replicas by Bouts of the Museum's work in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, and the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, and other versions from his workshop attest to the widespread popularity of the composition. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915. Theodore M. Davis Collection (30.95.280)

6. The closely observed and meticulously described features of the sitter in Petrus Christus's Portrait of a Carthusian indicate that he was painted or drawn from life. The halo making this a saintly image is almost certainly a later

addition but has led some scholars to conclude that the painting is an imaginary portrait of Saint Bruno, the eleventh-century founder of the Carthusian order. See also fig. 28







7. The features of the aristocratic couple at the left are so generalized as to make it unlikely that portraits of specific persons are intended. The identification of the seated man as Saint Eligius is not secure either. His halo, like that in the Portrait of a Carthusian (figs. 6, 28), is probably not original, although this fact would not necessarily discount the possibility that a saint is represented.

Eligius was a seventh-century goldsmith and bishop of Noyon who became the patron saint of goldsmiths and other workers of metal, as well as of blacksmiths and others in equine trades. In the fifteenth century he was usually represented as a bishop or a blacksmith. When depicted as a goldsmith, he customarily holds a chalice or an engagement ring. The seated man here weighs a ring for its gold content. Coins appear to be stacked for assaying as well.

The ring, the couple's gestures, and the belt on the counter before them (which has been identified as a marriage girdle) appear to indicate a marriage context. The picture, inscribed in Latin "Master Petrus Christus made me in the year 1449," may be an early example of genre painting illustrating the goldsmith's trade and containing an allegorical commentary on the rite of matrimony. It seems anomalous, but it has a parallel in a lost work of 1440 by Jan van Eyck, the so-called Merchant and His Agent. The meaning and function of Christus's painting remain enigmatic. 39 × 33⁷/₁₆ in. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.110)

8. This head, attributed to Hugo van der Goes, exemplifies the problem of recognizing instances of portraiture in early Flemish paintings. At first glance it appears to be a portrait of a Benedictine monk and has, indeed, long been regarded as one. It has, however, been cut from a larger composition and is more likely a fragmentary representation of a Benedictine saint. When depicting holy personages, early Flemish painters frequently avoided using supernatural appurtenances such as halos in order to effect a greater naturalism, and they began also to depend more and more upon models taken from life. 9⁷/₈ × 7¹/₄ in. Bequest of Michael Dreicer, 1921. The Michael Dreicer Collection (22.60.53)



that this is an imaginary portrait of Saint Bruno, the eleventh-century founder of the Carthusian order. The halo, however, is almost certainly an addition, and the firsthand encounter between artist and sitter apparent in this work testifies to the picture's status as a true portrait. The striking immediacy of the sitter, despite his anonymity, and the meticulous description of his features indicate that he must have been painted or drawn from life.

The primacy of this relationship in the fifteenth-century Flemish view of portraiture can be deduced from the contemporary term for a portrait, *conterfeytsel*, which means "that which is made against or opposite something else." Its cognate in modern English, "counterfeit," gives the term a shading that conveys the power of early Flemish portraits to deceive the eye.

The absence of such immediacy and speci-

ficity in the figures of a lady and gentleman in Petrus Christus's *Saint Eligius* at the Metropolitan (fig. 7), painted three years later, has caused most observers to conclude they cannot possibly be true portraits. Their appearance and contemporary dress notwithstanding, these probably are, as Max J. Friedländer asserts, no more than a generalized "portrait" of a betrothed couple, a sort of upper-class Everyman and his fiancée. The meaning of this unusual composition is enigmatic—not even the identification of Eligius is secure.

A small panel at the Museum attributed to Hugo van der Goes (fig. 8) presents a similar

problem of interpretation. For years the painting has been thought to be a portrait of a Benedictine monk, which it indeed appears to be. However, the panel has been cut down on all four sides, and Lorne Campbell has rightly observed that the head might be a fragmentary representation of a Benedictine saint, perhaps Benedict himself. To a degree it conforms to a saintly type, and the cleric's expression, unusually somber for a portrait of the period, supports this view.

Recognizing portraits in early Flemish paintings is made more difficult by the development of disguised or participant portraiture, whereby living individuals are depicted



9. The first known participant portraits appeared toward the middle of the fifteenth century in Flanders. Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment of about 1450*, in which Nicodemus (wearing a hat) has portraitlike features, may be an early example. A documented instance is the self-portrait that Rogier included among the bystanders, presumably along with portraits of others, in one of the panels illustrating the *Justice of Herkinbald* painted about 1440 for the Brussels town hall (destroyed in 1695). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

10. The *Marriage Feast at Cana*, by Juan de Flandes, includes a figure outside the loggia at the left that appears to be a participant portrait, possibly of the artist himself. It is one of forty-seven panels that were painted about 1500 for Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile and León, and one of these contains a participant portrait of the queen. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.20)





as having an active part in compositions with religious or historical subjects. Such portraits appeared toward the middle of the fifteenth century. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment* of about 1450 (fig. 9), for example, the body of Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, and the head of the latter, on the right, displays the descriptive qualities of a portrait. Is it one? Certainly a patron's order to have himself cast in the role of Nicodemus would express an appropriate humility; in Passion plays popular at the time, Nicodemus is given the line, addressed to Joseph, "Do thou take the head, for I am worthy only to take the feet." Similarly, it has long been debated whether the head of Saint Luke in Rogier's picture (fig. 2) is a self-portrait. This, too, is an attractive proposition. However, definite conclusions cannot be reached about either of Rogier's paintings.

A participant portrait may be included in the Museum's *Marriage Feast at Cana* (fig. 10) by Juan de Flandes, an artist who is known only to have worked in Spain but whose style and acquired name clearly indicate Flemish origin. In this picture one figure stands apart: the man outside the loggia at the left whose glance directly engages the viewer's. Who is this man who appears to be a late arrival at the banquet? The panel is one of forty-seven painted about 1500 for Isabella of Castile and León, and a participant portrait of the queen is found in one of the others. It is clear from portraits of Isabella's consort, Ferdinand, that the man depicted here cannot be the king, but he may be some official from their court or possibly the artist, as has been suggested.

Had it not been for documentation, the disguised portrait in the Museum's *Virgin and Child* (fig. 11) surely would not have been recognized. The painting is one of the finest of several copies after an original by Jan Gossart. Karel van Mander, the early sixteenth-century artist and biographer of Flemish and Dutch painters, records that while Gossart was in the service of Adolf of Burgundy, lord of Veere, he painted a picture of Mary in which the face was modeled after that of the lady of Veere, Anna van Bergen. A copy after a straightforward portrait of Anna painted by Gossart about 1525 (fig. 12), a few years later than the *Virgin and Child*, is perhaps less idealized and more true to life but nonetheless supports the acknowledgment of her portrait here. The Museum's picture would not have been in-



opposite
 11. In the Museum's *Virgin and Child* the figure of Mary is probably a disguised portrait of Anna van Bergen, lady of Veere (see fig. 12). The painting is one of the finest of several copies of this composition by Jan Gossart that have been associated with a reference made by Karel van Mander in 1604. He records that while Gossart was in service to the lord of Veere, Adolf of Burgundy, he painted a picture of the *Virgin and Child* in which the face of the Virgin was modeled after that of the lord's wife and the infant Jesus after her child. 17¾ × 13⅝ in. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.17)

12. This portrait of Anna van Bergen, lady of Veere, after an original by Jan Gossart (called Mabuse), supports the identification of her disguised portrait in the Museum's *Virgin and Child* (fig. 11), although Anna's features are, appropriately, less idealized here than in the portrayal of the Virgin. The painting, in Boston, is one of two versions of the composition; the other, probably the original, is in a private collection. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston



This portrait has been cut down from the left wing of a triptych or from a single devotional panel. It is one of several at the Museum and elsewhere that survive in fragmentary form. The preservation of such fragments indicates a high regard for the pictorial record of an individual's appearance; when an outmoded altarpiece ceased to serve its function or was irreparably damaged, it was nevertheless deemed important to preserve at least the likeness. The background was often painted over with a neutral ground, as was this one. When the overpaint was removed in 1949, remnants of the presenting patron saint, probably John the Baptist, were revealed.

The painting is in exceptionally good condition. Max Friedländer assigned it to Dieric Bouts, to whom he attributed only two other single portraits (fig. 31 and p. 52). Comparison of the panel

with these two works discounts this possibility. The painting displays a certain affinity to *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, the only painting securely attributed to the enigmatic Haarlem painter Aelbert van Ouwater (active mid-fifteenth century). Ouwater's style appears to have had a formative influence on that of Bouts, who was born in Oudewater, near Haarlem, but established himself in Louvain by 1457. The Museum's portrait may have been painted by another very gifted follower of Ouwater in Bouts's circle, probably before 1450; it displays a particularly Flemish, Eyckian naturalness and is superior in execution of detail and modeling to *The Raising of Lazarus*. 8¾ × 7 in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.41)

tended as a proper portrait. Its association with portraiture derives from the artist's dependence upon observation from life, a practice detected in partial application in Bouts's *Virgin and Child* (fig. 5). Still, Adolf of Burgundy would have seen in the painting an image of his wife, a concept not as sacrilegious as it seems today. Contemporary religious practice emphasized personal identification with Christ (witness Albrecht Dürer's renowned self-portrait of 1500 in Christ-like guise in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich); similarly, the Virgin was the ideal model of feminine virtue for all women to emulate.

Excepting Christus's *Saint Eligius*, the two works by Juan de Flandes and Gossart, and an epitaph yet to be discussed, the early Flemish portraits at the Museum are of three types: donor portraits, independent portraits, and half-length devotional portraits. The three forms were established by the end of the fourteenth century, although the third seems then to have been a rarity. Generalizations are dangerous, but perhaps it can be said that donor portraits fulfilled a public function in a religious context and that independent portraits were of a personal, often secular nature. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the merging of these two forms in half-length devotional portrait diptychs and triptychs seems to have become common.

Donor Portraits

13. *Luis Dalmau's Virgin of the Councillors*, dated 1445, was painted for the chapel of Barcelona's town hall. The altarpiece demonstrates the artist's familiarity with the choir of angels from the interior of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, which Dalmau must have seen just after its completion. The figures of the Virgin and Child appear to be dependent upon Jan's painting for Canon van der Paele (fig. 16), and the arrangement of the donors may reflect a lost design by Hubert of about 1425 for an altarpiece commissioned by the city magistrates of Ghent. The contract of 1443 for the *Virgin of the Councillors* stipulates that the councillors each be depicted wearing "a coifed cap of scarlet color," but this was not carried out. They must have realized that it would have appeared disrespectful not to have removed their hats in the presence of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. Museo de Arte de Cataluña, Barcelona

In about 1513 Albrecht Dürer, the first northern European artist to record his ideas on his profession, wrote in a draft for the introduction to his book on painting that its function is "to serve the Church . . . and to preserve the likeness of men after their death." This statement serves well to introduce the propelling force behind the works of northern European painters of the preceding century, especially Flemish donor portraits. It expresses both spiritual and temporal concerns and reflects the

duality of purpose that motivated patrons who were at once deeply religious and highly worldly.

The artistic flowering in Flanders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the result of unparalleled local prosperity that fostered a large, wealthy middle class including merchants, bankers, and lay clergy. Although they were thoroughly entrenched in the material world, members of the new monied society, like all Christians, were most concerned for the salvation of their souls.



14. On the lower register of the exterior of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece, completed in 1432, images of the donors, Joos Vijd and his wife, Elisabeth Borluut, appear all the more lifelike because of the illusionistic sculptural representation of the intercessory saints, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. The Cathedral of Saint Bavo, in Ghent, location of the Vijds' funeral chapel, was formerly the parish church of John the Baptist; hence the inclusion here of that saint, who is also the patron of Ghent. Moreover, the Baptist was Christ's precursor; and his attribute, "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world" (John 1:29), is the central symbol of the altarpiece's interior. The reasons for connecting Elisabeth Borluut with John the Evangelist are less clear. In any event, both the Baptist and the Evangelist were contemporary witnesses to Christ's life, and it is common to find them paired in works made for institutions dedicated to one or the other. Cathedral of Saint Bavo, Ghent



15. The woman in the left wing of Robert Campin's Triptych of the Annunciation (see also fig. 1) has been painted over the background, suggesting that the male donor commissioned the altarpiece before his marriage and subsequently had his wife's portrait painted in. The man standing beside the gate behind them is a later addition as well. His identification and the reason for his inclusion have not been securely established. He is dressed as a messenger, and the badge with the coat of arms of Mechelen on his chest indicates service to that city. At the same time the figure may represent the prophet Isaiah, God's messenger, whose writings are an important source for the iconography of the center and right panels.

The donors are situated in a walled garden that may represent the Garden of Paradise. *Porta caeli* (Gate of Heaven) is an epithet of the Virgin because at the moment of the Incarnation the gate of heaven was reopened to humanity; the garden's gate here has been opened to the donors. The rosebush and other flowers in the left wing are plants associated with the Virgin Mary. The prayer beads (an early form of rosary) held by the donor's wife and the rosebud on the man's hat denote special devotion to the cult of the Virgin.

