

# Placement and Functions of Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*<sup>1</sup>

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## Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*

In an age of the *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Jan van Eyck, a well-known artist of the *primitifs flamands*, created a fascinating painting around the mid-1430s, known as the *Rolin Madonna* (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. The panel measures 66 cm long by 62 cm wide, and depicts a man kneeling before the Virgin and Child. The contract concerning the *Rolin Madonna* has not survived, and the oldest document reference about it is to be found in the *Visite* at the church of Notre Dame de Chastel of Autun in 1705. It reads:

Il y a dans la sacristie des chanoines de Notre-Dame un tableau digne de remarque... C'est un ouvrage du fameux Jean de Bruges dont il a été parlé cydessus qui représente dans un coin la sainte Vierge assise dans un thrône, tenant l'enfant Jésus, et au dessus un ange qui tient une couronne sur la teste de la sainte Vierge, et de l'autre costé on voit le chancelier Rolin à genoux sur un priez-dieu, vêtu d'une robe de drap d'or... Les peintres et les curieux disent que ce tableau, qui n'a qu'une bordure de bois sur laquelle il y a des lettres qui paroissent en bosse, méritoit d'avoir une bordure d'or enrichie de pierreries.<sup>3</sup>

Based on this document, the man kneeling in this picture is considered to be Nicolas Rolin (ca. 1376-1462), who served as a chancellor of Philip the Good (1396-1467), the third Duke of Burgundy. The same physiognomy of this man can also be recognized in the *Last Judgment Polyptych* (Fig. 2) and an illuminated manuscript (Fig. 3), both depicted by Rogier van der Weyden. As we shall see, it was Rolin's strong demands that resulted in the ambiguous, complicated iconography of the *Rolin Madonna*.

Until now, a lot of research has been done on the *Rolin Madonna*.<sup>4</sup> With regard to its iconography, scholars have paid attention to its meticulous depiction, such as the relief chapiters narrating biblical stories (Fig. 4), the hem of the Virgin's mantle inscribed with fragments of prayers of Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 5), and the background cityscape congested with people walking (Fig. 6). Taking these details into consideration, various suggestions have been made regarding its sources and interpretations as a whole, but it is not easy to find a consistent message from such a rich representation as the *Rolin Madonna*.

On the other hand, it does not seem that the original placement and function of the *Rolin Madonna* have been examined sufficiently. In the 1970s, Adhémar and van Buren insisted that

the *Rolin Madonna* was placed at the east side of the chapel of Saint Sebastian in the church of Notre-Dame in Autun, so that the depicted Rolin could permanently attend Mass held there.<sup>5</sup> This seems a reasonable assumption, for Autun was a town where Nicolas Rolin was born and his family had resided for generations. However, there remains no document indicating that the *Rolin Madonna* was originally placed there. As the oldest plan of the church of Notre-Dame in Autun was made in the eighteenth century, shortly before it was demolished by the French Revolution, the layout of the church in the fifteenth century is unclear. Moreover, it does not seem that they give due consideration to the uniqueness of format, iconography, and function of this painting, which could be regarded as an important criterion for the fifteenth-century religious painting. Therefore, in this article, we will first examine the *Rolin Madonna* in terms of format, size, and iconography. Subsequently, we will approach the original placement and functions of this painting by reexamining the intention of Nicolas Rolin, who commissioned it, addressing it especially from a liturgical point of view.

### **The uniqueness of the *Rolin Madonna* in fifteenth-century religious painting**

What seems most remarkable about the *Rolin Madonna* is the depiction of Rolin himself: on the left side of the painting, he kneels directly before the Virgin and Child, sharing the space with them, without intercession of a patron saint. It is a bold, unprecedented expression, as traditionally, a portrait of the prayer (devotional portrait) would be subordinated to the sacred persons by lowering one's head reverently, or by occupying a smaller and marginal space in the composition.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, the sacred persons would enjoy a larger and higher position in the composition, represented with a golden halo, and showing their faces frontally. Such traditions were prevalent in the fifteenth century, but it was also a time when a more naturalistic depiction of figures became widespread. Accordingly, the early Flemish painters tried to represent saints and devotional portraits in a realistic way, maintaining clearly the difference between the Virgin and devotional portraits. Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck, and Rogier van der Weyden expressed this by separating sacred persons and the portraits of the ones praying in different panels (Fig. 7, Fig. 8). Compared with such portraits, Rolin seems represented here almost equal with the Virgin. Of course, he behaves devoutly, by kneeling and joining his hands, but his position appears a little too conspicuous, even arrogant. Such a depiction could have been made on the demand of Nicolas Rolin, for the purpose of enjoying his status himself or/and displaying it to others.

Moreover, we have to emphasize another uniqueness of the *Rolin Madonna* in the light of standard religious paintings of the time. We may roughly divide Flemish religious paintings by function—an altarpiece used for the church Mass service would be one type, and as the opposite, a devotional image (*Andachtsbild*) for individual, personal meditation or prayer.<sup>7</sup> While the devotional image was used in a private situation, the altarpiece had a mostly public character and was seen by many people. Each has a typical format and iconography, as shown in the illuminated manuscript, where Philip the Good is praying in his private chapel (Fig.

