THE PORTRAITS
OF ISABELLE DE PORTUGAL

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

by
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Approved by

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INTRODUCTION

Isabelle de Portugal (1397–1471) was the third wife of Duke Philippe le Bon of Burgundy, ruler of the wealthiest court of northern Europe, and patron of some of the greatest artistic personalities of the fifteenth century, especially Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden.¹ Isabelle was a relatively important figure in Burgundian history, and served as much more than a silent partner for the Duke. She was an intelligent woman, skilled in diplomacy and administrative affairs, and perhaps in the encouragement of intellectual growth.² Despite her importance, the Duchess has received attention only sporadically, in occasional articles that treat individual portraits or specific aspects of her life and career. The only discussions of a more comprehensive nature have been Looten’s brief biographical sketch, and Bauch’s more recent collection of some of the known portraits of Isabelle.³ Willard’s discussion of her role in the intellectual sphere of the Burgundian court points to a need for a more extensive examination of the woman’s life and times.

Such an ambitious project is not the intent of this study. Rather, it is hoped that a thorough treatment of one aspect of the research centering on Isabelle de Portugal, her extant portraits, will move us closer to a complete understanding of the woman herself.

A brief survey of Isabelle’s life will be provided in Chapter I. Chapter II will introduce the reader to the character of fifteenth century developments in Northern portraiture, and the types of portraits most frequently found, so that the depictions of Isabelle can be seen in relation to the contemporary situation. The individual portraits of the Duchess will be treated first, in Chapter III, which will describe her physical appearance and personality. Chapter IV will focus on a less common portrait type, a full-length representation of both Philippe and Isabelle. The largest group, donor portraits and devotional pieces, will be the subject of Chapter V, and will provide additional information that will complete our picture of customary practices in representing Duchess Isabelle de Portugal.
NOTES

1 Hugo van der Goes first worked for the ducal family in 1468, the year after Philippe's death, when he was called to execute decorations for the wedding of Charles le Temeraire and Margaret of York.


CHAPTER I

ISABELLE DE PORTUGAL

Isabelle de Portugal was of royal lineage, the daughter of King João I, founder of the second dynasty of Portugal. Her mother was Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster, and granddaughter of Edward III of England. Born at Evora on February 21, 1397, Isabelle was one of eight children, some of whom became notable in their own right. Henry the Navigator needs no introduction. Her youngest brother, Fernando, who accompanied her to Flanders for her wedding, became the so-called “Martyr of Fez.”¹ Another brother, Pedro, travelled widely and was in contact with early humanists in Rome and Florence. Both he and Duarte, who succeeded João I as king, exhibited a strong interest in Cicero, in both his moral treatises and his theories of rhetoric.² Pedro himself wrote the Virtuosa Bemfeytoria, which included a list of recommended books for the education of a prince. Isabelle, who saw to the education of her son, Charles, was probably well aware of this list.³ From December of 1425 into mid 1426, Pedro visited the court of Philippe le Bon, whose second wife had died in September of 1425. Perhaps, as Francis Rogers has speculated, the first seed of the idea of a marriage between Duke Philippe and Princess Isabelle was planted at this time.⁴

After Pedro died in the Battle of Alfarrobeira in 1449, his three children fled to the court of Burgundy for protection. Jaime, in 1456, became the Cardinal of St. Eustace, the Cardinal of Portugal whose tomb chapel in Florence occupied the talents of such fine artists as Luca della Robbia, Rossellino, Pollaiuolo, Alesso Baldovinetti, and Botticelli.⁵ In the same year, another son, João, was made a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and became the Prince of Antioch after marrying Charlotte of Lusignan, but died soon after, in 1457. Dom Pedro’s daughter, Beatriz, married the younger Adolphe de Cleves in 1453, who in 1463 became Lord of Ravenstein. Their son, Philippe de Cleves, often visited Isabelle in
her later years at La Motte-au-Bois.6

Late in the year 1428, Philippe le Bon sent his ambassadors to the court of Portugal, to seek the hand of the king’s daughter.7 They docked at Calscais near Lisbon on December 16, 1428, and were officially received at Aviz by King João I and his court on January 13, 1429. Four separate messages were sent to the Duke, describing the Princess and discussing various aspects of the negotiations, two by land, and two by sea, along with the portrait of Isabelle painted by Jan van Eyck. These messages were sent in February of 1429, but the contract was not completed and signed until July 24 of that year. Isabelle and her retinue finally arrived at the port of Sluis on December 25, 1429, more than a year after the embassy was first sent.8 The wedding took place on January 7, 1430, followed by two weeks of celebrations, during which time Philippe founded the knightly order of the Golden Fleece. On January 8 the new Duchess made her grand entry into Bruges, and on January 17 she and Duke Philippe entered Ghent. Thus was Isabelle de Portugal launched into the public life of the duchy of Burgundy.

The first three years were relatively uneventful for the Duchess. It would seem that her activities were confined to the court milieu, and her attention to the birth of an heir for Philippe le Bon. Their first son, Anthoine, was born on September 30, 1430, but died February 5, 1432. The second, Josse, was born on April 24, 1432, and died on August 21 of the same year. On November 11, 1433, Charles was born. By this time the ducal couple was quite anxious, and we find a number of foundations made in this year, that provided for masses to be said for the family.9

After the birth of Charles, Isabelle participated more actively in the political realm. Her role in the discussions that culminated in the Treaty of Arras was recognized in her own time by the Parisians who knelt before her seeking her good graces, and begged the Duke and Duchess to bring peace, when they visited on April 14, 1435,10 and by Martin le Franc, who mentioned Isabelle in a contemporary poem:11
Par elle horrible guerre cesse,
Et paix se remet en besongne
Vive la très haute ducesse
Vive la dame de Bourgogne!

The Duchess also used her skills of diplomacy in this decade in securing the release of Charles d'Orleans from England, where he had been held captive since taken in the Battle of Agincourt, in 1415. Discussions began in 1433, before the Treaty of Arras, but were not of much significance until late 1439 and 1440. In these later talks Isabelle acted as mediator between the French, represented by Charles, and the English, represented by her great-uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, minister of Henry VI.\textsuperscript{12} In November 1440 Charles was finally released from captivity, and soon after married a niece of Philippe le Bon, Anne de Cleves. The role of the Duchess in his liberation is also documented in poetry, notably in a verse from one of the ballades written by Charles in correspondence with Burgundy:\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{verbatim}
Et sans plus despendre langage,
A cours mots, plaise vous penser
Que vous laisse mon cœu ren gage
Pour tousjours, sans jamais faulser.
Si me rueillez recommender
A ma cousine, car croyez
Que en vous deux, tant que vivrez,
J'ay mise toute ma fiancée;
Et vostre party loyement,
De cœur, de corps et de puissance!
\end{verbatim}

Isabelle turned to her own husband for the release of another prisoner held for ransom, René d'Anjou. René had joined Charles VII in a battle against the Burgundians in 1431, and on July 2 of that year suffered a terrible defeat on the Plains of Bulgnerville. He was taken prisoner by Philippe le Bon, and kept in the “Tour de Bar” in Dijon, as well as in other Burgundian fortresses. Despite the entreaties of René's wife and court officials he was not finally released until November 25, 1436. The treaty drawn up between November 1436 and January 28, 1437 demanded an enormous ransom of 200,000 golden florins, the
cession of the manors of Cassell and La Motte-au-Bois, and the espousal of his younger daughter, Marguerite, to the King of England, Henry VI.\textsuperscript{14} That René was released at all he owed to Isabelle; and it was she who helped to ease some of Duke Philippe’s demands.

Interspersed with these major accomplishments are numerous minor instances of Isabelle acting in her political role as duchess. Richard Vaughan mentions some of these in his biography of Philippe le Bon. For example, while Philippe was occupied with uprisings in Ghent in 1436, Isabelle was responding to a similar situation in Bruges.\textsuperscript{15} She often went to the Flemish towns seeking aid, or to settle unrest, and quite ably handled the administration of the duchy while Philippe was away. Early in 1441 she was sent to present a number of complaints to King Charles VII at Laon, although she was greeted with a rather cool reception. In 1445 she was sent again.\textsuperscript{16} Charles le Temeraire would often draw on his mother’s experience in later years.

In 1457, Isabelle acted as mediator between father and son after Philippe and Charles had argued over the power held by the Croy family. While Charles stayed with Louis, the Dauphin, Isabelle de Portugal and Isabelle de Bourbon, Charles’ wife, soothed the Duke’s hot temper. It was not long after this that the Duchess left court life for seclusion at La Motte-au-Bois.

Isabelle’s activities as Duchess of Burgundy were scarcely all political. She was responsible for a great number of religious foundations. In Brussels she founded a convent of Dominicans, in Lille, a Hospital of St. Jacques, a convent of Gray Sisters, and near the chateau of La Motte-au-Bois, a hospital. On August 21, 1446 she obtained a papal bull that permitted a Clarist convent to be founded in Corbie. She made various foundations that provided for daily masses and prayers to be said for the ducal family. In 1433 two such foundations were made, at the Chartreuse of Champmol, near Dijon, and at the Convent of St. Margaret in Basel. In this same year, Charles was born, probably the key reason for the foundations. Also in 1433 the Burgundian embassy appeared at the Council of Basel, and
Pope Eugenius IV, in expressing his appreciation, sent to Philippe the gift of a miraculous Sacred Host.\textsuperscript{17} Other foundations were made by the Duchess at the Chartreuse of Gosnay, not far from La Motte-au-Bois, in the 1430’s, and at the Chartreuse of Mont-Renaud, near Noyon, in the 1440’s.

In 1457 Isabelle retired from court life and retreated to the chateau of La Motte-au-Bois, in the Nieppe Forest, near Cassel in Flanders. For the most part she stayed away from the court milieu, but did return at the death of her husband, Philippe, in 1467, and to assist in the marriage of Charles to Margaret of York in July of 1468. She often received visitors, especially Charles and her grand-nephew, Philippe de Cleves. Here the Duchess led a new life of sacrifice and piety, practicing works of charity, and at times even cooking for the monks at the Chartreuse of Gosnay.\textsuperscript{18} The inventory taken after her death attests to her austere lifestyle.\textsuperscript{19}

Isabelle died in the company of her son on December 17, 1471, after several days at Air-sur-la-Lys. Her remains were kept at La Motte-au-Bois for some time so that visitors could pay their respects, and were then transferred to the Chartreuse at Gosnay. She was entombed in the coarse cloth of the Gray Sisters according to her will. It was only on February 11, 1474 that the bodies of Philippe and Isabelle were rejoined in their tomb at the Chartreuse of Champmol.

The interests of the Duchess were not solely religious in the last years of her life. Besides Charles le Temeraire and Philippe de Cleves, a number of others frequented the chateau in the Nieppe Forest. Vasco de Lucena finished his translation of The Deeds of Alexander the Great by Quintus Curtius Rufus at La Motte-au-Bois in 1468, and dedicated it to Charles. Vasco was one of several Portuguese who appeared at the Burgundian court after the death of Isabelle’s brother, Dom Pedro, in 1449. Others include Vasco Quemado de Vilalobos, who ordered the translation of the Trionfo de las doñas into French by Fernando de Lucena,\textsuperscript{20} and Alfonso de Lucena, who was doctor and counsellor for Isabelle
in 1451. Charity Cannon Willard has studied the patronage of the Burgundian court after the arrival of Isabelle de Portugal, and suggests that she was responsible for a large number of texts, both religious and humanist in nature. She has proposed that Isabelle's active patronage continued into her retirement at La Motte-au-Bois, and that some of the work which she sponsored may have been executed at the chateau. Noting Isabelle's background, and the humanistic interests of her family, Willard suggests a major role for the Duchess in introducing humanism to the North. She supported one young humanist, Robert Gaguin, in his studies in Paris. He maintained contact with her throughout her life, and was responsible for her biography, the *Vitae Elizabeth, comitissae Flandriae filiae Joannis hujus nominis primi Lusitaniae regis.* Looten tells us that Isabelle began making periodic visits to La Motte-au-Bois in 1453. Her itinerary notes her presence there as early as August 1, 1436. One may wonder how much, and what kind of activity was taking place at the chateau even before her retirement from the court.

