

# Recognizing Van Eyck





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# Recognizing Van Eyck

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Cover: *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, 1430-32, by Jan van Eyck (fig. 4)

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*Recognizing Van Eyck*, at the Philadelphia  
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In addition to this *Bulletin*, the exhibition  
is accompanied by a book published by  
the Philadelphia Museum of Art entitled  
*Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis  
Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997).

## FOREWORD

This *Bulletin* celebrates the culmination of a long and happy endeavor initiated some fifteen years ago when Marigene H. Butler, who served with such distinction as the head of the Conservation Department at the Philadelphia Museum of Art from 1978 to 1997, began a clinical investigation of one of the most famous works in this Museum: the magically refined and deeply perplexing *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, by the Netherlandish master Jan van Eyck. Her investigations and the excitement of her discoveries caused a sequence of chain reactions throughout the scholarly world—from Turin, Berlin, and London to New York, Cleveland, and Washington—which culminated in the exhibition *Recognizing Van Eyck*. This *Bulletin* documents that exhibition.

This is the third publication inspired by this project. The Getty Grant Program generously supported the book *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata,"* a compilation of essays addressing the many questions prompted by the restoration of the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* painting and the nearly identical version at the Galleria Sabauda in Turin. For the exhibition in Turin, the Galleria Sabauda issued a handsome book, *Jan van Eyck: Opere a confronto*, which included Katherine Crawford Luber's entries on individual objects as well as a provocative essay by Carl Brandon Strehlke, Adjunct Curator of the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, about Jan van Eyck's influence on Italian painting during the fifteenth century.

We are grateful to the staff of the Turin museums and particularly to Carlenrica Spantigati, Soprintendente of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici del Piemonte, who have made each step of this complex collaboration a joy. We are also delighted that Neil MacGregor, Director of the National Gallery in London, took up the idea of this exhibition with such alacrity, and we thank his staff for their enthusiastic involvement.

No project of this artistic and intellectual reach would be possible without the help of many sponsors, and we are deeply grateful to

the impressive gathering of foundations and donors that supported the exhibition and its attendant educational programs in Philadelphia. The Pew Charitable Trusts have been joined by the Connelly Foundation, Northwest Airlines, the John McShain Charities, Inc., Hester Diamond, and anonymous contributors; we owe them our warmest thanks. It is also a delight to be able to count on a resource within the Museum itself, the newly established Robert Montgomery Scott Endowment for Exhibitions. We are most grateful to the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, which granted an indemnity, reducing the costs of insurance that constitute such a challenge to international exhibitions. The handsome installation, designed by Jack Schlechter, was made possible, in part, with contributions from J. E. Berkowitz, L. P., and Eureka Metal & Glass Services, Inc.

As a London critic noted during the presentation of the exhibition at the National Gallery this winter, the gathering together of these precious objects creates a kind of minimalist masterpiece well beyond the sum of its parts. We are therefore profoundly indebted to our colleagues in Turin, Washington, Antwerp, Paris, and Cleveland who have allowed precious works from their collections to travel, often for the first time. Their union in one space, if only for a few months, has allowed museum visitors in three countries to ponder the very purpose of picture painting in Northern Europe in the early fifteenth century, to explore the ways in which these beautiful paintings came about, and how they best relate to the mind and the hand of a transcendent genius.

Anne d'Hamoncourt  
*The George D. Widener Director*

Joseph J. Rishel  
*Senior Curator of European Painting before 1900  
and the John G. Johnson Collection*





## RECOGNIZING VAN EYCK: MAGICAL REALISM IN LANDSCAPE PAINTING

Sixteenth-century Italian historians of painting and art, such as Giorgio Vasari, believed that Jan van Eyck (c. 1385–1441) was the inventor of oil painting.<sup>1</sup> Today we know this is not true; painters were using oil paints in Italy long before Jan van Eyck was active in Bruges. Nonetheless, there is usually a kernel of truth in most myths, and it is worth considering which aspects of Jan van Eyck's paintings provoked this kind of anecdotal history. Indeed, all of Van Eyck's paintings are remarkable in appearance, and his mastery of the manipulation of oil glazes cannot be overemphasized.<sup>2</sup> Yet, it is in his landscapes, which were widely admired and emulated by Italian artists, that he wed the enameled, jewel-like tones attainable only with oil paints to the close observation of

local details to achieve a new way to see and portray the realms of the earth.<sup>3</sup>