9). On the one hand, the public altarpiece tends to be composed in multi-winged rectangular panels, usually as a triptych over 1 meter in size, showing the images of sacred persons and narrating their stories. The *Last Judgment Polyptych* commissioned by Nicolas Rolin was one such typical example (Fig. 10). On the other hand, a devotional image would typically be small diptych so that they could be carried about like a book (Fig. 8). In many cases, the Virgin Mary was depicted as a subject of the painting, and the prayer portrait was recognized as a model for one's devotion. To draw the attention of the beholder into meditation, its iconography became simple, and holy persons were depicted in close-up, showing only the upper half of the body.

Compared with such typical paintings, the *Rolin Madonna* seems to show remarkable deviations in format, size, and iconography. First, the almost square format of the *Rolin Madonna*—which is as it originally was, there being no traces of it being cut off—was quite rare for a Flemish religious painting.<sup>8</sup> Besides, the size of 66 x 62 cm is indeed too small for a public altarpiece, but a little too big and too heavy for a portable devotional image. As for iconography, the representation of Rolin facing the Virgin resembles a devotional image, but the depiction of Rolin is too arrogant. Moreover, the meticulously represented motifs of this painting could also evoke a narrative altarpiece. It is evident that the *Rolin Madonna* belongs to neither category of religious painting.

In order to explain why the *Rolin Madonna* deviates from the convention, we must reexamine the life of Nicolas Rolin in religious and social terms, as we will attempt in the next chapter.

### Nicolas Rolin: a “devout layman” of the *Autumn of the Middle Ages*

Nicolas Rolin was an able politician, working mainly for Philip the Good.<sup>9</sup> After becoming chancellor of the Duchy of Burgundy in 1422, he held absolute power over both judicial and administrative matters. Through his contribution to the peace negotiations between England and France at Arras in 1435, his reputation had spread beyond the Duchy. Georges Chastellain, the chronicler of Burgundy, praised Rolin as a *principal reposoit*:

Cestui chancelier, ...soloit tout gouverner tout seul et à par luy manier et porter tout, fust de guerre, fust de paix, fust en fait de finances. De tout et en tout le duc s'en attendoit à luy et sur luy comme principal reposoit, et n'y avoit, ne office, ne bénéfice, ne par ville, ne par champs, en tous ses pays, ne don, ne emprunt fait qui tout par luy ne se fesist et conduisist et à luy ne respondist comme le regardeur sur tout... Moult estoit sage cest homme droit-cy, quant au regard du monde, mais sa voye ne sambloit point capter les deux sapiences, car par soy donner trop à l'une qui estoit caduque et fallible, il se sambloit eslongier de la plus certaine et de la plus mémorable, et messonnoit tousjours en la terre comme si terre lui eust esté perpétuelle, là où son sens desvoia et l'abesti sa prudendce, ...<sup>10</sup>

While offering a high evaluation of Rolin's political achievements, Chastellain did not appreciate his religious attitude. Another chronicler Jacques du Clerq also referred to Rolin in a similar way.<sup>11</sup> What is more, the French king Louis XI (1423-1483) referred to Rolin disagreeably concerning even the charitable foundation of the hospital of Beaune.<sup>12</sup> However, their critical comments seem occasioned by envy towards the aggressive upstart Rolin and his social success, and we notice that the Rolin's devoutness might have been underestimated to some extent by his contemporaries. Actually, based on his act of foundation of numerous Masses at Notre-Dame of Autun, the cathedral of Saint Lazare of Autun, and the Hôtel-Dieu at Beaune,<sup>13</sup> it seems that Rolin was pious, or at least longed for his own salvation. As stated by Huizinga, at the time, people mingled piousness with a worldly mentality, and Nicolas Rolin was in fact considered as one of the typical "devout laymen (*den devoten wereldling*)."<sup>14</sup>

### **Pontifical dispensation and the *Rolin Madonna***

Concerning his religious activity as a "devout layman," it is important to examine a dispensation that Rolin obtained from Pope Eugenius IV (1383-1477) in 1434. It reads:

Eugenius... dilecto filio nobili viro Nicolao Rolini militi, dilecti filii nobilis viri Philippi ducis Burgundie cancellario, et dilecte in Christo filie nobili mulieri Guigone ejus uxori salutem... Sincere devotionis affectus..., hinc est quod nos vobris devotis supplicationibus inclinati ut missam antequam illucescat dies, circa tamen diuruam lucem, cum qualitas negociorum pro tempore incongruentium id exegerit liceat vobis per proprium vel alium sacerdotem ydoneum in vostra et familiarium vostrorum domesticorum presentia facere celebrari, ita tamen quod nec vobis nec sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari. Devotioni vestre tenore presentium indulgemus...Nulli ergo...Si quis... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo tertio, duodecimo kalendas februarii, pontificatus nostri anno tercio...<sup>15</sup>

As Philippe Lorentz pointed out, this dispensation might permit the celebration of Mass at sunrise ("antequam illucescat dies, circa tamen diuruam lucem"), which was prohibited for laymen.<sup>16</sup> In its relationship to the *Rolin Madonna*, it is highly suggestive that the time of sunrise coincides exactly with when the Matins of the Divine Office was said.<sup>17</sup> Originally, the time schedule (hours) of the Divine Office was strictly fixed in monastery practice, where prayers of Matins were practiced around midnight; but by the late Middle Ages, laymen like Rolin could change the schedule flexibly.<sup>18</sup> In addition, Matins of the Divine Office was said in preparation for Mass.