The Church, the central cultural institution, flourished. New building was widespread, and older churches were expanded to include additional chapels. The foundation of chaplaincies was one type of religious donation through which the wealthy hoped to secure salvation. Churches received endowments for the maintenance of altars, at which requiem masses including prayers for the donors' souls would be celebrated. The embellishment of the altar with an altarpiece was often part of such a foundation. The altarpiece might be sculpted or painted, or both, and its principal subject would depend upon the dedication. Whatever the subject—an Annunciation, a Crucifixion, an enthroned Virgin and Child—it related to the liturgy of the Mass, to Christ's sacrifice for man's redemption. Portraits of the benefactors, kneeling in appropriately devotional attitudes, were often included in works they commissioned. During the founder's lifetime, the public donation displaying the portrait would enhance the individual's social prestige. After death, the effigy of the pious donor would serve as a memorial, seemingly a surrogate presence in perpetual prayer.

Fifteenth-century patrons were quick to realize the effect of the early Flemish painters' naturalistic style and to exploit their skill at illusion in the glorification of both God and themselves. Such motives are evident in a rare document of 1443: the contract for an altar-

piece (fig. 13) commissioned by the town councillors of Barcelona from Luis Dalmau, a Spanish painter sent to Flanders in 1431 by Alfonso V of Aragon, presumably to learn the Flemish technique. An excerpt from the text of this document reveals an appreciation of the realistic effects made possible by the oil-base medium as well as a desire to use it to record the opulence merited by the patrons' social standing:

And afterwards [the artist] shall paint in the same right part [of the altarpiece] three of the said honorable Councillors . . . kneeling with their hands clasped and directing their eyes toward the image of the Virgin Mary. And the said Councillors shall be depicted according to the proportions and appearances of their persons, with their faces the same as they are in life, well-formed, and each one dressed in long robes and a coifed cap of scarlet color, so beautiful that they appear to be of cochineal, with the sleeve slits and hangings seeming to be lined with lovely marten fur.

This dual motivation is manifest in the portraits of Joos Vijd and his wife, Elisabeth Borluut, on the exterior of the renowned Ghent Altarpiece, completed in 1432 by Jan van Eyck (fig. 14). The altarpiece, the best documented of early Flemish paintings, is preserved at the Cathedral of Saint Bavo, Ghent,





16. Jan van Eyck's painting, dated 1436, shows the donor Joris (George) van der Paele presented to the Virgin and Child by his patron saint, George, in the company of Saint Donatian. Van der Paele was a canon at the Cathedral of Saint Donatian, in Bruges, to which this work was given, and his glance is directed toward that saint in van Eyck's picture. The degree to which Jan here achieved an illusion of reality that fulfilled the donor's aspirations is unsurpassed by any other artist of the century. Groeningemuseum, Bruges

in the chapel that the Vijds financed at great expense. A deed registered before the Ghent magistrates and the church administrators in 1435 stipulates that a Mass at the chapel's altar be celebrated each day in perpetuity in honor of God, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints, for the donors' own salvation and that of their ancestors (they had no children). The degree to which their likenesses seem to be living, breathing presences is heightened by the illusionistic sculptural representations of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, to whom, as intercessors, the donors' prayers are addressed. An inscription across the lower edges of the panels' frames prominently records Vijd's commission and indicates that he engaged "the best painters that could be found." The donor's zeal was to the greater glory of God, but by association he and his wife share in the glory. The interior of the altarpiece displays the Universal Communion of All Souls in Christ—an eternal Mass in which the donors, through their foundation, hope to participate, as is indicated by their presence in prayerful attitudes on the exterior. There is a sense of drama in the relationship between the exterior and interior: the donors anticipate Judgment Day, when they will be received among the blessed.

These small panels depicting Saint Donatian (left) and a warrior saint, probably Victor, with a donor (right) are fragments of a work by an unidentified Flemish painter. Only the head and shoulders of the donor's portrait survive. His tonsured pate and the almuce and stole he wears indicate his priesthood. These segments were probably cut from a single panel rather than from the wings of a triptych. The arm of a wooden seat appears at the lower right of the Donatian fragment. The kneeling donor must have been presented by his patron saint to an enthroned Virgin and Child. If complete, the composition would clearly derive from Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (fig. 16), completed in 1436. This argues for an artist working in Bruges, although these fragments, painted about 1490, are but a pale reflection of their model. The portrait lacks individuality. The sitter appears to have been cast from the same mold as his patron saint—an indication of the anonymous painter's modest skill. Left: $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ in. Right: $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.18,19)



Unfortunately, much less is known about the circumstances of the commission of Robert Campin's nearly contemporaneous triptych (figs. 1, 15), often called the Mérode Triptych after the Belgian family that owned it in the nineteenth century. The triptych's small size may indicate that it was painted for a private chapel, but the possibility that it was destined for an auxiliary altar in a church should not be discounted. The male donor, like Joos Vijd, wears a large purse. It is in this context not only an indication of his wealth, but an emblem of his charity—the putting of that wealth toward good works.

The triptych is one of a number of stylistically related works traditionally grouped around three paintings in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, erroneously said to have come from an abbey in Flémalle (near Liège). Hence the paintings in the group were attributed to an artist designated the Master of Flémalle. The identification of this master with Robert Campin is now generally accepted, although at least one scholar assigns the Museum's triptych to a painter in Campin's workshop rather than to the master himself.

The design of the left wing and X-rays indicate that the male donor originally appeared alone. His wife is squeezed in at the left, and she and the figure in the distance are painted over the background, suggesting that the man commissioned the work before his marriage and subsequently had his wife's portrait added. The enhancement of social status by a well-arranged marriage in part explains the care taken to include her. The donors' coats of arms have been added as well in the stained-glass windows of the room of the Annunciation. Only the coat of arms on the left, which according to heraldic form must be the husband's, has been identified; it belongs to the Ingelbrechts, a family prominent in Mechelen. One suspects the Christian name of the male donor was Jozef because of the prominence of Saint Joseph in the triptych, notwithstanding the convincing explication recently provided by Cynthia Hahn that recognizes Joseph (hitherto regarded as an unusual subject to be shown separately) as a figure of God the Father in the Earthly Trinity of the Holy Family.

One senses in the Mérode Triptych that early Flemish painters were able to create a pictorial reality in which the donor's aspirations appear to be realized. This ability is epit-

omized by the picture completed in 1436 by Jan van Eyck for Joris van der Paele, a canon at the Cathedral of Saint Donatian in Bruges (fig. 16). An encounter of mortal and divine beings in another world is given concrete pictorial form through close observation of the visual properties of this world. The head of the canon is perhaps the most strikingly naturalistic portrait of the fifteenth century. The meticulous rendering of the veins in his eyes and temples and the optical distortion of the prayer book's text through the lens of his spectacles have enabled twentieth-century ophthalmologists to diagnose the cause of his failing vision.

The canon's heavenly reception appears a *fait accompli*. His physical presence is emphasized particularly by two details: Saint George's hand casts a shadow across the canon's robes and his foot treads upon them. The figures of the Virgin and Child, in turn, are reflected in the saint's polished helmet. Van Eyck has fully utilized the means available to him for establishing a convincing illusion of reality. It is as if the donor's prayers had been answered and the artist were there to record the fact. Indeed, the artist has included in Saint George's shield at the extreme right what must be an image of himself reflected from outside and in front of the pictorial space. Van Eyck seems to appear here as witness just as he is reflected in the mirror in his Arnolfini Marriage Portrait, at the National Gallery, London.

Despite our familiarity with the painted images of five and a half intervening centuries, we still marvel at van der Paele's picture. Its effect on fifteenth-century eyes, totally unaccustomed to such illusionism, can hardly be imagined. Such imagery must have inspired faith in the minds of observers and given tangible credibility to donors' hopes and desires. Although the level of accomplishment of the *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* was seldom attained by artists who followed in the tradition of Jan van Eyck and Robert Campin, they strove to achieve the same effects.

There is good reason to suppose that the *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* was not intended for an altar but as an epitaph memorializing the donor and his foundation, as Elisabeth Dhanens has suggested. The inscription on the original frame of van der Paele's picture records his foundation of a chaplaincy at Saint Donatian's in 1434, the year he was

17. *The epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove, née de Blasere, painted by the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend in 1480, includes at the upper left a "portrait" of the city of Bruges. The topographical view from the southwest shows part of that city's skyline. The three large towers—all still standing—are, from left to right, those of the Church of Saint Salvator, of the Church of Our Lady (where Anna was buried), and of the town hall. The Minnewater district, with its footbridge and two towers, parts of the city's fortifications, is in the foreground; of the two, only the Poedertoren (Powdertower), at the left, remains. 19⁹/₁₆ × 13³/₁₆ in. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.114)*



De meiddehoue conuix Domicella Johannis et michaelis
Obit de blasze nata Johanne Anna sub M. C. quater
X. octo sed excipe Jotam octobris quinta pace quiescat Amen



excused from taking part in church services because of failing health, and van Eyck probably began the painting in that year. The canon surely had his impending death in mind when he founded the chaplaincy and commissioned the work, although he survived until 1442 and founded a second chaplaincy in 1441.

One picture at the Museum is certainly an epitaph: the *Virgin and Child, with Saint Anne Presenting a Woman* (fig. 17), painted by the modestly talented Bruges contemporary of Hans Memling called the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend. The doll-like effigy has little force as a portrait, in part because it was prob-

ably painted posthumously. The Latin inscription is garbled but may be paraphrased: "Anna, daughter of Jan de Blasere and wife of Jan, son of Michiel van Nieuwenhove, died on October 5, 1480; may she rest in peace. Amen." Jan van Nieuwenhove (the brother of Marten [see fig. 39]) was a member of a powerful patrician family in Bruges. He married Anna de Blasere in 1478. She died the year after the birth of their daughter and only child, and the panel was commissioned presumably by Jan as a memorial to his wife. His coat of arms is displayed on the left of what appears to be the panel's original frame, and

18. In Hans Memling's painting of the Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine and Barbara and music-making angels, the donor portrait—worked in at the left—seems to be an intrusion. Painted about 1480, the picture repeats the composition of the center panel of Memling's Hospital of Saint John altarpiece (fig. 19). The artist's predilection for symmetry has resulted in a curious compositional solution that balances the donor with Saint Barbara's tower. The grape bower is an addition, possibly by another artist, painted over the landscape background. 27 × 28 7/8 in. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.634)

19. Probably commissioned shortly before 1475 and completed in 1479, the high altarpiece for the chapel of the Hospital of Saint John, in Bruges, is Hans Memling's greatest work. The center panel of the triptych shows the Virgin and Child flanked by angels, Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Barbara (representatives of the active and contemplative lives respectively), and Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (patrons of the hospital). In a painting at the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 18), Memling repeated the lower half of the center panel's composition, with minor variations, for a donor whose portrait he added at the left. In another work of about 1480, the John Donne Triptych in the National Gallery, London, Memling adapted the whole composition to a triptych format and included donor portraits of Donne, his wife, and their daughter. Memlingmuseum O.C.M.W., Sint-Jans Hospitaal, Bruges



hers is impaled with his on the right.

The deceased is presented by her patron saint, Anne, who is accompanied by diminutive figures of her daughter, the Virgin Mary, and of the Christ Child, which serve as her attributes. This convention produces an odd arrangement whereby Anna turns her back on the Christ Child, who nonetheless appears to bless her. If this is the original frame, the fact that it bears no traces of hinges indicates that the panel was not the right half of a diptych, but quasi-independent. It may have been intended for display beside an altarpiece, the object of Anna's devotion, near her grave in the Church of Our Lady, in Bruges.

It is not known whether the Metropolitan's *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by Hans Memling (fig. 18) served a commemorative function. Although they are realized here in a less distinguished form, the desires of the anonymous donor were probably much the

same as those of Canon van der Paele. The donor is inconspicuously introduced at the back of a gathering of the Virgin and Child, Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Barbara, and two music-making angels set in a garden of paradise. His devotion to the cult of the Virgin is demonstrated by the prayer beads he holds. The picture's title derives from the Christ Child's action. He puts a ring on the finger of Catherine, who saw herself in a vision mystically united with Christ as his bride. (The Christ Child's action serves here as one of Catherine's attributes, in addition to her sword and wheel.) However, the title does not account for the equally prominent Saint Barbara, whose attribute, the tower, looms behind her.

The composition of the painting depends directly upon the center panel of the high altarpiece that Memling completed in 1479 for the Hospital of Saint John in Bruges (fig. 19).



Wings from a triptych by the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend at the Metropolitan Museum (opposite) display portraits of four similarly dressed men. They may have been the governing officers of a lay confraternity, a guild, or a civic body who, like the councillors of Barcelona (see fig. 13), commissioned an altarpiece for a chapel sponsored by their group. The first man in the right wing, the eldest and the only one with a purse and a hat (which he has respectfully removed), is presumably the most important. Each of the donors holds a cross, a sign—probably added later—that most likely indicates the sitter was deceased. It is conceivable that these four men perished during the plague that struck Flanders in 1489; the memorializing function of donor portraiture is here manifest. The small dog at the right, symbol of fidelity, is a later addition made by the artist (at the same time as the crosses?).