Isabelle de Portugal has been the object of increasing attention in recent years. C. Looten and Richard Vaughan are rich sources of information, and the studies of Charity Cannon Willard are especially provocative. In light of this current interest in the woman, numerous portraits have been published, so that the number of known representations of the Duchess has increased dramatically since the turn of the century. These portraits will be discussed subsequently, in order to describe the iconography of Isabelle de Portugal, and to place these works in the context of Northern Renaissance art, and especially the art of portraiture in the North.
NOTES

1Fernando was delivered over to the Moors as a hostage by the Portuguese after an unsuccessful expedition to Tangier in 1437. He died in prison in Fez in 1443.


3Ibid., p. 529.

4Rogers, The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal, pp. 34–35.

5Ibid., pp. 82–84.

   His chambers at the chateau were included in the inventory made after Isabelle’s death. (Amaury de La Grange, “Inventaire après décès d’Isabelle de Portugal,” Bulletin du Comité Flamand en France (1935): 423–25.)

7They left in two Venetian galleys on October 19, 1428, and landed at Sandwich on October 20. Inclement weather delayed them considerably and they finally left for Portugal from Falmouth on November 25.
   For details of the journey, and the names of those sent by the Duke, see: Gachard, Collection de docoms inédits concernent l’histoire de la Belgique (Brussels, 1833–34), Vol. 2, pp. 63–91.

8Ibid., pp. 66–80.

9Two of Isabelle’s foundations can be documented to the year 1433, one at the Chartreuse of Champmol near Dijon, and the other at the Chartreuse of St. Margaret in Basel. These will be discussed later in relation to the dedication plaques that commemorated the foundations.


13Charles d’Orléans, Poésies, ed. Pierre Champion (Paris: Honoré Champion,
1923), p. 141.


16Ibid., pp. 114–16.

17This Sacred Host arrived in Dijon while René d’Anjou was held captive there. He developed a strong devotion to this treasure and later made several foundations at Dijon. Pierre Quarré tells us that the oldest representation of the Sacred Host is found in a book of hours that belonged to René, in the British Museum, and that it was only later that Duchess Isabelle donated a silver monstrance for this papal gift. The monstrance was destroyed in the French Revolution. (Pierre Quarré, “Le Roi René prisonnier du duc de Bourgogne à Dijon et son oeuvre de peintre,” *La Revue du Louvre* 14 (1964): 69.)

18Looten, “Isabelle de Portugal,” p. 20.


20Willard suggests that one of the extant copies of this manuscript, dedicated to a woman, was made for Isabelle. Another was made for Philippe. (Charity Cannon Willard, “Isabel of Portugal and the French translations of the ‘Trionfo de las doñas,’” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 43(1965): 961–69.)


22The biography has since been lost.

Note that this visit dates before the cession of that chateau to Burgundy by René d’Anjou in the treaty procuring his release. Perhaps Isabelle was responsible for this clause in the treaty.
CHAPTER II

PORTRAITURE: BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

Jacques Lavalleye, in his brief, yet enlightening survey of the art of the portrait in the Northern Renaissance, noted the relative scarcity of female portraits in the fifteenth century, especially in the first half of the century. He found it quite striking that even of the many spouses of the dukes of Burgundy, few representations are extant.¹ Happily, the situation in the case of Isabelle de Portugal, as noted above, has changed considerably. We have examples of many of the different uses made of portraiture in the North in the fifteenth century. Her effigy, however, was destroyed in the late eighteenth century. In studying the portraits of Isabelle we will encounter not only different portrait types and different artistic personalities, but we will also note how her portraits fit into the general character and development of portraiture in fifteenth century Northern painting.

In combination with Lavalleye’s work on the fifteenth century portrait, Claire Richter Sherman’s study of the portraits of Charles V of France, and a chapter on those of Jean de Berry in Millard Meiss’s French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, serve to illustrate the evolution that took place in the art of the portrait in Northern Europe from the second half of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth.² From the standard portraits of the late Middle Ages, with their tendency toward idealized representations and general “types,” gradually evolved the “modern” Renaissance portrait, which showed increasing interest in the individual, in exterior realistic detail, and in the spirit or personality emanating from within. The portraits of Isabelle de Portugal reflect both the lingering traditions of the past and the innovative triumphs of two great Flemish “primitives,” Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden.

Jan van Eyck, whom Kurt Bauch has called the most productive portrait painter of the late Middle Ages, was not only a master of surface details, but was the first artist in
the North to give his figures an independent space in which to exist, beyond the frame of the painting. Bauch presents an excellent illustration of this point. He compares the donor portrait of Charles V on the Parement de Narbonne to that of Jodocus Vyd on the Ghent Altarpiece (figs. 1 & 2). The Parement Master places his figure in a strict profile pose before an ambiguous blank background within a Gothic arch. Although he is given some three-dimensional form through modeling, and seems to kneel on solid ground, there does not really appear to be any space around the figure; and as Bauch has suggested, we do not wonder how the king could stand up in the space provided, for it was not the artist's intention to create an illusion of space. In the case of Van Eyck's donor portrait however, the question does enter our minds. Because the artist has so clearly sought an illusionistic space, we are disturbed somewhat when it does not appear proportionally correct. Jan van Eyck positions Vyd in a three-quarter pose behind a trefoil arch that acts not only as a framing device, but also as an actual architectural element that divides our space from the space in which the donor kneels. More than the turned pose, it is the light which Van Eyck uses so successfully to suggest an actual space around the figure. This light, which enters from the right, illuminates all of Vyd's face and strikes what the artist suggests is a wall behind. No longer does the frame control what lies within it, but it now serves only as a divider between our space and that beyond.⁴

Van Eyck standardized a portrait format that served as a foundation for Netherlandish artists to follow. His sitters are shown in three-quarter view, most often in half-length with the hands exposed, and frequently holding an attribute. He usually lights the figures from the direction toward which they turn, so that the entire face is illuminated. If one compares a portrait of Jean sans Peur, attributed by Panofsky to the April Master of the Tres Riches Heures, and known through a copy in the Louvre, to Van Eyck's portrait of a man known as the "Timotheos," the new direction taken by Jan van Eyck towards a greater illusionism in the space of about twenty years becomes obvious (figs. 3 & 4).⁴ His portrait
of Isabelle de Portugal, which fits relatively early into his development of the portrait will be discussed below.

Rogier van der Weyden was also responsible for a portrait of the Duchess. He is commonly considered to have been less interested in naturalism and careful attention to details, and more concerned with the spirit, and expression. His treatment of the portrait is described by Panofsky: "Instead of integrating an infinite number of details into a plastic whole, Rogier concentrated on certain salient features - salient both from a physiognomical and psychological point of view - which he expressed primarily by lines, reducing the modelling to such an extent that the direction of light is not always easily determinable at first glance . . . . Rogier's portraits then, should be interpreted as studies in character rather than studies in individuality . . . ." In combining and expanding on the tendencies found in Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, younger artists, such as Dirck Bouts and Hans Memling developed the typical "Flemish portrait type" that pervaded all of northern Europe through the remainder of the fifteenth century. It is within this development that we must study the portraits of Isabelle de Portugal.

There are a number of possible ways to approach and study the existing portraits of Duchess Isabelle. For example, by arranging them in chronological order one may note any changes that occur in format, costume, physical appearance, or in the degree of realism in the depiction, noting also any correspondence to known events in her life. More specific criteria could be utilized in categorizing the representations of the Duchess, such as costume alone, or the varying degrees of naturalism in the depictions. One could note those portraits that are originals, done during her lifetime, and those that are posthumous. Such approaches lend themselves to interesting observations, although of narrow scope.

The method of categorizing the portraits which best encompasses the above points of view, and can perhaps reveal the most about the woman herself, is that chosen by Claire Richter Sherman in her study of the portraits of Charles V of France. Sherman grouped
them according to their genre, or purpose, with such categories as "Dedication Portraits," "Devotional and Donor Portraits," and "Tomb Portraits." Although by comparison, the number of portraits of Isabelle available for study is small, a similar scheme can be quite useful in discussing the extant representations of the Duchess.

There are several recognizable types. First are the individual representational portraits, expressly meant to present a likeness of the sitter, a record of physical appearance. This category includes a number of panel paintings and their replicas and copies, as well as the now lost portrait made in Portugal by Jan van Eyck, intended to help Duke Philippe decide on his next spouse. One full-length double portrait of the Duke and Duchess survives, which will be discussed independently. Another category contains donor portraits and devotional works in the Northern tradition, in which Isabelle and Philippe are shown kneeling before a religious figure or group. Included in this set are commemorative foundation plaques, a mural, a panel painting, manuscript illuminations, and a drawing after a lost altarpiece. One other category, that of the minor arts, decorative and commemorative objects such as coins, medals, and plaquettes, includes only one example, a once gilt and polychromed lead plaquette published by Luis R. Santos. However, too little is known of this object to adequately treat this use of portraiture. Each portrait type will be dealt with individually, with an eye to tradition and contemporary developments in the genre.
NOTES


5Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 290.


The plaque is oval-shaped, measuring 101 x 76 mm. (fig. 5). It is presently in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum. The piece is cast in relief with the image of a woman in half-length, her face in three-quarter view. She stands behind a curved parapet, and rests her left arm upon it. Her costume is a V-necked, fur-trimmed robe, a coiffure à cornes headpiece, and a necklace with a large pendant. In her right hand she holds a flower, perhaps a rose. Around the outer edge of the plaque runs an abbreviated inscription: AM. IZABEL. PORTVG. PHI. PII. BVRG. DV. VX. 1470. Professor Schlamm, of the Classics Department at the Ohio State University, kindly explained the abbreviation as follows: AM(?) IZABEL.(A) PORTUG (ALIS) PHI(LIPPI) PII BURG(UNDEAE) DU(CIS) UX(OR) 1470. He has suggested that the AM may stand for “Amatissima,” beloved, but one would need to compare this with other Renaissance examples to see if such a title were used. The purpose of such a piece is not clear. There are numerous examples of Renaissance plaquettes, coins and medals, but this shape, the use of only one side, and even the medium, lead, gilt and polychromed, rather than gold or silver, is highly unusual. Much more investigation is needed before this plaquette can be placed into a context.
CHAPTER III

INDIVIDUAL PORTRAITS

The individual portraits of the Duchess Isabelle de Portugal present us with the most information concerning her actual physical appearance. Their format is fairly regular. All are of bust length, or half length, before a neutral background.¹ In every example the sitter is shown in three-quarter view, the preferred pose for Northern portraits in the first half of the fifteenth century. Only the most talented portraitists included the hands.

The earliest known portrait of Isabelle is that made by Jan van Eyck in Portugal, between January 13, 1429, the date of the arrival of the Duke’s ambassadors at the chateau of Aviz, and February 12 of that year. An account of the progress of the ambassadors in Gachard’s Collection de documens inédits concernent l’histoire de la Belgique, mentions four messages sent to Duke Philippe, two by land, and two by sea, and states that “Aussi luy envoyèrent ilz la figure de ladite dame faicte par painctre comme dit est.”² Both W.H.J. Weale and Charles Sterling have assumed that since messages were sent by two means, so also there were two paintings sent to the Duke.³ There is no documentation to prove such a possibility. Whatever the original number, not one painting survives to our day. There is however, an intriguing entry in the inventory made for Margaret of Austria between 1524 and 1533 which reads: “Ung aultre tableau de une jeune dame, accoustrée à la mode de Portugal, son habit rouge fouré de martre, tenant en sa main dextre ung volet avec ung petit sainct Nicolas en hault, nommée: la belle portugalaise.”⁴ De Laborde tied this painting to another entry in the inventory of 1516: “Ung moien tableau de la face d’une Portugalaise que Madame a eu de Don Diego. Fait de la main de Johannes et est fait sans huelle et sur toille sans couverte ne feullet.”⁵ Both De Laborde and Friedländer see these as referring to the same painting and attribute the one painting to Jan van Eyck. Friedländer notes especially the scroll held by the woman depicted, on which was given an image of St. Nicholas,
the patron saint of those in peril of shipwreck. Such a portrait seems entirely appropriate for a woman who would soon make the still somewhat dangerous voyage from Portugal to the Netherlands. Perhaps the reference may even have been to the painting itself, a portrait sent by sea, with one of the messages dispatched to the Duke of Burgundy. This suggestion can only remain tentative however, unless new evidence comes to light, as has been the case for another portrait attributed to Van Eyck's stay in Portugal.