The dispensation has a strong connection to the *Rolin Madonna*, because the depiction of the Virgin's lap on which Christ sits evokes the altar itself.<sup>19</sup> Besides, as noted above, it includes the letters of Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, the abbreviated version

of the Canonical Office of the Virgin for laymen's use.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, the motifs such as the sun and moon, and the meandering river correspond to the phrases of the Office of Matins.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it seems certain that the papal dispensation led to the commissioning of the *Rolin Madonna*.<sup>22</sup> In addition, we emphasize that the dispensation had great significance in that it enabled Rolin to hold a *missa privatae* in his own home.<sup>23</sup>

*Missa privatae* refers to a private Mass celebrated in a small-scale private chapel, whose location included a consecrated place within one's home. Historically, Mass has been the most important service for Christians, mainly held at the main altar of the church, and gradually its scale and form varied. In consequence, exceptions like the *missa privatae* increased in the late Middle Ages, which permitted Henry VII of England to request the *missa privatae* as many as ten thousand times.<sup>24</sup> Under such circumstances, Rolin could have enlarged not only the time, but also the place of the celebration of Mass, with the dispensation mentioning, "per proprium vel alium sacerdotem ydoneum in vostra et familiarium vrorum domesticorum."

Why did Rolin try to obtain such a dispensation? One of the reasons was to confirm his salvation by increasing the opportunities for holding Mass. Besides, it was necessary from a practical point of view: when Rolin ordered the painting, as a chancellor he was busy with work within and outside the Duchy. As he could not stay in one city, it was natural for Rolin to wish to hold Mass wherever he was staying at the time. Evidently, the residence which Rolin purchased in 1440 at Dijon had a small chapel inside,<sup>25</sup> and in 1442 his children also gained permission to have a portable altar.<sup>26</sup> It is highly probable that the *Rolin Madonna* was present when such private Masses were held, whether at his residence or elsewhere.

### Religious background of the *Rolin Madonna*

Now, we must examine the religious background of the *Rolin Madonna*, in terms of "private" religious practice. It was exactly the time when private devotion was so prevalent among laymen that they wanted to pray by themselves and without intercession of the priest.<sup>27</sup> Needless to say, for such a practice, images such as paintings and sculptures, as well as the Book of Hours were useful.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, the *Rolin Madonna* has a strong relationship with private devotion. The readable word "D" of the book on the prie-dieu of Rolin indicates also the first letter of the Matins ("Domine"), as if inviting one to meditation. In addition, the Matins' prayers of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, inscribed partly on the hem of the Virgin's mantle (Fig. 5), came to be one of the main parts of the Book of Hours for laymen with increased rapidity at that time.<sup>29</sup> Some documents of the time strongly recommended praying the Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, the position of Rolin praying to the Virgin resembles more the illustrations of the Book of Hours (Fig. 11, Fig. 12) than a panel painting differentiating the devotional portraits from sacred persons. Especially, in the *Hours of Margaret of Cleve*, the portrait of Margaret kneeling directly before the Virgin leads the viewer to the meditation by the

banderole (Fig. 12).<sup>31</sup> It is not a coincidence that this page is inserted at the beginning of Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin.

Now we have to consider the reason Rolin selected Matins. Of course, because it was convenient for his work as a chancellor; but in addition, the nature of Matins itself would have had an influence: it was an important prayer for repenting and confessing one's sins.<sup>32</sup>

The significance of Matins related to human sin and confession could be found in the *Rolin Madonna*, such as the reliefs above Rolin showing the expulsion from Paradise, the killing of Abel, and the drunken Noah from *Genesis* (Fig. 4). It was also obvious in the underdrawings shown by infrared reflectogram, where the child Christ does not bless Rolin. Before finishing, the Christ figure was changed to turn more toward Rolin, and his right hand was positioned in a blessing gesture (Fig. 13).<sup>33</sup> In addition, the purse-like "aumônier," which strongly related to Rolin's occupation of chancellor,<sup>34</sup> was effaced (Fig. 14). Evidently, such changes were demanded by Rolin—though worldly, he wanted to be represented so that we could see his devotion and strong desire for salvation.

Therefore, we suppose that the *Rolin Madonna* could have had a role as both an altarpiece and a devotional image to help the private devotion of Rolin. Admitted by the pontifical dispensation, Rolin would have hoped, during both *missa privatae* and the Office of Matins, for the Virgin to intercede with the Savior in saying Matins so that he could obtain salvation through the sacrament of Mass.

### **Political aspect of the dispensation and placement of the *Rolin Madonna***

As discussed above, the pontifical dispensation to Rolin permitted private celebration of Mass at his home. This is why the *Rolin Madonna* has the motifs and representation related to private devotion. On the other hand, the dispensation could have assumed a public aspect, because the act of obtaining papal permission itself contains the purpose of demonstrating his status, power, and authority. Although such instances were gradually increasing, it was still exceptional at the time.

