

The Portrait of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy at Prayer: Crossing of Sacred and Profane, or Public and Private in Early Netherlandish Painting*

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Introduction

In Netherlandish schools in the fifteenth century, Robert Campin (the Master of Flémalle) and the van Eyck brothers brought important innovations to the field of art. These innovations were realized by their new “oil” techniques, which made it possible to describe details of subtle, transparent light, the feel of the fabrics, and the wrinkles or eyelashes of people. We cannot but admire such excellent depictions and feel as if we are gazing into a “real” world. In addition to the improvement of the technique of oil paintings, this also reflects a growing interest in the phenomena of the reality at that time during the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern era. The growing interest can also be associated with the increase of independent portraits.

Among portraits of early Netherlandish paintings, what is particularly remarkable is the representation of those who kneel in prayer to the sacred—in this article it will be referred to as a “devotional portrait” or a “portrait at prayer.” In religious paintings, such portraits at prayer were originally regarded as secondary or additional motifs subordinating the sacred object. However, in early Netherlandish paintings, devotional portraits are shown as if sharing the space with the saints whom they pray to. Interestingly, the painters depicted the portrait as carefully and meticulously as saints.⁽¹⁾ Showing the piousness of the portrait’s model, of course, also seems to reflect the intention to admire one’s social status.

In order to clarify the reasons why such self-admiring portraits at prayer emerged, we need to focus not only on the spirit of the age, but also the persons whose patronage had great influences on the styles and iconographies of works of art. In this regard, we concentrate on the power and authority of the Dukes of Burgundy, who dominated the Netherlands in the fifteenth century.

The Duchy of Burgundy began in 1363, when Philip the Bold, one of the princes of France from the House of Valois family, inherited the region of Burgundy from his father John II (1319-1364) to become the first Duke of Burgundy (reign from 1363 to 1404).⁽²⁾ The Duchy expanded its territory toward the north and by the time the third Duke, Philip the Good (reign from 1419 to 1467), came to power, it was a prosperous empire that rivaled neighboring countries such as the Kingdom of France or the Holy Roman Empire. Successive Dukes of Burgundy were so ardent to obtain arts and luxurious images that their patronage served as a model for other European courts.⁽³⁾

The relationship between the Duke of Burgundy and Netherlandish painters became much closer during the reign of Philip the Good. Although their relationship has been discussed in previous research, it was difficult to provide the full scope of it.⁽⁴⁾ This is because most works of art commissioned by the duke do not exist today. In spite of such limitations, we attempted to research extant materials and came to consider that representations of Philip the Good could serve as important “models” for devotional portraits of early Netherlandish paintings.⁽⁵⁾ We still continue to explore this theme in order to have a clearer understanding of how and when the images of the duke could have been influential. With this as the aim, this article will try to examine portraits of Philip the Good praying at prayer, and compare them to portraits of the successive Dukes of Burgundy. Independent portraits, which were seemingly relative to devotional portraits, will also be discussed.

In the next chapter, we will first survey the portraits of the successive Dukes of Burgundy, comparing images of Philip the Good with those of two earlier Dukes: Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. Then, after exploring his religious attitude and social ambition, we will examine how devotional portraits of Philip the Good were represented. At the end, by comparing them with portraits of Charles the Bold, the fourth Duke of Burgundy, we will show the influence of the images of Philip the Good to subsequent generations.

1. Independent Portraits and Devotional Portraits of the Dukes of Burgundy

From the reign of Philip the Bold, the successive Dukes of Burgundy were eager to commission their own images of paintings, illuminated manuscripts, sculptures, or stained glass windows.⁽⁶⁾ As their images were installed on the door of a church or the façade of government buildings in a public square, many people could see the duke’s dignified images. Although most original works do not exist today, we can still see “typical” images of dukes depicted as an independent portrait on panel paintings which show details of their features in a naturalistic style (Figs. 1-4). As they are contemporary or later copies, we

have to suppose that some changes might have been added. When compared with the smaller, rough portraits of John the Fearless depicted in manuscript illustrations when the duke was surely still alive (Fig. 8), we could observe common features such as a pointed, sharp nose and a firmly-set mouth in them.⁽⁷⁾ Therefore, it is possible to consider that these copies retain the duke's features to a great extent.

On the other hand, if we analyze portraits of the dukes chronologically, significant changes can be observed in the representation of Philip the Good. That is to say, the first two dukes were almost always portrayed in profile, following the tradition of French court. Portraits of John the Fearless are classified into five different types, and four types of them show him in profile.⁽⁸⁾ In contrast, images of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold show their faces from a three-quarter angle, which reflect the contemporary Netherlandish style.⁽⁹⁾ Moreover, in terms of dress, the first two dukes wear colorful robes decorated with precious stones, while Philip the Good's attire seems comparatively simple. He was shown almost always with black clothing hanging by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which Philip himself established in 1430.

We can see the same tendencies in devotional portraits of dukes.⁽¹⁰⁾ As for existing devotional portraits of Philip the Bold, well-known works include the statues of him and his wife for a Chartreuse monastery of Champmol situated at the outskirts of Dijon—the capital of the Duchy of Burgundy at that time (Fig. 5).⁽¹¹⁾ Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter sculpted them likely between 1385 and 1401, and after completion, they adorned the door of the convent of Champmol. While the statue of Philip is mediated by Saint John the Baptist on the left side, his wife Margaret kneels with Saint Catherine at the opposite side; they are praying to the Virgin and Child standing in the central pillar. As the convent at Champmol was intended to be a mausoleum of the duke's family, we could say these statues not only emphasized their devoutness, but also marked the status of the duke as an acting ruler of God. Indeed, at the pedestal supporting the Virgin, the couple's initials "P" and "M" are legible.

Concerning John the Fearless, one portrait at prayer is extant, depicted on a panel (Fig. 7), of which its original made around the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The inscription written above the portrait says that John was assassinated at Montereau in 1419.⁽¹²⁾ Although John does not wear a hat as he does in other portraits, his looks are very similar to them. The collar shows one of the emblems of the Duchy of Burgundy, the designed "fusil." Such emblems or coat of arms can be recognized in other portraits of John and Philip the Bold (Figs. 2, 6, 8), emphasizing the power of the duke.

As we have seen, many of the portrait images of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless

tend to show their social status even if they are kneeling in a religious context. We must add that their images were made more than those of contemporary kings and nobles. Interestingly, the images of the third Duke, Philip the Good, were ordered even more than theirs. In the next chapter, we examine Philip the Good's social position and his attitudes toward religion and analyze devotional portraits of him.

2. Social Position and Religious Attitude of Philip the Good

In the fifteenth century, Georges Chastellain, a chronicler of Burgundy, reported Philip the Good's appearance, which can be found today in the portraits of Philip the Good (Fig. 3).