The lowered horizons and vast, open vistas of Van Eyck's greatest landscapes, such as the *Saint Barbara* (fig. 1) or the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2), demonstrate the culmination of this pursuit. Yet neither is simply the result of a single moment of inspiration enhanced by the exploitation of a new technique: they represent the climax of the artist's career-long engagement with the problem of how to represent in two dimensions the illusion of space and extensive vistas. It must be possible to look backward from these two works and reconstruct some of the steps that led to these great landscapes. Of course, much of the disagreement about Eyckian attributions

Fig. 1. Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Barbara*, 1437  
Brush drawing on panel,  
12 3/16 × 7 7/16" (31 × 18 cm)  
Koninklijk Museum voor  
Schone Kunsten,  
Antwerp, cat. 410



Fig. 2. Jan van Eyck  
*The Virgin of Chancellor  
Rolin*, c. 1435  
Oil on panel, 26 × 24 3/4"  
(66 × 62 cm)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris,  
inv. 1271



Fig. 3. Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Francis of Assisi  
 Receiving the Stigmata*,  
 1430–32  
 Oil on panel,  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ "  
 (29.2 × 33.4 cm)  
 Galleria Sabauda, Turin,  
 cat. 187

is due to the difficulty in firmly dating any works to the earliest part of his career. Looking carefully at the landscapes may provide new clues for thinking about the attribution and chronology of works such as the two virtually identical paintings of Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata—one in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (fig. 3) and the other in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 4)—as well as the Ghent Altarpiece and some of the miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours that have vexed scholars for generations.

### Jan van Eyck's Mature Landscapes

The *Saint Barbara* in Antwerp and the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* demonstrate how Van Eyck overcame the difficulties of representing a receding landscape. In both of these paintings, the foreground space is elevated above the horizon line, so that the viewer looks down and across a broad expanse of space. The middle ground and background are smoothly joined, and the space unfolds in an almost continuous sweep. Barbara sits on a hillock some



distance in front of the middle ground plain upon which her church is constructed. Similarly, the Virgin and Chancellor Rolin sit in a room with a view looking over a garden terrace in the middle ground. The far distance in both paintings is created by the compression of a seemingly endless number of lovingly rendered hills and valleys, crowned with shrubs and trees.

Structurally, the *Saint Barbara* is very similar to the landscape of the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*. They share an elevated foreground looking over a vast, almost infinite vista leading to a strikingly lowered horizon line.<sup>4</sup> In both the *Saint Barbara* and the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, the middle-ground areas are awash in closely observed genre-like details, perhaps an echo of

the tradition of the labors pictured in calendar pages in illuminated manuscripts and a reminder of Van Eyck's occupation as a miniature painter. He would certainly have been familiar with the calendar pages from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, with their veristic portrayals of the labors of the months. The microscopic intensity of the details of the construction of Barbara's tower and the landscape surrounding it are mirrored in the two *Saint Francis* pictures, and particularly in the smaller Philadelphia painting.

The *Saint Barbara* reveals Jan van Eyck at his most meticulous in the construction of a landscape; it also provides a unique glimpse into his working practices, since it is a drawing in brush on a panel prepared with a white

Fig. 4. Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Francis of Assisi  
Receiving the Stigmata*,  
1430–32  
Oil on vellum mounted  
on panel, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "  
(12.4 × 14.6 cm)  
Philadelphia Museum of  
Art, John G. Johnson  
Collection, cat. 314  
Reproduced actual size

Fig. 5. Detail of *The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2)



Fig. 6. Jan van Eyck  
*Prayer on the Shore*, c. 1425  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours (Turin  
folio 59v), destroyed in  
1904



ground, and must either be, or closely resemble, an underdrawn design made as a guide for the application of paints to the surface.<sup>5</sup> It is tempting to imagine that Van Eyck planned his compositions, and especially the landscapes, in similar detail in his other paintings, including the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings. However, there is no evidence that an underdrawing resembling the landscape in the *Saint Barbara* exists in any other painting attributed to Van Eyck. Nonetheless, the exquisite attention to the landscape in the *Saint Barbara* suggests that the setting for this portrait of the saint was conceived as an integral part of the composition from the beginning. Van Eyck created a similar landscape setting for *Saint Francis* in the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings.