In order to confirm the public, political aspect, we turn now to the permission that Cosimo de Medici (1389-1429), an absolute ruler of Florence, obtained from Pope Martinus V in 1422:

Martinus episcopus servus servorum dei Dilecto filio Nobili viro Cosmo de Medicis domicello florentino et dilecte in Christo filie Nobili mulieri Contesine eius uxori Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem....Hinc est quod nos vestris devotis supplicationibus inclinati ut liceat vobis et cuilibet vestrum habere altare portatile cum debita reverentia et honore super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis possitis per proprium vel alium sacerdotem ydoneum Missam et alia divina officia sine iuris alieni preinditio in vestra et familiarum vestrarum domesticarum presentia facere celebrari devotioni vestre tenostre presentium indulgemus. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere vel ei

ausu temerario contraire... Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum XVII Kalendis Aprilis Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.<sup>35</sup>

This dispensation permits Cosimo and his family to possess a portable altar, and was only the third such case in Florence, to the extent of our knowledge.<sup>36</sup> It was granted as an exception when one's family was ill, or one's residence was far from the church. As Cosimo did not seem to have such special reasons, we assume that his political power would have had something to do with the special permission.

Afterwards, the dispensation would have influenced the plan of the new Medici building. In the 1440s, Cosimo established a famous residence, the *Palazzo Medici*, in Florence (Fig. 15). While there were enough churches in the area, he nevertheless made a chapel inside the Palazzo. On the wall of the chapel, Benozzo Gozzoli painted a series of *Magus Trip* with disguised portraits of the heads of the various generations of the Medici family. As an altarpiece, Filippo Lippi depicted the *Nativity* with Saint Bernard (Fig. 16). It is not usual that Saint Bernard appears in a Nativity scene, but as he was a patron saint of the Florence government, he might have been inserted out of Cosimo's political concerns and loyalty towards the city.<sup>37</sup>

Interestingly, the chapel of the *Palazzo* did not serve as a closed, private space. After its completion, various people entered or passed by, and many nobles and politicians visited the chapel.<sup>38</sup> The Medici family would make their priest celebrate the Mass for their private reasons, and at the same time, they could display their power and status. Therefore, it is clear that the chapel functioned, as it were, semi-public and semi-private.

The case of Cosimo's private chapel suggests how a ruler in the fifteenth century received the papal dispensation and applied it for a political purpose. Similarly, the dispensation to Rolin and the *Rolin Madonna* might have embraced a double function. Not only for his private religious practice, the dispensation would have also functioned effectively to project Rolin's authority. The *Rolin Madonna* contains political appeal for others; it seems to display Rolin's status and power, which is found in the depiction of the gorgeously dressed Rolin as a praying subject, the vineyard background evoking his property in the Burgundy region, and his high position looking down at the landscape outside (Fig. 17). Therefore, the adequate place to execute the dispensation and to place the *Rolin Madonna* would satisfy private, religious use as well as public, political demand.

What was the best place, then, for the *Rolin Madonna*?

While there remains no document about the original placement of the *Rolin Madonna*, the most probable place for it seems to be not a church, but a chapel in Rolin's residence in Dijon.<sup>39</sup>

At the time, Dijon was a capital of the Duchy of Burgundy, where many noblemen and politicians visited. Mass were celebrated every day in the chapel of the ducal palace and the custom continued until the French Revolution.<sup>40</sup> As Rolin's residence was situated at the center of the city, just next to the palace (Fig. 18), he could have participated in the Mass there or

elsewhere in Dijon. Nevertheless, he did build the chapel in his own home.

Like the *Palazzo Medici*, Rolin's residence was more or less open to the public, and anyone could pass on foot or horseback, while one private room (*chambre de retrait*) and a chapel on the second floor were reserved. Today, most parts of the residence have been rebuilt and are now used as archives of the region (Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or), only parts of the fifteenth-century stained glass remain on the second floor (Fig. 19, Fig. 20).<sup>41</sup> It was indeed this small, intimate room that functioned as a chapel, where the *Rolin Madonna* would be placed as a devotional image or portable altarpiece. Its unusual size, format, and iconography could be accepted, or even regarded as suitable for the place. While the painting would have been made in 1430s, we could assume that it was moved to Dijon after 1440 and placed in the chapel.

The chapel in Rolin's Dijon residence was essentially a private, religious space; but when he invited in visitors, it turned into a public, political one. At such an opportunity, the *Rolin Madonna* would have had a great impact and impressed Rolin's status upon his visitors.

## Conclusion

In this article, we analyzed the placement and functions of the *Rolin Madonna*. As examined, the pontifical dispensation given to Rolin in 1434 permitted the celebration not only of a private Mass at sunrise, but also of a private Mass in his own home. With the dispensation, the *Rolin Madonna* seems to have been commissioned because prayers of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, cited and represented in the picture, was said both in the private devotion of laymen and as a preparation for the Mass. Based on this, the Little Office of Matins might have been said, and then Mass was held at the chapel in Rolin's residence in Dijon. The reason Rolin demanded the dispensation was to celebrate Mass privately more often, to secure his own salvation. In this regard, Rolin's motivation seems purely religious.

