

# The *Gideon Tapestries* and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy\*

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## 1. Tapestry and the Patronage of the Dukes of Burgundy

In the 15th century, when Renaissance flourished in Italy, the Duchy of Burgundy reigned over the North of the Alps.<sup>(1)</sup> The Duchy of Burgundy began in 1364, when Philip the Bold (“le Hardi”), one of the princes of France, inherited the region of Burgundy from his father John II (1319-1364) to become the first Duke of Burgundy (reign from 1364 to 1404). The Duchy gradually expanded its territory toward the north, and by the time of the third Duke, Philip the Good (“le Bon” reign from 1419 to 1467) (Fig. 1), it reached the regions of the Netherlands. Indeed, the Duchy of Burgundy went so far as to rival the Kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Successive Dukes of Burgundy were highly interested in the patronages of arts that they vigorously ordered paintings, illuminated manuscripts, sculptures, stained glass windows, tapestries, and objects decorated with gold and silverworks. With these luxurious images, they frequently held splendid feasts and ceremonies in the court,<sup>(2)</sup> which served as a model for other courts of Europe.<sup>(3)</sup> As well as being enjoyed as pure entertainment, feasts and arts of Burgundy were used to show off the power of the Duke and a way to control the residents of his territory.<sup>(4)</sup> Among the arts, large-sized tapestries woven with gold, silver and silk threads were used to decorate ostentatiously a large section of the hall or outer wall of the court buildings (Fig. 2).<sup>(5)</sup> They could also convey the message of the Duke effectively, whether they represented abstract patterns or historical narratives. Unfortunately, few tapestries exist today due to the fragility of their materials (compare to panel paintings). Historical documents show that Philip the Good possessed at least 100 sets of tapestries.<sup>(6)</sup> It was indeed abundant in terms of number. The Dukes of Burgundy would have noticed the usefulness of the tapestries earlier than other rulers of Europe, which led to the rapid development of ateliers for tapestries within the territory of Burgundy.<sup>(7)</sup>

Among the tapestries of Philip the Good, the *Millefleur Tapestry* (Fig. 3) was said to be displayed at the place where a meeting was held with the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick

III.<sup>(8)</sup> This work is considered to be a remnant of the eight-part *verdure* tapestries set that Philip ordered from Jehan le Haze in Brussels. Although the lower parts of the tapestry were shortened by 1.5 meters, we can see the tapestry woven meticulously with gold and silver silk threads, depicting more than 30 plants and flowers exactly in botanical terms on a deep green ground. Therefore, we can consider that this tapestry must have been expensive. In addition, it could even convey the power of Duke from the center of the flowering plants-pattern, which shows heraldic motifs and emblems of Philip the Good. Namely, the tapestry represents ostentatiously the power of the Duke over the flowering, earthly paradise.

With other arts objects and ornaments, the *Millefleur Tapestry* would have been transported according to the Duke's movement, adorning the places where he held various political meetings or feasts. In the same way, the *Alexander Tapestries* (Fig. 4), also ordered by Philip, praised the Duke's status visually.<sup>(9)</sup> In displaying the Duke's power visually, they carried an important political role.

In this article, we will examine the *Gideon Tapestries* (ca. 1453) as another example of tapestries that strongly displayed the Duke's status. Whereabouts of this work is not clear today, but during the reign of Philip the Good, the *Gideon Tapestries* appeared at various political occasions and feasts and viewed by many people. In previous research, discussion about the *Gideon tapestries* mainly centered on its relationship with the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in 1431 by Philip the Good. Regarding the thematic connection, it would be possible to consider that the *Gideon Tapestries* was displayed at the meeting of the Golden Fleece.<sup>(10)</sup> On the other hand, as this work seems to have been decorated at various feasts and events held by the Duke, we should consider the functions of the *Gideon Tapestries* from various points of view, especially concerning the ideal "model" image of the Duke.

We will first consider the representation of Philip the Good as a ruler, by examining the arts and books owned by the Duke. Then, through the examination of the symbolic meaning of Gideon and the iconography of the *Gideon Tapestries*, we will think of Gideon as one of the instructive, ideal *model* of a ruler for Philip the Good.

## 2. The *Model* of Philip the Good

### 2-1. Portrait of Philip the Good

As was often the case with rulers, Philip the Good made use of his own portraits to display his power and status. The portrait of Prince or Duke became predominant at the end

of the 14th century when naturalistic representation of figures began to occupy a prominent position in art. For example, Philip the Bold, the first Duke of Burgundy asked Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter to sculpture statues of himself and his wife. These portraits were probably made between 1385 and 1401, and when completed, they decorated the door of the convent of Chartreuse de Champmol situated on the outskirts of Dijon (Fig. 5).<sup>(11)</sup> As Dijon was the capital of the Duchy of Burgundy at that time, it was appropriate to place statues there. At the gate of the church in the convent, these statues marked the status of the Duke as an acting ruler of God.