. . . de stature il estoit moyennement haut homme, corporellement, à la mesure de sa hauteur, . . . ; et avoit plus en os qu'en charnure, veines grosses et pleines de sang . . . nez non aquilin, mais long; plein front et ample, non calve; chevelure entre blond et noir, . . . ; portoit bouche en juste compas; lèvres grosses et colorées; les yeux vairs, de fière inspection telle fois, mais coustumièrément amiables . . .⁽¹³⁾

In 1419, Philip the Good inherited his father's position and became the third Duke of Burgundy. During his reign—which continued almost fifty years—Philip rivaled his status with other European rulers by enlarging his territory and becoming a great patron of art. His dignity was certainly recognized beyond the Burgundian territory. Spanish traveler and historian, Pero Tafur, who was granted an audience with Philip in 1438, admired the duke by saying:

. . . El señor Duque es muy nobilíssima persona é de grant virtud, muy gentil gesto é muy gentil cuerpo, alto aunque delgado, allende de manera galan quanto puede ser . . .⁽¹⁴⁾

Inside Burgundy, Chastellain praised Philip the Good as “. . . Son semblant seulement le jugeoit empereur; et valoit de porter couronne, seulement sur les grâces de nature . . .”⁽¹⁵⁾ This chronicler might have surmised the duke's desire to be crowned as king or emperor, for his strong ambition was demonstrated at every opportunity. Philip was eager to expand his territory so as to declare the Crusades to the East. He also held many magnificent feasts and surprised everyone who attended with them.⁽¹⁶⁾

In terms of religion, Philip the Good was a very pious layman, particularly venerated the Virgin Mary.⁽¹⁷⁾ It was customary for him to attend Mass held at his own chapels, which were established everywhere in his territory.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is said that even after the Mass, he would rest at his chapel and continue to pray for a long time. In addition, having obtained special permission from the pope, he could order the Mass to be celebrated in the afternoon, which was ordinarily prohibited.⁽¹⁹⁾ Moreover, he accompanied chaplains even to the battlefield. He vigorously founded Masses, organized choirs, donated goods such as candles or stained-glasses to churches, and sometimes gave alms in secret.⁽²⁰⁾ It is documented that in 1441, Philip bequeathed his fortune to religious organizations with instructions that Masses be dedicated to him and his ancestors.⁽²¹⁾

Let us examine an illuminated manuscript which seems to reflect Philip's piety and social position (Figs. 11-12).⁽²²⁾ Shown is a ducal chapel, where Philip is kneeling at prayer in his canopy, he is accompanied by priests and the choir, as well as his courtiers. Certainly it is not a real photograph, but it allows us to imagine how Philip would pray daily. While the private, solitude devotion was recommended for laymen at that time, the duke is accompanied by servants in this illustration. It suggests that even though he was very pious, he could not pray alone. As a ruler, the act of the duke must have been observed and recorded constantly, so his chapel could not have been completely private. Then, the duke himself could not keep his conscious about his social position even when he was praying.⁽²³⁾ Inevitably, contradictory elements would coexist in his attitude, wavering between a private, sacred devotion and a profane, social position. Such duality also can be observed in his portraits at prayer.

3. Portraits of Philip the Good at Prayer

3-1. Portraits of Philip the Good at Prayer

Among Netherlandish devotional portraits, images of Philip the Good can be counted as one of the largest in number today.⁽²⁴⁾ In the "List of Portraits of Philip the Good at Prayer," we collected his devotional portraits, mainly the works retaining enough size to recognize his face.⁽²⁵⁾ It reveals that more than forty portraits in various mediums such as panel paintings, manuscripts with miniatures, and stained-glass were made in the fifteenth century. Works listed as nos. 1-21 are those which Philip ordered; List 22-26 were not commissioned by Philip himself. As for List nos. a-c, only the records of them exist today. Items listed in the second lines from the right show how Philip is represented with his "signs"; that is to say, motifs identifying the figure as Philip. In order to explore Philip's intention,

we will discuss primarily List 1-21—the works ordered by Philip himself.

In earlier portraits, Philip kneels in prayer at a *prie-dieu* with an open book, showing his three-quarter face with short black hair, and wearing a black robe decorated with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece (List 1-3/ Fig. 9).⁽²⁶⁾ These motifs can be observed in most of his portraits as well as various emblems and devises. Interestingly, these three pages of illustrations are included in a manuscript with a particular format, namely, with a diptych attached on the top of the book. As the diptych was painted earlier than the manuscript's compilation, the figure of Philip could have been based on the *Trinity* and the *Coronation* of the panel. Philip's gaze reinforces this idea: he does not see the painting depicted within the manuscript illumination, but looks up toward the diptych (Fig. 9). Also, in the illustration of List 2, Philip kneels before the *Mass of Saint Gregory*. Here, Philip sees this miraculous vision of Christ directly, while the upper left panel of the diptych emphasizes this iconography by repeating the figure of Christ as a Crucifixion. In the illustration of List 3, Philip joins his hands praying to the miraculous Virgin, whose iconography can be associated with the *Coronation* at the right panel of the above-mentioned diptych.

In List 4, Philip kneels before a *prie-dieu* at right side, wearing a black dress trimmed with fur as in other images of Philip (Fig. 10).⁽²⁷⁾ The profile face allows this image to hold a unique position among devotional portraits of Philip. The carpet on which Philip kneels is patterned with his coat of arm. Across an opened curtain, he stares at a vivid scene of the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, with the vision of Christ and his passion instruments.

As mentioned above, List 5 shows Philip attending a Mass with his typical dress and posture (Figs. 11-12). Philip kneels in a canopy patterned with emblems of gold fusils. The pattern of the coat of arms can be seen on the carpet where the chaplains stand. The coat of arms is again shown ostentatiously at the lower margin of the page below a twined scroll with his famous motto, "Aultre naray."

Similar figures are depicted in List 6-8 (Figs. 13-14).⁽²⁸⁾ In List 8, a *prie-dieu* and a carpet at which Philip is kneeling shows patterns of his arms. The canopy consists of neutral colors and includes Burgundian emblems such as an X-shaped cross of Saint Andrew, designed fusils, and cryptographic initials of "EE" frequently used by Philip (Fig. 14).⁽²⁹⁾ This illustration is especially significant in that its composition stresses Philip's position by sharing, even dividing the space in two with Saint Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy. The ties between Philip and Saint Andrew are strikingly shown by hanging the left edge of the curtain of Philip's canopy into a building where the Saint stands. In this way, the association of Philip with the Saint is stressed physically by his faith and status.

List 9 includes remarkable expressions as well (Fig. 15).⁽³⁰⁾ It illustrates the beginning of

the manuscript discussing the annunciation, and here Philip kneels to the annunciated Virgin standing in a building to the right. The same as List 8, a *prie-dieu* and a carpet at which Philip kneels include the pattern of the coat of arms. The canopy is patterned with X-shaped crosses, designed fusils, and mystic initials of “EE.” By coding the roof and blue curtain of the canopy with a twisted column of the architecture where the Virgin stands, their association is represented. The floor tiles of the Virgin’s room, decorated with the designed fusils, also reinforce their ties.