Nevertheless, the case of the Medici's private chapel suggests that such dispensations could also be used for a political purpose. The bold depiction of Rolin as a devotional portrait can be understood from this context too, revealing that the *Rolin Madonna* had not only a private, religious function but also a public, political effect. Accordingly, the chapel in the Dijon residence could be the most appropriate place keeping in mind the uniqueness in size, format, and iconography of the *Rolin Madonna*.

As discussed above, the *Rolin Madonna* contains semi-public, semi-private functions. It could not have been accomplished without high social status and strong political ambition of "devout layman" Nicholas Rolin, as well as a genius of painter Jan van Eyck. Therefore, we may conclude that the *Rolin Madonna* reflects the ruler's religious and political ideal.



## Notes

- 1 This is a revised version of my Japanese article and book: Sumiko Imai, "Social and Religious Functions of Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*: The Public and the Private in 15th-century Religious Paintings," *Bigaku: Aesthetics*, 208, 2002, pp. 43-56; Sumiko Imai, *Praying to the Virgin: Devotional Portraits in Early Flemish Paintings*, Tokyo, 2015.
- 2 For chronology of Jan van Eyck, see James Snyder, "The Chronology of Jan van Eyck's Paintings," *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, pp. 293-297; Charles Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art*, 33, 1976, pp. 7-82; Hans Belting & Dagmar Eichberger, *Jan van Eyck als Erzähler*, Strasbourg, 1983.
- 3 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. montbret 216; Micheline Comblen-Sonkes & Philippe Lorentz, *Le Musée du Louvre, Paris, II, Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la principauté de Liège au quinzième siècle*, 17, Bruxelles, 1995, pp. 74-75.
- 4 For existing research, see Comblen-Sonkes & Lorentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-80. For the depiction of Rolin and the iconographical interpretations, see particularly, Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 192; Emil Kieser, "Zur Deutung und Datierung der Rolin-Madonna des Jan van Eyck," *Städte-Jahrbuch*, n.s. I, 1967, pp. 73-95; James Snyder, "Jan van Eyck and the Madonna of Chancellor Nicolas Rolin," *Oud Holland*, 82, 1967, pp.163-171; Heinz Roosen-Runge, *Die Rolin Madonna des Jan van Eyck*, Wiesbaden, 1972; Anne Hagopisn van Buren, "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Painting, Part 2," *The Art Bulletin*, 60, 1978, pp. 617-633; Molly Teasdale Smith, "On the Donor of Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*," *Gesta*, 20, 1981, pp. 273-279; Carra Ferguson O'Meara, "At the Right hand of the Lord," *Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes*, 25, Bâle, 1985, pp. 91-101; Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck*, 1991, pp. 100-118; Laura D. Gelfand & Walter S. Gibson, "Surrogate Selves: The *Rolin Madonna* and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait," *Simiolus*, 29, 2002, pp. 119-138.
- 5 Hélène Adhémar, "Sur la Vierge du chancelier Rolin de van Eyck," *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, 15, 1975, pp. 9-17; van Buren, *op. cit.*, pp. 629-633. See also, Carol J. Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck*, Princeton, 1982.
- 6 For devotional portraits, see John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York, 1966; Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen, "Le portrait," dans Brigitte de Patoul et Roger van Schoute, dir., *Les Primitifs flamands et leur temps*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998, pp. 217-239; Imai, *Ibid*, 2015.
- 7 On Flemish altarpieces made in the fifteenth century, see Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece*, New York, 1984; Craig Harbison, "The Northern Altarpiece as a Cultural Document," in Peter Humfrey, ed., *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1990, pp.49-75. For devotional image, see especially Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, Doornspijk, 1984 [1965]; Hans Belting, Mark Bartusis & Raymond Meyer, tr., *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1990, pp.41-64; Laura G. Gelfand, *Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Devotional Portrait Diptychs*, Ph.D. Diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1994.
- 8 Comblen-Sonkes & Lorentz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 9 For Nicolas Rolin, see Arsène Perier, *Nicolas Rolin: 1380-1461*, Paris, 1904; Henri Pirenne,

- “Nicolas Rolin,” *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, 19, Bruxelles, 1907, cols. 828-839; Herta-Florence Pridat, *Nicolas Rolin: Chancelier de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1996; Marie-Thérèse Berthier & John-Thomas Sweeney, *Le Chancelier Rolin 1376-1462*, Précy-sous-Thil, 1998; Brigitte Maurice-Chabard et al., *La splendeur des Rolin: Un mécénat privé à la cour de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1999.
- 10 Georges Chastellain, Kervyn de Lettenhove, éd., *Œuvres*, Bruxelles, 1836-66, III, pp. 330-331.
- 11 Jacques du Clercq, Frederic de Reiffenberg, éd., *Mémoires*, III, Bruxelles, 1823.
- 12 “Il était bien juste que celui qui avait fait tant de pauvres pendant sa vie, leur préparât un asyle avant de mourir.” Claude Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne*, II, Dijon, 1847[1778], p. 296.
- 13 Adhémar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 14 Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, Groningen, 1949[1919]. See also, www. dbnl.nl.
- 15 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registre du Vatican 365, fol. 17v; Philippe Lorentz, “Nouveaux repères chronologiques pour la *Vierge du chancelier Rolin* de van Eyck,” *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 42, 1992, pp. 42-49, doc. 4.
- 16 Lorentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.
- 17 For Matins of the Divine Office, see Henri Littlehales, ed., *The Prymer or Lay Folk's Prayer Book*, London, 1897; Joseph A. Jungmann, Francis A. Brunner, tr., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, New York, 1951; Jean Michel Hanssens, *Nature et genèse de l'office des matines*, Rome, 1952; Dominic J. Unger, *Our Lady's Daily Hours: The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Roman Breviary*, Paterson, 1954.
- 18 Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 19 Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 20 Roosen-Runge, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63; van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 618.
- 21 Purtle, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-84, 177-185.
- 22 Lorentz, *op. cit.*, 1992; Philippe Lorentz, “The Virgin and Chancellor Rolin and Office of Matins,” in Susan Foister et al., *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 49-57.
- 23 For *missa privatae*, see Jungmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-215.
- 24 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca/ London, 1979, p. 118.
- 25 Joseph Garnier, “Les deux premiers hôtels de ville de Dijon: étude historique,” *Commission des Antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or*, 9, Dijon, 1875, pp. 1-111; Berthier & Sweeney, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-220.
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Figs. 1, 4-6, 17 Kouichi Motoki, *Jan van Eyck*, Tokyo, 2007.