As a grandson of Philip the Bold, Philip the Good also ordered numerous portraits of himself. The medium of his portraits varied from large public sculpture to small, private panel painting. For example, there exist some records that the statue portraits of Philip the Good decorated the city hall of Bruges and the law court at Ghent respectively. On the other hands, we could find his images in small panel paintings (Fig. 1), dedication page and other pages of illuminated manuscripts (Figs. 6, 7, 13-15). As far as we know, we could count not less than 100 portraits (later copies included),<sup>(12)</sup> most of which could have impressed viewers on the dignity of Philip.

Interestingly, the images of Philip were occasionally likened to those of the historical rulers. For example, in the illuminated manuscripts depicting medieval hero, Girart de Roussillon (ca. 810-877), Girart was represented with the physiognomy of Philip the Good (Fig. 8). Girart was a Burgundian leader who became Count of Paris in the Carolingian dynasty. He was troubled over the complex relationship with the King of French and its family, as Philip the Good did. In that sense, it was natural that Philip the Good had sympathy for Girart all the more, and regarded him as a *model* of his own.<sup>(13)</sup>

In addition, we can find the same kind of “disguise” in the representation of Alexander the Great (356 BC-323 BC), the great hero of antiquity. In the illuminated manuscripts narrating the life of Alexander, he was dressed remarkably in a Burgundian manner (Fig. 9). Such representation of disguise would come from the situation that Alexander’s expedition to the Orient inspired Philip the Good’s plan for a crusade.<sup>(14)</sup> On this ground, the *Alexander Tapestries* mentioned above functioned as a medium to display the power of the Duke (Fig. 4), even though the figure of Philip was not directly represented. Therefore, we could consider that both Alexander the Great and Girart de Roussillon played an ideal role of ruler for Philip the Good.

## 2-2. Sources of Philip the Good’s *Model*

When we search for the reason why Philip the Good had referred to historical heroes

as his *model*, we inevitably examine the rich collection of manuscripts obtained by the Duke.<sup>(15)</sup> Philip the Good is known to have collected an enormous number of books for a ruler in the 15th century. Having inherited the manuscripts of his father, John the Fearless, the second Duke of Burgundy, Philip added various books dealing with religion, ethics, and history. His collection of books ultimately numbered as much as a thousand, and half of them were splendidly illuminated. David Aubert, one of the contemporary Burgundian chroniclers, admired Philip as the best collector of the books : “[. . .] aujourd’hui c’est le prince de la chrestienté, sans réservation aulcune, qui est le mieux garni de autentique et riche librairie [. . .]”<sup>(16)</sup>

Among the enormous collection, Philip particularly preferred the biography of great rulers of the past such as Caesar, Hector, Alexander the Great, Girart de Roussillon, and Charles the Great (Charlemagne). He is said to “a dès longtemps accoustumé de journellement faire devant lui lire les anciennes histoires.”<sup>(17)</sup> As an illustration of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Fig. 7) shows, Philip would listen to an attendant reading aloud the historical writings daily, and he would have modeled the acts and spirits of rulers through them.

Now, we have to take notice of an account by an anonymous historian “Lyon couronné,” written in the mid-15th century. It praised Philip the Good as follows :

[. . .] très invaincu César, la parle de princeps chrestiens, l’onneur de toute noblesse, le droit miroir, pathron et exemple de chevalereuse proesse[. . .]”<sup>(18)</sup>

In addition to the praises of Philip’s virtues, we could read in this writing the expectations to Philip to become an ideal ruler, both as a Christian knight and a good sovereign. That was why Philip learned from rulers of diverse origins, absorbing their strong points respectively.

As a Christian leader, Philip the Good would have needed a religious *model*, but many of his models, such as Alexander the Great and Girart de Roussillon, were pagan kings or worldly, secular leaders. A biblical figure of Gideon therefore deserves an analysis. In the next chapter, we will focus on Gideon’s importance as a Christian *model* for Philip the Good, and explain the function of the *Gideon Tapestries*.

### 3. The *Gideon Tapestries*

#### 3-1. The Iconography of Gideon

Gideon is a pious Israelite judge, who also appears as a leader and prophet in the Old

Testament *Books of Judges*. In the New Testament, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Gideon was mentioned as a good example of a man “who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens” (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 11 : 33-34).

Gideon exercised great leadership when he defeated the Midianites and emancipated the Israelites with 300 soldiers (*Judges*, 6 : 37-7 : 25). This includes the well-known episode of “miracle of fleece” ; when trying to save Israelites, Gideon asked for God’s will, and in response, the miracle occurred on the fleece he put on the floor.