### Jan van Eyck's Earliest Landscape Paintings: The Turin-Milan Hours

Jan van Eyck's earliest surviving exploration of landscape painting may be found in some of the miniature illuminations in the manuscript known as the Turin-Milan Hours, which was initially conceived of as a combined Book of Hours, prayer book, and missal.<sup>6</sup> Many of the earliest miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours are painted in the International Gothic style and include schematic, decorative backgrounds with stylized landscape elements. In contrast, those miniatures most often ascribed by scholars to Jan van Eyck himself—and therefore counted amongst his earliest known works—share one salient characteristic: they demonstrate the artist's insistent experimentation with the depiction of illusionistic space, whether landscape, seascape, or interior space.<sup>7</sup> Many of the innovations in landscape painting that are introduced in the miniatures in this manuscript are so remarkable they have been described as foreshadowing the accomplishments of the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century.

Van Eyck easily mastered the illusion of depicting receding space over the flat, smooth, reflective surface of water, as well as in interior spaces, but the creation of the illusion of receding space over landscape seems to have been much more complicated. The *Prayer on*

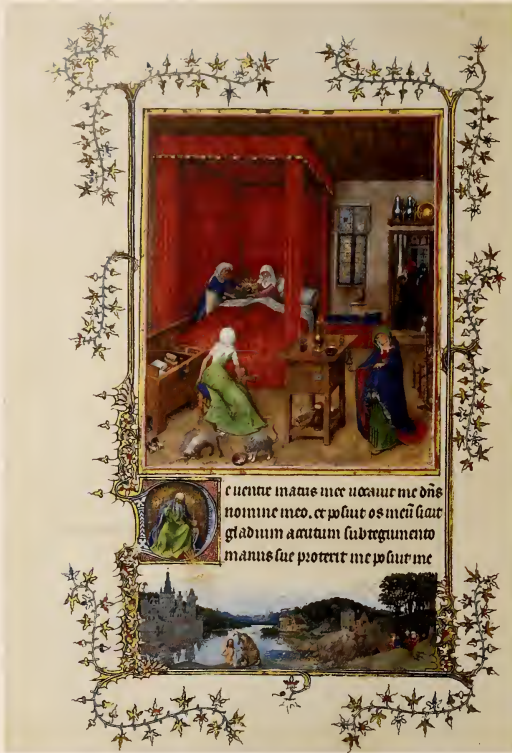


*the Shore* (fig. 6) and the *Voyage of Saints Julian and Martha* (fig. 7) demonstrate this construction of space magisterially. The pages of the *Funeral Mass* (fig. 8) and the *Birth of John the Baptist* (fig. 9) also show Van Eyck's mastery of the construction of interior space. The recession of landscape proved, at this early stage, to have been more difficult to realize.

The artist's different solutions to the depiction of the illusionistic recession over land and over water are exemplified in the tiny *bas-de-page* miniature of the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 10). In the central part of that miniature, Christ stands in the foreground space of the shimmering river Jordan as it stretches almost infinitely back into space, culminating in a tiny castle reflected in the surface of the water. The

Fig. 7. Jan van Eyck  
*Voyage of Saints Julian and Martha*, c. 1425  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours (Turin  
folio 55v), destroyed in  
1904

Fig. 8. Jan van Eyck  
*Funeral Mass*, c. 1425  
Tempera on parchment,  
11 × 7½" (28 × 19 cm)  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours (Milan  
folio 116)  
Museo Civico d'Arte  
Antica, Turin, inv. 47



flat smoothness of the water and its reflective properties allowed Van Eyck to capture an illusion of infinite space. The creation of receding space was not as easily achieved on the right side of the composition in the small landscape. The rolling hills, alternating with small areas of flatter landscape, block the passage of the eye into the distance. Van Eyck indicated the space separating the foreground from the rising hills of the middle distance by cropping the bodies of a group of pilgrims approaching the river from the right. Only the top halves of their figures remain visible above the peak of the hill, creating the illusion that they occupy the space behind the little hill.