List 10-17 shows Philip at a three-quarter angle as usual, wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, holding a sword, kneeling at a *prie-dieu* with an open book (Figs. 16-19).⁽³¹⁾ In this manuscript, all illuminations are depicted in *grisaille*. They followed the fashion at the Burgundian court at that time, but as the forms of robes were very similar to other images of Philip, it was plausible that Philip’s figures were depicted as wearing black also in these monochrome illustrations. In one of the illuminations (List 17/ Fig. 19), Philip occupies the right half of the space as with List 8-9 (Figs. 14-15).

In terms of frequency, it is notable that the devotional portrait of Philip appears as many as eight times in the manuscript of which List 10-17 belong to, while the manuscript including List 1-3 shows him three times. The one with List 6-8 also depicts Philip three times, and in another manuscript including List 18-21, Philip appears four times.⁽³²⁾ Concerning the last manuscript (List 18-21/ Fig. 20), his figures are represented very small in size, so it seems almost impossible to recognize the details. Nevertheless, careful observation allows us to find transparent patterns of emblems appearing on a *prie-dieu* and in his clothing.

List 22-26 should have been excluded from the discussion as they were not ordered by Philip. Here we would like to point out briefly that images of the duke vary considerably in these works. For example, Philip puts on armor in the work represented on a bronze plate (List 22), while in a panel painting, he is depicted putting on a crown and a halo, as one who surrounds the *Ara Coeli* in the last judgement scene (List 24). In List 25, the duke has a decorative armor with his arms.

3-2. “Signs” and Uniformed Images of Philip the Good

As we have seen, most of the devotional portraits ordered by Philip the Good are included in a Book of Hours or a Breviary. The number of such manuscripts amounts to as many as seven in total. The fact that Philip was a fervent bibliophile can help us to understand the reason why such a great number of portraits were illustrated in manuscripts.⁽³³⁾

While portraits of Philip pray variously to the Virgin and Child, Saints, or a scene of a

miraculous story, his images are remarkably quite uniform. The illustrations would occupy a whole page or a half page, so it is large enough to recognize how Philip appears. As we have shown, most of his figures are represented from a three-quarter angle with short black hair and black dress, with a short sword hanging, and wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece. He also kneels at a *prie-dieu* decorated with patterns of his coat of arms and emblems. Moreover, he tends to occupy the large space and appear repeatedly within a manuscript. In order to admire and demonstrate the duke's dignity, it must have been effective to represent such common "signs." His uniformed images contrasted sharply to the diverse figures which were not ordered by him. It is possible that the artists who worked for Philip would have shared the same codes of representation within the Burgundian court, but we should first recognize the intention of the duke.

In spite of such uniformity of "signs," we have to notice that the faces of Philip vary greatly according to the illustration. For example, the difference of facial expressions can be revealed further if he is captured from the same angle, and with the same pose and attire (for example, among Figs. 9, 13, 17, 20 or among Figs. 14, 16, 18, 19). As a certain ability would be required to depict the whole body in a relatively small space, we can say that the differences may have been caused by each artist's skill. Here we would like to highlight that such anticipatory differences would prompt the use of "signs."

Incidentally, Philip the Good was not the first who made use of "signs." The precedent dukes, Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, had already used coat of arms, emblems, or devices in their images (Figs. 2, 6-8). As it has been pointed out, their emblems served effectively,⁽³⁴⁾ but their methods of representations were not always fixed. In this regard, Philip the Good was very conscious and excellent to unify his codes.

If we can say that Philip the Good was very conscious of his own images, who were assumed to be viewers of his devotional portraits? Compared to the bigger statues or panel paintings, small illuminated manuscripts would be appreciated within a very limited group. A Book of Hours should have been used in person originally, and what Philip owned would have been also viewed and used by the duke himself. However, as examined above, Philip seemed to be always conscious about his social position and acted as a splendid ruler even when he was in prayer. Not a few manuscripts were inherited by his heir or used as diplomatic gifts. Expecting these possibilities, Philip would have tried to demonstrate his dignity as strategically as possible.

The intention of "signs" and fixed images can be observed by other portraits of Philip the Good in a dedication page of a manuscript. In it, Philip receives the book, with the Golden Fleece collar, holding a scepter, surrounded by his subjects (Figs. 21-22).⁽³⁵⁾ The canopy,

carpet, floor, and decorations of the margins show magnificently his coat of arms and mottos to stress that the duke is a good governor and patron of the arts. In short, Philip's "signs" carry a strong public character.

4. Portraits of Philip the Good

4-1. "Official" Portraits of Philip the Good

As examined above, devotional portraits of Philip intended to demonstrate his status through his "signs." Such patterned images can also be seen in panel paintings. Concerning portraits of Philip the Good depicted in the panel, we can count no less than 100 (versions, later copies and records about them are included).⁽³⁶⁾ Now, according to the classification of De Zutter, we will examine three types of Philip's portrait.⁽³⁷⁾

Concerning type one, Philip the Good in bust, shows the right side of his face at a three-quarter angle, wearing a crown and a black robe with the collar of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 23). Only later copies exist, but it has been suggested that the original was painted in 1436 by Dijon master, Jean de Maisoncelle.⁽³⁸⁾

As for type two, the duke is shown with a three-quarter face against a dark background, putting on a black hat and holding a scroll in his hand (Fig. 3). We can see a white inner part and a necklace of a cross under his black robe, while the collar of the Golden Fleece shines on the robe. Based on the forms of sleeves lacking in the bulges (*maheutre*), the portrait could not have been made before 1448.⁽³⁹⁾ Copies after Rogier van der Weyden's work are known and considered to have been made soon after the original. In total, at least 26 copies and versions are surviving.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Type three also originated from Rogier's work. The figure seems very similar to type two, except that neither a hat nor his hands can be seen (Fig. 24).⁽⁴¹⁾ Scholars suggested that this type was made after 1460, when Philip became seriously ill. Chronicler Olivier de la Marche mentioned that then, according to the advice of doctors, the duke shaved off his hair to wear a wig.⁽⁴²⁾ The chronicler continued that as the duke ordered his courtiers to follow his hairstyle, more than five hundred people changed his hair as the duke did "pour l'amour du duc."⁽⁴³⁾ Although this is a moving episode, it should be noted that in some manuscript illustrations created before 1460, the same hair as in type three can be found (Figs. 9-10, 22). Moreover, the outline of Philip's face seems younger than in other types, implying strongly that we should consider that the original painting would have been painted earlier than estimated.

Significantly, De Zutter pointed out that type two could serve as an "official" portrait of

the duke, for copies of this type are highly regarded among these three types.⁽⁴⁴⁾ His successors must have regarded type two as quite valuable, as a portrait of this type was exceptionally described in detail in the list of properties of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) in 1523, one of the great-grandchildren of Philip the Good.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In contrast, De Zutter suggested that type three would have been circulated in a more private situation, depending on the meticulous depiction of his looks compared to the other types.