So Gideon said to God, “If You will save Israel by my hand as You have said — look, I shall put a fleece of wool on the threshing floor ; if there is dew on the fleece only, and *it is* dry on all the ground, then I shall know that You will save Israel by my hand, as You have said.” And it was so. When he rose early the next morning and squeezed the fleece together, he wrung the dew out of the fleece, a bowlful of water. Then Gideon said to God, “Do not be angry with me, but let me speak just once more : Let me test, I pray, just once more with the fleece ; let it now be dry only on the fleece, but on all the ground let there be dew.” And God did so that night. It was dry on the fleece only, but there was dew on all the ground. (*Judges*, 6 : 36-40)

Besides being a talented leader, Gideon was loved and protected by God. In this way, it was all the more desirable for Philip to adopt Gideon as his *model* of a religious leader.

Interestingly, when depicted in the medieval arts, Gideon was shown not so much as a ruler, but rather as a prefiguration in a typological context.<sup>(19)</sup> According to the typology, the fleece on which the dew fell is considered to prefigure the Virgin Mary, who conceived the Son of God through the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, the story of the *miracle of fleece* was illustrated as a prefiguration of the *Annunciation* in the writings that prevailed in 15th century Burgundy, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1324) and the *Biblia Pauperum* (mid-13th century).<sup>(20)</sup> In the 1440s Philip the Good ordered Jean Mielot to translate the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* into French. One of the versions includes the illustration of *Annunciation* juxtaposing its prefigurations (*Moses before the burning bush* ; *Gideon and the fleece from dew* ; *Rebecca giving water to Abraham’s servant*) (Fig. 10). The illustration of the *miracle of fleece* is placed between the Moses’ scene and Rebecca’s scene, and there Gideon armed himself, kneeling before the fleece.<sup>(21)</sup> As Philip possessed the French translation of Ave Maria, *Traité sur la salutation angélique* (Fig. 6),<sup>(22)</sup> he must have had enough

knowledge and interest concerning the prefiguration of *Annunciation*. As we will examine, such religious significance would surely be considered when Philip ordered the *Gideon Tapestries*.

### 3-2. The *Gideon Tapestries*

The *Gideon Tapestries* were ordered in 1448 from the atelier of Robert Daret and Jean de Lorthi in Tournai, well-known city for its tapestry production.<sup>(23)</sup> The contract laid the deadline in August 1452,<sup>(24)</sup> but after was delayed to the end of 1453 when the finished work was delivered to a trustee of the Duke' tapestries. It is recorded as follows :

Jehan Aubry varlet de chambre et garde de la tapisserie, etc., confesse avoir reçu de Robert Dary et Jehan de l'Ortie, marchans ouvriers de tapisserie demourans à Tournai pour et au nom de mon très redoublé seigneur, viii tapis de haute-lisse de l'histoire de Gédéon, et contenant tous ensemble xi<sup>e</sup> xx aulnes d'œuvre. Le xxi décembre mil cccc liii.<sup>(25)</sup>

As this document shows, the *Gideon Tapestries* comprised 8 pieces, reaching as large as about 1120 square *aunes* in total. This size equates with about 784 square meters, calculated several times larger than the *Millefleur Tapestry* (Fig. 3). Payment to the Robert Dary et Jehan de Lorthi amounted to 8960 crown, whose price was extraordinarily expensive even for the Duke.<sup>(26)</sup> This data satisfies us enough to surmise how splendid the *Gideon Tapestries* were. However, we are not sure of the exact iconography of the *Gideon Tapestries* as they are still lost today.<sup>(27)</sup> Based on the written documents of the 15th century, we can possibly say that the *miracle of fleece* and the *battle of Gideon* might have occupied an important part in the *Gideon Tapestries*.<sup>(28)</sup> However, we cannot know for certain if the figure of Gideon in the tapestries was represented like Philip, as was the case with the illuminated manuscripts of Girart de Roussillon (Fig. 8).

Geroges Chastellain, another chronicler of Burgundy, suggested that the *Gideon Tapestries* were made for the Order of the Golden Fleece, noting as "[. . .] le duc nouvellement l'avoit fait faire de l'histoire de Gédéon sur le veaure de miracle, en l'appropriant à son ordre."<sup>(29)</sup> Considering the fact that Gideon was one of the patrons of the Order of the Golden Fleece, along with Jason from a character of Greece mythology,<sup>(30)</sup> the Order could have strongly motivated Philip the Good to order the *Gideon Tapestries*.<sup>(31)</sup> Actually, the motif of Golden Fleece (*toison d'or*) was an important symbol for strengthening the solidarity of members, and the statute of the Order in 1431(Fig. 11) reminded members to wear the col-

lars of Golden Fleece (Fig. 12) whenever possible, even if they fell ill.<sup>(32)</sup> This rule seemed to be so respected that we can see that in the portraits of Philip the Good and members of the Order, they almost always wore the collar (Figs. 1, 6, 7, 13, 15).