This solution to the creation of space is functional, but it relies upon the viewer's imagination to construct the pictorial space. Many of the most Eyckian landscapes in the Turin-Milan Hours utilize this formula to create the illusion of a receding landscape, as do the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* pictures. The landscape in the *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (fig. 11) reveals the artist's attempt to unite a large expanse of foreground, copious enough to contain three monumental figures, with a distant landscape.<sup>8</sup> The wooden fence on the left eliminates the middle ground, and the space behind it is indicated by the little heads peering over it, acting structurally much like the witnesses entering the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 10) from the right. In all of these compositions, the middle ground is indicated by a void in space, invisible to the viewer, but creating the illusion of an unseen space receding into the background. In the two *Saint Francis* paintings, the problem of the middle ground is resolved formally in much the same way, although with a reversal of positive and negative space. The rock formations divide the foreground from the background, and they become the middle ground. The rocks block the view into the more distant space behind them, like the fence of the *Gethsemane* or the small valley in the *Baptism of Christ*.

The recent investigation of the *Gethsemane* manuscript illumination with infrared reflectography shows that the depiction of the landscape was altered during the course of the design.<sup>9</sup> Two significant elements should be noted. In the underdrawing (fig. 12), the artist indicated the horizon line as slightly higher than he painted it. By lowering the horizon line, he intensified the depth of the receding space.

Fig. 9. Jan van Eyck  
*Birth of John the Baptist*,  
c. 1425

Tempera on parchment,  
11 × 7½" (28 × 19 cm)  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours  
(Milan folio 93v)  
Museo Civico d'Arte  
Antica, Turin, inv. 47

Fig. 10. Jan van Eyck  
*Baptism of Christ*, c. 1425  
(bas-de-page of fig. 9)

Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours  
(Milan folio 93v)  
Museo Civico d'Arte  
Antica, Turin, inv. 47

Fig. 11. Jan van Eyck  
*Christ in the Garden of  
Gethsemane*, c. 1425

Tempera on parchment,  
11 × 7½" (28 × 19 cm)  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours  
(Milan folio 30v)  
Museo Civico d'Arte  
Antica, Turin, inv. 47



Fig. 12. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (fig. 11) (courtesy of Silvana Pettenati and the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin)



Fig. 13. Infrared reflectogram assembly of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (fig. 11) (courtesy of Silvana Pettenati and the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin)

Fig. 14. Detail of rocks in the *Saint Barbara* (fig. 1)



Fig. 15. Follower of Jan van Eyck *God the Father Enthroned between Christ and the Virgin Mary*, c. 1440  
Tempera on parchment, 10 3/4 x 7" (27.3 x 17.7 cm)  
Manuscript illumination, Turin-Milan Hours (Louvre 4 verso)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, RF 2023

Initially, he also drew the fence flat along the top, not pointed. This change allowed him to increase the illusion of space behind the fence, as the little heads of the witnesses peek through the angles of space instead of floating above the flat line for the fence top. These alterations in the composition are significant, for they reveal the artist's struggles with the depiction of the representation of space.

The underdrawing in the *Gethsemane* (fig. 13) is similar in style and working procedure to the underdrawing found in other Eyckian paintings. In the *Gethsemane* page, the underdrawing in the rocks upon which the apostles sleep is similar to the rocks drawn in the Antwerp *Saint Barbara* (fig. 14). The way the artist used the underdrawing to establish the design of the miniature but then freely altered it in the execution of the painted layers is typical of Van Eyck in general.<sup>10</sup> This method of invention is also found in, among others, the Turin *Saint Francis* (fig. 3); the Ghent Altarpiece; the full-length double portrait of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and his wife in the National Gallery, London; the Washington *Annunciation* (fig. 34); and the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2).