Figs. 2-3, 8 Stephan Kemperdick, *Rogier van der Weyden*, Keulen, 1999.

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- Figs. 19-20 Photo: Sumiko IMAI, August 2014.



Fig. 1 Jan van Eyck, *Rolin Madonna*, ca. 1435, oil on wood, 66 x 62cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 2 Rogier van der Weyden, Detail of *Last Judgment Polyptych* (closed), ca. 1450, oil on wood, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune.



Fig. 3 Rogier van der Weyden, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, 1448, parchment, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms 9242, fol. 1, Brussels.



Fig. 4 Detail of fig. 1.

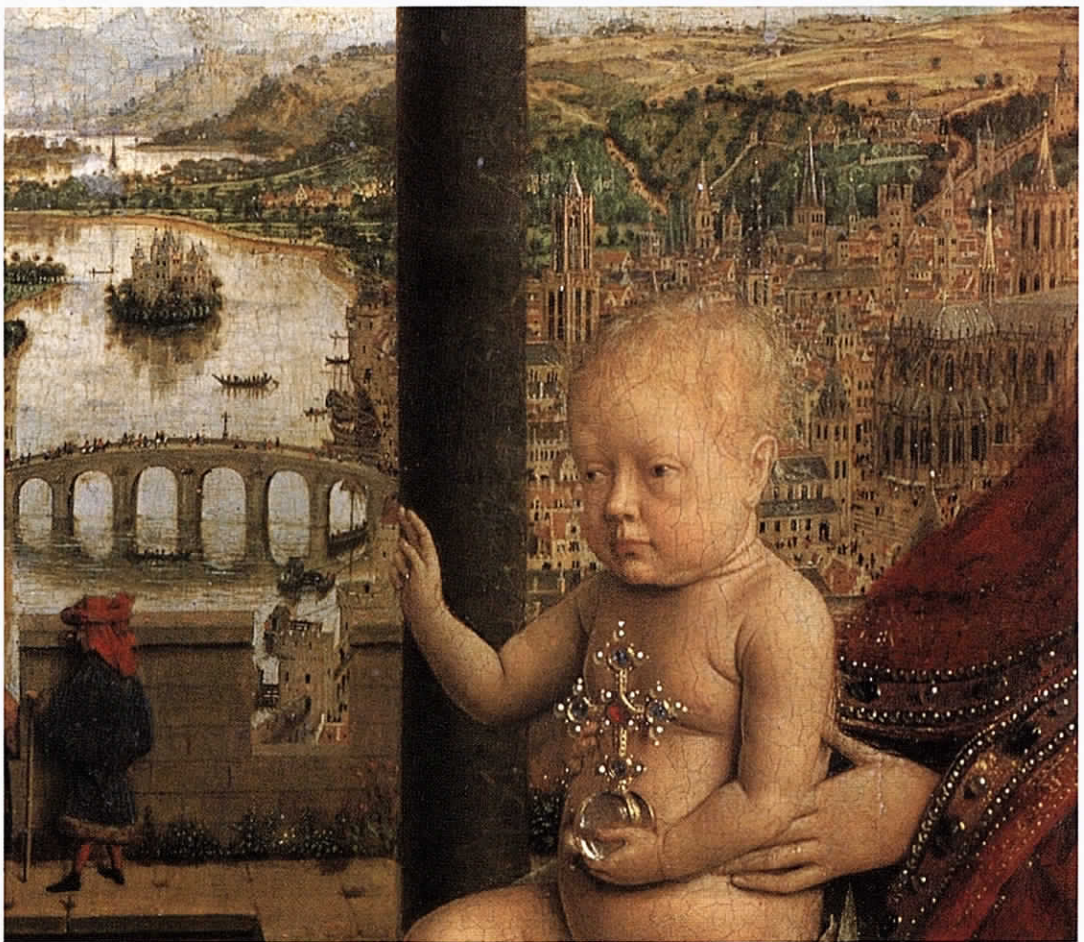


Fig. 5 Detail of fig. 1.



Fig. 6 Detail of fig. 1.