On the other hand, the Statues of Order neither explains after which was the “Golden Fleece” named, nor does it specify who was the Order’s patron saint. As mentioned earlier, Jason from the Greek mythology was another possible choice, but Gideon was selected as a subject of Duke’s tapestry. It might reflect the situation that the Christian patron was strongly needed at that time as a group of Chivalric Order.<sup>(33)</sup> It was actually in the 1450s that Philip the Good recruited members to participate in the plan for a crusade. In February 1452, the famous *Banquet du Faisan* was held at Lille, where Philip and members of the Order took the oath of the crusade to the Ottoman Empire. Along with the veneration of the Virgin Mary, this project of the crusade would have helped Philip to choose the biblical hero Gideon as a subject of tapesry.<sup>(34)</sup> If the *Gideon Tapestries* were finished at an early stage, they would have certainly been displayed at the banquet of Lille, but what we know now from the documents that it was in 1456 when the tapestries were displayed for the first time to the public.

### 3-3. Reputation of the *Gideon Tapestries*

As far as we know today, the *Gideon Tapestries* were first shown at the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Hague in 1456. Chastellain admired the splendor of the *Gideon Tapestries*, emphasizing that this was the first opportunity for the Duke to display this work.

La salle de La Haye est une des belles du monde et des plus propres à tenir grant feste. Sy fut tendue icelle de la plus riche tapisserie qui onques entrast en court de roy et de plus grant monstre et n’avoit esté monstrée ailleurs que droit-là. Car le duc nouvellement l’avoit fait faire de l’histoire de Gédéon sur le veure de miracle, en l’appropriant à son ordre.<sup>(35)</sup>

Five years afterwards, the *Gideon Tapestries* were also displayed at the meeting of the Order at Saint-Omer in 1461. Prospero da Camogli, an Italian ambassador sent a letter to the Duke of Milan, reporting that the *Gideon Tapestries* were marvelously woven with gold, large enough to cover the hall of the banquet ;

La sala del convivio, quale hé dela grandessa dela sala dela Ill. ma Madona, licet hé

più alta, era tutta coperta de panni de Arass ut supra, intertexti [sic] d'oro, mirabili opere, in li quali se representava tutta la hystoria del Aureum Vellus, demisso da celo a Gedeon per insegna, in virtù dela quale el dovesse interprender la salute del populo de Ysdrael. Al loco del suggesto deli Principi erano panni serici et d'oro altre opere.<sup>(36)</sup>

The *Gideon Tapestries* must have strongly impressed the guests like da Camogli and the member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. They would also have been convinced that the grace of God were with the Order, so that the Order's head, Duke Philip the Good, would appropriately lead the troops and successfully save the Holy Land. In this way, as a *model* of Philip the Good, Gideon emphasized the power and success of the Duke.

Interestingly, additional role of Gideon could be found from a typological point of view. We will give another example, the frontispiece of the French translation of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Fig. 14). In the center of the illustration, the author's dedication to Philip the Good is represented, and at its sides, we can see personifications of the *Ecclesia* (church) and *Synagoga* (Synagogue). What is interesting is that both Philip the Good and the dedicator lead the viewer to see these two women. The *Ecclesia* is brightly illuminated, contrasting with the blindfolded, shaded *Synagoga* in a traditional way. By such representations of personifications, it could indicate that the glorious reign of Philip the Good, which belongs to the newborn world of the New Testament.<sup>(37)</sup> We could consider that through the *Gideon Tapestries*, Philip would also have tried to emphasize his eminent rule, the one flourishing in the age of the New Testament.

Turning to the *Gideon Tapestries*, we notice that besides the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, they had many opportunities to show Philip's political significance. For example, six months before the meeting of the Order at Saint-Omer in 1461, the *Gideon Tapestries* decorated the house of the Duke (*l'hôtel d'Artois*) in Paris.<sup>(38)</sup> It was when the new King of France, Louis XI returned to Paris after years of exile in the regions of Burgundy. Philip the Good accompanied Louis XI to Paris, and opened his *hôtel d'Artois* to receive the public. There were displayed the magnificent arts and furnishings, including the *Gideon Tapestries*, the *Alexander tapestries* (Fig. 4). As the chronicler, Jacques du Clercq, witnessed the spectacle :

Ledit duc de Bourgogne, estant a Paris, feit tendre en sa salle de son hostel d'Artois et dedans les chambres, la plus noble tapisserie que ceulx de Paris avoient oncques veue, par especial celle de l'histoire de Gedeon [. . .]. Ledit duc feit aussy tendre l'histoire d'Alexandre et aultres ; plusieurs toutes faites d'or et d'argent et de soye ; [. . .].<sup>(39)</sup>



Jacques du Clercq reported that a crowd of Paris residents who gathered at the Duke's house were so impressed by the gorgeous tapestries that they recognized Philip had the great power, even surpassing the new King of France.<sup>(40)</sup>

#### 4. Philip the Good as Gideon

##### 4-1. Philip the Good and Gideon in *Le Champion des Dames*

After 1450s, when the set of the *Gideon Tapestries* was made, the *model* figure of Gideon was going to be represented more and more directly to emphasize the status Philip.