Even if the most magical of the illuminations in the Turin-Milan Hours were not painted by Jan van Eyck, they must closely reflect inventions by him. Many scholars have attempted to sort out the different hands involved in painting the miniatures in the manuscript. This task is complicated by the fact that there may have been as many as seven different campaigns of illumination of the manuscript involving many different artists over the course of almost sixty years. Scholars have mined the miniatures from the Turin-Milan Hours for insights into the genesis of many of Van Eyck's independent paintings and have identified compositional, iconographic, and





typological forebears there.<sup>11</sup> Whether the Turin-Milan Hours is the proving ground of many of Van Eyck's experimental notions about landscape painting or merely reflects the innovations of the Eyckian workshop, the correspondences between the landscapes in it and later works in Jan van Eyck's oeuvre are compelling.

Fig. 16. Unknown  
Flemish Artist  
*The Confessors*, c. 1420–25  
Tempera on parchment,  
10 3/4 × 7 1/2" (27 × 18.5 cm)  
Manuscript illumination,  
Turin-Milan Hours  
(Louvre 2 verso)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris,  
Cabinet des Dessins,  
RF 2025





Fig. 17. Follower of Jan van Eyck, *Three Hermits near a Forest*, c. 1440 (bas-de-page of fig. 16) Manuscript illumination, Turin-Milan Hours, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins (Louvre 2 verso), RF 2025

### *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* from the Ghent Altarpiece

One of the most difficult works in Jan van Eyck's oeuvre to come to terms with is the large, multipaneled Ghent Altarpiece. Dated in a chronogram on the frame to 1432, its relationship to the miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours and the rest of Van Eyck's small-scale paintings has puzzled scholars for generations. However, the structure of the landscape in the central panel, the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (fig. 22), relates closely to the miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours and the compositions of the two *Saint Francis* paintings.

The larger scale of the *Mystic Lamb* allowed Van Eyck to experiment with additional middle-ground barriers in the composition. The four groups converging on the altar at the center include apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgin martyrs. Separated from one another by grassy knolls topped with shrubbery and trees, these groups of figures themselves act as barriers in the construction of space. Each barrier, whether an element of the landscape or the figures within the landscape, represents a successive step into the receding space of the landscape. The problem with this construction is that the foreground space seems to slant steeply upward. The four lower side wings are closer to the composition used in the

*Saint Francis* paintings. The horizon lines are lowered and large barriers—some of trees, some of rocky cliffs—block the view on one side of the composition.

In the wing with the hermit saints, including the giant Saint Christopher, Van Eyck dramatically lowered the horizon line on the right side of the composition, achieving a sense of spatial recession also found in the two *Saint Francis* paintings. It is perhaps significant that the subject matter of this particular panel—a Saint Christopher and other hermit saints in the wilderness—parallels the subject of the two *Saint Francis* paintings, also depictions of saints in wilderness landscapes. In the views through the windows in the Annunciation on the exterior of the Ghent Altarpiece, Van Eyck also used a dramatically lowered horizon line; sky fills up the view out of the relatively small windows, and only the tops of the towers of the city below are visible (fig. 35).

Although precise dating of the *Saint Francis* paintings in relationship to the Ghent Altarpiece is impossible, one may construe a temporal relationship between them. The construction of the landscape of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* is so similar that it must have been painted relatively close in time to the landscapes found in the Turin-Milan Hours. The wing with the hermit saints demonstrates a more sophisticated solution, perhaps even a revelation about the power of lowering the

Fig. 18. Circle of  
Jan van Eyck  
*John the Baptist in a  
Landscape*, c. 1445  
Oil on panel, 15¼ × 4¾"  
(40 × 12.5 cm)  
The Cleveland Museum  
of Art, Leonard C. Hanna,  
Jr., Fund, 1979.80



Fig. 19. Petrus Christus  
(Netherlandish,  
1420–1472/73)  
*Saint Anthony and a Donor*,  
c. 1450  
Oil on panel, 23¼ × 12¾"  
(59 × 32.7 cm)  
Statens Museum for  
Kunst, Copenhagen,  
no. 113



horizon line. It must have been painted after the central panel was completed, and points to the compositional elements Van Eyck would continue to explore in the two *Saint Francis* paintings.

It is possible, then, to index the gradual elimination of view-blocking barriers within Van Eyck's landscapes and to suggest a chronological development from the illuminations of the Turin-Milan Hours to the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* to the two *Saint Francis* paintings, culminating in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* and the *Saint Barbara*. Integrating these works with the paintings that are not depictions of landscape is not so simple, but the very complex representation of space in the Washington *Annunciation* suggests that it should be dated more or less contiguously with the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*.