Fig. 7 Jan van Eyck, *Dresden Triptych*, 1437, oil on wood, 27.5 x 21.5 cm (central), 27.5 x 8 cm (each side), Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.



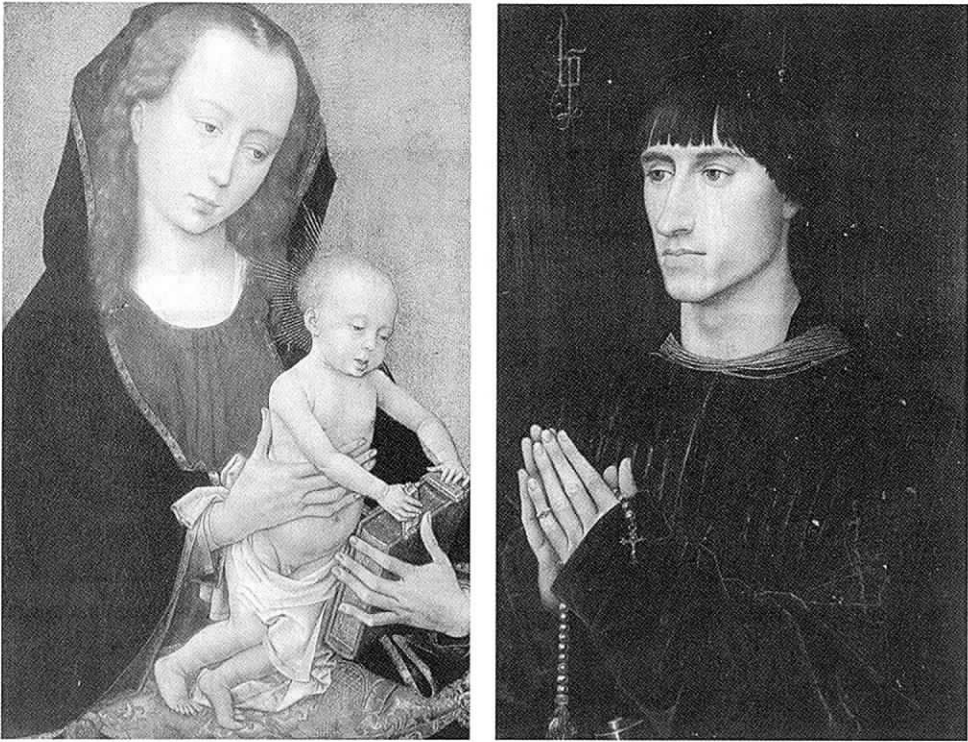


Fig. 8 Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait Diptych of Philippe de Croy*, ca. 1460, oil on wood, 49 x 31 cm, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino (left wing), 49 x 30 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (right wing).

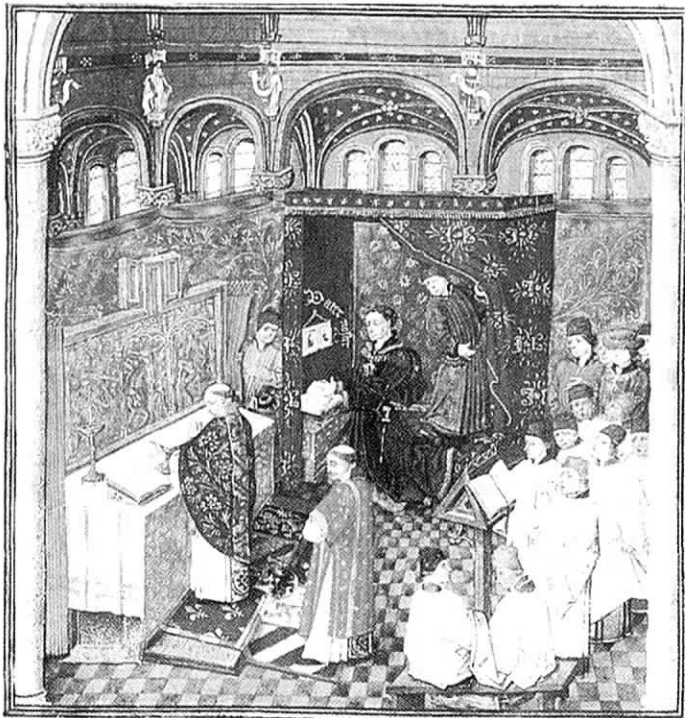


Fig. 9 Jean Le Tavernier, *Traité sur l'oraison dominicale*, after 1457, parchement, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9092, fol. 9, Brussels.