We examine here an illuminated manuscript, which indicates the relationship of Philip the Good and Gideon clearly. It is represented in the *Le Champion des Dames*, which Martin Le Franc dedicated to Philip the Good around 1450-52 (Fig. 15).<sup>(41)</sup> *Le Champion des Dames* includes long poems that defended the women in history. The frontispiece shows Philip at the throne receiving the manuscripts from Martin Le Franc. Around them, the arms of the Duke and that of his territories are placed, and in the center of the upper part, the charm of the Golden Fleece hangs. Interestingly, at the left of Philip the Good, Gideon kneels before the fleece, praying that dew would fall on it. Above Gideon, an angel hovers, holding the banderole saying “dominus tecum virorum fortissime.” The phrase was taken from a verse in *Judges* (6 : 12), stressing the miracle of God.<sup>(42)</sup>

At the opposite side of the Gideon scene, we can see Jason reporting to the Princess of Medea that he had obtained the Golden Fleece. In this way, Philip, Gideon, and Jason were shown alongside each other. This composition strongly evokes the tradition of typology, as in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* that juxtaposed the *Annunciation* and its prefiguration. Here, Gideon and Jason were shown as if they were the very prefiguration of Philip the Good.

##### 4-2. Philip the Good and Gideon in the Feasts

The subject of Gideon continued to appear likewise at the feasts and ceremonies of the Duchy of Burgundy. Jacques de Clercq reported that Philip the Good visited Arras on February 24, 1455, entering the city through the gate of Saint Michel :

[. . .] il trouva tout du long de la taillerie et du petit marcie, [. . .] moult richement habilliés, toute la vie de Gedeon en personnages de gens en vie lesquels ne parloient point ; ains ne faisoient que les signes de ladite mistère, qui estoit la plus riche chose que on avoit veu pieça, et moult bien fait au vif, et disoit-on que ce avoit cousté plus de

mille courronnes d'or.<sup>(43)</sup>

At the ceremony of the “Joyous Entry” in Burgundy, it was traditional for the city to decorate the artworks or perform the plays with *tableaux vivants*, in order to praise their ruler. What was most interesting about the entering ceremony at Arras is that the plays about Gideon were acted by the residents to praise and welcome Philip the Good. In fact, Gideon was repeatedly selected as a subject for feasting in the territory of Burgundy at least three times.<sup>(44)</sup> Therefore, we can consider that Gideon was widely received as a *model* of Philip by the residents of Burgundy.

## 5. Reception of the *Gideon Tapestries*

After Philip the Good passed away in 1467, the *Gideon Tapestries* were continually displayed. They especially adorned the place of feasts and ceremonies held by the Duke's successors. It was in 1468 that the *Gideon Tapestries* decorated the building at the wedding ceremony of Charles the Bold (“le Téméraire”), the fourth Duke of Burgundy (1433-1477), and Margaret of York (1446-1503). Also, the tapestries were displayed on occasions such as the meeting of Charles with Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor at Trier in 1473, the baptism of daughter of Philip the Fair (1478-1506) in 1498, and the abdication ceremony of Charles V in 1555.<sup>(45)</sup>

If we examine the reason why the *Gideon Tapestries* were displayed at such important occasions, we can safely assume the tapestries' high quality as a work of art. In addition, the connection between the miracle of Gideon and the Annunciation could equivalently have influenced their selection for it symbolizes the successor and prosperity of the family. By appreciating the *Gideon Tapestries*, the successors of Philip the Good would have consciously learned the behavior of Gideon as a *model*, and accordingly aimed to become an outstanding ruler of the day.

Among the artworks owned by Philip the Good, tapestry was one of the useful images to praise the Duke as well as to display his power and status. When Philip sought his *model* from various rulers of the past, it was Gideon who was found to take an important role as a *model* of Christian leadership. Therefore, the *Gideon Tapestries* functioned as an effective medium for displaying the religious and political status of the Duke. Judging from the records of the ceremony of the “joyous entries” into the city, identifying the Duke with Gideon prevailed among the residents of Burgundy.

It was a form of strategy of Philip to identify himself as a *model* ruler of the past. His way of display prevailed not only among his successors, but also among the aristocrats of Burgundy and from around the region. The *Gideon Tapestries* must have influenced the representation of power, which we will discuss in another article.

**[Notes]**

\*This is a revised version of my Japanese article published in the *Bulletin of Osaka Ohtani University*, vol.48, 2013, pp.12-29.