### The Stature of Jan van Eyck's Landscape Paintings in Northern Europe

The scope and importance of Jan van Eyck's explorations of landscape to artists in Northern Europe are attested to by the multiple copies painted of them, beginning in the last years of his life and actively continuing for more than one hundred years. The Turin-Milan Hours provides many examples of how quickly artists both inside and outside Van Eyck's immediate circle borrowed liberally from his landscape inventions at the same time that they misunderstood his techniques in imitating them. Many of the pages completed after Jan van Eyck was no longer actively involved in the illumination of the manuscript demonstrate the pervasive longevity of his inventions as models. The page with the illumination *God the Father Enthroned*

*between Christ and the Virgin Mary* (fig. 15) was probably completed in the 1440s by an artist familiar with Van Eyck's painted oeuvre, or possibly even trained in his workshop.<sup>12</sup> The orientation of the three figures is reminiscent of the upper deësis of the Ghent Altarpiece. Even in this straightforward copy of the most monumental commission of Van Eyck's career, the illuminator attempted to convey his construction of a shallow, yet fully illusionistic space. The kneeling figure of Christ on the left is remarkably similar in position to the kneeling Saint Francis in the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. Likewise, the foreground decorated with delicately rendered flowers scattered before the enthroned figures is similar to the foreground turf in the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* pictures.

The illuminations on the page with *The Confessors* (fig. 16) and its *bas-de-page* of *Three*



Fig. 20. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Christopher*, c. 1465  
Oil on panel, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8 $\frac{5}{16}$ "  
(29.5 × 21.1 cm)  
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, cat. 342

Fig. 21. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Christopher*, c. 1440  
Ink on paper, 8 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "  
(19 × 14 cm)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, RF 20664



Fig. 22. Jan van Eyck  
*The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, central panel of the Ghent Altarpiece, before 1432  
 Oil on panel, 54 x 95¼" (137 x 242 cm)  
 Saint Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent

*Hermits near a Forest* (fig. 17) were probably completed in two different campaigns. The main illumination, *The Confessors*, must have been finished long before Van Eyck participated in the illumination of the manuscript, as it shows the hallmarks of the Gothic style. On the other hand, the small *bas-de-page* with the three hermits was painted after Van Eyck's role in the project was complete, and bears an especially close resemblance to the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings.<sup>13</sup> In pose and placement, the hermit saint sitting on the hillock echoes Brother Leo in the *Saint Francis* paintings.

Shortly after Jan's death, a very close follower painted a small *John the Baptist in a Landscape* (fig. 18), now in Cleveland, which must have been conceived of as a painting to show the artist's knowledge of and esteem for at least one, if not both, of the *Saint Francis* pictures. The artist of the Cleveland picture adhered closely to the invention of Van Eyck's landscape forms, imitating the rock formation found behind Brother Leo in the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. The verdant fore-

ground, covered with a myriad of small flowers, is similar to Van Eyck's lushly carpeted foregrounds in the *Saint Francis* pictures and the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* from the Ghent Altarpiece. Most similar of all is the way the reflecting river winds around the distinct land masses, creating a receding space. The river landscape in the distance of the *John the Baptist* picture is much more broadly executed than in either of the two *Saint Francis* pictures, but contains all of the elements that must have been recognized by a contemporary audience as hallmarks of Eyckian painting. The artistry involved in the depiction of the reflective surface of the water must have been specifically associated with the genius of Jan van Eyck—even recognized as a sort of trademark—since it occurred so frequently in his painted works throughout his career.