In 1921, Louis Dimier had the good fortune to come across a seventeenth century drawing, made with pen and India ink, which he described as being "dans le genre des copies que commanda l'amateur Gaignières(fig. 6)." An inscription in the ornate frame around the portrait convinced him that this reproduces the lost original by Jan van Eyck. The inscription reads: "Cest la pourtraiture qui fu envoiée a phe duc de bourgeois + de brabant de dame ysabel fille de Roy Jehan de portugal + dalgarbe seigneur de septe par luy conquis qui fu depuis feme + espeuse du desus dit duc phe." Within this massive outer frame, decorated with vegetal and flint and steel motifs, as well as the initials PY, is a plain inner one, and within this was painted an illusionistic "window frame," composed of carefully delineated blocks of stone and two slender colonettes on either side which seem to support a lintel with the carved inscription, "LINFAE DAME ISABLE." The inscription in the outer frame, written in the past tense, was added to the portrait at a later date. The inner identification however, may have been part of the painting, and thus original. A comparison of this portrait with the so-called "Timothéos" of 1432 by Jan van Eyck, suggests the similar use of an illusionistic inscription carved into the stone frame(fig. 4). Even the type of the lettering is somewhat similar. Both Sterling and Kurt Bauch have followed Dimier's identification of the drawing as a copy after the lost Van Eyck, and Bauch has studied it in relation to extant portraits by the artist. The illusion of a window frame, and the use of a spot of light on the "wall" behind the sitter are devices used by Jan van Eyck in other portraits.

Isabelle, behind the frame, is shown in full half-length, with her hands placed in
view before her, the fingers of one extending over the edge of the frame into the space beyond. She is dressed in a heavy brocade robe held by a wide sash beneath the bodice, over a dark dress, revealed at the V-neck of the robe, and at the wrists. The robe is trimmed with a wide fur collar, and some sheer material is added around the neckline, the "gorgerette," fastened just above the edge of the dark garment beneath the robe.\textsuperscript{10} A beaded or jeweled headpiece conceals all of her hair, and reminds one of the unusual headpiece that she wore on the occasion of the marriage of her brother, Duarte, to Eleanor of Aragon, that caught the attention of the Burgundian ambassadors, and was recorded by Jean Le Fevre.\textsuperscript{11}

The Princess is shown to be a slender woman, with graceful hands and narrow shoulders. Her eyes, ears, and mouth are somewhat small. No hair is exposed outside of the headpiece which sits well behind the ears. This exaggerates the area of the face and thus her features appear more slight and her neck longer. She looks directly at the viewer with a faint smile.

Kurt Bauch has noted a striking resemblance between the Cumaen sibyl on the Ghent Altarpiece and the drawing of Isabelle, in the long nose, smallish mouth, and rather high eyebrows, in her graceful hands and in the costume with its heavy robe and wide fur collar(fig. 7).\textsuperscript{12} It was customary in this time period to use exotic or outmoded costume for the depiction of sibyls, and Van Eyck's interest in the princess's costume is not surprising. However, Van Eyck does seem to have taken much more than the costume, and the similarity in the features and the slender elegant hands cause us to wonder if the artist intended to compliment Isabelle. W. Stein has even suggested that Van Eyck made a subtle comparison between the new Duchess of Burgundy, who was to deliver to Philippe an heir, and the sibyl, who foretells the incarnation of Christ: "Rex adventet per scila futuris scilicet in carne."\textsuperscript{13} This would certainly not be the first time that an attempt has been made to identify a figure in the Ghent Altarpiece with a contemporary personnage.\textsuperscript{14} An observation made by Elizabeth Dhanens may serve to strengthen the suggestion that Van Eyck intended to use
not only the costume, but also the features of Isabelle for his sibyl. Dhanens has noted that the Ghent Altarpiece was dedicated on May 6, 1432, and that, certainly not by coincidence, it was the same day on which Josse, the second son of the Duke and Duchess, was baptized in Ghent.\textsuperscript{15}

The same facial features found in the drawing after Van Eyck's portrait, and the Cumaen sibyl on the Ghent Altarpiece, can be seen again in another early portrait of the Duchess, existing in several examples. Figure 8 represents a small panel now in Dijon, on loan from the Louvre.\textsuperscript{16} This portrait, and a possible adaptation of it in the Stoclet Collection in Brussels(fig. 9), were each identified at one time as Isabeau de Bavière. This identification was contested for the latter by Randolph Schwabe in 1920, and for the Louvre portrait by Hulin de Loo in 1903.\textsuperscript{17} Hulin de Loo noted that the costume and the age of the sitter are not appropriate for such an identification. Isabeau de Bavière died in 1435, at an age of between 60 and 70 years. It was Hulin de Loo who first proposed that the subject is really Isabelle de Portugal, finding a strong similarity between the Louvre panel and a small portrait then in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, which bears the arms of Portugal and accompanied a portrait of Philippe le Bon(fig. 10).\textsuperscript{18}

Hulin de Loo, Kurt Bauch, and E. Michel agree in dating this representation of Isabelle to the 1430's on the basis of costume.\textsuperscript{19} She is dressed in a red robe, with a V-neckline, trimmed with brown fur, over a dark blue garment beneath. It is similar to her attire in Van Eyck's portrait, although the collar is not as wide, and continues down the front. Her headpiece is identified by Beaulieu and Baylé as a "bourrelet."\textsuperscript{20} It resembles a loaf of bread, creased in the middle, which tilts up high above the forehead, set on an elaborately jewelled cap, with straps around the ears. A long veil, trimmed with pearls, made of the same gold and black damask material as the "loaf," extends below her shoulders. As in the earlier portrait, Isabelle prefers to keep all hair concealed beneath the headpiece. Unusual in representations of the Duchess is the amount of jewelry shown here. A brooch decorates
the front of the "bourelet," and she wears a heavy necklace and pendant, with the fleur-de-lis as a repeated motif.

The artist, probably a French or Flemish master at Philippe’s court, has the Duchess cast her eyes demurely downward, keeping her confined within the space of the picture, and telling us little, if indeed anything, about her personality. It is a traditional court portrait, copied repeatedly with minor alterations. It was only meant to present the general physical appearance of Isabelle (in somewhat idealized form), and her station in life by means of her elaborate costume. It is a more conventional, less innovative work than that by Jan van Eyck.

A very impressive portrait is that painted by Rogier van der Weyden, in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (fig. 12). Here Isabelle is shown in half length, her face in three-quarter view. Her left arm echoes the angle of the bottom right corner of the painting, and her hands, adorned with rings, are gracefully folded before her. The turn of her body and the foreshortening of the right arm add to the mass and weight of the figure, and the feeling of surrounding space. Panofsky believed that the somewhat illusionistic wood-grain background that we see now was added at a later date, unusual as it is for the portraits of Van der Weyden. The artist more likely had a neutral backdrop for his sitter.

For this portrait the Duchess again wore a fur-trimmed robe, of red and gold brocade, with a green sash in a checkered weave. The fur is a rich ermine, decorating not only the neckline, but the sleeves as well. The sheer "gorgerette" is pulled together under the lacing of the robe, and conceals the terminus of a long pendant that falls from her necklace of beads and pearls. Her headpiece is an elaborately jeweled "coiffure à cornes" of gold cloth, with straps before the ears. A sheer, delicate veil is pulled across the forehead and falls to the shoulders. It is similar to that worn by Guigonne de Salines on the exterior of Rogier van der Weyden’s Beaune Last Judgement, and it is in part by comparison of the "unpictorial rendering of the precious materials" in both works that Panofsky dates the
Isabelle portrait to ca. 1445 (fig. 13)\textsuperscript{25}

The features of the Duchess are recognizable by now: the long face, slender nose, smallish eyes, mouth and ears. Isabelle would have been 48 in 1445, and the portrait shows only minimal signs of aging. The flesh is heavier around the eyes, and in the neck and chin, and some creases have become permanent. The pose is more relaxed, but there is still a liveliness in the eyes, and a slight smile on her lips.

There is one aspect of this portrait that prevented immediate identification. In the upper left corner one finds the inscription “PERSICA SIBYLLA I\textsuperscript{a},” which suggests that the painting once formed part of a series of representations of the sibyls, which began to gain popularity in the course of the fifteenth century. Most scholars have agreed that this label was an addition of the sixteenth century, and Panofsky stated that “the paleographical character of the inscription, reminiscent of the “literae antiquae” in Renaissance writing books rather than Northern fifteenth-century lettering, does not agree with Roger’s practice at all.”\textsuperscript{26} A number of portraits were adapted to new uses in the sixteenth century, after the identity of the sitter had been lost. Another example, to be compared with Van der Weyden’s portrait, is a 1480 Portrait of a Woman by Hans Memling (fig. 14). In the sixteenth century it was given a new identification, labeled: “Sibylla Sambetha quae et Persica.”

Stein agreed with a later date for the inscription, but proposed that Isabelle’s “semi-African origin” and the exotic fashions that she brought to the Burgundian court made it only natural that people would relate her to sibyls, even in her own time, and that the Cumaen sibyl by Van Eyck on the Ghent Altarpiece was a precedent.\textsuperscript{27} It seems inappropriate to refer to a woman born of a Portuguese father and an English mother as “semi-African,” and although there could be a grain of truth in the second part of Stein’s suggestion, there is nothing in the iconography of the Persica sibyl that would warrant an identification with Isabelle.\textsuperscript{28} The argument that the Persica Sibylla I\textsuperscript{a} was originally simply a portrait is further strengthened by the observation that this portrait served as the source for a represen-
tation of Isabelle in a mural Nativity in Ghent, to be discussed below.

Panofsky suggested that the Los Angeles portrait was the source for a "free copy" by a Portuguese artist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 15). If the painting is a copy, it is indeed quite "free." The Duchess is shown in half-length, three-quarter view, facing the same direction as in Rogier's portrait, but turned more sharply to the left. There is again a fleshiness around the eyes and chin, but the lips are fuller, and the nose and chin more prominent. This depiction of the Duchess is certainly not as flattering.

The costume is similar, but not the same. Isabelle wears a coiffure à cornes headdress, jeweled and decorated in a distinctive manner, with the side shaped like a fan, covering the ear. A sheer veil falls to the shoulders. Her beaded necklace has a pendant that extends beneath the gathering of her robe. The robe itself has a different brocade pattern than in the Van der Weyden portrait, and is trimmed by a dark fur, or perhaps velvet. The artist did not choose to show the hands. It would seem that Rogier's format did serve as an inspiration, but one can not rule out the possibility that this artist made a separate portrait of the Duchess, since the pose is not quite the same.

Through these individual portraits of Isabelle de Portugal we learn several things. We recognize her by her somewhat long face, prominent nose, small eyes and ears, and generally small mouth, although with a pronounced lower lip that one tends not to notice until seen exaggerated by the Portuguese master. Isabelle prefers the fur-trimmed robe as her dress, with little change, and has a taste for richly decorated headpieces. She preferred the bourrelet in the decade after her marriage, and the coiffure à cornes becomes her usual choice in the 1440's, as we will see in other representations. In these portraits, where the Duchess has the greatest role in determining the image that she will present, we see a woman who is poised and confident, self-assured, yet calm and reserved. It is an image which fits what we know of her activities: her role as mediator in the Treaty of Arras, in the release of Charles d'Orleans from England, and of René d'Anjou from captivity under Philippe le Bon,
her spouse, and the many occasions on which she acted on behalf of the Duke.30

Isabelle was portrayed by great masters and minor talents alike. None of the portraits serve to contrast with contemporary practice in Netherlandish art. They are, rather, quite representative of the period. Van Eyck’s painting was an early experiment in the use of the illusionistic “window frame” device. It represents a step in a new direction on the part of this artist, which was to be of great importance for fifteenth century Northern artists. Rogier van der Weyden’s depiction of Isabelle is characteristic of his oeuvre, especially in the way he does not allow the decorative costume to distract from the personality in her face. These two portraits are examples of the great skill and innovations associated with Rogier and Van Eyck, while the other paintings represent the norm: somewhat general representations of the individual, without any real analysis of the form or of the spirit.
NOTES

1 The portrait of Isabelle by Rogier van der Weyden, in Los Angeles, has a simulated wood background, which Panofsky believes was added in the sixteenth century. (Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 293.)