It has often been suggested that portraits of Philip functioned as “official” without specifying which type they belong to.⁽⁴⁶⁾ However, there are no fifteenth century documents that specify “the official portrait of the duke.” Accordingly, it is not clear whether people at that time recognized the role of “official” portraits as we assume. The word “official” itself evokes the “formal” or “public,” while the portraits of Philip have various sizes and colors even within one type. Therefore, it seems difficult to consider that the notion of “official portraits” was strictly defined.

Now, what was certain is that Philip’s successor inherited one of the works belonging to type two and that the position of the duke assumed more or less public characters in every situation. Based on them, it seems more probable that type two had a comparatively public, official character; Philip might have made use of this type so frequently that it was appreciated by many and consequently inherited by his successor. Namely, official portraits were not fixed at first, but gradually became recognized as such.

In addition, we would like to point out that the importance of a hat as a standard to distinguish an “official” portrait. A king would put on a crown or a priest would wear a miter to indicate his official position, so Philip’s hat could have had the same role. The reason has not been sufficiently explained as to why in type three he does not wear a hat,⁽⁴⁷⁾ but if we bring attention to other devotional portraits of early Netherlandish painting, it is evident that many of the male images also do not put on a hat.⁽⁴⁸⁾ So, among the males of the Burgundian court, this attitude can be regarded as a proper manner to personally pray to a sacred person.

Interestingly, some of Philip’s portraits at prayer have hanging hats in the back (Figs. 11-13, 15-20). This may reflect one aspect of the fashions of the Burgundian court,⁽⁴⁹⁾ but here we should recognize Philip’s consciousness to balance between contradictory elements of sacred and profane, or public and private.

If we can say that the hat of Philip the Good functioned as an important “sign” to judge the extent of public or private character, what about other “signs” represented in his portraits? It is easy to understand the private context of a *prie-dieu*, or the public context of the coat of arms or the emblems. In contrast, the meaning of the black dress does not seem

evident.

4-2. Symbolism of Black Clothing

Curiously, portraits of Philip the Good almost always featured black cloths; this especially applied to the works which the duke himself ordered. His black attire has been explained generally by the mourning of his father, John the Fearless; Philip never forgot the tragedy of John's assassination.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In this context, chronicler Chastellain mentioned that Philip attached pearls to his black hat, which appeared as if they were tears.⁽⁵¹⁾

However, Philip did not always wear black from 1419 to his own death in 1467. In recent research, it is pointed out that at least until mid-1430s, Philip dresses himself in other colors as well.⁽⁵²⁾ Blue or red robes can be found in some dedication pages of illuminated manuscripts, or the book of regulation of the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁽⁵³⁾ Historically, black could have expressed mourning in a religious context. We would like to make note that they became accustomed to wearing hats at funerals in Burgundy,⁽⁵⁴⁾ while many of the devotional portraits of Philip do not show hats being worn. Therefore, it is not sufficient to explain the reason of black dress only caused by the sorrow for his father.

Then why did Philip wear black dress so frequently? In terms of the history of fashion, black came into fashion in French and Italian courts after the fourteenth century, and Philip the Good can be regarded as one of rulers who led the black fashion.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Indeed, Philip's black attire was decorated splendidly with precious materials such as satin, velvet, gold embroidery, and fur trimming. These ornaments reinforce his status but do not directly associate to mourning.

As a clue, one contemporary writing, titled *Le Blason des Couleurs en armes, livrées et devises*, would be suggestive. It was written by Sicille, who worked as a herald under the King of Aragon in the first half of the fifteenth century. In this book, he indicated the symbolic meanings of colors and he referred to black as a color of great dignity and position as well as sorrow.⁽⁵⁶⁾ He also noted black was suited for the robes of men showing "the generous heart that should live in the body and soul."⁽⁵⁷⁾ As Sicille's book is assumed to have been already popular in fifteenth century Europe, it must have been shared among the Burgundian court. Philip the Good would likely be fond of the explanation that black showed one's dignity and position.

Let us evoke the above-mentioned episode of the hairstyle of Philip the Good. Its role seemed rather important in terms of indicating how much the duke influenced his courtiers than deciding the date of his portrait. In the next chapter, we will compare his devotional portraits with works of Charles the Bold and other courtiers with regard to the receptions

of the images of Philip the Good.

5. Influence of the Portraits of Philip the Good

At a glance, we can recognize that portraits of Charles the Bold follow the posture of Philip the Good, shown in a three-quarter face with black robe and the collar of the Golden Fleece against a dark background (Fig. 4).⁽⁵⁸⁾ In contrast, in illuminated manuscripts dedicated to Philip, the young Charles, standing next to his father, clothes himself with a light orange dress (Fig. 22).

Having grown up, Charles the Bold had his images crafted in various mediums such as panel paintings, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, stained glass, and medals, as his father did. We can observe that even compositions of Charles's portraits at prayer are similar to those of Philip (Figs. 14, 25). Curiously, he added several devotional portraits (Fig. 26) when he re-ordered the compilation of the so-called the *Prayer Book of Charles the Bold* in 1470-71 (at first it was made in 1469).⁽⁵⁹⁾ This fact allows us to imagine that Charles must have attached greater importance to such devotional portraits. On the other hand, Charles was not always represented wearing black dress. Rather, he seems eager to decorate himself with colorful dress to demonstrate his magnificence and wealth.⁽⁶⁰⁾ What is unique about Charles is that in some images he was likened to his patron saint—Charles and Saint George are represented as having the same faces (Fig. 26). From this, we can see a strong ambition of Charles to emphasize his authority in his own ways.

Concerning devotional portraits of Burgundian courtiers, Philip the Good's portraits at prayer seem to be handed down to them, sometimes with slight changes. The way the fixed images were repeated was followed by the wife of Charles, Margaret of York.⁽⁶¹⁾ As for the black fashion, it was spread among the courtiers around and after the mid-fifteenth century. Indeed, black attire can be found in many figures at prayer in early Netherlandish paintings, such as with Nicolas Rolin, chancellor of Burgundy who ordered the *Beaune Altarpiece* (List 24), and an Italian merchant represented in the *Last Judgment Altarpiece* painted by Hans Memling (now in Gdańsk, National Museum). Although the wide influence of Philip's portraits seems evident, we still have to specify the artworks' associations deeply, which will be investigated in another occasion.

Conclusion

In this article, we examined devotional portraits of the successive Dukes of Burgundy, fo-

cusing on the third Duke, Philip the Good. It is evident that the style and form of the dukes' portraits changed during the reign of Philip the Good. As for portraits at prayer, each duke made use of emblems to demonstrate his own authority. In particular, devotional portraits of Philip the Good embody these tendencies by using "signs" and a uniformed image.

Although portraits of Philip have been sometimes explained as "official," this meaning has not been strictly defined. Inspecting them in detail, we notice that not all of the portraits are always uniform. We also found that among Philip's representations, the hat he wore could serve as a standard to judge the extent of public/private character of the work. In addition, as for the black dress he wears, the context of fashion should be emphasized as well as the social position and dignity of the duke, rather than the mourning of his father. His devotional portraits do not exclude each element; rather, they accept seemingly contrary elements of sacred and profane, or public and private. Indeed, they helped his images play a significant role among early Netherlandish art, which faced a major shift from the Middle Ages to the Modern era.