The scene behind the donors on the right depicts the Queen of Sheba bringing gifts to Solomon (1 Kings 10:10). The subject is an Old Testament prefiguration of the Adoration of the Magi. The scene on the left has not been identified with certainty but probably shows, as Walter Gibson has pro-



posed, Abner's messenger before David (2 Samuel 3:12). Abner was a member of the House of Saul who went over to David's side. Like Sheba before Solomon, Abner pledging allegiance to David (2 Samuel 3:20-1) prefigures the Adoration of the Magi. The scene illustrated here, depicting a mo-

ment a few verses earlier in the narrative, can easily be construed to do the same. The center panel of the triptych must certainly be the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Casa Colonna, Rome (reconstruction above). The subject, dimensions, composition, and style of this work accord with what had been anticipated of the missing panel. The picture includes at the left Saint Joseph in his workshop, an unexpected scene that clearly depends upon the right wing of Robert Campin's *Triptych of the Annunciation* (fig. 1). The Barbara Master's familiarity with Campin's triptych perhaps argues for that work's having been displayed publicly on a church altar. Saint Joseph is patron of fathers of families, of manual laborers, especially carpenters, and of bursars and procurators. If these rather coarse-featured donors were, for example, the officers of a carpenters' guild, it would explain the peculiar portrayal here of Joseph, who is



usually depicted in the Adoration of the Magi holding a candle or lantern.

The artist's name derives from two surviving panels from a triptych depicting the legend of Saint Barbara, one in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,

Brussels, and the other in the Museum van het Heilig Bloed, Bruges. The Barbara Master appears to have been a late fifteenth-century follower of Rogier van der Weyden in Brussels. Painted about 1480, this triptych displays the survival in



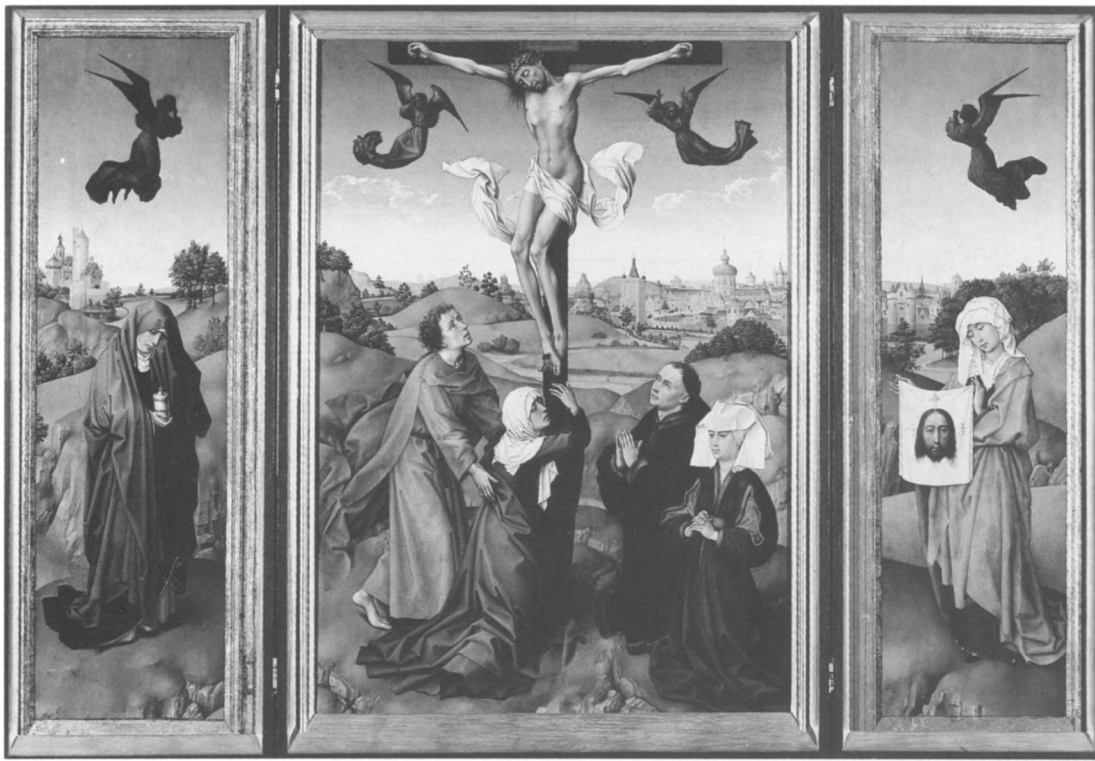
Rogier's circle of a motif of Campin, Rogier's master. The wings at the Museum have been separated from their reverses—the altarpiece's exterior—which show the Annunciation (p. 26, below). Center panel: about $36\frac{1}{2} \times 37\frac{3}{4}$ in. Casa

Colonna, Rome. Wings: each $36\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{5}{8}$ in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.56a-d)





20. At an early but unknown date, the donor portraits in Gerard David's Triptych of the Nativity were transformed into saintly images by the addition of appropriate attributes. The man, kneeling at the left in front of Saint Jerome, was made into Anthony Abbot by the inclusion of a pig. His wife, at the right with Saint Vincent, became Catherine of Alexandria with a crown, a sword, and a wheel. The triptych's center panel is a free adaptation of a lost original by Hugo van der Goes. The sheaf of wheat in the foreground, a eucharistic symbol typical of van der Goes, is found again in his renowned Portinari Altarpiece (fig. 45). Tempera and oil on canvas, transferred from wood. Central panel, $35\frac{1}{4} \times 28$ in.; each wing, $35\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$ in. The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.20a-c)



21. Rogier van der Weyden's *Crucifixion Triptych*, painted shortly after 1440, is one of the earliest surviving in which a continuous landscape unites the scenes in the center panel and the wings. Portraits of the donor and his wife appear at the lower right corner of the center panel, but a fissure between them and the Crucifixion seems to keep the donors at a certain distance. If the fissure refers to the earthquake that occurred at the moment of Christ's death and rent the veil of the Temple, it can be interpreted, paradoxically, as a symbol of the "new and living way" for all believers into the presence of God. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

The donor's acceptance of a preexisting composition betrays what here must have been a much less intense interaction between artist and patron than that between van Eyck and van der Paele. Perhaps this donor's financial means were more modest than those of the canon, but the formulization in evidence reflects in general a relaxed attitude toward iconography in works by artists near the end of the fifteenth century, and especially those by Memling, who recycled this and other compositions for various patrons.

A similarly loose appropriation of imagery is found in the works of Gerard David, Memling's most important successor in Bruges. The center panel of his *Triptych of the Nativity* at the Museum (fig. 20) is a free copy after a lost original by Hugo van der Goes. The donors, kneeling and presented by their patron saints, are depicted in the wings; the man is with Saint Jerome at the left and his wife is with Saint Vincent at the right. The arrangement of these portraits is the most common form—indeed, nearly standard—in donations by married couples. Were this not the case, we might not recognize these figures as portraits because, at an early date, for unknown reasons, they were transformed into images of Saints Anthony Abbot and Catherine of Alexandria by the addition of appropriate attributes: he acquired a pig, and she received a crown, a sword, and a wheel.

The concept of creating a distance between mortal and divine beings that we detected in Campin's triptych (fig. 1) has by now been relaxed considerably as well. The donors are relegated to the wings, but they are, through the artist's advanced skill with perspective, combined with the figures of the Nativity in a single, continuous space—the interior of the manger unifying the three panels.

Rogier van der Weyden's *Crucifixion Triptych* in Vienna (fig. 21), painted shortly after 1440, is one of the earliest surviving triptychs in which the three parts are united by a continuous landscape. At the right of the center panel the unidentified donors kneel reverently at Calvary. However, a fissure dividing the ground between the couple and the Crucifixion appears to separate the mortals from the holy event—to preserve a proper distance. At the same time, it may be the result of the earthquake that occurred at the moment of Christ's death and rent the veil of the Temple (Matthew 27:51) and hence a symbol of the "new and living way" for all believers into the presence of God (Hebrews 10:20). Thus the dividing fissure signifies, paradoxically, that it can be bridged by faith.

John the Evangelist, like the male donor, looks toward Christ while he supports the swooning Virgin, who embraces the foot of the cross. Contemporary theology granted to the Virgin an important role in man's redemp-



tion. As seen particularly in works by Rogier, her suffering was viewed as parallel to Christ's. Because of her compassion—literally, her cosuffering—she was venerated as coredemptrix who would act as intercessor on man's behalf on Judgment Day. In Rogier's triptych her gaze is directed compassionately toward the donors.

At first glance Joos van Cleve's *Crucifixion Triptych* at the Museum (fig. 22), painted more than eighty years later, seems to demonstrate how little the conventions of donor portraiture had changed. Just as in Rogier's triptych, the saints in the wings are united with the figures in the center panel by a continuous landscape, by now a common device. The donor is depicted in the same attitude as Rogier's man and wife, and he occupies the same position at the right of the Crucifixion. In place of the fissure, however, the donor's patron saint

appears. The saint has been identified as Joseph of Arimathea, but this is surely incorrect, as that saint can be seen in the background dressed quite differently. The attribute that lies at his feet, a sword, indicates that he is Saint Paul. His action is related to the Virgin's in Rogier's triptych—he puts one arm and a leg around the cross—but he turns toward the donor and emphatically places the other hand on the donor's head (see fig. 23). The Virgin and Saint John, whose presence at the Crucifixion is required historically, stand to either side at a certain distance. The donor communes with Christ and his sacrifice—through the patron saint—much more personally and directly than Rogier's donors. The difference in presentation bespeaks a change in religious sensibility that anticipates the onset of the Protestant Reformation.

22. Painted about 1525, Joos van Cleve's *Crucifixion Triptych* shows four standing saints in its wings: John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria at the left and Anthony of Padua and Nicholas of Tolentino at the right. The donor appears at the lower right of the center panel in front of John the Evangelist and opposite the Virgin Mary. He has reverently removed his hat and laid it on the ground before him. The sword next to it is the attribute of his patron saint, Paul. The scallop shape of the triptych's upper edge became fashionable during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Central panel, $38\frac{3}{4} \times 29\frac{1}{4}$ in.; each wing, $39\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{7}{8}$ in. Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.190.20a-c)





opposite

23. In this detail of Joos van Cleve's Crucifixion Triptych (fig. 22), the figure with one hand on the cross and the other on the head of the donor must be that man's patron saint. He has previously been mistakenly identified as Joseph of Arimathea, but that saint, dressed quite differently, supports the head of Christ in the Entombment scene in the background. The figure in the foreground must be Saint Paul because of the attribute, a sword, that lies at his feet—just as Saint Catherine's wheel lies at her feet in the left wing of the triptych. Paul (Pauwel) was not a common Christian name in Flanders during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, whereas in Italy "Paolo" was in wide use. The altarpiece is first recorded in a private collection in Genoa, a city with which Antwerp had close trade connections. These factors and the inclusion of two Italian saints in the right wing suggest that he was an Italian who had business in Antwerp.

24, 25. These portraits of Barthélemy Alatrue and Marie Pacy are sixteenth-century copies of originals probably by Robert Campin. Alatrue, who lived in Lille, died in 1446 and his wife, in 1452. The painted borders with the repeated motto *Bien faire Daint* (Deigned to do Well) probably reflect the original paintings' inscribed frames. The sitters would have appeared to be resting their hands upon the frames' lower edges. *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels, on deposit at the *Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Tournai

Independent Portraits

At the close of the fourteenth century, the commissioning of independent painted portraits was primarily a prerogative of ruling noble families. These portraits were not so much exercises in vanity as demonstrations of position and power. Collectively they established a visual record of family history that supported dynastic succession. Individually they promoted in a propagandistic way the cause of the potentate: often copied and presumably widely distributed, such portraits served to remind the viewer of the ruler's power wherever they were displayed.

With the economic prosperity and widespread affluence at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it seems to have become increasingly common for members of the

lesser nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie to commission portraits in imitation of aristocratic practice. Certainly the desire to foster a sense of family history was a factor. Couples often commissioned portrait diptychs that celebrated their conjugal union, such as those of Barthélemy Alatrue and his wife Marie Pacy (figs. 24, 25), sixteenth-century copies of originals painted probably by Robert Campin. In the fifteenth century coats of arms were commonly included on the frames (usually lost) or on the panels' reverses. In these copies the sitters' coats of arms are superimposed against the background field at the upper left.

Flemish painters arrived empirically at the three-quarter profile view, and it became the standard format in the north. In contrast to





Formerly regarded as an isolated work, the Museum's *Portrait of an Old Man*, attributed to Hans Memling, has recently been discovered to be one of a pair of portraits of husband and wife. The woman's portrait, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, is much less well preserved; it is nearly identical in size and also included hands, now overpainted, at the lower left corner. The portraits date from the mid- to late 1460s and are among the earliest works ascribed to Memling. They are related stylistically to portraits by Rogier van der Weyden, with whom Memling is presumed to have worked in Brussels before settling in Bruges in 1465, the year after Rogier's death.

The sitters' advanced ages suggest their desire near life's end to commission portraits of themselves that document a long and presumably successful marriage. Like those of Alatrueye and his wife (figs. 24, 25), such paired paintings fostered a sense of family history. Portraits at the Metropolitan of

the elderly count and countess of Egmond (32.100.122,118) by the Dutch painter called the Master of Alkmaar are other examples of this custom. Left: $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ in. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.648). Right: $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7$ in. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection

the classically derived pure profile portrait developed by contemporary Italian artists, it allowed them to display their skill at modeling form. The heightened illusionism of their style prompted Flemish artists to question the restricted field of vision required by a head-and-shoulders portrait. Framing devices came to be incorporated in an illusionistic manner. As in the portraits of Alatrueye and his wife, the frame became a window onto the space occupied by the sitters, who often rest their hands upon the lower ledge. Jan van Eyck, particularly, approached the frame as an integral part of the picture's composition. In the so-called *Tymotheos* of 1432 (fig. 26), he has introduced a stone parapet with inscriptions that seem to be painted and chiseled. In a work by Jan that preserves its original frame, the portrait of the goldsmith Jan de Leeuw (fig. 27), dated 1436, the illusionism of the image extends to the frame itself, which has been painted to look like engraved metal. Here the sitter gazes directly at the viewer. This device is perhaps van Eyck's invention, and it produces the unnerving sense of a portrait that seems as much to observe us as we it.