- (1) For the history of the Duchy of Burgundy, see especially, R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970; J. Calmette, *Les Grands Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1949; B. Schnerb, *L'état bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris, 2005.
- (2) For the Patronages of the Dukes of Burgundy, see especially, J. C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, Ph.D., Columbia University, 1979; M. Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, Turnhout, 1999; E. Antoine et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419*, Dijon, 2004; S. Marti et al., eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, Antwerp, 2009.
- (3) See W. Paravicini, "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?," in R. G. Asch & A. M. Birke, *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650*, Oxford, 1991, pp.69-102.
- (4) For this, see my article (in Japanese), S. Imai, "Collection of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy: Political Function of the *Alexander the Great Tapestries*," in K. Toyama and H. Kanayama, eds., *Reading the Art Collection*, Tokyo, 2012, pp.191-211. See also, J. C. Smith, "Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," *Art Journal*, 48, 1989, pp.123-129.
- (5) As for the medieval and Renaissance tapestries, see T. P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, London/ New Heaven, 2002.
- (6) Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, pp.333-334; Schnerb, *op.cit.*, p.359.
- (7) Campbell, *op.cit.*, pp.17-18.
- (8) According to the contract and the invoice, Philip the Good ordered the tapestries in 1466, and Jehan le Haze delivered six wall hangings and two coverings for a bench and a sideboard. As for the *Millefleur Tapestry*, see Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, pp.198-202; Marti et al., *op.cit.*, pp.182-183.
- (9) First formed by six pieces as a set, but only two tapestries exist today, including Fig. 4. Imai, *op.cit.*, 2012; F. Barbe et al., eds., *L'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand dans les tapisseries au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Turnhout, 2013.
- (10) Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, pp.149-159; Smith, *op.cit.*, 1989, pp.123-129; A. van Buren-Hagopian, "Images monumentales de la Toison d'or: aux murs du château de Hesdin et en tapisserie," dans C. van den Bergen-Pantens et al., eds., *L'ordre de la Toison d'or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?*, Bruxelles/ Turnhout, 1996, pp.226-233.
- (11) For the original setting of the sculpture of Philip the Bold at Champmol, see Antoine et al., *op.cit.*, pp.175-178.

- (12) Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, pp.286-287.
- (13) Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.302-307.
- (14) Imai, *op.cit.*, 2012. For the crusade plan of Philip the Good, see Y. Lacaze, "Politique 'Méditerranéenne' et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon : de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 41, 1969, pp.5-42 ; Vaughan, *op.cit.*, pp.334-372 ; Schnerb, *op.cit.*, pp.311-318.
- (15) For the library of Philip the Good, see G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne : Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire*, Genève, 1970 [1909] ; G. Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la "bibliothèque" de Philippe le Bon (1420)*, Genève, 1977 ; Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.289-299.
- (16) D. Aubert, *Croniques abregies*. . . , 1462 ; Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.17.
- (17) D. Aubert, *Croniques abregies*. . . , 1462 ; Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.16-17.
- (18) Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.324.
- (19) For the iconography of Gideon, see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II/I, Paris, 1956, pp.230-233 ; J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subject and Symbols in Art*, London, 1974, p.138.
- (20) Réau, *Ibid.* For the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and its illustration, see É. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1949, pp.236-237.
- (21) Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.316-319. For Jean Miélot, see also, Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.213-215.
- (22) B. Bousmanne & T. Delcourt, éd., *Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482*, Paris/ Bruxelles, 2011, pp.254-255.
- (23) The contract remains as dated on October 13, 1448. Archives du Royaume à Bruxelles. Recette des finances ; E. Soil, *Les tapisseries de Tournai*, Tournai, 1892, pp. 374-375. See also the records of payment, L. de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le Duché de Bourgogne*, I, Paris, 1849, nos.1401, 1412, 1425, 1605.
- (24) "[. . .] dedans le terme de quatre ans comenchant à le feste de la my aoust derrenièrement passée, et finissans le jour de la my aoust qui sera l'an mil cccc lij [. . .]" Soil, *op.cit.*, p.374.
- (25) Archives du Royaume à Bruxelles. Recette des finances ; Soil, *op.cit.*, p.375.
- (26) Archives de Lille, 1448-49 ; Laborde, *op.cit.*, no.1412.
- (27) We do not know the whereabouts of the *Gideon Tapestries* after 1794, when it was transported from Brussels to Vienna. Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, p.154.
- (28) For reconstruction of the iconography of the *Gideon Tapestries*, see Smith, *op.cit.*, 1979, pp.154-155.
- (29) G. Chastellain, K. de Lettenhove, éd., *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, III, Bruxelles, 1864, pp.90-91.
- (30) According to *Metamorphoses* (7 : 1) by Ovid and *Imagines* (7, 11) by Philostratus the Younger, Jason led the Argonauts on their voyage to the Colchis located on the coast of Black Sea, in an attempt to capture the Golden Fleece from Aeëtes, King of Colchis. Aided by King's daughter Medea, Jason succeeded in obtaining the Golden Fleece. Hall, *op.cit.*, p.167.
- (31) For the Order of the Golden Fleece, see *La Toison d'Or : cinq siècles d'art et d'histoire*, exh. cat., Bruges, 1962 ; Van den Bergen-Pantens et al., *Ibid.* ; J. Paviot, "Du nouveau sur la création de l'ordre de la toison d'or," *Journal des savants*, 2/2, 2002, pp.279-298.
- (32) "Item, pour avoir congnoissance dudit ordre et des chevaliers qui en seront, nous, pour une foiz, donnons à chascun des chevaliers d'icellui ordre ung colier d'or fait à nostre devise ; [. . .] lequel

colier qui appertiendra et demoura toudis à l'ordre, nous et nosdis successeurs souverains, et chascun chevalier dudit ordre, seront tenus de porter chascun jour autour du col, [. . .] que ilz seront tenus de faire en conscience pour chascun jour qu'ilz fauldront à le porter ; [. . .] Et pareillement, se en aucun longtain voyage leissier le couvenoit, ou en aultre cas, ilz le délaissent à porter par aucun temps, tant par maladie comme par sceurté de leur personnes. [. . .]" J. Le Fèvre, F. Morand, éd., *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, II, Paris, 1881, pp.212-213.