In order to clarify the influence of devotional portraits of Philip the Good, we also have to initiate a discussion from the perspective of the painters such as Rogier van der Weyden and the illuminators who worked for the duke. It is an aspect that we will elaborate on in another article.

[Notes]

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- (1) Sumiko Imai, *Praying to the Virgin: Devotional Portraits in Early Flemish Paintings*, Tokyo, 2015 (in Japanese).
- (2) For the Duchy of Burgundy and the reign of Philip the Good, see especially Joseph Calmette, *Les Grands ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1949; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 2002[1970]; Bertrand Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris, 2005 [1999].
- (3) Werner Paravicini, "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?," in Ronald G. Asch & Adolf M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, Oxford, 1991, pp.69-102.
- (4) Claire Challéat, "Le grand siècle de Bourgogne," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 80, 2008, pp.163-202.
- (5) Sumiko Imai, "Model of Devotion, Model of Self-admiration: Prayer Portrait of Philip the Good and Early Flemish Painting" *Bulletin of Osaka Ohtani University*, 48, 2014, pp.1-21(in Japanese); Imai, *op.cit.*, 2015, pp.263-274.
- (6) See Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1979; Christiane 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?*, Turnhout, 1996; Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, Turnhout, 1999; Exh.Cat., *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless*, Stephen N. Fliegel & Sophie Jugie, Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon/ Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 2004; Exh.Cat., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, Susan Marti et al., eds., Historisches Museum Berne et al., Bruxelles, 2009; Wim Blockmans et al., *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, Turnhout, 2013.
- (7) For the portrait of John the Fearless, see Sumiko Imai, "The Portrait of John the Fearless, second Duke of Burgundy," *Bulletin of the Research in History and Culture*, 19, Osaka Ohtani University, 2019, pp.1-19 (in Japanese).
 - (8) Exh.Cat., *The Road to Van Eyck*, Stephan Kemperdick & Friso Lammertse, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 2012, pp.250-251. In these five types, portraits at prayer include: (1) portrait of John in profile facing left, putting on a hat and holding a ring (Paris, Musée du Louvre); (2) portrait in profile, facing left, seemingly representing John's later life, bareheaded with hands folded (Chantilly, Musée Condé); (3) portrait in profile, facing left, with a hat and only one hand to the fore (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts); (4) portrait in profile, facing right with a head covering, without hands (Château de Versailles); and (5) portrait of three-quarter face, with his hands resting on a *prie-dieu* (Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts). Although the last type depicts him in three-quarter face, its original was made by Rogier van de Weyden. As we will discuss, it can evidently be placed in the context of early Netherlandish painting.
 - (9) For the general survey of the portraits of early Netherlandish paintings, see Guy Bauman, "Early Flemish Portraits 1425-1525," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 43, 1986, pp.1-64.
 - (10) For the piety of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, see Exh.Cat., *Art from. . . , op.cit.*, pp.71-74.
 - (11) For the church of the Chartreuse de Champmol and its decoration, see Exh.Cat., *Art from. . . , op.cit.*, pp.175-178; Schnerb, *op.cit.*, *L'État. . .*, pp.125-133.
 - (12) "1419 IEAN DVC DE BOGNE FVC OCCIS A MOTEREAV" For this portrait, see Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, *Les Musées de l'Institut de France, Corpus*, 15, Bruxelles, 1988, pp.1-15.
 - (13) K. de Lettenhove, éd., *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, VII, Bruxelles, 1866, p.219.
 - (14) Pero Tafur, *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos: 1435-1439*, Madrid, 1874, p.248.
 - (15) Chastellain, *op.cit.*, p.220.
 - (16) Vaughan, *op.cit.*; Blockmans et al., *op.cit.*
 - (17) ". . . servoit Dieu et le craignoit; fort dévot à Nostre Dame . . ." Chastellain, *op.cit.*, p.222. See also, Bertrand Schnerb, "La piété et les dévotions de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467)," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 149^e année, N. 4, 2005, pp.1319-1344.
 - (18) Schnerb, *op.cit.*, "La piété et. . .," p.1325.
 - (19) Schnerb, *op.cit.*, "La piété et. . .," p.1331.
 - (20) Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, "Les dévotions princières à la fin du Moyen Âge: les testaments des ducs de Bourgogne et de leur famille (1386-1477)," *Revue du Nord*, 86, 2004, pp.7-23, in part. p.22; Schnerb, *op.cit.*, "La piété et. . .," pp.1337-1340.
 - (21) Gaude-Ferragu, *op.cit.*, pp.18-19.

- (22) For this illustration, see Smeyers, *op.cit.*, pp.296-297; Exh.Cat., *Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482*, Bernard Bousmanne & Thierry Delcourt, éd.s., Bibliothèque nationale de France/ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Paris/ Bruxelles, 2011, pp.220-221.
- (23) For public character of private devotion, see Imai, *op.cit.*, 2015, pp.29-46.
- (24) This chapter is revised from my Japanese articles: Imai, *op.cit.*, 2014; Imai, *op.cit.*, 2015, pp.263-274.
- (25) In this article, we do not discuss portraits at prayer depicted in the “initial” part of a manuscript; this will be examined in another article.
- (26) For the manuscript including the illustrations of List 1-3, see Dagmar Eichberger, “Devotional Objects in Book Format: Diptychs in the Collection of Margaret of Austria and Her Family,” in Margaret M. Manion & Bernard J. Muir, eds., *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship*, Exeter, 1998, pp.291-323.
- (27) The manuscript including the illustration of List 4 was originally made for Philip the Bold. See Bernard Bousmanne, *Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur*, Bruxelles, 1997, pp.242-246; Smeyers, *op.cit.*, p.297.
- (28) For the manuscript including the illustrations of List 6-8, see Victor Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon: Bréviaire parisien du XV^e siècle*, Bruxelles, 1929; Bousmanne, *op.cit.*, pp.172-175; Bernard Bousmanne et al., *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, I, Turnhout, 2000, pp.155-159.
- (29) The motif of “EE” was used from around 1435, of which its origin has not been solved yet. Van den Bergen-Pantens et al., *op.cit.*, p.105.
- (30) For the manuscript including the illustration of List 9, see Bousmanne et al., *op.cit.*, 2000, pp.112-118; Exh.Cat., *Miniatures flamandes, op.cit.*, pp.254-255.
- (31) For the manuscript including the illustrations of List 10-17, see Anne S. Korteweg, “The Book of Hours of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in the Hague and its later Adaptation,” in Bert Cardon et al., eds., *“Als ich can”: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, Paris/ Leuven, 2002, pp.757-771. Now about 165 illustrations can be associated to the Book, but originally it was included 230 illustrations in grisaille as well as two colored illustrations.
- (32) For the manuscript including the illustrations of List 18-21, see Leroquais, *op.cit.*, p.162, PL. 19; Bousmanne, *op.cit.*, 1997, pp.276-277.
- (33) For the great “Library” of Philip the Good, see Georges Doutrepont, *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]; Georges Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la “librairie” de Philippe le Bon (1420)*, Genève, 1977[1906].
- (34) Exh.Cat., *Art from. . .*, pp.81-83; Michel Pastoureau, “Armoiries, devises, emblèmes: Usages et décors héraldiques à la cour de Bourgogne et dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux au XV^e siècle,” dans Exh.Cat., *Miniatures flamandes, op.cit.*, pp.89-102.
- (35) For the iconography of the dedication page, see Pascal Schandel, “Les images de dédicace à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne: Ressources et enjeux d’un genre,” dans Exh.Cat., *Miniatures flamandes, op.cit.*, pp.66-80.
- (36) For portraits of Philip the Good, see especially Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.279-331; Micheline Comblen-Sonkes, *Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, Corpus*, 14, Bruxelles, 1986, pp.220-232; Dirk de Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: l’œuvre complet*, Paris, 1999, pp.372-373; Élodie de Zutter, “L’exception qui confirme la règle: contribution à l’étude des portraits de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne,”

Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 83, 2014, pp.5-50.

- (37) De Zutter, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15.
- (38) In addition to Fig. 23, we know several copies belonging to type one. For example, now in Versailles, Musée des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (inv. MV 4011, sixteenth century), Cincinnati Museum of Art (inv. 1927.409, ca. 1600), Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. CA 507, seventeenth century). Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Jean de Maisoncelles' Portrait of Philippe le Bon for the Chartreuse de Champmol," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 99, 1982, pp.7-12; De Zutter, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15.
- (39) Michèle Beaulieu & Jeanne Baylé, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, Paris, 1956, pp.44-46, 50-55. As for the fashion of dress in the court of Burgundy, see Exh.Cat., *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515*, Anne H. van Buren et al., Morgan Library & Museum, New York, 2011.
- (40) In addition to Fig. 3, we know many portraits corresponding to type two: the ones now in Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (inv. 3782, painted in the second half of the fifteenth century), London, Windsor Castle, Royal Collections of England (inv. 403440, the latter half of the fifteenth century), Ath, Musée d'Histoire et Folklore (between the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century), Chantilly, Musée Condé (inv. 572, between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century), Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. M. I.818, after 1543). For other versions, see Comblen-Sonkes, *op.cit.*, pp.225-229; De Zutter, *op.cit.*, pp.16-27.
- (41) Other works corresponding to type 3 are now in Madrid, Palacio Real (inv. 10010172, around 1450), Paris, Collection Gabriel Fodor (made in the fifteenth or sixteenth century), Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 397, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century). For other versions, see De Vos, *op.cit.*, pp.372-373; De Zutter, *op.cit.*, pp.27-32.
- (42) "En ce temps le duc Philippe eut une maladie, et par conseil de ses medecins se fit raire la teste, et oster ses cheveux: et pour n'estre seul rais et denué de ses cheveux, il fit un edict que tous les nobles hommes se feroient raire leurs testes comme luy: et se trouvèrent plus de cinq cens nobles hommes, qui pour l'amour du duc se firent raire comme luy;. . ." *Mémoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche*, dans Claude B. Petitot, éd., *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, X, Paris, 1825, p.227.
- (43) De la Marche, *Ibid.*
- (44) De Zutter, *op.cit.*, pp.14-36.
- (45) "Item, ung aultre tableau de la portraiture de feu Mons^{gr} le duc Philippe, habillé de noir et ung chapperon boureler sur sa teste, portant le colier de la Thoison d'or, ayant ung rolet en sa main." Henri-Victor Michelant, "Inventaire des vaisselles, joyaux, tapisseries, peintures, manuscrits . . . de Marguerite d'Autriche. . .," *Compte rendu des séances de la Comission royale d'histoire*, 3^e série, 12, 1871, p.68.
- (46) De Vos, *op.cit.*, p.373.
- (47) De Zutter, *op.cit.*, p.31.
- (48) On the other hand, the noblewomen are depicted at prayer with their hat (a *hennin* for example) on. See Sumiko Imai, "Prayer Portraits of Margaret of York, Duchess of the Duke of Burgundy," *Bulletin of the Research in History and Culture*, 18, Osaka Ohtani University, 2018, pp.1-25 (in Japanese).
- (49) Beaulieu & Baylé, *op.cit.*, pp.62-69, in part. pp.68-69.

- (50) “Et le duc bourgongnon . . . toutesvoies n'estoit vestu encores que de noir, . . .” Chastellain, *op. cit.*, I, 1863, pp.187-188; Yoshiko Tokui, “‘La barrette noire semée de larmes’ du duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon: Mode, littérature et sensibilité à la fin du Moyen Âge,” *Ochanomizu University studies in Arts and Culture*, 50, 1997, pp.331-343, in part. pp.333-335 (in Japanese).
- (51) Tokui, *Ibid.*
- (52) Sophie Jolivet, “Le phénomène de mode à la cour de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon: l'exemple des robes de 1430 à 1442,” *Revue du Nord*, 365, 2006, pp.331-345; Sophie Jolivet, “La construction d'une image: Philippe le Bon et le noir (1419-1467),” *Apparence(s)*, 2015. <https://apparences.revues.org/1307>
- (53) For example, represented in the *Gouvernement des princes*, 1452, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9043, fol. 2; *Book of Statutes*, 1481-86, London, British Library, Harley Ms. 6199, fol. 57 v.
- (54) Beaulieu & Baylé, *op.cit.*, p.69.
- (55) Tokui, *op.cit.*, pp.333-335. As for the black fashion in medieval Europe, see Michel Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*, Paris, 2004.
- (56) “Néanmoins que la noire couleur soit et apparaisse triste, si est-elle de grant dignité et estat, et en signe de ce, gros bourgeois et marchans, hommes et femmes, en sont richement vestuz et parez . . .” Sicille, Hippolyte Cocheris, éd., *Le Blason des Couleurs en armes, livrées et devises*, Paris, 1860[1528], p.44.
- (57) “Le pourpoint sera noir, qui signifie magnanimité de couraige, qui doit enclorre le cueur et le corps de l'homme . . . Les souliers communément sont noirs, qui démontre simplicité d'alleure . . .” Sicille, *op.cit.*, p.100.
- (58) For the portraits of Charles the Bold, see mainly De Vos, *op.cit.*, pp.308-310; Till-Holger Borchert, “The Image of Charles the Bold,” in Exh.Cat., *Splendour. . .*, *op.cit.*, pp.73-81; Sumiko Imai, “Prayer Portrait of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,” *Bulletin of the Research in History and Culture*, 16, *Osaka Ohtani University*, 2016, pp.1-20 (in Japanese).
- (59) For this book, see Antoine de Schryver, *The Prayer Book of Charles the Bold: a study of a Flemish masterpiece from the Burgundian Court*, Los Angeles, 2008; Exh.Cat., *Splendour. . .*, *op.cit.*, p.254.
- (60) For the attire and self-ostentation of Charles the Bold, see Margaret Scott, “The Role of Dress in the Image of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,” in Elizabeth Morrison & Thomas Kren, eds., *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research*, Los Angeles, 2006, pp.43-56; Exh. Cat., *Illuminating Fashion, op.cit.*, pp.174-177, 208-211.
- (61) See Imai, *op.cit.*, 2018.