Despite the inscriptions on these two portraits, the circumstances of their commissions are not known. The Netherlandish inscription on the frame of the *Jan de Leeuw* reads: "Jan the [lion pictogram for Leeuw] who, on Saint Ursula's day, opened his eyes for the first time, 1401, Jan van Eyck has now portrayed me. It can be seen when he began: 1436." It records the sitter's identity, his day of birth (October 21, 1401), the name of the artist, and the year of execution. The cleverly conceived inscription, with its repeated references to sight, combines with de Leeuw's intense gaze and van Eyck's own considerable powers of vision to make this portrait a consummate expression of the artist's ability to mirror reality. Van Eyck seems, in a God-like way, not only to have endowed the sitter with sight and to have effected his rebirth, but also, recalling Fazio's remark, to have given the portrait a voice.

If the earlier *Tymotheos* seems less to be a living, breathing presence, it could be in part because of the function the picture possibly served. Although the meaning of the Greek inscription, $\tau\upsilon\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, from which the picture's title derives, is far from clear, the simulated chiseled inscription beneath it in French, LEAL SOUVVENIR (loyal memory), might indicate a commemorative purpose. The painted



inscription in Latin below the French records the date and Jan's authorship, and it is in a legal form, which suggests that the work documents an event—perhaps a foundation willed by the sitter, the deed of which he holds. Erwin Panofsky notes the funereal character of this work; it certainly must have been a

26. Jan van Eyck's so-called *Tymotheos*, dated 1432, appears to be a memorializing portrait, yet the battered and cracked stone parapet with inscriptions in Greek, French, and Latin may allude to the futility of attempting to establish a lasting memorial. National Gallery, London

27. It has been proposed that each sentence of the carefully composed inscription in Jan van Eyck's Portrait of Jan de Leeuw contains a Roman-numeral chronogram, a type of sophisticated word puzzle popular among humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The inscription reads: ·IAN DE [lion pictogram replaces Leeuw] OP SANT ORSELEN DACH / DAT CL^AER EERST MET OGHEN SACH ·1401·/GHECONTERFEIT NV HEEFT MI IAN ··/VAN EYCK WEL BLIICHT WANNEERT BEGA[N] · 1436 · (underscoring added for emphasis; see p. 35 for translation). If each *w* is counted as *vv* (twice 5), the *y* as *i* (1), and the *D*'s discounted—at the time the picture was painted, *D* (500) had not been used in dates for almost half a century—the first sentence tallies *M* (1000) *CCC* (300) *LL* (100) *i*(1) = 1401, and the second *MCCCLL* (1400) *VVVVVV* (30) *IIIIII* (6) = 1436. Hence the lion pictogram—to avoid *LEEVW* with its three *V*'s. However, if the *Y* is not counted as *i*, and if the *M*'s, *C*'s, and *L*'s are discounted, the second sentence contains a different chronogram: *VVVVVV**IIIIII* (35), the sitter's probable age. The portrait would then commemorate specifically Jan de Leeuw's thirty-fifth birthday. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



memorial of some sort. In this regard, the parapet deserves special consideration. The simulated deterioration of the chipped and cracked stone denotes recognition of the transience of the material world, and hence, of the vanity of all earthly pursuits, even of the attempt to establish a lasting memorial. Although the artist's technical skills enabled him to create an image that seems to have captured life and preserved it for more than five and a half centuries, he used that same skill to acknowledge, with this worn ledge, the impermanence of physical stuff. The eternal quality of spiritual values is thereby implied.

The sensibilities evident in these two portraits by van Eyck are manifestly apparent in the most engaging early Flemish portrait at the Museum, the *Portrait of a Carthusian* (figs. 6, 28) painted in 1446 by Petrus Christus, van Eyck's most gifted follower. Like van Eyck, Christus recognized that a portrait's restricted field of vision seemed arbitrarily cropped because of the heightened illusion of form. He sought here to validate the cropping by including in the painted field a simulated frame that functions as an aperture. The frame appears to be marbled at the sides and top, and at the lower edge it imitates red hardstone

with a chiseled Latin inscription that translates: "Petrus Christus made me, 1446." The date is included asymmetrically at the right, as if it were an afterthought. Besides the strong, frontal light from the right, there is a second

light source within, from the rear left, that illuminates the sitter's space, which has been developed as the corner of a shallow, confined interior. With clear, steel-blue eyes, the sitter, like Jan de Leeuw, engages the viewer with a



28. The exceptional nature and intimate quality of both the Portrait of Jan de Leeuw (fig. 27) and Petrus Christus's Portrait of a Carthusian, dated 1446, cause one to suspect that the sitters were close friends or relatives of the artists and that the portraits were not commissioned but rather were made for presentation. The Carthusian's shaved upper lip and hairstyle indicate that he was a lay brother, not a monk. Christus portrayed a Carthusian on at least one other occasion. A small painting by him in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, shows Jan Vos, prior of the Carthusian monastery of Genadedal (near Bruges) from 1441 to 1450, kneeling before the Virgin and Child. 11½ × 8 in. The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.19)

opposite

29. Francesco d'Este, the sitter in this portrait of about 1460 by Rogier van der Weyden, was the illegitimate son of Lionello d'Este, marquis of Ferrara. He was reared in Flanders at the Burgundian court and spent most of his life in service to Dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. His portrait, with its aristocratic bearing and mannered elegance, embodies the essence of court society. The hammer he holds is a princely attribute of power connected with the rituals of the tournament—a central activity of court life—and the ring is possibly a prize. This work is among Rogier's finest and is one of the great masterpieces of the Museum's collection of early Netherlandish paintings. 12½ × 8¾ in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.43)

steady gaze. His hooded white robe indicates that he was a member of the Carthusian order, and he must have been a lay brother because his shaved upper lip breaks with the rules of dress for regular monks. His identity beyond these facts is unknown. He may not have taken a vow of poverty and hence might have commissioned the portrait himself. Nonetheless, the picture is possibly the only known independent portrait of a cleric from the fifteenth century, and the occasion for its execution is a fascinating enigma. One wonders what the relationship between artist and subject might have been.

The trompe l'oeil fly on the frame's rim is a striking detail. A tour de force of illusion, it certainly demonstrates the artist's skill at deceiving the eye. Panofsky notes that it is part of a tradition dating from antiquity and quotes Philostratus Lemnius, a writer of the third century A.D., who describes a painting in which the artist, "enamored of verisimilitude," so adeptly depicted a bee on a flower that one could

not discern whether "an actual bee had been deceived by the picture or a painted bee deceived the beholder."

The fly surely carries moralizing content as well. Flies are found wherever there is decay; indeed, during the fifteenth century they were believed to emerge spontaneously from it. Thus, the fly became a symbol of the corruption of the flesh that is the consequence of Original Sin. In the context of portraiture, this meaning is particularly appropriate—especially in a work such as this one in which the artist's skill would seem to have denied death its victory. Just as the fly flaws the otherwise pristine environment of this portrait, two flies invade the Master of Frankfurt's 1496 portrait of himself and his wife in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. One of these flies appears to have landed directly on his wife's head. There, as here, the fly is undeniably intended as a memento mori, a reminder of death that counterbalances what otherwise might seem like an unabashed cele-



30. The reverse of the Portrait of Francesco d'Este (fig. 29) identifies the sitter. It bears his coat of arms (the same as his father's) supported by two lynxes (punning on his father's name, Lionello) and surmounted by a helm crested with a blindfolded lynx; a device, voir tout (To see all), which is evidently his own but derived from his father's, quae vides ne vide (Shut your eyes to what you see); two sets of the letters m e, an abbreviation for marchio estensis (marquis of Este), as Francesco was officially styled in Flanders, intertwined with tasseled cords; and his Christian name in French, the court language. The phrase non plus courcelles at the upper left is a later addition, the meaning of which is not clear.



The Museum's *Young Man Holding a Book* (left) poses many interesting questions. First, what is the relationship between it and a very similar portrait (right) of almost exactly the same size in London? Both pictures have been attributed to a follower of Rogier van der Weyden called the Master of Sainte Gudule after a painting in the Louvre, *The Sermon of Saint Géry*, that includes in its background a view of the Cathedral of Sainte Gudule, Brussels. The structure in the background of the London picture is the south transept of the Church of Notre-Dame du Sablon, Brussels. The ecclesiastical interior in the New York picture is copied from the center panel

of Rogier van der Weyden's *Altarpiece of the Sacraments* (detail at far right). Attempts to identify this interior have been unsuccessful.

Despite the portraits' striking compositional similarity, the faces of the sitters are modeled in disparate, not easily reconcilable styles. The differences can be accounted for only in part by the paintings' varying states of preservation. Nonetheless, infrared examination reveals in both works extensive and highly individual underdrawings that accord precisely and indicate that the portraits were, at least, designed by the same artist. As is evident from the heads in *The Sermon of Saint Géry*, the Master of Sainte

Gudule was capable of broad stylistic range. It seems appropriate to regard the New York and London portraits as illustrative of the poles of that range.

The portraits clearly do not represent the same individual. The similarity of costumes may be explained by the rules of dress for one or another particular guild to which both men belonged. It cannot be said which portrait is earlier; both were painted about 1480. Although possibly right halves of diptychs, these are probably independent portraits. It would be very unusual for a male sitter to be depicted wearing a hat in a devotional diptych. The heart-shaped books may indicate a romantic context for these portraits;





the only known fifteenth-century heart-shaped book is a collection of French and Italian love songs made sometime between 1460 and 1476, the *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchemu* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Rothschild 2973). However, a prayer book might just as well have a heart shape—indicative of passionate devotion—and the Eucharist scene in the background of the Museum's portrait supports the latter interpretation. Left: $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950 (50.145.27). Right: National Gallery, London. Far right: detail of Eucharist scene, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

bration of the sitters' appearances. The veiled meaning is like that of the battered parapet in Jan van Eyck's *Tymotheos*.

The Metropolitan Museum's *Portrait of Francesco d'Este* by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 29), painted about 1460, near the end of the artist's career, represents a concept of portraiture almost entirely at variance with the Eyckian tradition found in the *Portrait of a Carthusian*. The latter's sense of atmospheric depth, of form suspended in light and shadow, here gives way to a considerably flattened patterning with contours silhouetted against a neutral white ground. Devoid of moralizing content, the portrait celebrates purely secular values. These qualities are in keeping with the social milieu that produced the d'Este portrait. Francesco was the illegitimate son of Lionello d'Este, marquis of Ferrara. In 1444, at the age of about fifteen, he was sent to the Burgundian court at Brussels to be educated. Although he occasionally returned to Italy, he spent most of his adult life in Flanders in service to the dukes of Burgundy, first to Philip the Good, and then to Charles the Bold, with whom he had been reared. It is not surprising to find in Francesco's portrait the mannered elegance and aloof demeanor typical of court portraiture.

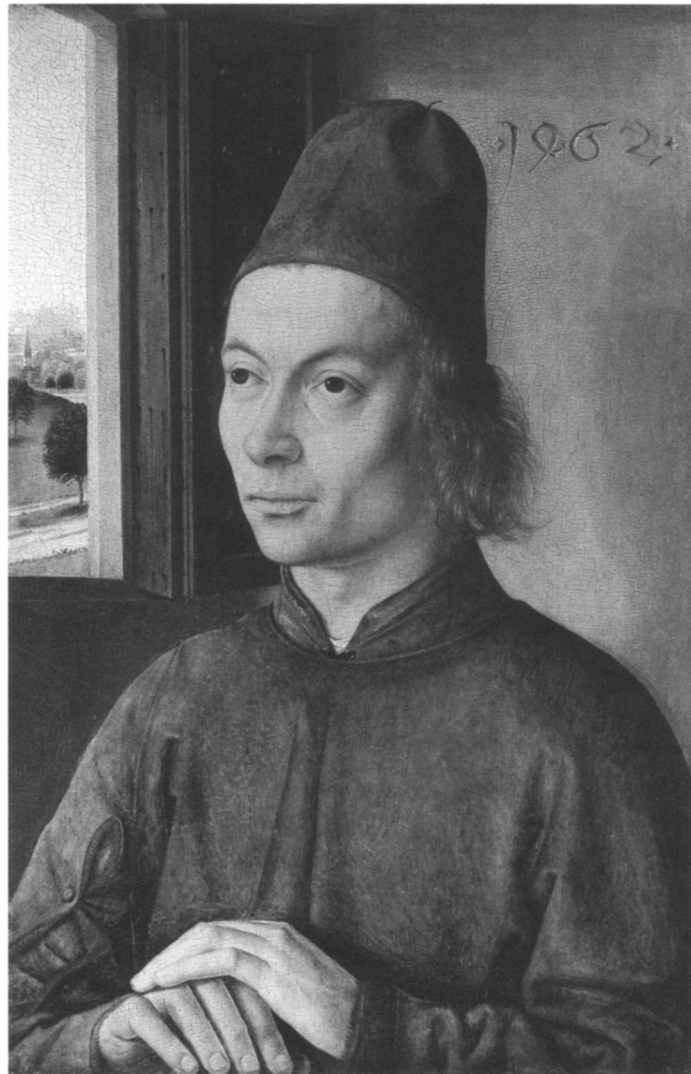
The light field of this picture is unusual and unique among Rogier's surviving portraits. (It is not without precedent, however, if the portrait of Barthélemy Alatruye [fig. 24] is a faithful reflection of Campin's original.) Perhaps white held special significance for the sitter, whose father, it is said, chose the colors of his clothes according to the positions of the planets and the day of the week. The hammer and ring Francesco holds allude to court society. The hammer is a princely attribute of power connected with the rituals of the tournament—a central activity of court life—and the ring is possibly a prize.