5 Ibid., pp. 51–53, note 2.


9 See, for example, the donor portraits of the Ghent Altarpiece and the Timotheos. This portrait is unusual in comparison with others by Jan van Eyck in the way Isabelle turns to the right, instead of to the left, and because of this pose, the light, although coming from the left, as usual, hits the side of the face, instead of the front. The Timotheos is again a representative comparison. Both devices used in the portrait of Isabelle are apparently still in the early stages of experimentation.

Sterling suggests that the illusion of a window frame may be due to the influence of Italian art, especially the work of Masaccio and Gentile da Fabriano. (Sterling, “Jan van Eyck avant 1432,” pp. 33–34.)


“Ladicte infante de Portugal avoit, par dessus sa vesture, ung riche manteau fendu aux deux costés, ung chapperon en gorgue de velours bleu, et, dessus, ung chappel de Brabant, brochié d’or; et cuidoient aucun que se fust ung chevalier.”
“Schon die Haube scheint dieselbe, auch der hohe Gürtel und Pelzkränz um den Ausschnitt sind ähnlich, sogar das ländliche Antlitz mit der langen Nase, den hohen Brauen und dem kleinen Mund, endlich die langen, eleganten Hände.”


Dhanens does not discuss the relationship between the sibyl on the exterior of the altarpiece and the portrait drawing. She does not agree that the drawing reproduces the lost Van Eyck (p. 133).

16There is a replica in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, which unfortunately, I have not seen.
The same portrait may also be found in the form of a manuscript illumination (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique. III 878c, p. 33), reproduced by Dhanens. (Dhanens, Hubert and Jan van Eyck, fig. 85.) See fig. 11.


18Ibid.


20Beaulieu and Baylé, Le Costume en Bourgogne, p. 85, pl. VI.

21Michel places the artist “in contact with” the atelier of Rogier van der Weyden. (Michel, Peintures Flamands du XVe et du XVIe siècle, p. 106.

22The painting was sold in the Nieuwenhuys Sale in 1883 as a work by Jan van Eyck. It subsequently belonged to the Rothschild Collection, and was then in the Rockefeller Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art before it was recently acquired by the Getty Museum.

23Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 293.

24Beaulieu and Baylé describe a necklace which was popular in the mid fifteenth century, that was formed of a thin thread of metal, strung with some precious stones or pearls, and that bore a small reliquary concealed under the clothing. Perhaps this is what Isabelle wears. (Beaulieu and Baylé, Le Costume en Bourgogne, p. 106.
25Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 293.

26Ibid.


29Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 293 note 4.

30For a summary of Isabelle’s career and personal life see: C. Looten, “Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne et comtesse de Flandre 1397–1471,” Revue de literature comparée 18(1938): 5–22.
CHAPTER IV

A FULL-LENGTH DOUBLE PORTRAIT

PHILIPPE AND ISABELLE

There is only one extant full-length portrait of Philippe le Bon and Isabelle de Portugal, although originally there must have been several. The surviving example is a full page illumination in a “Chronique de Flandre” that was once in the library of Lord Ashburnam, acquired by Rudolphe Kann in 1901 (fig. 16). It was published the following year by De Loisne.¹ The chronicle was written in old Flemish, by an anonymous author, in 1495, covering the years 1420–1477.² There are a few illustrations, heightened with watercolor. That on folio 22 r⁰ depicts Philippe and Isabelle, identifiable, not by their features, but only by their arms and devices.

The Duke and Duchess are shown standing beneath a ribbed vault, behind a pointed arch, in what seems to be one bay of a covered portico. The space and the tiled floor are continuous on each side. Behind these figures there are five arched openings above a balustrade, beyond which the landscape unfolds with its city and castles. In the upper corners of the illustration we find the arms of Portugal, and those of Philippe as they appeared in the year 1430. Above the arms are words from the heraldic device taken by Philippe on the occasion of the wedding: “Aultre naray dame Isabeau tant que je vive.” By 1495, the date of the chronicle, it was recognized that Philippe’s arms were usually accompanied only by the words “Aultre naray,” while Isabelle seems to have taken the “Tant que je vive” as her own, and they are placed here accordingly.³

Both Philippe and Isabelle are dressed in special costumes. De Loisne describes the Duke’s dress as that of the grand master of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He does wear the fur-lined scarlet robe and the chaperon of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, but not yet the mantle with its decorative border that would be added later.⁴ The pendant Golden Fleece is
worn with a gold collar comprised of the repeated flint and steel motif. His scarlet chaperon, with a long tail pulled across the front, is decorated with a gold fleur-de-lis. To Philippe’s right stands Isabelle, her hand in his. She wears a “cotte” trimmed with ermine, and a “surcot” of golden cloth, also trimmed with ermine. These garments, somewhat old-fashioned by Isabelle’s time, had come to be worn as the “official” dress of the French queens and duchesses. In addition, she wears a scarlet mantle and a golden fleur-de-lis crown set above her very high forehead, from which her long hair is allowed to flow freely. The mantle is held with gold clasps, and a golden girdle with a long pendant is set upon the hips. She wears a rather heavy, elaborate necklace. Her costume is similar to that worn by a woman in a 1477 “Chronique de Flandre” in the Bruges Bibliotheque (ms. 437, folio 395; fig. 17), which Beaulieu and Baylé use to illustrate the costume of betrothal, the wedding dress worn by princesses until the sixteenth century. They also note that women discontinued wearing crowns in the fifteenth century, except on the occasion of their weddings, when the crown was worn over the loose, flowing hair, as we see in this portrait of Isabelle. The marriage costume proves the early form of Philippe’s arms and the independent Portuguese arms of Isabelle to be appropriate.

Could there have been an earlier painting, from the time of the marriage in 1430, that served as an inspiration for this illustration of 1495? Noting the ascendancy of panel painting over manuscript illumination in the fifteenth century, it does seem reasonable to question whether the artist of this manuscript, working in 1495, may have taken his idea from some earlier source. Jan van Eyck, the Duke’s favored painter, who executed the fine double portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife, Giovanna Cenami, would have been the one most likely to be entrusted with painting a portrait contemporary with the wedding. Two paintings designed by Van Eyck are somewhat similar in their use of architecture, the Jan Vos Madonna and the Maelbeke Madonna (figs. 18, 19). In each painting the figures stand in an arcaded setting that extends beyond the confines of the frame. The Maelbeke
Madonna is similar in that the vaults are visible above. The Jan Vos Madonna also resembles the illumination in that the arcaded openings behind are elevated by a parapet.

The character of the "Chronique de Flandre" portrait differs from Van Eyck's depiction of Arnolfini and his wife, which he intended to serve as more than just a careful representation of two individuals. The latter was also to be a document of the event itself, their personal exchange of marriage vows. The portrait of Philippe and Isabelle seems to have been meant more for public display, an official state portrait rather than the record of a particular moment or event. The primary concern of the artist was to present a formal image of the ducal couple, richly attired in their wedding costumes, and fully identified by their arms and devices.

On folio 243 r° of the "Chronique de Flandre" manuscript the artist presents the figures of Charles le Temeraire and Margaret of York before a similar architectural and landscape setting, also accompanied by their arms and mottoes, and dressed in their wedding attire(fig. 20). Perhaps both manuscript illuminations were taken from earlier paintings. That of Philippe and Isabelle could have been painted at the time of the wedding, and have served as an inspiration for the later portrait of Charles and Margaret. Such a repetition of innovative or popular compositions was common in the fifteenth century.

Also quite popular were continuing series of dynastic images which were found in the sculptural decorations on the facades of town halls, or as wall paintings decorating the interiors of various structures. Two relatively contemporary examples in painted form are known from the documents. One series was painted in the town hall of Ghent. It was begun in 1419/20 by Jan Martins and Willem van Axpoele and continued in 1431/32 by Jan Martins. Here full-length portraits of the counts of Flanders, some with their wives, were represented within niches. This decoration was destroyed in 1519–20. Edmond de Busscher noted that the Ghent paintings were to imitate a series made in Courtrai, fragments of which were discovered under a layer of whitewash in the mid nineteenth century(fig. 21). This
comprehensive series was probably begun at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It included those counts from before 1400, and was continued into the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{10} Perhaps a similar series, comprised of marriage portraits, could have decorated one of the ducal residences.

One other series suggests that Van Eyck was responsible for full-length portraits besides that of Arnolfini and his bride. Elizabeth Dhanens has noted some influence of Van Eyck in a panel with the counts and countesses of Flanders represented individually before rich suspended cloths of honor, which came from St. Peter's Abbey in Ghent (fig. 22).\textsuperscript{11} She has also suggested an Eyckian prototype for the double portrait of Angisel and Begga, duke and duchess of Brabant, published by A. Barlandus in his Ducum Brabantiae in 1600(fig. 23).\textsuperscript{12} It does not seem unreasonable then, to suggest that Jan van Eyck may have been responsible for beginning a series of wedding portraits that included one of Philippe and Isabelle, and served as a source for this late fifteenth century manuscript illumination.
NOTES


2 This anonymous author is represented kneeling before an image of Christ on the last page of the manuscript.

3 The words “Tant que je vive” are often found on a scroll intertwined with a “hortus conclusus,” a small circular fence with a closed gate that Isabelle seems to have chosen as a personal emblem, and her arms. See, for example, a foundation plaque from the Chartreuse of St. Margaret in Basel, to be discussed below (fig. 27), and a page from a manuscript of René d’Anjou’s “Mortuement de la Vaine Plaisance,” in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Ms. 10.308; fig. 26).


6 Beaulieu and Baylé, Le Costume en Bourgogne, p. 77, fig. 32, p. 111. The same costume is worn by St. Wautrude in her marriage scene from the “Chroniques du Hainaut” illustrated by Guillaume Vrelant (Bibl. roy. de Belgique, ms. 9243; fig. 24). The miniature is in the second volume of the manuscript, for which Vrelant was paid in 1467–68. (Comte Paul Durrieu, La miniature Flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (1415–1530) (Paris & Bruxelles: G. van Oest, Editeur, 1927), p. 52.) The features of St. Wautrude’s bridegroom are very similar to those of Philippe le Bon as depicted in his breviary (Bibl. roy. de Belgique, ms. 9511, fol. 398; fig. 25). Perhaps Vrelant has presented the Duke and Duchess in the guise of these seventh century figures.

7 Both paintings were left unfinished at Van Eyck’s death in 1441.


10 The series at Courtrai was painted in the Chapel of St. Catherine, or the Chapel of the Counts, in the Church of Notre Dame, within a series of sculpted Gothic style frames. Busscher, who wrote his book on Ghent painting in the 1850’s, described the chapel as it was at that time, and published a drawing made after the remnants of some of the earliest


12 Ibid., pp. 141–42.
CHAPTER V

DONOR PORTRAITS AND DEVOTIONAL PIECES

The following group of works containing representations of Isabelle de Portugal encompasses a number of different types. It includes a mural in Ghent, engraved brass plaques that commemorated religious foundations, a panel painting from Gosnay, manuscript illuminations, and a drawing after a lost work by Rogier van der Weyden. Each object depicts the kneeling figures of the Duke and Duchess before a devotional image or series of religious scenes, just as innumerable donors are found in contemporary altarpieces, plaques and manuscripts. The group as a whole is visually quite typical of fifteenth century Netherlandish art. In terms of purpose and patronage however, we will encounter some surprises.

The work for which we have the most information is a foundation plaque in the Historisches Museum, Basel, one of several made to accompany religious foundations of the Duke and Duchess. This brass plaque, the only one still extant, was discovered in 1735, attached to the north wall of the church of the Chartreuse du Val-Sainte-Marguerite in Basel. It measures 1.23 m. in height and 1.03 m. in width, and was originally set within a black marble frame, with which it was reunited in the nineteenth century. Some remnants of the polychrome decoration are found in the grooves of the engraving, in red, black, white, blue, and green. The plaque is divided into two sections, the lower part containing a lengthy Latin inscription describing the foundation, the upper, a devotional scene.