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Figs. 1-2, 5-6, 8: Exh.Cat., *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, Cleveland, 2004.

Figs. 3-4, 26: Exh.Cat., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, Bern, 2009.

Figs. 7, 24: ©IRPA

Fig. 9: C. Heck et al., *L'art flamand et hollandais*, Paris, 2003.

Figs. 10-12: M. Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the Mid-16th Century*, Turnhout, 1999.

Fig. 13: B. Bousmanne, *Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur*, Bruxelles, 1997.

Fig. 14: *Le Faste des Ducs de Bourgogne, Dossier de l'art*, 44, 1997-98.

Figs. 15, 21-22: Exh.Cat., *Miniatures flamandes*, Paris/ Bruxelles, 2011.

Figs. 16-19: © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

Fig. 20:

http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0009/bsb_00095049/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00095049&seite=1

Fig. 23: É. de Zutter, "L'exception qui confirme la règle," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 83, 2014.

Fig. 25: E. Morrison & T. Kren, eds., *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context*, Los Angeles, 2006.

Table 1 List of Portraits of Philip the Good at Prayer

· List 1-21: works ordered by Philip the Good; List 22-26: works ordered other than by Philip the Good; List a-c: works with only existing records
 · Generally, the size of each work corresponds to the whole page of a manuscript, except for List 10-17 showing the illustration size.

List No.	Basic information (title of work/ period/ size/ material/ owned by . . .)	Posture of Philip the Good and his “signs”	Remarks
1 (Fig. 9)	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> in the <i>Book of Hours of Philip the Good</i> , 185 × 127 mm, ca. 1445-50, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1800, fols. 1 v-2 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face with short black hair · wearing a black robe decorated with the collar of the Golden Fleece · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · hanging a hat in the back (?) · emblems (on a canopy and a <i>prie-dieu</i>, in the margins) · coat of arms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a full-page illustration · Above the manuscript, a diptych is attached, which was made in the 1430s. · At Philip's back, young Charles the Bold kneels.
2	<i>Mass of Saint Gregory and Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 1), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1800, fol. 4 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · emblems (on a canopy and a <i>prie-dieu</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration
3	<i>Virgin Mary and Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 1), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1800, fol. 13 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an opened book · emblems (on a <i>prie-dieu</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration
4 (Fig. 10)	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> in the <i>Book of Hours of Philip the Bold</i> , ca. 1450-55, 253 × 178 mm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 3-1954, fol. 253 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in profile with short black hair · wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · coat of arms (on a carpet) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration · added to the Book of Hours Philip the Bold ordered
5 (Figs. 11-12)	Attributed to Jean Le Tavernier, <i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> , in <i>Le Traité sur l'oraison dominicale</i> , after 1457, 395 × 285 mm, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9092, fol. 9 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · hanging a hat on his back · emblems (on a canopy and a <i>prie-dieu</i>), coat of arms (on a carpet and in the margin) and motto “Aultre naray” (in the margin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration
6 (Fig. 13)	Atelier of Willem Vrelant, <i>Philip the Good and his Wife at Prayer</i> in the <i>Breviary of Philip the Good</i> , ca. 1453-60, 296 × 213 mm, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9026, fol. 258 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · hanging a hat in the back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration

7	<i>Philip the Good and his Wife at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 6), Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9026, fol. 425 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · hanging a hat in the back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration
8 (Fig. 14)	Atelier of Willem Vrelant, <i>Saint Andrew and Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 6) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9511, fol. 398 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · coat of arms (on a <i>prie-dieu</i>) · emblems and initials (on a canopy) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration · As for the composition, Philip divides the space in two with Saint Andrew.
9 (Fig. 15)	<i>Philip the Good prays to the Virgin Annunciate in Le Traité sur la salutation angélique</i> , 1461, 383 × 266 mm, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9270, fol. 2 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · hanging a hat in the back · coat of arms (on a <i>prie-dieu</i>) · emblems and initials (on a canopy and floor tiles) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration · As for the composition, Philip divides the space almost in two with the Virgin Annunciate.
10 (Fig. 16)	Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, <i>Crucifixion and Philip the Good at Prayer</i> in the <i>Book of Hours of Philip the Good</i> , ca. 1450-60, 75 × 65 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 20 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
11	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 85 × 70 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 41 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword (?) · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
12	<i>Philip the Good receiving the Eucharist</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 85 × 70 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 43 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
13	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 85 × 65 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 44 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
14	<i>Virgin and child with Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 85 × 65 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 45 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>

15 (Fig. 17)	Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, <i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 85 × 70 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 48 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · emblems and motto “Aultre naray” (in the margin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
16 (Fig. 18)	Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, <i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 80 × 65 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 282 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
17 (Fig. 19)	Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, <i>Virgin and the Child with Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 10), 80 × 110 mm, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 299 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and a sword · hanging a hat in the back · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · motto “Aultre naray” (in the margin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a half-page illustration · depicted in <i>grisaille</i>
18	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> in the <i>Prayer Book of Philip the Good</i> , fifteenth century, 50 × 90 mm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 40, fol. 72 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · hanging a hat in the back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration
19	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 18), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall., 40, fol. 133 v.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · emblems (on a <i>prie-dieu</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration
20	<i>Philip the Good receiving the Eucharist</i> (included in the same book as List 18), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall., 40, fol. 141 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · hanging a hat in the back · emblems (in his clothing ?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration
21 (Fig. 20)	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> (included in the same book as List 18), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 40, fol. 144 r.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · three-quarter face, wearing a black robe decorated with the Golden Fleece collar · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · emblems (on a <i>prie-dieu</i> and his clothing ?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · a small illustration
22	<i>Pietà with Philip the Good and his Family at Prayer</i> , engraved brass slab, after 1440, 122.5 × 102.5 cm, Basel, Historisches Museum.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in armor decorated with the Golden Fleece collar, sword and patterns of coat of arms · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · motto “Aultre naray” · coat of arms and emblems (on a <i>prie-dieu</i> and in his clothing) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · engraved brass slab

23	<i>Nativity with Philip the Good and his Family at Prayer</i> , 1448, 3.58 m × 4.36 m, Ghent, Butcher's Guild Hall.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in armor decorated with the Golden Fleece collar, sword and patterns of coat of arms · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · emblems (on a <i>prie-dieu</i>) · coat of arms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Only a later sketch remains.
24	Rogier van der Weyden, <i>Beaune Altarpiece</i> , ca. 1450, Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · wearing a brocated robe with a fur trimming and a crown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · panel painting
25	<i>Philip the Good and his Family at Prayer</i> , fifteenth century, Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · in armor decorated with the Golden Fleece collar and patterns of coat of arms · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> with an open book · coat of arms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · stained glass window
26	<i>Philip the Good at Prayer</i> , leaded glass, fifteenth century, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · decorated with emblems · motto "Aultre naray" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · fragment of a stained glass window
a	<i>Trinity with Philip the Good and his wife at Prayer</i> , 1420s, Thieulloy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · kneeling at a <i>prie-dieu</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · mural painting for the Dominican priory of Thieulloy · lost by fire in 1639
b	<i>Philip the Good praying to the Virgin</i> , Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · diptych · A record remains (in 1501).
c	twelve stained glasses		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Records of 1430s and 1440s remain in total.