- (33) According to Olivier de la Marche, the Burgundian chronicler, it was Jason who was considered to be the patron of the Order of the Golden Fleece, but gradually, the significance of Gideon increased. Besides, it was also around the time of the Order's foundation that the predominance of Gideon was well known, as noted in Michault Taillevante's *Songe de la Toison d'or* (1431). We have not examined this issue in this article, but in the light of how Philip had referred his *model* from various angles, we should not limit the choice of Gideon or Jason. For details on the predominance of Gideon and Jason, see Doutrepoint, *op.cit.*, 1970, pp.147-171 ; A. van Buren-Hagopian, "La Toison d'or dans les manuscrits de Philippe le Bon," dans Van den Bergen-Pantens et al., *op.cit.*, pp.189-193 ; Paviot, *Ibid.*
- (34) For the veneration of the Virgin Mary by Philip and by the Order of the Golden Fleece, see B. Haggh, "The Virgin Mary and the Order of the Golden Fleece," in M.T. Caron & D. Clauzel, eds., *Le Banquet du Faisan*, Arras, 1997, pp.273-287.
- (35) Chastellain, *op.cit.*, pp.90-91.
- (36) P. M. Kendall & V. Ilardi, *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-1483*, Ohio, 1971, II, p.349.
- (37) Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.316-319.
- (38) For the joyous entry of Philip into Paris in 1461 and the effect of tapestries there, see J. Calmette, *op.cit.*, pp.224-226 ; Imai, *op.cit.*, 2012.
- (39) Jacques du Clercq, F. de Reiffenberg, éd., *Mémoires de J. du Clercq : sur le règne de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne*, III, Bruxelles, 1836, pp.171-172.
- (40) Calmette, *op.cit.*, pp.225-226.
- (41) Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.294-296 ; P. Charron, *Le Maître du Champion des dames*, Paris, 2004, pp.58-62 ; Bousmanne & Delcourt, *op.cit.*, pp.89-102, 387.
- (42) Van Buren-Hagopian, *op.cit.*, "La Toison d'or. . .," p.192.
- (43) Du Clercq, *op.cit.*, I, 1835, p.123.
- (44) For other feasts and ceremonies, see Smith, *op.cit.*, 1989, pp.126-127.
- (45) Smith, *op.cit.*, 1989, pp.126-127.

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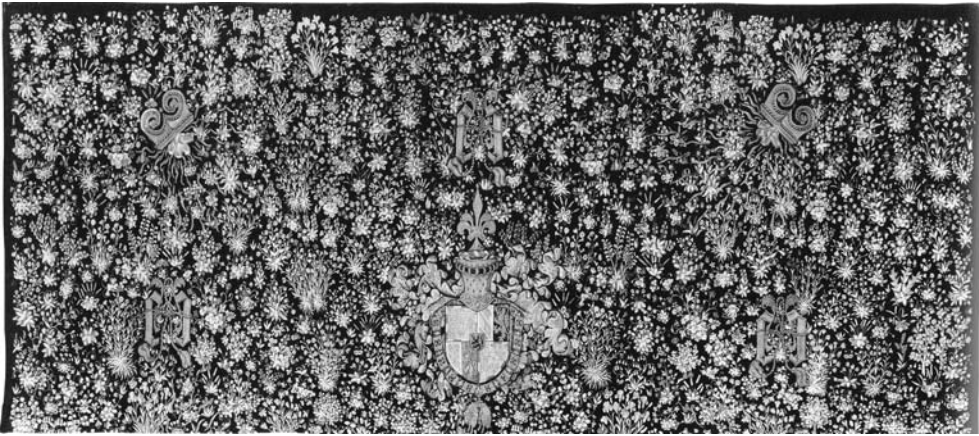
- Figs. 1, 6, 15 : B. Bousmanne & T. Delcourt, eds., *Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482*, Paris/ Bruxelles, 2011.
- Figs. 2, 4 : T. P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, New York, 2002.
- Figs. 3, 12, 13 : S. Marti et al., eds., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, Antwerp, 2009.
- Figs. 5 : E. Antoine et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, Dijon, 2004
- Figs. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 : M. Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, Turnhout, 1999.
- Fig. 9 : W. Blockmans et al., *Le Prince et le peuple*, Anvers, 1998.