The subject of the upper portion is the Pietà, with the figures of the Madonna and Christ placed before the cross (fig. 27). Angels behind on either side hold instruments of the Passion, the crown of thorns and the lance. To our left kneels Philippe le Bon at his prayer stool, with his young son Charles behind him. Philippe is accompanied by St. Andrew, his chosen patron for the Order of the Golden Fleece. Behind these figures are Philippe's arms, surrounded by a collar of the order, and topped by his crest. His motto, "Aultre naray," is
inscribed on a curling scroll. To the right is Isabelle de Portugal, also kneeling at her prayer stool. The two young boys behind her, with crosses above their folded hands, represent the children born before Charles who did not survive: Anthoine, born September 30, 1430 (d. Feb. 5, 1431), and Josse, born April 24, 1432 (d. Aug. 21, 1432). Their arms, differentiated from Philippe's by the "lambel," are above. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, in nun's habit and holding her triple crown, stands behind the Duchess. To the right of St. Elizabeth, in the upper corner of the plaque, are Isabelle's arms, those of Portugal combined with those of Burgundy, within a "hortus conclusus," a small circular wooden fence with a closed gate, that Isabelle seems to have chosen as a personal emblem. Intertwined through the fence is a scroll with the words "Tant que je vive," encountered above, in the double portrait of Isabelle and Philippe. A decorative pattern of birds and pomegranates fills the remainder of the surface.

Both the Duke and Duchess are clothed in official dress, appropriate for their depiction on this foundation plaque. Philippe and Charles wear the Burgundian coat of arms, a short tunic with wide sleeves, split on the sides, decorated with the arms of Burgundy on the front, back, and each sleeve, and the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece over full armor. The "turtle neck" that we see only hints at a coat of mail beneath the tunic. Each has a short dagger at his right side. According to Beaulieu and Baylé the coat of arms was no longer worn in battle at this time, but was more a costume of ostentation. The armor must be part of the official dress for the Duke and his son. Isabelle wears a cotte and a surcot of a brocade fabric, and a plain mantle with a decorative border. The headpiece is a coiffure à cornes, with a shoulder length veil, that here, due to the medium, cannot reveal the "horns" beneath. Presented to us on this plaque is a "public image" of the ducal family. It tells us little of their physical appearance, but identifies them by their arms, mottoes, and patron saints, and by their official, recognizable costumes.

In the lower part of the plaque, the details of the foundation are described.
Isabelle donated 1700 “florins du Rhin,” apparently in several installments, which were to provide for the construction of two cells for monks, and all the furnishings for a chapel in which daily masses and prayers were to be said for the welfare of the souls of Isabelle, Philippe, and Charles, and in memory of Isabelle’s parents, the King and Queen of Portugal. The plaque provides the date, 1433. In March of that year the Burgundian embassy to the Council arrived in Basel, led by Jean Germain, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Quarré suggests that the Duchess profited from their presence at this time, to make the foundation at the Chartreuse of St. Marguerite, although the first mention doesn’t appear in the archives until 1438.  

Some items were donated as late as 1446.

Plaques also accompanied foundations made at the Chartreuse of Champmol, near Dijon, at Mont-Renaud, near Noyon, and at Val-Saint-Esprit in Gosnay, near Bethune. Pierre Quarré proposed that all of these plaques were identical, and were based on a painting, known through a seventeenth century copy in the Chateau of Montmirey (between Besancon and Dijon; fig. 28). He also believed that they were all produced at the same time, after the last foundation, of 1448, at Mont-Renaud. He argued further for a later date by comparing the treatment of the draperies to that of Rogier van der Weyden. Quarré attempted to determine the age of the young Charles in order to substantiate his date, but this does not seem possible. The figures of the deceased children certainly give no indication of their ages. Rather, all three are similar in appearance, especially in size.

Stylistically, the Basel plaque is similar to a less crowded, relatively contemporary plaque made for Marguerite d’Escornay, in order to commemorate a foundation made in 1461 (fig. 29). This is perhaps the strongest argument for a date in the mid century which Quarré introduces. Here the tile floor is repeated, and the background motifs are very similar, although simpler in the latter piece. Draperies and hair are treated in a similar fashion, as are the facial features. Perhaps they were made in the same workshop. The difference in quality may be due to the identities of the patrons in each case.
This type of devotional image, with the ducal family kneeling before the Pietà, is relatively rare. Donors are much more frequently shown before a Crucifixion or a seated Madonna and Child, as is Marguerite d’Escornay. Therefore, Quarre’s suggestion for a possible source is most provocative. He questions whether the Pietà could have been inspired by a sculpture group ordered by Philippe le Hardi in 1390 for the “Salle du Chapitre” at Champmol. It is recorded: “A Jehan le Grant, voitturier, pour le voitturaige d’un ymage de N. Dame laquelle tient embraci N.S., et de deux petis angeles, avec un lettery de fer pour mettre par l’orderance de mondit seigneur ou Chapitre desdiz Chartreux. - Quitt. du 4 août 1390.” Even if there was no direct relationship between the Champmol sculpture and the image on the plaque, the idea for the subject may have been taken from Philippe le Hardi’s earlier gift.

Outside of the subject, the Basel plaque is a fairly typical example of fifteenth century brass work, a popular medium not only for commemorating foundations, but for funerary markers as well. Its fine quality must reflect the status of the patron; the patrons shown here, not as recognizable individuals with carefully detailed features, but more as symbols of ducal authority and wealth.

Representations of Isabelle de Portugal are also found in manuscript illuminations, in a breviary made for Philippe le Bon. The manuscript, in two large volumes (Bibl. Roy. de Belgique, mss. 9511, 9026), is generally dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. Leroquais dated it more specifically to between 1430 and 1455, noting that Philippe is repeatedly shown wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in one full-page illustration he is shown kneeling before the order’s patron, St. Andrew. Most of the illuminations in the breviary are attributed to Guillaume Vrelant or his assistants, including those containing representations of Isabelle.

In one miniature, Philippe and Isabelle are shown kneeling on either side of a strangely empty cross, set in a carved base before a simple landscape (fig. 30). Other court
figures accompany them on each side. Philippe is dressed in a long black robe with a hood attached on the back, and wears the gold collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Isabelle is also outfitted in a black robe, with the V-neck, cuffs, and hem trimmed with ermine, and a wide sash drawn above the waist. The neckline is wide and low, leaving ample room to display a heavy gold necklace. Her headdress is a coiffure à cornes with a sheer veil. Two of the many figures behind them call our attention. The young man closest to Philippe, with his hands held apart, has been identified as the young Charles.\textsuperscript{14} He wears the collar of the Golden Fleece over his fur-trimmed scarlet tunic. The young woman closest to Isabelle is also dressed in scarlet. Her costume is very similar to that of the Duchess, although her headdress is a hennin (a truncated cone). She seems to wear the same heavy gold necklace as Isabelle. Perhaps this is Charles’ first wife, Catherine de France.

In the other illumination, the Duke and Duchess are depicted kneeling before an altar, on which the Blessed Sacrament is displayed in a monstrance(fig. 31). The same groups of attendant figures kneel behind them, and acolytes stand to each side of the altar. This scene is a little more intriguing. Rather than fold her hands before her as her husband, or as she does in the previous illustration, Isabelle seems to point towards the altar with her left hand. One may wonder if this is a representation of the Sacred Host given to Philippe in 1433 by Pope Eugenius IV, in its silver-gilt monstrance, donated by Isabelle in 1454. The monstrance was destroyed in the French Revolution, and is known only through reproductions (figs. 32, 33). The very general treatment of the monstrance in the breviary prevents one from identifying it surely, but the general shape is similar. If this is meant to represent the donated monstrance, the date of this illumination would have to be moved toward the later years proposed by Leroquais for this manuscript, circa 1454–55.

Stylistically, these miniatures are characteristic of mid-fifteenth century manuscript illumination, overshadowed by contemporary panel painting. The figures are rather summary and doll-like, and tell us little about the actual appearance of the individuals. The
settings are simplified backdrops for the figures depicted. The real interest in these devotional images is the subject matter. The empty cross is unusual, and leaves us baffled, wondering why the figure of Christ was not represented. The chapel scene is perhaps peculiar to the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, showing the precious relic given by the Pope.

Philippe le Bon and Isabelle de Portugal are again represented like donors, before the Nativity, in a somewhat problematic work discovered in 1854/55(fig. 34). The Nativity, an oil mural in the shape of a pointed arch, was discovered in the south end of the old butcher's market in Ghent, in the area once used as the guild chapel, under layers of white-wash. The painting is still in place, in the building erected in 1404, and used around the turn of the century as the post office and express office. The painting has suffered extensive damage, and to attempt its removal from the wall was considered far too dangerous. It was restored, first in 1856 by M. Felix Devigne, a Ghent archeological painter; in 1887 by a Frenchman, with less discretion; in 1899 by M. Th. Lybaert, and most recently in 1955. Henri Hymans, in 1900, claimed that despite the numerous restorations up to that point, the character of the portrait heads had been preserved. In 1913, Louis Maeterlinck published a reproduction of the original tracing made of the work in 1856 for the Commission des Monuments Belgique, conserved in the Bibliotheque de la Ville de Gand(fig. 35). The drawing shows much of the original composition, with the areas of heaviest damage in the point of the arch, and in the center along the bottom. This missing portion along the bottom also interrupted the inscription along its edge. Busscher must have compared it to contemporary inscriptions in order to fill in the missing words. He published it as complete in his book: "Dit heeft doen maken Jacop de Ketelboetere, intjaer ons Heeren alsmen schreef MCCCC ende XLVIII." This work is of special interest to us because of the slightly less than life-size figures who occupy the positions normally allotted to the donor and his family. We do not see Jacob de Ketelboetere, who was one of the noteworthy members of the guild of butchers and fish sellers, but rather, we find Duke Philippe le Bon, Duchess Isabelle de Portugal, their son, Charles, Count of Charolais, and another young man, identified by
Busscher as Adolphe de Cleves, although it is more likely his elder brother, Jean de Cleves, who succeeded their father as duke in 1448. The arms of all the figures are suspended above them, those of Philippe and Isabelle held by angels.

The ducal family occupies the immediate foreground of the Nativity mural. To the left are Philippe and Charles, both kneeling on large cushions with tassels. Before the Duke is his prayer stool, decorated with flint and steel motifs, and topped by an open book. Their hands are folded respectfully as they face inwards(fig. 36). Both wear the same costume as shown on the Basel plaque. At the right, behind Isabelle de Portugal, Jean de Cleves is dressed in the same manner, but wearing his own coat of arms(fig. 37). He does not yet wear the Golden Fleece, of which he was to become a member in 1451. Duchess Isabelle wears her preferred long, heavy, brocaded robe, with fur trim on the long sleeves and at the V-neckline. A darker gown is laced beneath. She wears a decorated coiffure à cornes with a sheer opaque veil that falls to her shoulders. Her prayer stool before her is decorated with the arms of Portugal, and bears an open book. If she enjoys a cushion, like the others, it is hidden beneath the voluminous folds of her robe.

The portrait of Isabelle in the Ghent Nativity could serve as proof, if proof were needed, of the identity of the woman painted by Rogier van der Weyden, and labeled "Persica Sibylla I". The two representations are very similar in dress, pose, and overall appearance. The drawing published by Maeterlinck shows no damage in the area of her face, but this does not prove that it has not been retouched. The general character of the face is recognizable however: the long nose, small mouth, and long neck, and the slenderness of the shoulders. If the artist did not sketch Isabelle himself, he must have had access to one of her better portraits, like Van der Weyden's, perhaps even in the chateau at Ghent.

Central in the composition, also towards the foreground, are two angels, hands folded, facing each other in profile. A third figure, with his back to the viewer, was extensively damaged, as one can see from the drawing(fig. 35), and has no wings. Busscher, the
first to discuss the painting, identified this figure as the donor. Louis Maeterlinck repeated this identification, even though both he and Henri Hymans corrected his mistaken explanation of the iconography. Such a pose would be extraordinary for a donor. The closest comparison is the Master of Flemalle’s Virgin in Glory in Aix-en-Provence, although in that painting the patron’s face is at least seen in profile. One would expect as much here if the donor chose to have himself represented at all. The similarity in appearance to the profile angels (especially in the hair), suggests instead that this figure, too, may have originally been an adoring angel.