Fig. 1 (Left) *Portrait of Philip the Bold*, 17th century, 42 × 28 cm, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Fig. 2 (Right) *Portrait of John the Fearless*, ca. 1500, 29 × 21 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 3 (Left) Copy after Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Philip the Good*, 32.5 × 22.4 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.



Fig. 4 (Right) Copy after Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Charles the Bold*, 49 × 32 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Fig. 5 (Left) Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter, *Philip the Bold and his Wife at Prayer*, 1385-1401, Dijon, Portal of the church of the Chartreuse de Champmol.



Fig. 6 (Right) *Philip the Bold gives orders to his soldiers* in the French version of *De Re Militari* of Vegetius translated by Jean de Vignay, 1384-1404, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 11042, fol. 12 r.

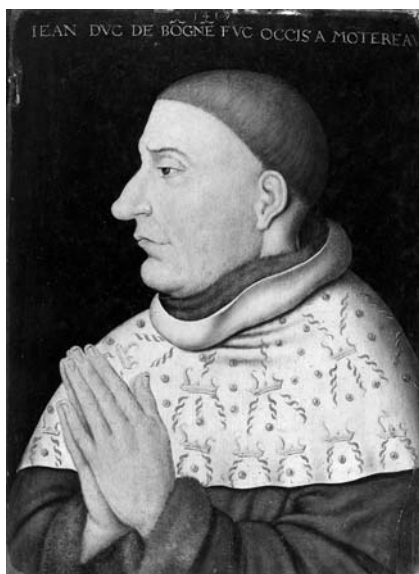


Fig. 7 (Left) *Portrait of John the Fearless at Prayer*, fifteenth century, 36.8×26.8 cm, Chantilly, Musée Condé.



Fig. 8 (Right) *Dedication of a Book to John the Fearless* in Marco Polo, *Le Livre de Merveilles*, ca. 1410-12, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2810, fol. 226 r.



Fig. 9 (Left) *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Good*, ca. 1445-50, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1800, fols. 1 v-2 r.

Fig. 10 (Right) *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Bold*, ca. 1450-55, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 3-1954, fol. 253 v.



Fig. 11 (Left) Attributed to Jean Le Tavernier, *Philip the Good at Prayer*, in *Le Traité sur l'oraison dominicale*, after 1457, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9092, fol. 9 r.

Fig. 12 (Right) Detail of Fig. 11.



Fig. 13 (Left) Atelier of Willem Vrelant, *Philip the Good and his Wife at Prayer* in the *Breviary of Philip the Good*, ca. 1453-60, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9026, fol. 258 r.



Fig. 14 (Right) Atelier of Willem Vrelant, *Saint Andrew and Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Breviary of Philip the Good*, ca. 1453-60, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9511, fol. 398 r.



Fig. 15 *Philip the Good prays to the Virgin Annunciate* in *Le Traité sur la salutation angélique*, 1461, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9270, fol. 2 v.



Fig. 16 (Left) Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Good*, ca. 1450-60, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 20 r.

Fig. 17 (Right) Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Good*, ca. 1450-60, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 48 v.



Fig. 18 (Left) Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Good*, ca. 1450-60, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 282 r.

Fig. 19 (Right) Jean Le Tavernier and his followers, *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Book of Hours of Philip the Good*, ca. 1450-60, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76, F 2, fol. 299 r.

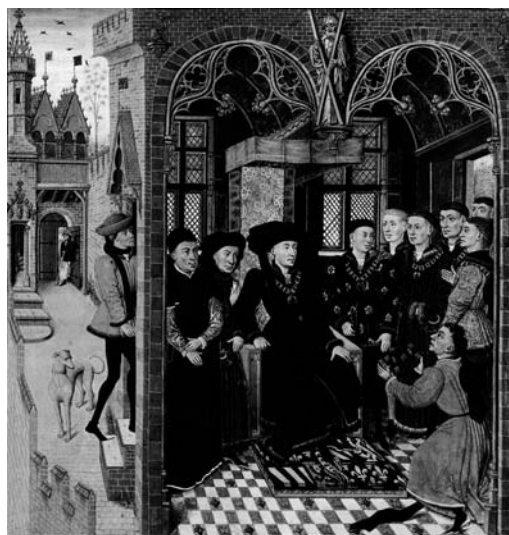


Fig. 20 (Left) *Philip the Good at Prayer* in the *Prayer Book of Philip the Good*, fifteenth century, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 40, fol. 144 r.

Fig. 21 (Right) *Dedication of a Book to Philip the Good* in *L'Histoire d'Alexandre*, 1448, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9342, fol. 5.



Fig. 22 Atelier of Rogier van der Weyden, *Dedication of a Book to Philip the Good* in *Les Chroniques de Hainaut*, ca. 1447-48, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 9242, fol. 1 r.

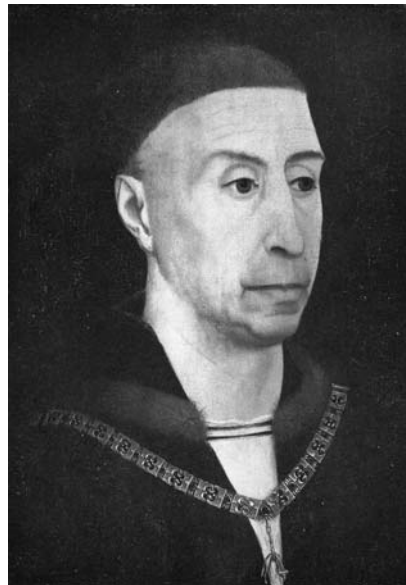


Fig. 23 (Left) After Jean de Maisoncelles, *Portrait of Philip the Good*, 38×28 cm, Clermont-Ferrand, Musée d'art Roger-Quilliot.

Fig. 24 (Right) After Rogier van der Weyden, *Portrait of Philip the Good*, after 1526, 29×21 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Fig. 25 (Left) Willem Vrelant or his atelier, *Charles the Bold and his Wife at Prayer* in a detached miniature from a *Book of Hours*, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. Gl. Kgl. 1612, 4°, fol. 1 v.

Fig. 26 (Right) *Charles the Bold at Prayer*, from the *Prayer Book of Charles the Bold*, 1469, 1470-71, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 37, fol. 6 r.