In the surviving half-length independent portraits by Campin, van Eyck, and van der Weyden, the sitters are customarily represented against a neutral, flat ground, usually dark. Evidently it was considered appropriate to isolate the figure of an independent portrait in an indeterminate space. The nonspecific locale lends these portraits a timeless universality that is complemented by the tranquil and static expressions of the sitters. Indeed, their faces are nearly expressionless. This convention must have been one of choice, for as we have seen in their full-length donor por-

traits, these artists were capable of placing individuals in spatially developed environments. Independent portraits by Petrus Christus, such as the *Portrait of a Carthusian*, are the earliest surviving in which the sitter is found in an illusionistic space. Rogier's late *Portrait of Francesco d'Este* is evidence of that artist's reluctance to abandon the older tradition.

In a nearly contemporary work, Dieric Bouts's *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 31), dated 1462, we see how much further a younger artist has gone toward creating a temporal environment for his subject. Here, as in portraits by Rogier, who exerted a strong influence on Bouts, the sitter's hands are stacked upon the lower edge of the frame; but, as in Christus's *Carthusian*, the man is seen in the corner of a room. Most important, a window has been introduced in the wall, permitting a view onto an idyllic landscape. Sunlight from the window bathes the rear wall, throwing the chiseled date into relief and brightly illuminating the far side of the man's profile.

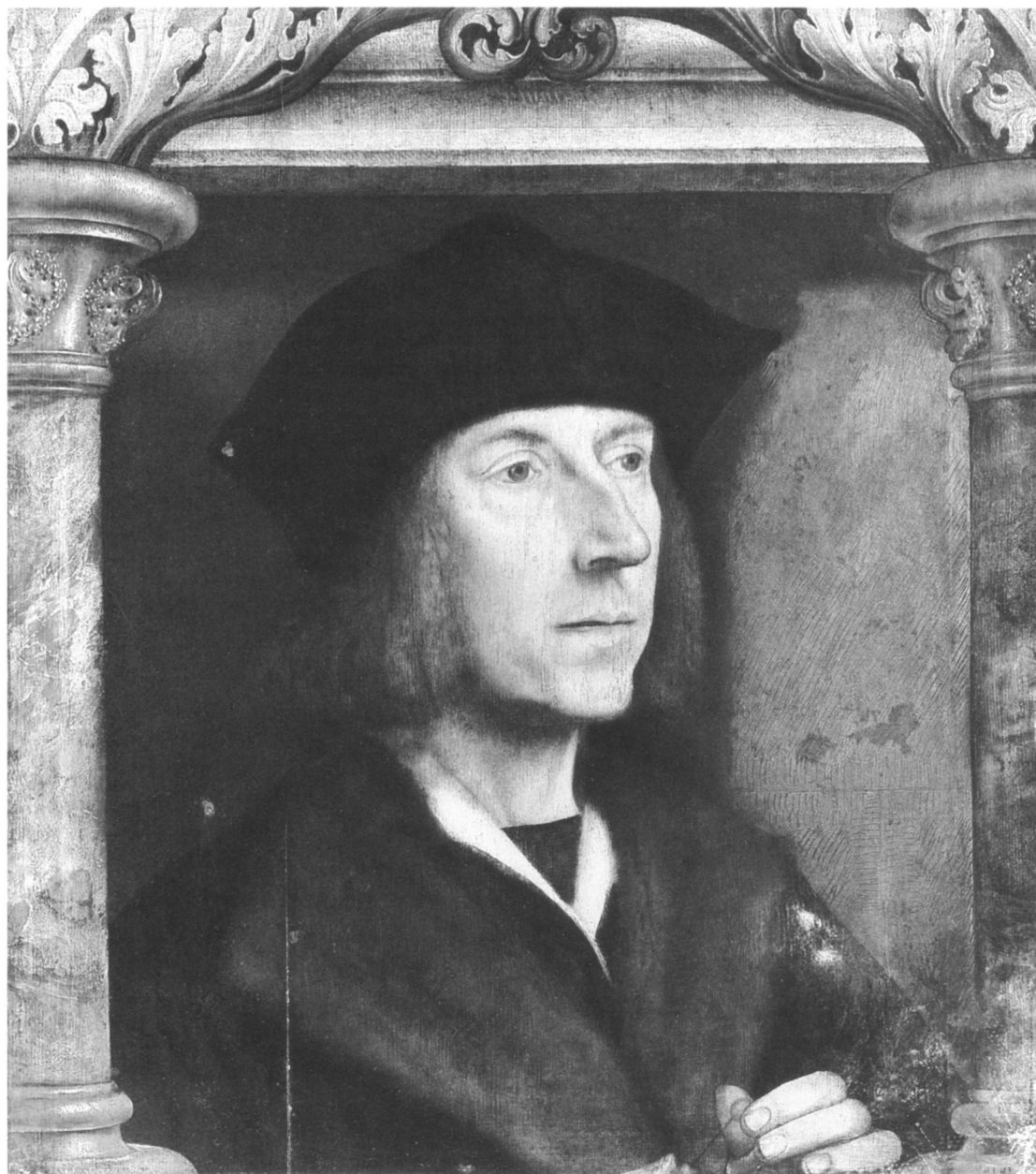
31. Dieric Bouts's *Portrait of a Man in London*, dated 1462, is often cited as the earliest existing independent Flemish portrait that shows the sitter in a room with a window opening onto a landscape, but this arrangement should not be regarded as the artist's invention. Too few fifteenth-century Flemish paintings survive (an optimistic estimate might be twenty to thirty percent) for us to make such an assumption. Instead, the work should be considered as representative of current artistic fashions. National Gallery, London



Although the conservative portrait formula of a sitter against a dark field would endure well into the sixteenth century, as the Museum's *Portrait of a Man* by Jan Gossart (see p. 48) attests, the direction indicated by Bouts's 1462 portrait was the way of the future. The possibilities of its format were developed to great effect in a sizable group of portraits by Hans Memling dating from the late 1460s through the 1480s. Memling was an artist who evidently enjoyed particular success as a portraitist, and his painting of about 1475 in the Lehman Collection (fig. 32) serves well to demonstrate his charm as a portrait painter. Far from a penetrating examination of character, the picture presents an attractive, self-possessed young man. Where a modestly shuttered window sufficed in Bouts's portrait to open up the sitter's space, here a loggia with marble columns opens onto a sunny, tranquil vista. The harmonious relationship between this calm natural environment and the equally calm individual must have been as appealing

32. In Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Young Man of about 1475*, the sitter's environment contributes to the picture's psychological appeal as much as, if not more than, the man's countenance. The sunny, tranquil landscape harmonizes with the mental composure of the sitter, and the elegance of the marble columns enhances the noble effect he presumably desired. The portrait had been crudely transformed into an image of Saint Sebastian by the additions of an arrow and a halo, removed in 1912, traces of which are still visible. Portraits at the Museum by Petrus Christus (figs. 6, 28) and Gerard David (fig. 20) have undergone similar transformations. 15¼ × 11⅞ in. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.112)





33, 34. The Metropolitan Museum's Portrait of a Woman by Quentin Massys (opposite) is one of a pair of husband and wife. The man's portrait (left), in a Swiss private collection, is treated identically, with the sitter viewed behind a repoussoir arch composed of two marble columns, a stone lintel, and an acanthus-leaf bridge. The man holds prayer beads and the woman a prayer book—attributes of their faith. The wife appears to have paused from her reading in a moment of contemplation. The sense of suspended action was a recent development in Flemish portraiture, one with which Massys may be credited. Left: Schloss Au, Switzerland, Collection of E. von Schulthess. Opposite: 19×17 in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.47)

to contemporary patrons as it is today; Memling exploited it much more fully in numerous other portraits in which the sitters are depicted completely out of doors.

In this picture the columns, like the fur-lined coat and jeweled rings, contribute to an appropriately lofty surrounding, aggrandizing the sitter's appearance and indicating his desire for social prominence. Such decorous columns are the first signs of a tradition that can be traced through to the portraits of van Dyck and Gainsborough and to the studio props of early portrait photography.

A similar use of more ornate columns is found in the Museum's arresting *Portrait of a Woman* (fig. 34) by Quentin Massys. The columns here form part of an arch that acts as a *repoussoir* between the viewer and the pictorial

space. The arrangement derives ultimately from the one seen first in Christus's *Portrait of a Carthusian* and reflects a similar regard by the artist for the framing device. In Massys's portrait, however, the style of the architectural motif, with its acanthus-leaf bridge, has been brought up to date, reflecting the recent influence in Flanders of Italianate designs. The framing arch made possible the recognition of this work as one of a pair of portraits of man and wife. The husband's portrait (fig. 33), in a Swiss private collection, is treated identically, so that when the paintings are juxtaposed, the sitters appear to be behind a continuous loggia.

The dating of portraits by Massys is problematic; the most that can be said is that these were painted in the second decade of the six-



35. Painted about 1518, Adriaen Isenbrant's *Man Weighing Gold* is possibly one of the earliest surviving occupational portraits, in which the sitter is depicted engaged at work. The scheme of such portraits evidently evolved from other genres of painting, as the pose of the man identified as Saint Eligius in the Museum's painting of 1449 by Petrus Christus (fig. 7) prefigures that of the sitter in this portrait. The nearly identical activities of that figure and of the sitter here may have related significance. Strips have been added to the sides by someone other than the artist. 20 × 12 in. Added strips on the sides, each 1¾ in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.36)

teenth century. The couple's identity is unknown, but they were probably members of Antwerp's wealthy bourgeoisie. The duality of motivation we observed in donors' portraits is found again here, where we perceive the couple's concern for recording both their piety and their wealth: the man holds prayer beads and the woman a book of hours. The prayer book is ornamented with gilded margins containing naturalistic floral decoration in the style of the workshop of Simon Bening, the leading sixteenth-century Bruges manuscript illuminator. So precious an object is an indication of not only the sitter's avowed faith, but also her social position. It recalls the oft-quoted verse of Eustache Deschamps, who, at the end of the fourteenth century, criticized what had by then already become a fashionable prerequisite of women with social pretensions:

A Book of Hours, too, must be mine
Where subtle workmanship will shine,
Of gold and azure, rich and smart,
Arranged and painted with great art,
Covered with fine brocade of gold;
And there must be, so as to hold
The pages closed, two golden clasps.

The sitter's book, along with her rings and her husband's rich fur collar, enhances the couple's prestige in the same way as the elaborate columns. Yet it is a mistake to read into the woman's expression, as has been done, a sense of vain hypocrisy. Although she turns away from the prayer book, as if ignoring it, her action might just as well be one of momentary contemplation. The portrait is among the earliest surviving in which an artist has captured a sense of arrested movement, and it is equally distinguished for its unusual yet masterfully modeled full-face presentation.

Another new, somewhat related departure in portraiture is found in the Metropolitan's *Man Weighing Gold* (fig. 35). This is one of a stylistically cohesive group of paintings, all of undocumented authorship, that show the pronounced influence of Gerard David and hence have been attributed to Adriaen Isenbrant, who was reported in the eighteenth century to have emerged from David's workshop. Only one of these paintings is dated, the *Portrait of Paulus de Nigro* of 1518 in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, but it is evident from that work that the Museum's picture must have been painted about the same time.

In van Eyck's *Jan de Leeuw* (fig. 27), the sitter holds a ring as an attribute of the goldsmith's profession. Here, however, the scales and coins seem to function less as attributes and more as an integral part of the sitter's action. As in Massys's *Portrait of a Woman*, there is a heightened sense of suspended movement. The *Man Weighing Gold* appears to be one of the earliest surviving occupational portraits, in which the sitter is shown actually working in his professional environment. His action would seem to indicate that he is a money changer, a banker, or a merchant. Nevertheless, we should not jump to conclusions; before Francesco d'Este's portrait was identified, that picture also was called *Portrait of a Goldsmith*, a misinterpretation of his hammer and ring. It is possible that the act of weighing coins alludes both to the man's profession and to his contemplation of higher values. The scales could not have failed to remind contemporary viewers of Saint Michael's on Judgment Day. It seems particularly appropriate to the mentality of an early Flemish portraitist and his patron to regard the activity here as weighing in the balance worldly against spiritual values.

This picture has been heavily reworked by the artist, and its dimensions have been altered. Originally, the man held the scales in his right hand and rested his left on the table; his head was shown in near profile, and his fur lapels were much wider. Moreover, strips 1¾ inches wide have been added to both sides of the panel by someone other than the artist. Disregarding these accretions, its dimensions are 20 by 8½ inches, a 5:2 ratio of height to width surprising in its verticality. The usual ratio for independent portraits is 5:4, and the closest parallel is the 5:3 ratio of van Eyck's *Tymotheos*. Given the sitter's lack of devotional attitude, it is highly improbable that the picture was one wing of a triptych with a central religious subject. It is possible that it formed the right half of a portrait diptych but unlikely that a portrait of the man's wife formed the left half, for in paired portraits of couples, the arrangement is usually just the opposite. Perhaps this portrait was paired with one of a colleague or friend, like Quentin Massys's renowned "Friendship Diptych" of 1518, divided between Hampton Court and Longford Castle, which pairs portraits of Erasmus and Pieter Gillis—works that share numerous formal qualities with Isenbrant's portrait.