This third angel looks into the Nativity group behind, where his gaze, and perhaps the viewer’s as well, is met by that of the Christ Child, lying on the ground, surrounded by golden rays. He is an active little child, much like those painted by Van der Weyden, although with more personality than his usually have. To the left the Virgin Mary kneels in adoration, dressed in a white mantle held by a brooch, with a blue gown beneath. Joseph kneels to the right, holding a very long taper in his right hand. The heads of both Mary and Joseph have been restored. Behind, facing frontally, and also kneeling, is a turbaned figure holding a long winding scroll. Scholars agree in identifying her as Salome, comparing her especially to the midwife in the Master of Flemalle’s Dijon Nativity. Much of the top part of the mural has been restored. In this area are depicted God the Father and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, in the clouds, with rays that extend to the holy figures below, and a shepherd boy coming down the right side of the hill. Balancing the shepherd on the left of the mount are the towers of a castle. The balance is completed by the arms of the four members of the ducal family, and the angels that support those of Philippe and Isabelle.

The painting is unusual in some respects. The composition of the Nativity is unlike the majority of those painted by Northern artists in that there is no shed to protect the figures. Instead, the group is arranged symmetrically on the side of a steep hill, which permits the artist to show all of the figures clearly, with little overlap, and gives the scene a hierarchi-
cal appearance, with the strictly earthbound figures at the base, and culminating at the apex of the triangle in God the Father. Maeterlinck compared the composition to that of the Ghent Altarpiece, in the vertical arrangement (fig. 38). In each, the landscape is tilted up somewhat, and the figures are grouped rather symmetrically. This artist does not attempt to present the foreground group in depth however. The height of the Holy Family is scarcely less than that of the ducal family, and the figures dwarf the hill. The sense of a distant castle beyond a high mount is lost when one notes the height of the shepherd, cutting the hill down to size. It is more of a backdrop, a foil for the figures, than a landscape.

There are other similarities to the Ghent Altarpiece. Antoine de Schryver noted that the art of Van Eyck, especially that of the Adoration of the Lamb, continued to be a major influence in Ghent for a long time. The treatment of the draperies in the figures of Mary, Joseph, and Duchess Isabelle show the importance of the style of Jan van Eyck. The weight of the material, and the bulk and many facets of the folds are similar to what one finds on the figure of the Virgin of the Annunciation from the exterior of the great altarpiece (fig. 39). The way in which the material of the mantle worn by the angel on the left in the mural tucks under the arm is very similar to the foreground pope in the central panel of the Van Eyck. Even the angel types seem to have been imitated by the Ghent artist (figs. 40, 34). The figure of Salome in the Nativity is taken from Van Eyck’s Cumaen sibyl, again on the exterior of the altarpiece (fig. 7). The costume has been changed slightly, and the hand gestures reversed, but the tilt of the head, and the features of the face are very similar. One can not help but wonder if the Ghent artist recognized that Van Eyck in turn was inspired by the appearance of Isabelle de Portugal. Even the golden rays descending from heaven in the Nativity find their precedent in the Ghent Altarpiece. This mural of 1448 serves as an example of the tremendous influence exercised by Ghent’s most cherished art treasure.

Although it shows strong stylistic similarities to the Ghent Altarpiece, the Nativity also shows an iconographic dependence on the Dijon Nativity by the Master of Flemalle
(fig. 41). The Ghent artist took the idea of including Salome from Robert Campin, and borrowed his figure type from Van Eyck. Also taken from the Dijon work is the burning candle held by St. Joseph, although the Ghent artist seems to have missed the significance of this motif, and neglects to have Joseph shield the candle with his hand. The great length of the taper in the Ghent mural may be due to the restorer’s hand. In both works the naked Christ Child is placed on the bare ground before His kneeling Mother, and is surrounded by golden rays of a supernatural light. Campin’s decorative fluttering scrolls probably inspired both the Ghent master and Jan van Eyck on the Ghent Altarpiece. The broken down shed of the Dijon Nativity has been rejected however, in favor of a more symbolic image with attentive donors, rather than Campin’s descriptive treatment of the narrative.

The artist responsible for the Ghent Nativity is not recorded, although Busscher suggested Nabur Martins, on the basis of available evidence. He noted personal encounters between Martins and Ketelboetere and suggested that they played some part in the patron’s choice of an artist.24 Busscher also cited a notice of some payments made in 1453, from the archives of the church of St. Martin in Ghent, which roughly translates: “Paid to the master painter Nabur Martins, for a painting that he executed in the chapel of Notre-Dame, in the genre of the painting made by him in the chapel of the grand butcher shop.”25 Martins is first recorded in Ghent in 1435 when he was registered as a master in the painter’s guild of that town. He was a popular, well-paid artist, as one can see in comparing contemporary accounts.26 He seems to have been most active in the decade of the 1440’s, painting a number of altarpieces, in and outside of Ghent, as well as wall paintings.27 Martins was commissioned by other guilds in Ghent as well. In 1443 he painted a Last Judgement for a member of the grocer’s guild, which was to be just like that which he made for the Hall of the Bakers in Ghent.28 Despite the wealth of documented commissions, we know of no other surviving works by this artist.

One of the most nagging questions posed by this painting concerns the lack of a
portrait of the donor. Why did Jacob de Ketelboetere choose to have the ducal family represented in this mural? Such an idea appears to be unprecedented. One would expect some political motive. Vaughan mentions the particular crisis of Philippe le Bon's reign, when in 1447, the continual tensions between the Duke and the town of Ghent turned into an actual war.\(^{29}\) The particular impetus at this time was the salt tax which Philippe tried to introduce. The town of Ghent, which had long enjoyed certain privileges, protested such a tax which would treat all of Flanders equally.\(^{30}\) The butcher's guild was one of the more loyal in Ghent, and Busscher tells us that they "did not take part with their usual energy in the insurrection of their fellow citizens."\(^{31}\) The painting must have been begun soon after the beginnings of the Ghent uprising in 1447, and would have been very timely. The chapel was consecrated on November 3, 1448, perhaps immediately upon completion of the mural.\(^{32}\) This commission may have been intended as proof that the butcher's guild remained loyal to the Duke, or even just as a reminder on the part of Ketelboetere to his fellow guild members. Perhaps it was an appeal to the Duke and Duchess for mercy, but they would not have seen it for some time. Cartellieri tells us that after the beginning of the war, Philippe le Bon did not enter the town of Ghent again until April of 1458.\(^{33}\)

The Duke and Duchess are represented in the guise of donors in another painting which they did not commission. It is a long, horizontal piece (67 x 147 cm.), divided into five sections by an arcade on very slender columns(fig. 42). Found in the church of Hesdigneul-les-Bêtune in Pas-de-Calais, it was originally from the monastery of Val-Saint-Esprit de Gosnay. Gosnay was the monastery not far from the Chateau of La Motte-aux-Bois, and it was here that Isabelle's body was kept for one year after her death, until Charles le Temeraire arranged to have the remains of Philippe and Isabelle transported to Dijon. According to De Loisne, a tomb monument was erected at Gosnay, in a chapel built with funds from a foundation made by the Duchess in 1435, and this painting was originally situated across from the monument.\(^{34}\)
The simple painted arcade divides the work into five sections, illustrating three events from the life of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and her Coronation. The Holy Spirit, to whom the monastery was dedicated, participates in all three events. They are flanked to right and left by the kneeling figures of the Duke and Duchess, accompanied by their patron saints. Each of the five scenes is independent in setting and viewpoint. In the spandrels are the arms of the feudal possessions of Philippe le Bon: Brabant, Lothier, Luxembourg, and Flanders.

The center scene is the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon Mary and the twelve apostles. The event takes place within a gothic vaulted interior, opened by lancet windows and, in the back, by a narrow portal decorated with sculpted figures. The figures are grouped around a central column that supports the vaults overhead and calls our attention to the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering at the top of the scene, surrounded by golden rays. The apostles gesture as if they are in the process of receiving the gifts of the Spirit, while the aged mother of Christ, next to the column, concentrates on her prayer book.

To the left of the Pentecost is a typical Northern Annunciation, set in a domestic interior with a barrel vaulted ceiling. On the wall to the right is a statue of Moses with the tablets of the Law, and before it, an extinguished candle, perhaps symbolizing that the Old Law will soon be superseded by the New. The shuttered window opens onto a view of a landscape, seemingly continuous with that accompanying the Duke, and an arched doorway behind the angel explains his entrance into this narrow room. The words of his greeting are written so that we can read them: "Ave gratia plena deus tecum." The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above the Virgin, again surrounded by golden rays. The lilies in the vase placed prominently in the foreground are a familiar iconographic detail of the Annunciation, symbolizing the Virgin's purity. This vaulted interior immediately calls to mind the Master of Flemalle's Werl Altarpiece(fig. 43), the ultimate source for this setting and for a number of intermediaries which are closer in date to this panel. The idea passed through the work of Rogier van
der Weyden, and was taken up by Dirk Bouts, in an *Annunciation* comparable to that on the Gosnay panel (fig. 44). The Gosnay representation is similar to that by Bouts in its placement of the Virgin in the near right, kneeling before her prayer book, placed on a stool, and in the angel who has just alighted, and has not yet folded his wings. Each angel holds a staff in his left hand, and is placed before an opening, which gives more plausibility to his entrance into the Virgin's chamber. Both enter from the left, and somewhat behind the Virgin, so that she turns from her prayer book in response. We will find the influence of Dirk Bouts and his school to be important for other aspects of the Gosnay painting as well.

In the scene to the right of the Pentecost we find the Coronation of the Virgin, with the entire Trinity participating in the event. The Father stands to the left, crowned with the papal tiara, wearing a bordered cope and holding the orb of the world. Christ stands to the right, a victorious figure, holding the cross in his left hand, and dressed only in a cloak over the loincloth that reminds us of the Passion. A rather matronly Virgin kneels in a frontal position between them. The entire group is enclosed within a mandorla set against a starry sky, and surrounded by angels. Two below play an organ and a harp, and those above hold a scroll with their music and sing. The mandorla is not a feature customarily found in Netherlandish painting, and the closest comparison that can be brought to this Coronation is a painting by the Master M.G., an artist in the circle of Dirk Bouts (fig. 45), although here the mandorla serves more as a halo for the Virgin than as a setting for the whole group.

In the far left section, according to De Loisne, is Philippe le Bon, kneeling with hands folded, before his prayer stool, accompanied by St. Andrew. The arms of Burgundy are suspended above. In the distant background is the town of Gosnay. The Duke wears a long black robe and the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He is quite youthful in appearance.

To the far right is Isabelle de Portugal, also kneeling before her prayer stool. She is accompanied by St. Elizabeth, who is given two, rather than the customary three crowns, by
this artist, perhaps because of a lack of familiarity with the iconography. Above we see the hortus conclusus around Isabelle’s arms, and a scroll with the words “Tant que je vive,” and the date, 1500. Behind her is the Chartreuse of Mont Sainte-Marie near the Chateau of Gosnay, set into a rich landscape. Isabelle is dressed in a long, black, V-necked robe, with a wide sash below the bodice, a mantle trimmed with the gold towers of the arms of Portugal, and a white wimple of a heavy cloth that extends over her shoulders and is drawn together under the chin. She appears to be an old woman, and one would guess that this represents her as she appeared in the last decade of her life (She died in 1471 at the age of 74.).