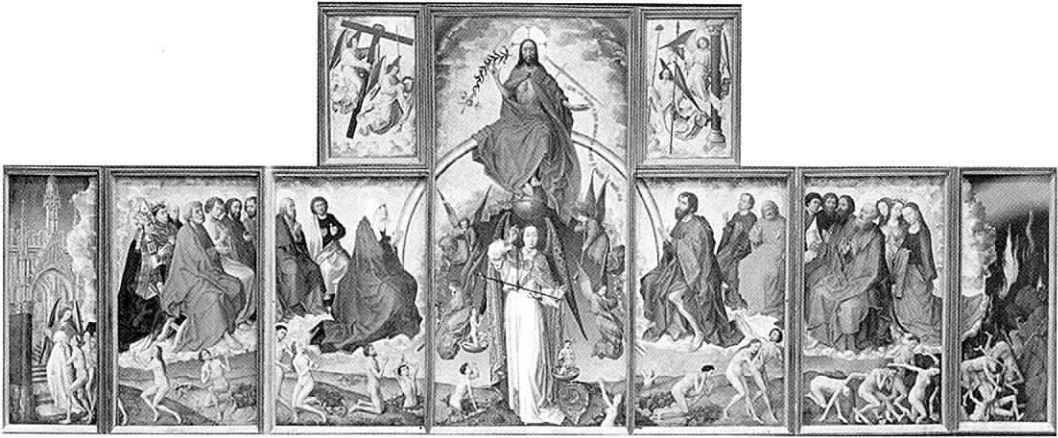


Fig. 10 Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgment Polyptych*, ca. 1450, oil on wood, 215 x 560 cm, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune.



(left) Fig. 11 *Brussels Hours*, end of the 14th century, parchment, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms.11060-61, fol. 14, Brussels.



(right) Fig. 12 *Hours of Margaret of Cleve*, beginning of the 15th century, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, ms. LA. 148, fol. 19v, Lisbon.

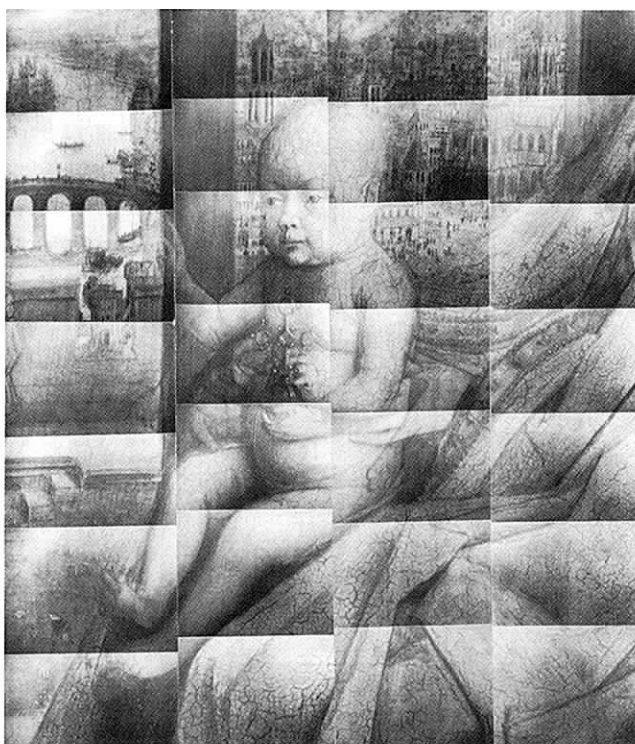


Fig. 13 Detail of fig. 1 (infrared reflectgram).



Fig. 14 Detail of fig. 1 (infrared photography).



Fig. 15 Chapel of the *Palazzo Medici*, 1459-60, Florence.



Fig. 16 Filippo Lippi, *Madonna in the Forest*, 1460, oil on panel, 127 x 116 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Fig. 17 Detail of fig. 1.

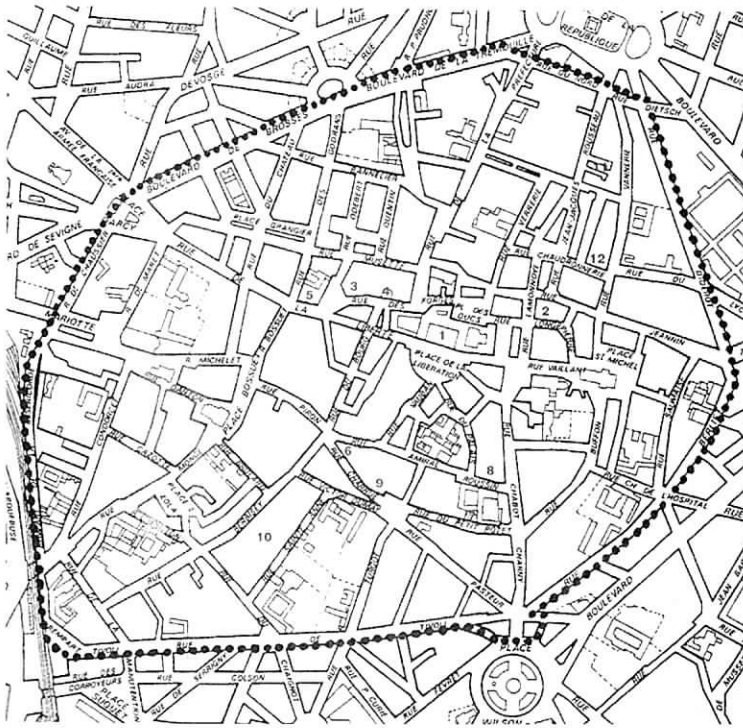


Fig. 18 Map of Dijon (1: ducal chapel, 2: old residence of Nicolas Rolin).



Fig. 19 Old Residence of Nicolas Rolin(now used as Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or), Dijon.



Fig. 20 Interior of old Residence of Nicolas Rolin, Dijon.