Painted by Jan Gossart, probably during the first half of the 1520s—about the same time as the model for the Museum’s *Virgin and Child* (fig. 11), this is one of the latest portraits considered here, although its format is remarkably old-fashioned. It is signed on the scroll held by the sitter: “[J]oannes malbodius pingeba[t].” *Malbodius* is Latin for “of Maubeuge,” the artist’s birthplace in Hainaut, whence he is also called Mabuse.

Gossart is probably the “Jennyn van Henegouwe” (Jean from Hainaut) who entered the Antwerp painters’ guild in 1503. From 1508 he served primarily as court painter to Philip of Burgundy, bastard son of Duke Philip the Good, who became Prince Bishop of Utrecht in 1517. He worked for Philip in Rome, Middelburg, and Utrecht, and after Philip’s death in 1524, Gossart served Philip’s grandnephew Adolf of Burgundy in Middelburg. He worked intermittently for, among others, Charles V in Brussels, Margaret of Austria in Mechelen, the exiled Christian II of Denmark in Middelburg and Ghent, and Jean Carondelet in Bruges and Mechelen.

Because of the hat ornament with the monogram IM—initials that could stand for “Ioannes Malbodius”—the painting was once thought to be a self-portrait. However, the sitter bears little resemblance to engraved portraits of Gossart, and the initials are much more likely an abbreviation for the common Christian invocation “Ihesus Maria.”

Jan Gossart was a central participant in the Eyckian resurgence that occurred in



Flemish painting during the first decades of the sixteenth century. In numerous paintings he emulated the style and archaic forms of Jan van Eyck’s works and occasionally he borrowed entire compositions. Although the conservative formula of this portrait can be seen as a survival of older types, it is

perhaps better viewed as a conscious revival of an Eyckian model, such as the *Tymotheos* (fig. 26) of almost a century earlier. 18½ × 13¾ in. Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. The Friedsam Collection (32.100.62)

Half-Length Devotional Portraits

The early Flemish portraits at the Museum that remain to be considered appear at first to be independent portraits but were, in fact, parts of diptychs or triptychs that included a religious subject, usually a half-length Virgin and Child. Such works—the Museum's *Portrait of a Man* by Hugo van der Goes (see p. 62), for instance—can be recognized by the sitter's devotional attitude, with hands clasped in prayer. Whereas half-length independent and full-length donor portraits were as common in Italy as in Flanders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, half-length devotional portraits were peculiar to northern Europe. Since Hulin de Loo's reconstruction in 1923/24 of the earliest surviving diptych of this type, Rogier van der Weyden's *Virgin and Child with Jean Gros* of about 1450 (figs. 36, 37), the form has been presumed to have been an invention of that artist. Recently, it has been observed, however, that inventories of 1404 and 1420 mention a half-length diptych, now lost, showing the Virgin and Child adored by Philip the Bold, first duke of Burgundy, and his son and successor, John the Fearless; evidently the form was known at least as early as about 1400. Nevertheless, Rogier may have been responsible for popularizing it around mid-century.

The conceptual appeal of the arrangement is apparent. The image of the Virgin and Child in the Gros Diptych derives from Rogier's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (fig. 2). The diptych pairs an iconic representation of the Virgin—her portrait by Saint Luke, as it were—with a portrait of the pious patron. The image of the Virgin itself might have been an object of the patron's personal devotions. By combining it with the patron's portrait, the artist has made that personal devotion an integral part of the image.

The arrangement evolved from two pictorial traditions. First, the pairing of half-length male and female figures parallels portrait diptychs of married couples, although here the male patron cedes the position of precedence, at the left, to the Virgin. Second, the half-length depiction of one figure in supplication to another is related to that of Christ and the praying Virgin. Robert Campin's picture of about 1435 (fig. 38) is a late reflection of this compositional type. Deriving ultimately from Byzantine icons, the scheme was first introduced in northern Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century through the intermediary of trecento Italian models. In the older type, represented by Campin's picture, the Virgin intercedes on behalf of all mankind, praying for Christ's mercy on Judgment Day. In the later permutation of the scheme, represented by Rogier's diptych, the individual prays on his own behalf to the Virgin for her intercession.

Little is known about the original destinations of diptychs and triptychs with half-length compositions, including those with portraits, but their intimate presentation and personal scale suggest that they were intended for private family chapels and domestic rather than public altars. The only half-length fifteenth-century Flemish triptych whose original destination is known, Rogier van der Weyden's *Jean Braque Triptych* of about 1450, in the Louvre, was destined for the patron's residence and remained in that family's possession until 1586. Memling's *Marten van Nieuwenhove Diptych* of 1487 (fig. 39) belonged to the Nieuwenhove family until 1640, indicating that it, too, had not been part of a religious donation. In this work, the form of the devotional portrait diptych finds its highest level of realization. Memling abandoned



36, 37. The Virgin and Child with Jean Gros, painted by Rogier van der Weyden about 1450, is the earliest surviving half-length devotional portrait diptych, but the form was not Rogier's invention. He may, nonetheless, have been largely responsible for its popularity after the middle of the fifteenth century.

The sitter is identified by the portrait's reverse, which displays the Gros coat of arms, the initials JG, a pulley emblem, and the device GRACE A DIEU (Thanks to God). The emblem and device are found again on the reverse of the Virgin and Child. Jean Gros was by 1450 secretary to Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. He acquired great wealth and built in Bruges a magnificent house that still stands. He died in 1484. Left: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai. Right: Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection (33.1051)

the dark neutral background favored by Rogier and developed instead a pictorial space of consummate illusion. The Virgin and van Nieuwenhove occupy a single interior that unites the two panels. The observer's view onto their space is through two separate apertures defined by the frame, as the reflection in the mirror behind the Virgin makes clear. It shows the Virgin and Marten, each silhouetted against a bright opening—windows onto our space. Ledges, upon which the Virgin holds the Child and the sitter rests his prayer book, mark the transition between real and pictorial space.

Although the Virgin and patron are combined in one illusionistic space, the individual panels present differing spatial impressions, in keeping with the disparate nature of their subjects. In the temporal half, the raked-angle view of the side wall sets the eye in motion, directing it, as do the sitter's glance and three-quarter profile, to the left. In the sacred half, the frontal view of the Virgin and of the rear wall creates an iconic, symmetrical composition appropriate to the holy subject.

The tranquil landscape glimpsed through the window behind the Virgin is nonspecific, but that behind the sitter is topographical, showing the footbridge and tower (Poeder-toren) of the Minnewater district in Bruges. The sitter, it is recalled, was the brother-in-law of Anna van Nieuwenhove, whose epitaph (fig. 17) displays in the background the same monuments. The neighborhood is evidently one with which the Nieuwenhove family was associated.

In 1902 the eminent cultural historian Aby Warburg observed that Italian patrons must have perceived Flemish portraits as having the nearly magical powers of votive images. Fifteenth-century Florentine churches abounded in wax effigies, often dressed in the donors' own clothes. The surrogate presence implicit in these ex-voto figures must have been ascribed as well to painted donor portraits, which create an everlasting pictorial reality whereby patron and divinity are inexorably linked.

One Italian family, the Portinari, were particularly attuned to the capabilities of Flemish

portraitists, as their repeated patronage attests. The most prominent of the Portinari, Tommaso, was from 1465 until 1480 copartner and manager of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank. Ambitious to a fault, he ingratiated himself with the dukes of Burgundy, furnishing extensive loans that financed their military campaigns. He became a counselor to Philip the Good, whose successor, Charles the Bold, made him his treasurer. Although Portinari achieved an exalted social position, his loans to the Burgundian court proved to be disastrous. When Charles was slain in 1477 at the battle of Nancy, he was deeply in debt to the Medici firm. After bailing out the branch with large advances, the Medici forced Portinari in 1480 to assume sole responsibility for the Bruges bank, severing their association with it. In a memorandum of 1479, Lorenzo the Magnificent had charged that Portinari "in order to court the Duke's favor and make himself important, did not care whether it was at our expense." Portinari spent the rest of his life trying to recover his losses.

At the peak of his power, in 1470, Portinari married Maria Baroncelli, who came from an-

other prominent Florentine family of financiers. At the time of their marriage, Maria was fourteen or fifteen years old, Tommaso about forty-two. It must have been in that year or the following that Tommaso commissioned from Hans Memling a half-length devotional triptych, of which only the portrait wings (figs. 40, 41), at the Metropolitan Museum, survive. Considering the patron's prestige, it is not surprising that these portraits are among the artist's most finely executed. Happily, they are also two of the best preserved, although the black-on-black pattern of Portinari's silk damask jacket has become nearly invisible. The precision with which Memling has articulated Tommaso's features—recording even what appears to be a scar on his chin—is unsurpassed in the artist's oeuvre, and he has lavished equal attention on the detail of Maria's enameled gold necklace set with sparkling stones and lustrous pearls.

The heads are set against a somber, dark ground, but Memling has introduced into this conservative format simulated stone moldings that box in and define the pictorial field. Like the simulated frame in the *Portrait of a Carthu-*

38. Iconic depictions of Christ with the praying Virgin, like this one of about 1435 by Robert Campin, prefigure the arrangement of devotional diptychs that pair a half-length Virgin and Child with a portrait of a suppliant individual. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia





This painting is generally said to be one of but two “independent” portraits securely attributable to Dieric Bouts; the other is the portrait dated 1462 (fig. 31). This is perhaps better termed a single portrait because the fingertips joined in

prayer suggest that it is a devotional portrait from a triptych or diptych. Curiously, the fingers are painted over the man’s coat and hence may be a later addition by the artist or some other painter. Moreover, a male sitter with covered

head would be very unusual for a devotional portrait and would appear disrespectful. The picture’s wood support has been trimmed within the original painted surface and set into an oak panel so that this does not appear to be a fragment; but, in fact,

it is one. The portrait’s original form and function are thus enigmatic. Any estimation of its primary appearance and subsequent evolution must take into account all these factors.

The style of the sitter’s hat was fashionable in the 1460s and early 1470s, and the painting’s technique—characteristic of Bouts’s late work—indicates a date about 1470. The picture compares favorably to the presumed portrait heads in two documented panels in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels, illustrating the Justice of Emperor Otto. These were commissioned from Bouts about 1470 for the town hall of Louvain, although only one, *The Ordeal by Fire*, was complete at his death in 1475. 12 × 8½ in. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.644)

sian (fig. 28), these moldings seem to be an extension of the actual frame. However, where the Carthusian is clearly positioned in a space behind the simulated frame, here the sitters are in front of it. The picture plane has become a very shallow recess before which they appear to project. As we have already seen, Jan Gosart later employs the same device in his *Virgin and Child* (fig. 11). The lost center panel of the Portinari triptych—probably a half-length Virgin and Child as well—was presumably treated in similar fashion.

Memling portrayed Tommaso and Maria Portinari on at least one other occasion. Their full-length donor portraits appear at the lower left and right corners of a small panel in Turin (fig. 42) that depicts Christ's Passion. It has been suggested, quite plausibly, that because the donors are unaccompanied by any offspring, the picture must have been painted between 1470, the year of their marriage, and September 15, 1471, the birth date of their first child, Margherita. Had the picture been painted later, she probably would have been included at prayer by her mother's side, just as the donor's son appears in a work by Memling

very similar to this one, the so-called *Seven Joys of Mary* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Although the donors' figures in Memling's *Passion of Christ* are only four inches high, they are unmistakably recognizable as Tommaso and Maria Portinari (figs. 43, 44). Indeed, it was by comparison to the Museum's pictures that the donors in the Turin *Passion* were identified. The portrayals, with the heads viewed from precisely the same angles, are so similar that one pair seems to have served as the model for the other. Obviously, the large, detailed portraits in New York would be primary. That they may have been copied for the smaller donor portraits is consistent with what we know of fifteenth-century portrait-painting practice, and the likelihood is not discounted by the absence of Maria's magnificent necklace in the *Passion*. It may have been omitted because of the figure's small scale or, more probably, because it was deemed inappropriately ostentatious attire in which to witness Christ's suffering on the road to Calvary. If the Museum's portraits preceded those in the Turin *Passion*, they must date as well from 1470 or 1471.