The obvious age and concern with realism that one finds in Isabelle’s portrait calls into question De Loisne’s identification of the ducal figure. It seems unlikely that the artist would have been so careful with the image of the aged Duchess, and would not have done the same for her spouse. In fact, the Duke represented at left does not appear to be Philippe at all, but resembles his son, Charles. If one compares their portraits, both after originals by Van der Weyden, the difference is clear(figs. 46, 47). Despite his conquests, Charles’ arms remained identical to his father’s, and the lack of the words “Aultre naray” next to the arms is worth noting. Charles is normally shown with either St. Andrew or St. George, both patrons of the Burgundian House and the Order of the Golden Fleece chosen by his father. As noted above, the painting originally was situated across from Isabelle’s monument in the chapel at the Chartreuse of Gosnay. One would expect Charles to have been responsible for this program, and yet we must explain the date of 1500 given on the scroll above the Duchess. Perhaps his plans, including this painting, were not completed by his death in 1477, and were only brought to completion later by another interested party. It may be that the panel was commissioned by some younger family member, or even as De Loisne suggested, it could have been ordered by the monastery in order to perpetuate the memory of its benefactors.37 Without additional information we can offer no sure explanation for this unusual juxtaposition of the portraits of mother and son, but must leave it for another investigation.
This image of the aged Isabelle is the first realistic portrait that we have seen of her since the individual representations of the 1440’s by Van der Weyden and the Portuguese master. It may have been based on an individual portrait that also served as the source for a drawing. In a sketchbook of drawings made by Antoine de Succa, one is identified as Isabelle de Portugal(fig. 48). It was executed in pencil, with some touches of pen in the clothing. Succa copied the portrait of the Duchess from an unknown source, perhaps a panel, in the collection of Denis de Villers, a scholar and collector in Tournai. The date of Succa’s visit is recorded on the page with Isabelle’s portrait: December 5, 1601.38 Comblen-Sonkes and Bergen-Pantens recognized the strong resemblance between this drawing and the altarpiece from Gosnay.39 In the drawing Isabelle is shown in a bit over half-length, three-quarter view, wearing a heavy V-necked robe with a sash, and a wimple that covers the shoulders and is drawn under the chin. The features have a rather heavy look. Her hands are not drawn clearly, but would be folded. The hands in the Gosnay portrait are similarly unclear. Both may have been taken from the same source, a portrait found in 1601 in the collection of De Villers. The details between the two are not exact. The arms in the drawing are held low, the sash is somewhat narrower, and the mantle is missing. However, such differences are minor in view of the similarities. It is very likely that one portrait served as the source for both the Gosnay panel and the Succa drawing.

Stylistically, the painting fits well into the fourth decade of the fifteenth century, and relates to the legacy of Dirk Bouts, especially as one sees in the works attributed to his sons, Dirk Bouts the Younger, and Aelbrecht(d. 1549). The influence of Bouts’ use of the vaulted interior for the Annunciation was noted above. A comparison of the Gosnay painting with Aelbrecht’s Assumption Altarpiece in Brussels reveals similarities in the treatment of the landscapes and especially in the figure types(fig. 49). Each landscape is composed of overlapping rounded hills and winding roads, with periodic clumps of trees, and a sky that lightens considerably towards the horizon. The facial types of Mary and Christ are especially close to
those of Aelbrecht Bouts. The dark eyes, sunken cheeks, and short dark beard characteristic
of Bouts' Christ figures are repeated by this later artist. Like the apostles painted by Bouts,
those in the Gosnay Pentecost scene are scarcely individualized. There seems to be a family
resemblance among many of them. Perhaps even this mandorla in the Assumption was the
source for the Gosnay Coronation. These similarities suggest that our artist may have been
trained in the shop of the Bouts family in Louvain.

Another drawing serves as our only visual record of a lost altarpiece by Rogier van
der Weyden(fig. 50). It was published by J. de Figueiredo in 1913. The drawing is one page
of an album, which he attributed to a Portuguese painter, Domingos Antonio de Sequeira
(1768–1837).40 The drawing presents a central Madonna on an elaborate stepped and
canopied throne, in an interior with windows in the rear wall, and doorways to each side.
The Madonna supports the Christ Child who stands rather weakly on her lap. To the left of
the Virgin is the donor, kneeling with hands folded before his prayer stool, on which is
placed an open book. He is richly attired in a brocade robe with a high collar, open to the
waist, which reveals the recognizable curve of the golden fleece suspended from a chain.
Behind him kneels a young man, the donor's son. He wears a similar garment, although
closed and perhaps of shorter length. There is again just the suggestion of the pendant golden
fleece and a collar around his neck. Their arms unfortunately, were not copied by Sequeira.
To the right we find the donatrice, likewise shown kneeling before an open prayer book, with
her hands folded. Behind her is a little dog. Her costume is familiar. She wears a long robe,
opened into a V-neckline, and trimmed with fur at the collar and the sleeves. Her headpiece is
a coiffure à cornes with a transparent veil. Above, before a square shaped area, perhaps the
shutter of a window, her arms are suspended. Figueiredo claimed that he could distinguish
the arms of Isabelle de Portugal, although reproductions of this drawing do not make the
suggestion convincing. Other aspects of the drawing make the identification of the donors as
the Burgundian ducal family more plausible.
The drawing is one of several leaves dedicated to the monastery of Notre-Dame de la Victoire in Batalha, and the drawing itself is labeled "à Bataille" at the bottom (not visible in the reproduction). The monastery at Batalha was founded by Isabelle de Portugal’s father, João I, and housed his tomb. The monument for her brother, Fernando, the "Martyr of Fez" (d. 1433), was also there; and in 1455 the duchess of Burgundy’s niece, Isabel, then Queen of Portugal, persuaded her husband, Afonso V, to inter the body of her father, Dom Pedro, in the founder’s chapel.

The Centre National de Recherches Primitifs Flamands studied this drawing in relation to extant paintings and drawings after lost works by Rogier van der Weyden, noting similarities in the placement and proportions of the figures and in the Madonna and Child group, and concluded that the original on which Sequeira based his drawing may quite possibly have been painted by Van der Weyden. The close relationship between the female donor and Rogier’s portrait of Isabelle is especially convincing (fig. 12). She may even wear the same necklace.

The possible attribution of the lost painting to Rogier van der Weyden, the similarity of the donatrice to the "Persica Sibylla" portrait, and the association of the Portuguese royal family with the monastery of Batalha leave little doubt that the painting was commissioned by Isabelle de Portugal. It is the only example we have, other than the foundation plaques, of a devotional image with accompanying donors that was actually commissioned by the ducal family. In view of the numerous foundations made by Philippe and Isabelle, the popularity of such devotional images, and the liberal patronage of members of the Burgundian court (such as Nicolas Rolin), we would expect many such altarpieces to have been commissioned by the Duke and Duchess, but we can only wonder how many may have been lost through time.

Visually, this group of devotional and donor portraits is quite representative of fifteenth century Northern art. The Basel plaque, although of high quality, is similar to con-
temporary works. It was used for a customary commemorative purpose, and depicts the donors on either side of the sacred figures, in the same space, but set apart by their prayer stools and patron saints. The portraits are formal, showing greater interest in costume, arms, and devices than in naturalistic representation. The Pietà as the subject of their devotion is not common, but may be explained by noting that the Champmol foundation was contemporary with that at Basel, the earliest of the known group of foundations made by Isabelle. The image may have been inspired by the sculpture group ordered for Champmol by Philippe le Hardi, perhaps making the scene a bit more personal. We find a similar lack of naturalism in the manuscript illuminations, due in part to the small size of the illustrations, and in part to the possibility that a lesser artist than Vrelant was responsible for them. Genuine portraiture however, like one finds in the dedication miniature in the Chroniques de Hainaut (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. de Belgique), by Rogier van der Weyden was unusual in manuscripts.

The three remaining paintings, the Ghent Nativity, the panel from Gosnay, and the lost Van der Weyden, all present us with more convincing, more carefully observed portraits. In each, we find Isabelle depicted with such concern for truth, that the representations can be linked with individual portraits. All are quite common in format, with the donors kneeling at their prayer stools, with male and female to either side of the sacred image. The Van der Weyden altarpiece would have been the most typical, presenting us with the portraits of those who commissioned the work. The Gosnay and Ghent paintings, however, are unusual, in that the “donors” represented in devotion before the religious scene were not those who paid for the works at all. We seem to have encountered a special genre: works commissioned in order to pay tribute to the ducal family.

All of these works present a now familiar type for Isabelle de Portugal. Her costume is the favored coiffure à cornes headpiece, and most often the high-waisted, V-necked robe. Some works also provide new iconographical information, that assists us in identifying her when the portraits themselves do not. We recognize her arms, those of Burgundy on the
left, and those of Portugal on the right side of the shield, her motto, “Tant que je vive,” her personal emblem, the hortus conclusus, and her patron saint, Elizabeth of Thuringia, known by her triple crown and her nun's habit.
NOTES

1Quarré identifies the three crowns as those of Hungary, Thuringia and Hesse. (Pierre Quarré, “Plaques de fondations d’Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne, aux Chartreuses de Bâle et de Champmoi-les-Dijon,” Basel - Historisches Museum. Jahresberichte und Rechnungen, 1959, p. 32.)


Edwin Hall and Horst Uhr have more recently noted the popular interpretations of Elizabeth’s life in biographies written shortly after her death, in which she is awarded the triple crown, or reward, for her holiness in life as wife, widow, and virgin. It was commonly believed that St. Elizabeth married against her will, thus preserving her virginity in her intentions. After the early death of her husband, the margrave of Thuringia, as he was setting out on crusade in 1227, she lived the ascetic life of St. Francis, giving her wealth to the poor. Isabelle de Portugal also chose the austerity of the life of the Franciscans. It was her will to be buried in the rough cloth of that order. (Edwin Hall and Horst Uhr, “Aureola and Fructus: Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting,” Art Bulletin 60(1978): 252.)

Stückelberg noted that Philippe le Bon was a direct descendent of this St. Elizabeth. (E.A. Stückelberg, “Das Wappen der Mutter Karls des Kühnen,” Archives Héraldiques Suisses 15(1901): 42.)

2Tervarent surveys the various possible meanings or purposes of the hortus conclusus, and concludes that this fence is most likely a personal emblem of the Duchess, which, in combination with her motto “Tant que je vive,” suggests a spirit of “conjugal fidelity.” (G. de Schouteet de Tervarent, “Un souvenir de l’époque bourguignonne,” Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art 28(1959): 83.)

They wear an enclosed “cuisson” on the legs, and the “solerets” with spurs. The arms are enclosed in “coudieres.” (Michele Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), p. 164 fig. 71c, p. 161 fig. 66, p. 157.)

For a more thorough description of the coat of arms see: Beaulieu and Baylé, pp. 174–76.

Pierre Quarré notes that the Burgundian arms on Charles’ tabard are differentiated from his father’s by the “lambel,” a detail that one can not see in any illustration. (Quarré, “Plaques de fondations d’Isabelle de Portugal,” p. 32.)

Beaulieu and Baylé, Le costume en Bourgogne, p. 176.

As noted above, this costume was out of fashion by the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and had come to be worn only as an official costume. (Ibid., p. 76.)

Quarré, “Plaques de fondations d’Isabelle de Portugal,” p. 30.

The foundation at Champmol was made in 1433. The plaque, of the same dimensions as that at Basel, was once located on the north wall, near the main altar of the chapel.
Although the plaque itself was lost in 1792, the text is still preserved, and the accompanying devotional image is known by a drawing made in the eighteenth century by J.P. Gilquin, and reproduced by Quarré. (Quarré, “Plaques de fondations d’Isabelle de Portugal,” pp. 30, 34.)

For details of the foundation see: Cyprien Monget, La Chartreuse de Dijon après les documents des archives de Bourgogne (Montreuil-sur-Mer: Imprimerie Notre Dame des Près, 1898), vol. 2, pp. 92–96.

Another plaque, once in the cloister of the Chartreuse of Mont-Renaud commemorated a foundation of 1448. It is known only through a drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cabinet des Estampes, Ob. 10, folio 30), from the collection of Roger de Gaignières. It was reproduced by Bernard de Montfaucon. (Montfaucon, Les monumen de la monarchie françoise, qui comprenent l’histoire de France, avec les figures de chaque regne que l’injure des tems à epargnées (Paris: J.M. Gandouin, 1729–1733), vol. 3, pl. XLIX.)

One other plaque, of which nothing remains, was placed on the north wall of the Chartreuse of Val-Saint-Esprit de Gosnay, commemorating a foundation made by the Duchess in 1435.

8Quarré, “Plaques de fondations d’Isabelle de Portugal,” pp. 35–36.

9Ibid., p. 37.

10Ibid., p. 35.

11Monget, La Chartreuse de Dijon, vol. 1, p. 213.

12Abbé V. Leroquais, La Breviare de Philippe le Bon (Bruxelles: Oeuvre Nationale pour la reproduction de manuscrits a miniatures de Belgique, 1929), p. 137.

13The Tree of Jesse, the Nativity, and perhaps the Resurrection are attributed to another hand by Leroquais, and Winkler proposes that Jean le Tavernier had some part in the decoration of this manuscript. (Ibid., pp. 9, 10, 150.)

14Ibid.

15Henri Hymans, “Correspondence de Belgique,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts 23 (1900): 246.