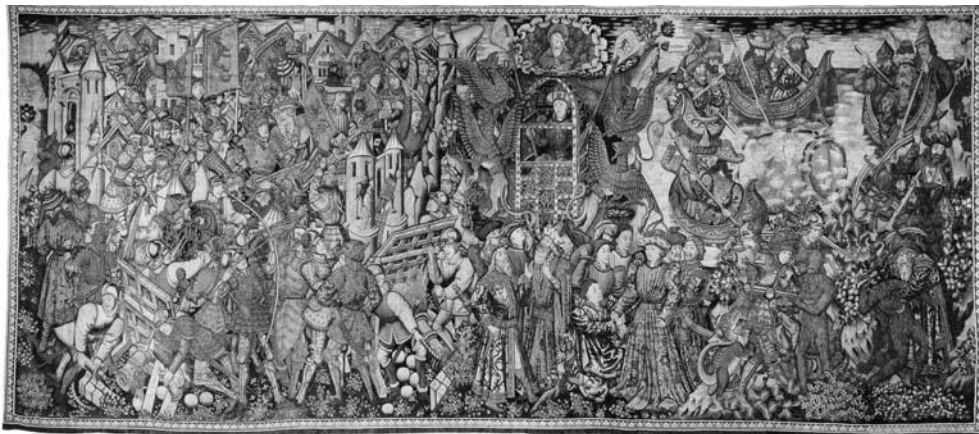
**Fig 1** Rogier van der Weyden (copy), *Portrait of Philip the Good*, ca.1475, 32.5×22.4 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.



**Fig 2** Limbourg Brothers, *January* (detail), *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, ca.1410, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 1 v, Chantilly.



**Fig. 3** *Millefleur Tapestry*, ca.1466, 306 × 687 cm, Historisches Museum, inv. 14, Berne.



**Fig. 4** *Alexander Tapestry*, ca.1455-60, 415 × 985 cm, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.



**Fig. 5** Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter, *Philip the Bold and his wife*, Portal of the church of the Chartreuse de Champmol, 1385-1401, Dijon.

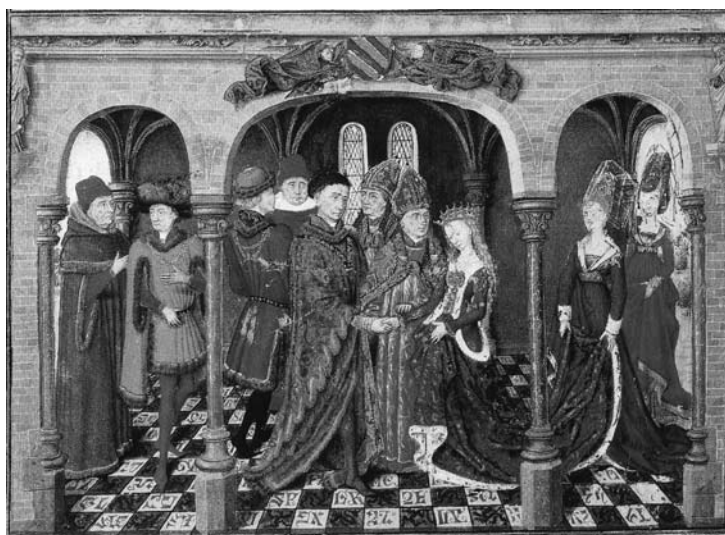


**Fig. 6** *Philip the Good and the Virgin Annunciate*, *Le Traité sur la salutation angélique*, 1461, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9270, fo.2 v, Brussels.





**Fig. 7** *Philip the Good listening to a man reading, Chroniques de Hainaut, 1468, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9243, fol.1, Brussels.*



**Fig. 8** *Marriage of Girart de Roussillon, Le Roman de Girart de Roussillon, 1450, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2549, fol.9 v, Vienna.*



**Fig. 9** *Alexander the Great*, in Quintus Rufus, *Le Faitz et Gestes d'Alexandre le Grand*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2566 n, fol.121, Vienna.



**Fig. 10** *Annunciation*, *Le Miroir de la salvation humaine*, ca.1455, University Library, MS. Hunter 60, fol.10, Glasgow.



**Fig. 11** Introductory page of the *Statutes of the Order of Golden Fleece*, ca.1431, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 E 14, fol.8, The Hague.



**Fig. 12** *Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, third quarter of the 15th century, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer, inv. WS XIV 263, Vienna.



**Fig. 13** *Philip the Good, The Statutes of the Order of Golden Fleece*, 1481-86, British Library, Harley Ms 6199, fol.57 v, London.



**Fig. 14** *Presentation to Philip the Good, Le Miroir de la salvation humaine*, ca.1455, University Library, MS. Hunter 60, fol.1, Glasgow.



**Fig. 15** *Presentation to Philip the Good, Martin Le Franc, Le Champion des Dames*, ca.1450-52, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr.12476, fol.1 v, Paris.