39. Memling's *Virgin and Child with Marten van Nieuwenhove* is a consummate expression of spatial illusion that fully integrates the frame and unites the patron's portrait and the devotional image. Nevertheless, it maintains propriety by using varying perspectives to differentiate the Virgin's sacred realm from the sitter's temporal environment. The image of Saint Martin dividing his cloak at the right establishes the spiritual presence of the sitter's patron saint without disturbing the painting's naturalness and also serves as an emblem of his charity. The Nieuwenhove coat of arms and Marten's device appear to the left of the Virgin. Roundels to her right show Saints George and Christopher. Memlingmuseum O.C.M.W., Sint-Jans Hospitaal, Bruges

overleaf and following page 40, 41. These portraits of Tommaso and Maria Portinari, painted by Hans Memling about 1470/71, are among the artist's most finely executed. Left: $17\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. Right: $17\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ in. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.626,627)









42. In this painting commissioned by Tommaso Portinari from Hans Memling, *Christ's Passion and his appearances after death* are depicted in a simultaneous narrative, beginning with his entry into Jerusalem at the upper left and concluding with his appearance to the apostles on the Sea of Tiberias at the upper right. Tommaso appears at the lower left next to Judas's betrayal in the garden of Gethsemane. At the right Tommaso's wife is witness to Christ's suffering on the road to Calvary. Galleria Sabauda, Turin

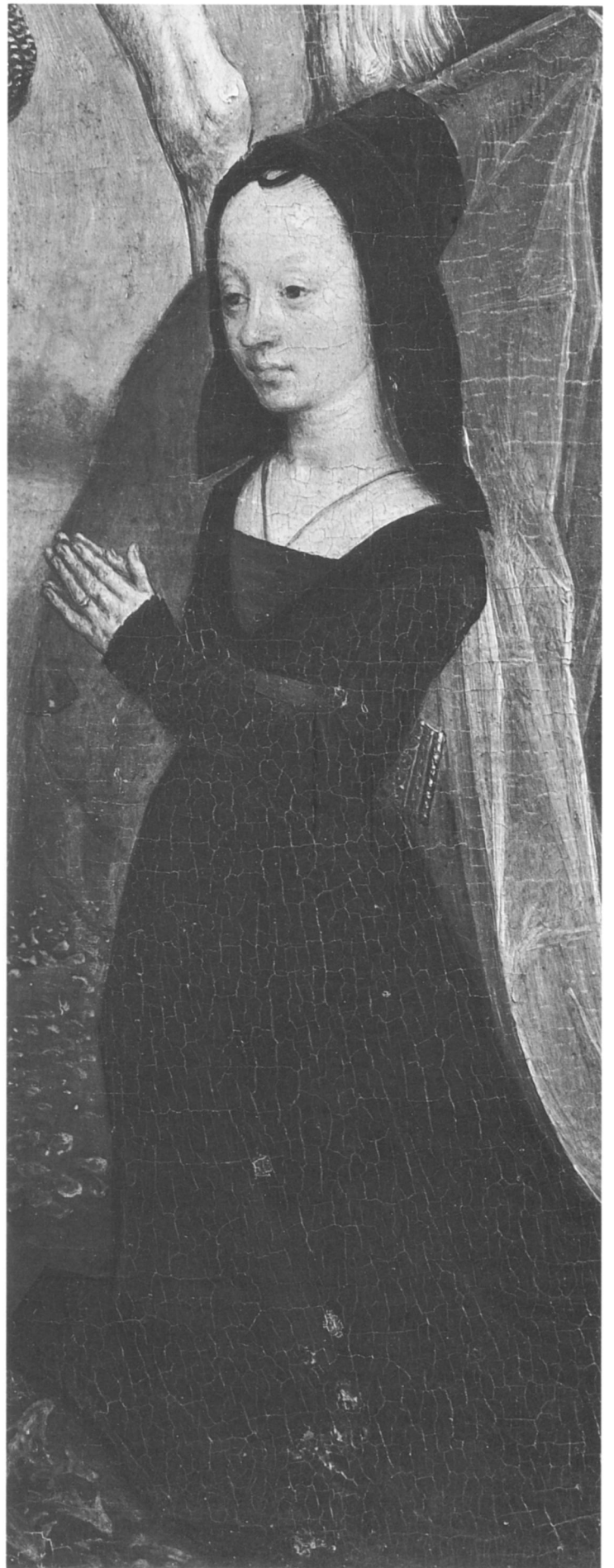
43, 44. In these details of the Turin Passion, the figures of Tommaso and Maria Portinari, only four inches high, are viewed from precisely the same angles as the heads in Memling's portraits of them at the Metropolitan (figs. 40, 41), and the portrayals are very similar. The Turin portraits were probably modeled after the larger, more detailed ones at the Museum

Shortly thereafter, perhaps as early as 1473, Tommaso Portinari commissioned from Hugo van der Goes the renowned altarpiece in the Uffizi that bears his name (fig. 45). The most important fifteenth-century Flemish work of art after the Ghent Altarpiece (see fig. 14), the Portinari Altarpiece was probably completed about 1475, although it did not reach its intended destination, the high altar of the Church of Sant' Egidio in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, until 1483. The triptych includes portraits of the donors with their children in the wings, and it is by the number of offspring and their placement that the work is dated. The donors and their two eldest children are accompanied by their patron saints. Their third child, Pigello, is squeezed in behind his older brother, Antonio, and seems to have been worked into the composition as an afterthought. Moreover, he is not depicted with a patron saint. Hence, it is likely that the work was commissioned before Pigello's birth in 1474. A fourth child, Maria, was born probably in 1475, and as she is not included here, the altarpiece must have been nearly finished by that date.

In the wings of the Portinari Altarpiece,

Hugo, remarkably, has revived the archaic device of distinguishing saints from mortals by a hierarchy of scale. Nonetheless, Saint Thomas stands with one foot on Tommaso's robes, recalling the detail in van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* and similarly emphasizing the illusion of the donor's physical proximity to holy personages. The event in the center panel attended by the donors is the Nativity. Rather than a historical representation, it is an eternal, mystical Nativity embodying the liturgy of the Mass. The donors, like all the figures in the center panel, adore the infant Christ, whose isolated, prone body is paralleled by the sheaf of wheat in the foreground, symbol of the Eucharist.

Tommaso's head is, unfortunately, poorly preserved, but that of Maria (fig. 46) can be compared to Memling's portrait at the Museum, providing an opportunity to see how different artists treated the same sitter. The even lighting and angle of vision chosen by Memling produce a more generalized image than Hugo's—one that conforms more to the contemporary ideal of feminine beauty. Hugo's harsher modeling and more oblique angle of vision render a sharper, pointed face





that seems to have greater individuality. The comparison illustrates a universal fact of portraiture: that any portrait results from the interaction of two personalities, the sitter's and the artist's.

Two of Tommaso Portinari's nephews continued his patronage of Flemish artists, commissioning works that contained portraits. Benedetto Portinari, who worked with his uncle in Bruges, ordered from Memling a half-length devotional triptych, dated 1487, which is now divided between Florence and Berlin (figs. 47–49). Its center and right panels are closely related to the Nieuwenhove Diptych, dated the same year, and illustrate Memling's formulaic method. The two images of the Virgin and Child are nearly identical, with minor variations in the positioning of the Child's arms and the Virgin's left hand. Benedetto's triptych expands upon the format of the devotional portrait diptych with the addition of a left wing that depicts, in portraitlike fashion, the sitter's patron saint, Benedict. The arrangement is similar to that of half-length triptychs with portraits of husband and wife, such as that of Tommaso and Maria Portinari; however, here the patron cedes the position of precedence at the left to his intercessory saint. While Benedetto's triptych may be the earliest example of this form that survives complete, it is probably not the first. A curious picture attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, in the National Gallery, London, may also have been the left wing of a devotional portrait triptych. It is thought to represent Saint Ivo, and it is quite similar to

Memling's *Saint Benedict*. If Joseph is the patron saint of the male donor in the Mérode Triptych (fig. 1), it would be an early example of such organization in a triptych, although the donor's and saint's positions are reversed and the figures full-length.

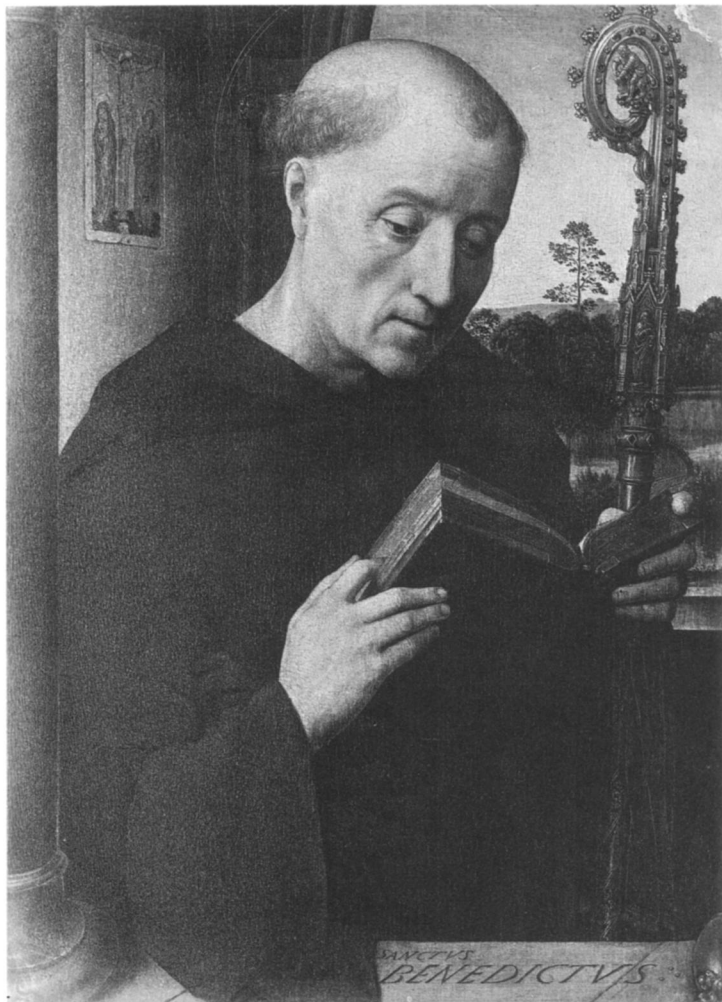
Benedetto's brother, Lodovico Portinari, must have commissioned the diptych by the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend that is now divided between Cambridge and Philadelphia (figs. 50, 51). The reverse of the portrait bears the Portinari coat of arms and the initials L P. It has been suggested that the diptych was painted shortly before 1479, when Lodovico is recorded in Florence; however, it may have been painted at a later date in Bruges, where both his younger brothers resided. Like Christus's *Carthusian*, the portrait of Lodovico was later made into a saintly image by the addition of a halo.

The Ursula Master's *Virgin and Child*, like the image in the Jean Gros Diptych, derives from Rogier's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (fig. 2), suggesting again the way in which such a picture might have been viewed as a "portrait" of some authenticity. Combining it with Lodovico's portrait, the artist has employed radically different modes of representation to distinguish divine from mortal subjects. Whereas Lodovico is depicted in a developed, illusionistic space, the Virgin and Child are isolated against a gold field surrounded by angels. We have already seen in the Nieuwenhove Diptych how Memling, a more progressive artist, was able to realize the same effect by more sophisticated illusionistic

45. Hugo van der Goes's *Portinari Altarpiece*, completed about 1475, shows the Nativity with Saints Anthony Abbot and Thomas in the left wing with male members of the family and Saints Margaret and Mary Magdalen in the right wing with female members of the family. Shipped to Florence, the triptych was installed in the Church of Sant' Egidio in 1483. The striking naturalism, especially of the landscape, and the expressive realism, particularly of the shepherds, had an immediate and major impact on the work of Italian Renaissance painters. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

46. This detail from the right wing of the *Portinari Altarpiece* shows Maria Portinari wearing the same luxurious necklace that appears in her portrait by Memling at the Metropolitan (fig. 41), painted about five years earlier. X-rays of the Museum's painting reveal that Maria's hennin originally had a zigzag pattern like that of the one she wears here. The alternating letters T M stand for "Tommaso" and "Maria." Comparison of Memling's and van der Goes's portraits of Maria shows clearly how the painter's individual artistic personality shaped his vision of reality.





47–49. This triptych by Hans Memling was painted in 1487 for Benedetto Portinari, who was twenty-one—two years younger than Marten van Nieuwenhove, for whom Memling painted in the same year a very similar work (fig. 39). Here a half-length Virgin and Child is flanked by a devotional portrait of Benedetto at the right and an image of his patron saint, Benedict, at the left. The wings are first recorded in 1825, in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, Florence, an institution founded and maintained by the Portinari family. The reverse of the portrait displays the sitter's emblem, a cut oak branch from which new growth sprouts, and his device, DE BONO IN MELIUS (From good to better), on a banderole. Benedetto and his older brother Folco worked with their uncle Tommaso Portinari in Bruges. They bought out his financial interests in 1497. Folco died in 1527 and Benedetto in 1551. Left and right: Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Center: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem

means—backgrounds of varying perspectives.

Lodovico, like the donor in the Mérode Triptych, seems to view the Virgin through an opening, the window to his right, yet the object of his devotion is apart from his space and abstracted, as if it were a vision. Curiously, the Virgin and Child with angels are found again in the landscape in the portrait panel. The man drawing water in the foreground must be Joseph, and his inclusion suggests that the scene is the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. The left panel of the diptych seems to be a close-up view of the diminutive Virgin and Child, envisioned by the patron in his devout contemplation.

It is only through the fortuitous survival of information that we have been able to consider as a group five works of art commissioned by and including portraits of members of the Portinari family. If we knew the sitters' identities in more fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flemish paintings, larger patterns of patronage would no doubt emerge. Still, it is clear from the patronage of the Portinari and other Italians in Flanders that they were par-

ticularly appreciative of the talents of local artists, and especially of their skills as portraitists.

Flemish painters' technique enabled them to capture the appearances of worldly splendor that status-conscious sitters desired: the richness of their fur collars and hats, of their silk damask and velvet brocade garments, of their jewelry and their illuminated books of hours. But at the same time the naturalistic style of Flemish artists made possible—especially in half-length devotional portraits—the creation of an illusionistic reality that not only records the sitters' appearances but also attests to their piety and their hope for the redemption of their souls.