17Edmond de Busscher, Recherches sur les peintres gantois des XIVe et XVe siècles (Gand: Chez L. Hebbelynck, 1859), p. 17.

18His identification rests primarily on the friendship of young Charles and Adolphe. (Ibid., p. 36.)

For the identification of this figure as Jean de Cleves, see the Appendix.

19Ibid., p. 27.

de Flémalle," p. 57.


22 Maeterlinck, "Le 'Maitre de Flémalle'," p. 56.
Maeterlinck noted the strong relationship to the Ghent Altarpiece, and called the artist a student or follower of Hubert van Eyck. However, he noted some similarities to the Master of Flemalle (mostly iconographic), identified the artist of the mural as the Master of Flemalle, and then used the work to attempt to show that he was a Ghent artist (Nabur Martins). (Maeterlinck, *Une ecole meconnue, Nabur Martins ou le Maitre de Flémalle* (Brussels & Paris: G. van Òest & Oie, Editeurs, 1913).


25 "An den scildere meester Nabur Martins voer eenre scildere dwelcke hi in Onser-Vrouwe cappelle ghemaect heeft, naer den eesch van den wercke, ghelic hi ghemaect hevet nder cappellen van den groeten vleeschuuse . . ." (Ibid., p. 76.)

26 Ibid., p. 55.

27 Martins also worked for the Duke of Burgundy, painting coats of arms and other decorations. Between 1443 and 1446 he executed paintings of St. Andrew and St. Philip for the Chateau of Ten Walle in Ghent. He also made cartoons for stained glass windows, one of which depicted Saints George and Andrew, patron saints of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

28 Maeterlinck summarizes the commissions of Nabur Martins in his monograph on the artist. (Maeterlinck, *Une ecole meconnue, Nabur Martins ou le Maitre de Flémalle.*)


31 "... les boucbers ne prirent point part avec leur energie habituelle a l'insurrection de leurs concitoyens," (Busscher, *Recherches sur les peintres gantois*, p. 35.

32 The chapel was dedicated to Saints Hubert and Anthony, and was consecrated on November 3, 1448 by the Bishop of Tournai, Jehan Chevrot, and by the Abbot of St. Pierre, Philippe Courault de Polignac. (Ibid., pp. 13–14.)


The Annunciation is one scene of an altarpiece in the Museo del Prado, Madrid. Bouts also borrowed from Rogier's Mary Altarpiece and St. John Altarpiece the use of decorated portals as frames, although he does not fully grasp their significance as used by Van der Weyden, and described by Karl Birkmeyer. (Karl M. Birkmeyer, “The Arch Motif in Netherlandish Painting of the Fifteenth Century,” The Art Bulletin 43(1961): 1–20, 99–112.) The artist of the Gosnay painting is further removed from both Roger and Bouts, and has not taken up this use of the arch motif.


Ibid., p. 53.

De Loisne gives a summary of the various donations made by Philippe and Isabelle. Recall especially that there was once a foundation plaque on the north wall of the church, similar to that from Basel.

Considering the new suggestion for the identification of the Duke, it seems that a further search through the Gosnay monastery archives is necessary in order to determine what role Charles may have had in the history of this painting.

Micheline Comblen-Sonkes and Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens, Memoriaux d'Antoine de Suca (Bruxelles: Bibliotheque Royale Albert Ier, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 95, 97.

Ibid., p. 97.


The drawing is folio 46 of an album of 61 pages made with lead pencil and white parchment, no. 3125 in the inventory of drawings in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. It was acquired by the Museum in 1913 from the library of King Don Carlos, in the Palais des Necessidades.

This information was made available to the Centre National de Recherches Primitifs Flamands, in a letter from Maria Alice Beaumont of the Museu Nacional in Lisbon, dated February 13, 1965.

Sequeira also noted the dimensions of the work he copied: approx. 1 m. in height x 1.8 m. in width.


Figueiredo also noted that the presence of a painting by Rogier at Batalha would help to explain his influence on the Portuguese artist Nuno Goncalves. Sonkes, Dessins du XVe siècle, p. 112.
Perhaps the portrait of Isabelle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, attributed to a Portuguese artist, could have been painted after this altarpiece, rather than directly from Rogier's individual portrait.
CONCLUSION

Isabelle de Portugal's reign as duchess of Burgundy coincided with the most creative decades in painting of the fifteenth century, spanning the careers of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and their followers. A survey of the extant portraits of Isabelle not only provides information concerning her physical appearance and attributes, but also serves as a summary of traditions and contemporary innovations in Northern portraiture.

From the time of Charles V of France into the fifteenth century, we note a growing preoccupation with the naturalistic portrait, and with portraiture for its own sake. As the emphasis shifted from manuscript illumination to panel painting, we find that portraits moved out of the realm of narrative and devotional pieces to independent works. It was especially during the reign of Philippe le Bon that the number of individual portraits increased radically, due in some measure to the Duke's great patronage, and to the brilliant artistic personality in his employ, Jan van Eyck. We progress from having no extant independent portraits of Marguerite de Flandre, Marguerite de Baviere, or Philippe's previous wives, to finding a comparably large number for Isabelle de Portugal. Surely it was a great step ahead for the genre of portraiture when Philippe commissioned Van Eyck to paint the image of his prospective bride; and the portrait itself showed a significant advance, in the creation of a separate space for the sitter. The common portrait type represented by the Louvre panel, bust length and rather reserved, was rejected by both Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden in favor of a half-length, more three-dimensional, realistic image which reveals personality through pose, gesture and expression. All of the individual portraits served as prototypes for numerous replicas, and as sources for donor portraits, such as those found in the Ghent Nativity or the lost Van der Weyden altarpiece.

Jan van Eyck was again the innovator in the genre of the full-length double portrait. Although such a format was not new (there are several in the series at Courtrai), it was Van Eyck who was the first to position the two figures within a personal setting, a natural
environment, rather than before an abstract background. He does this very skillfully in the Arnolfini marriage portrait, and may have done so earlier for the Duke and Duchess, in a portrait that would have inspired the "Chronique de Flandre" illumination.

Donor portraits had a long tradition in Northern art, and the way in which Isabelle is represented when shown as a donor is fairly typical. She is shown kneeling to one side of the religious images, often before her prayer stool. In all of the public pieces she is clearly set apart from the religious figures, not only by the prayer stool, but by her costume and her arms. The most intimate scenes are those which are found in manuscript illuminations, although the examples from Philippe’s breviary are further differentiated by the fact that the Duke and Duchess are shown in strictly earthbound situations, kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament in a chapel, or before a cross erected in a landscape. Two works did vary from the norm, in that members of the ducal family were represented as the donors, although not responsible for the commissions, in order that the actual patrons might pay tribute to the Duke and Duchess.¹

Two common uses of portraiture have no surviving examples among the representations of Isabelle de Portugal. Her tomb effigy was destroyed in the late eighteenth century, and we know nothing of its appearance. Presentation portraits are the second genre of which we have no examples. It comes as quite a surprise, when we consider Willard’s suggestion that Isabelle was responsible for such a large number of manuscripts. There are numerous portraits of Philippe le Bon, and a sizeable number of Charles, but none of the Duchess. We must assume that when she did order translations and illuminations, she did so on behalf of her husband and her son, rarely for her own use, and of course, that some portraits may have been lost.

The numerous representations that we do have of Isabelle de Portugal have provided us with enough information to enable us to recognize the Duchess if additional portraits are discovered. Her coat of arms is parted down the middle, with those of Burgundy on the left,
and those of Portugal on the right. Her motto, "Tant que je vive," is sometimes found intertwined with a hortus conclusus, perhaps emphasizing the idea of conjugal fidelity. St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, an ancestor of Philippe le Bon, known by her nun’s habit and crowns, was Isabelle’s patron saint, and is shown accompanying her on the foundation plaque, and the Gosnay panel. We note two costumes for the Duchess, the more official, ceremonial cotte and surcot, and the more common V-necked, fur-trimmed robe. She was depicted in a number of elaborate headpieces which concealed all of her hair, although she apparently developed a long-lasting preference for the coiffure à cornes. Most of the portraits show her wearing some kind of necklace, sometimes rings, but rarely the same in two or more works. This richness of her attire was rejected after she retreated to La Motte-aux-Bois, and her late portraits show a much plainer figure.

Those portraits that depict Isabelle realistically present us with some recognizable physical characteristics: a rather long face with a prominent nose, small eyes, ears and mouth, with a somewhat pronounced lower lip. She is most frequently shown with a pleasant, good-natured personality, alert and self-confident, yet never too aggressive. The artists present an agreeable image, one that we feel we can trust, in view of the fifteenth century passion for realism, and one which fits with what we know of the woman herself. Her primary concern, behind all of her actions, seems to have been a desire for peace, and the prosperity of the Burgundian state.
NOTES

1 This idea appears to be unprecedented. In earlier cases when portraits of rulers were included, that of the patron himself was as well. For example, Cardinal Jean de La Grange included the portraits of Charles V and Charles VI on the Beau Pilier at Amiens and as part of his tomb decoration in St. Martial, Avignon. In both cases however, these portraits were subservient to an entire iconographic program that included the portrait of La Grange himself. I have found no comparable example in painting.
APPENDIX

Although the young man who joins the ducal family in the Ghent Nativity could conceivably be identified as either Adolphe or Jean de Cleves, the latter identification seems more plausible, in view of the contemporary political situation. The arms of this figure are divided vertically, with those of Cleves on the left and De la Marck on the right. The whole is then differentiated from his father’s arms by the “lambel.” Busscher interpreted the lambel to be an indication of the representation of a younger son. In the heraldry handbooks of both Rietstap and Neubacker, the authors state that the lambel, or label, serves to designate the eldest son. Woodward, however, notes that there are numerous instances where the label is born by the second son also, and doubts that there was ever a definite system by which the degree of filiation was indicated. We seem to be faced with two possible identifications for this figure. He could be either the younger Adolphe, or his elder brother Jean, who succeeded his father as duke in 1448. Both were very close to the Burgundian court, having been raised there. They were Philippe le Bon’s nephews, the sons of Adolphe Ier de Cleves and Philippe’s sister, Marie. Both nephews had “Burgundian” wives. Adolphe first married Isabelle’s niece, Beatriz (daughter of Dom Pedro), in 1453, and in 1470 was wed to Anne de Bourgogne, a bastard daughter of Philippe. Jean married Isabelle d’Etampes in 1456. Both were also made knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Jean, as the eldest nephew, would have been next in line to the rule of Burgundy after Charles, and thus to the County of Flanders. Just as important perhaps, Vaughan mentions that Jean de Cleves was a very close friend of Philippe le Bon. Cleves was always faithful in assisting the Duke of Burgundy in his battles, and in 1452 Jean campaigned against Ghent with Philippe le Bon. The younger Adolphe was not particularly significant until the reign of Charles le Temeraire, but, in the eyes of Ghent, Jean de Cleves must have been important enough to be included with the Burgundian ducal family.
NOTES

1 Rietstap describes the arms of the Dukes of Cleves and De la Marck:
Cleves: “De gueules a un ecusson d’argent en abime, et une escurboucle fleurdelisée d’or,
branchant sur le tout; ... Cimier: une tete et col de boeuf de gueules, accornée
d’argent, couronné d’or, le cercle de la couronne echiquete d’argent et de gueules.”
De la Marck: “Sur le tout d’or a la fasce echiquete d’argent et de gueules de trois tires.”
p. 152.)

2 Ibid., p. xxiv.
Ottfried Neubecker, Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning (New York:

3 John Woodward and George Burnett, Woodward’s A Treatise on Heraldry British
Note that each of the first two sons of Philippe and Isabelle is accompanied by
the arms of Burgundy marked with the label on the Basel foundation plaque. Neubecker
claims that Charles’ arms were also distinguished in this manner while he was Count of Charolais,
although they are not depicted separately in this instance, and I have found no examples
of Charles’ arms from before Philippe’s death in 1467 (Neubecker, p. 102). If it were true
that Charles’ arms were usually shown in this manner, then it would seem that each son’s
arms would be labeled as the other died and left him as the sole heir.

4 Another proof of the closeness of the ducal family of Cleves to that of Burgundy
is the marriage of Marie de Cleves, Philippe’s niece, to Charles d’Orleans, in 1440, arranged by
Isabelle.

Figure 22
Figure 24
Figure 25
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