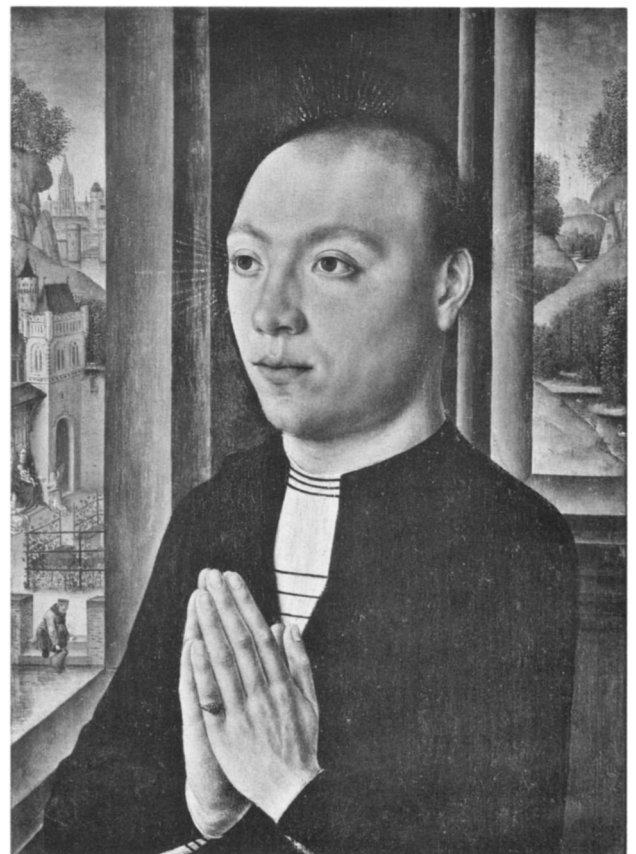


below
 50, 51. Little is known about the sitter in this diptych, Lodovico Portinari. His father, Pigello, eldest brother of Tommaso Portinari and manager of the Milan branch of the Medici bank (not to be confused with his nephew, Tommaso's son Pigello), died in 1468 and was succeeded by another brother, Accerrito. Lodovico's brothers Folco (b. 1462) and Benedetto (b. 1466) may have been reared in Bruges by Tommaso, with whom they later worked. Lodovico was probably older than his brothers, since in 1479 he and his uncle Accerrito were responsible for electing the governor of Santa Maria Nuova, the hospital in Florence founded and maintained by the Portinari family. After his father's death, Lodovico, like his brothers, might have gone to Bruges, where presumably he commissioned this diptych from the artist now known as the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend after a series of panels in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges.

The landscape background at the upper left of the portrait panel shows the skyline of Bruges with the Minnewater district in the foreground—the same view found in the Ursula Master's epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove (fig. 17). The small tower to the left of the

highest spire, the Church of Our Lady, is possibly that of the Hof Bladelin. Built for Duke Philip the Good's councillor, Pieter Bladelin, the townhouse was one of the most magnificent in Bruges. Tommaso Portinari persuaded the Medici to buy it in 1466, and he lavishly remodeled it as his residence.

The figures of the Virgin and Child in the left half of the diptych are freely adapted from Rogier van der Weyden's Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin (fig. 2). The original engaged frame of the Ursula Master's Virgin and Child at the Metropolitan (17.190.16)—also a half-length version of Rogier's Saint Luke Virgin and Child—was once hinged at the right, indicating that it formed half a diptych like Lodovico Portinari's, probably with a devotional portrait as well. Left: Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., Busch Reisinger Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop. Right: John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia

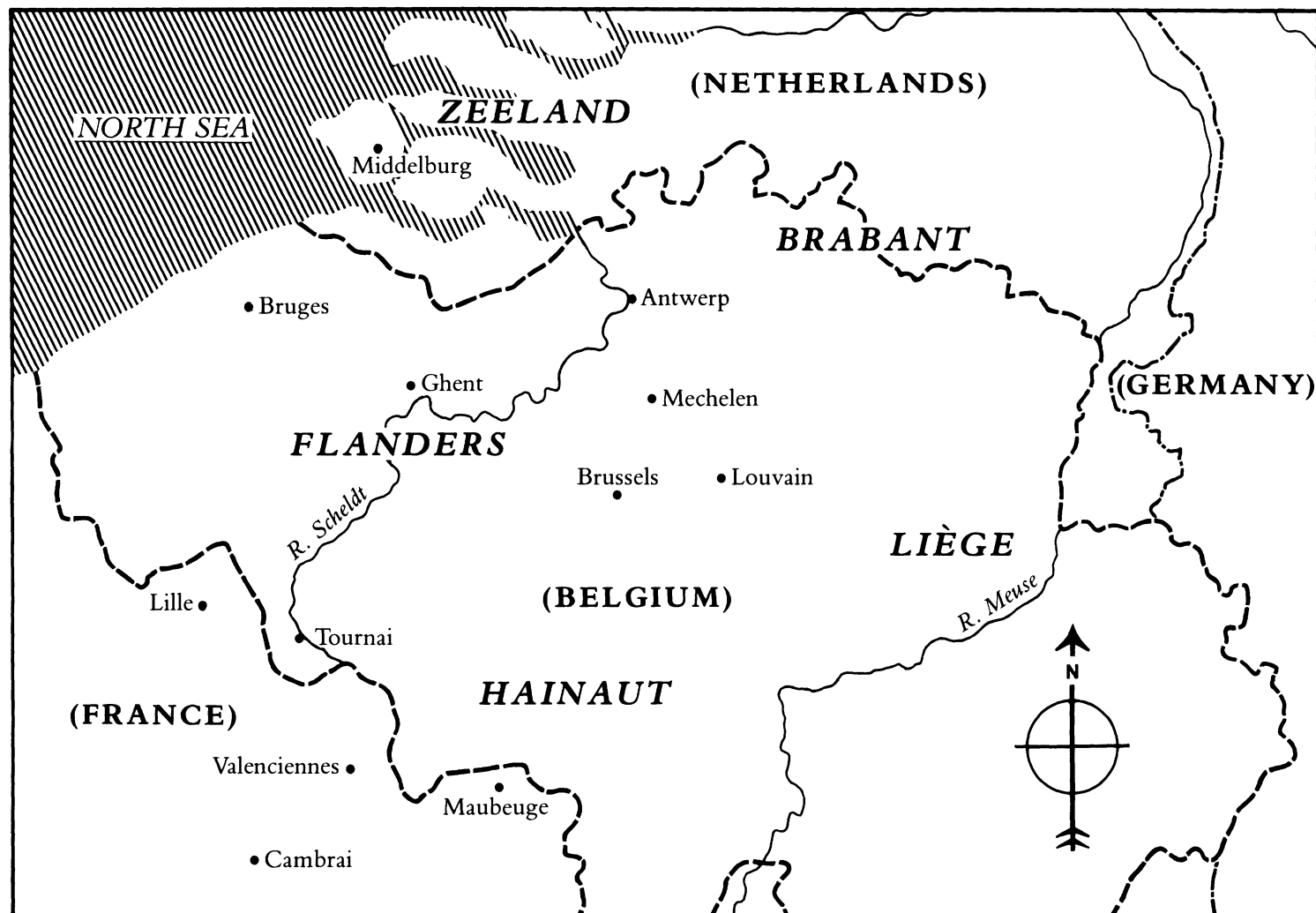




This fine portrait by Hugo van der Goes was painted in the early 1470s about the same time as those of Tommaso and Maria Portinari in the Uffizi altarpiece (fig. 45). The oval shape is not its original one. Like many paintings featured here (fig. 8 and pp. 16, 21, 52), this is a fragment—cut down from a work of rectangular format. The edge of the window casement and the upper part of the sky are later restorations painted on a

wedge-shaped insert to the support. The background and hands had been painted over but were revealed when the picture was cleaned about 1930. Its composition is like that of Lodovico Portinari's portrait (fig. 51), and the anonymous man depicted here probably prayed to a half-length representation of the Virgin and Child as well. As he would have appeared to the left of the Virgin and Child, the picture was probably arranged

with a portrait of his wife to the right in a half-length devotional triptych, as were Memling's portraits of the Portinaris at the Museum (figs. 40, 41), rather than in a diptych like *The Virgin and Child with Jean Gros* (figs. 36, 37), where the arrangement is, appropriately, reversed. Oval, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929. The H.O. Havemeyer Collection (29.100.15)



Artists

TOURNAI	Robert Campin (active by 1406, died 1444)
GHENT	Hubert van Eyck (active by 1409, died 1426) Hugo van der Goes (active by 1467, died 1482)
BRUGES	Jan van Eyck (active by 1422, died 1441) Petrus Christus (active by 1444, died 1472/73) Hans Memling (active by 1465, died 1494) Master of the Saint Ursula Legend (active late XV century) Gerard David (active by 1484, died 1523) Adriaen Isenbrant (active by 1510, died 1551)
BRUSSELS	Rogier van der Weyden (born 1399/1400, died 1464) Master of the Saint Barbara Legend (active late XV century) Master of Sainte Gudule (active about 1485)
LOUVAIN	Dieric Bouts (active by 1457, died 1475)
ANTWERP	Quentin Massys (born 1465/66, died 1530) Jan Gossart (active by 1503, died 1532) Joos van Cleve (active by 1507, died 1540/41)
VALENCIENNES	Hayne de Bruxelles (active 1454/55)
SPAIN	Luis Dalmau (active 1428–1460, trained in Flanders?) Juan de Flandes (active 1496–1519, trained in Bruges or Ghent)

Notes

The pictures reproduced in this issue of the *Bulletin* are painted in oil and/or tempera on wood, unless otherwise noted. The author thanks Lucy Oakley of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for suggesting the idea that the fissure in Rogier van der Weyden's *Crucifixion Triptych* may refer to the earthquake that occurred at the moment of Christ's death. The author also thanks Maryan Ainsworth of the Paintings Conservation Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for discussing with him infrared examination of the Museum's portrait by the Master of Sainte Gudule.

Early Flemish Portraits p. 4 li. 17: Quoted in Michael Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the *De Viris Illustribus*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 102. p. 7 fig. 4, li. 15: Catherine Perier-d'Ieteren, "Une copie de Notre-Dame de Grâce de Cambrai aux Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique à Bruxelles," *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique Bulletin* (1968, nos. 3-4): 111-14, p. 12 li. 5: Max J. Friedländer, *Die Van Eyck-Petrus Christus*, vol. 1 of *Die Alt-niederländische Malerei* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 146-47. p. 12 li. 19: Lorne Campbell, unpublished opinion, 1981. p. 15 li. 9: Quoted in John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1966), p. 289. p. 15 li. 43: Karel van Mander, *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders* (Haarlem, 1604), fol. 225v: "Mabuse heeft onder ander oock gheschildert een Mary-beeldt, terwijl hy was in dienst van den Marquijs van der Veren, wesende de tronie ghedaen nae de Huysvrouw van den Marquijs, en t'kindeken quam nae haer kindt." p. 16 capt., li. 22: Max J. Friedländer, *Dierick Bouts und Joos van Gent*, vol. 3 of *Die Alt-niederländische Malerei* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 45, 107, no. 10.

Donor Portraits p. 17 li. 1: Author's translation from Hans Rupprich, ed., *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1966), p. 109, ll. 49-52, p. 131, ll. 93-96, p. 133, ll. 101-4. p. 18 li. 43: Quoted in Anne Simonson Fuchs, "The Netherlands and Iberia. Studies in Netherlandish Painting for Spain: 1427-1455," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), p. 92. p. 22 li. 22: Lorne Campbell, "Robert Campin, the Master of Flémalle and the Master of Mérode," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): 634-46. p. 22 li. 44: Cynthia Hahn, "'Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee': The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 54-66. p. 22 li. 103: Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (New York, [1980]), pp. 212-15. p. 26 li. 43: Walter S. Gibson, "A New Identification for a Panel by the St. Barbara Master," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965): 504-6. p. 26 li. 61: Reconstructed by Federico Zeri, "Un trittico del 'Maestro della leggenda di Santa Barbara,'" *Paragone* 9 (1960): 41-45.

Independent Portraits p. 34 li. 1: Recognized by Jack Schrader, in a letter, June 19, 1970; see also *A Guide to the Collection* (Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1981), no. 49. p. 35 li. 61: Erwin Panofsky, "Who is Jan van Eyck's 'Tymotheos?'," *Journal of the War-*

burg and Courtauld Institutes 12 (1949): 80. p. 38 li. 18: Quoted in Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), vol. 1, p. 310, note 5 (pp. 488-89). p. 46 li. 21: Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 68.

Half-Length Devotional Portraits p. 49 li. 15: Georges Hulin de Loo, "Diptychs by Rogier van der Weyden," *Burlington Magazine* 43 (1923): 53-58; 44 (1924): 179-89. p. 49 li. 20: Lorne Campbell, "The portrait art in the work of Van der Weyden," in *Rogier van der Weyden, Official painter to the city of Brussels, Portrait painter of the Burgundian Court* (exh. cat., City Museum of Brussels, Maison du Roi, 1981), pp. 64, 67, note 37. p. 50 li. 37: Aby Warburg, *Flandrische Kunst und Florentinische Frührenaissance Studien*, "Jahrbuch der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen" 23 (1902): 265-66. p. 51 li. 18: Quoted in Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank: 1397-1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 348.

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Opposite: Detail from the right wing of the triptych by the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend (see pp. 26-27)
Back cover: The reverse of Rogier van der Weyden's *Portrait of Francesco d'Este* (see figs. 29, 30)

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