The rocky cliff must have been a leitmotif for Eyckian painters; it provided a new way to move the composition from foreground to background. Another example of this landscape form is found in the *Saint Anthony and a Donor* (fig. 19), now in Copenhagen, by Petrus

Christus. Like the painter of the Cleveland *John the Baptist in a Landscape*, Christus, who came to Bruges after Jan van Eyck's death, borrowed several compositional and symbolic elements from the *Saint Francis* pictures. His Saint Anthony—stooped over and draped in black robes (like Brother Leo)—presents a donor, presumably to an image of the Virgin in the now-lost central panel of the altarpiece. Christus included a number of dwarf palms (*Chamaerops humilis*), small, exotic plants indigenous to the Mediterranean regions of Europe, in particular the Iberian Peninsula, which Van Eyck had included in a number of compositions, such as the two *Saint Francis* paintings (figs. 3, 4) and the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (fig. 22).<sup>14</sup> A large cliff, similar to the one behind Brother Leo in the *Saint Francis* pictures, closes Christus's composition on the left side. Even the fossil forms that occur in the rocks are similar to those found in the two *Saint Francis* pictures.

The painter of the tiny *Saint Christopher* (fig. 20), in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, was familiar with Jan van Eyck's paintings, as specific elements of its landscape, such as the rock formations surrounding Saint Christopher, reveal an intimate knowledge of the landscape idiom of his paintings, including, among others, the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* pictures. The rocks on the right side of the painting behind Saint Christopher almost directly repeat the rocks behind Saint Francis in the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. This suggests that the artist was familiar with the entire idiom of Eyckian landscape painting, and was not slavishly copying a model.

Remarkably, a silverpoint *Saint Christopher* (fig. 21), one of the few drawings on paper closely associated with Van Eyck, mirrors the composition of the Philadelphia *Saint Christopher* and may have provided just such a model. The similarities between the drawing and the painting are obvious, although the painter minimized the size of the figures, with the result that the landscape elements are more prominent in the painting. The painter reversed the position of Saint Christopher and placed the hermit with the lantern on the bank of the stream rather than in his cave. At first glance, the landscape in the drawing, too, appears to have been modified in the painting. Yet, the painter retained the precise structural form of

the riverbanks and rocky formations on the right and left sides of the composition, even though he altered the specific forms of individual features. This suggests that the iconographic elements of the composition were relatively insignificant to the copyist, but that the structure of the landscape was recognized as significant enough to copy precisely.

### Jan van Eyck's Landscapes and Italian Artists

Almost forty years after the two *Saint Francis* pictures were completed and thirty years after the death of Jan van Eyck, the breathtaking view of the world in the *Saint Francis* paintings provoked a generation of Italian artists to incorporate some passages of the pictures into their own works.<sup>15</sup> The landscape found in the two versions of *Saint Francis* was directly copied by many Florentine artists in the 1470s. A century after Van Eyck's death, Michelangelo attested to the popularity and significance of the characteristically Eyckian innovations in landscape painting in Italy. Casting himself as the arbiter of the best taste and fashion, he complained bitterly of the popularity of Flemish landscape painting:

*In Flanders they paint, with a view to deceiving sensual vision, such things as may cheer you and of which you cannot speak ill, as for example saints and prophets. They paint stuffs and masonry, the green grass of the fields, the shadow of trees, and rivers and bridges, which they call landscapes, with many figures on this side and many figures on that.*<sup>16</sup>

Michelangelo's comments, although distinctly personal, have been widely interpreted as evidence of the negative reception of Flemish painting by artists in Italy and Spain during the sixteenth century. His recitation of the elements included in Flemish landscape painting reads like a description of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* from the Ghent Altarpiece, or even the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* paintings. Although Michelangelo's statements are by no means aimed directly at Van Eyck, his comments can best be understood as confronting the Eyckian painting tradition. It was precisely the attempt to capture the local details of the observed world, so characteristic of Van Eyck, to which Michelangelo objected.

### Jan van Eyck's Magical Realism

Definitive solutions to questions about Jan van Eyck's activities as a landscape painter are difficult to prove because of the lack of documentation about the early paintings and because the history of the scholarship has led to a fragmented, divided view of the origins of Eyckian painting.<sup>17</sup> Scholars have marveled at Eyckian magical realism, yet have been unable to explain how it came to pass; many have been unwilling to credit Jan van Eyck alone for the transformation of the world of painting. Casting his brother Hubert van Eyck (c. 1365–1426) in the role of collaborator and partner of Jan in the early years shares the responsibility for the achievement of Eyckian realism.<sup>18</sup> The shadowy nature of Jan's early activities, coupled with how little is known about the functioning of his workshop, has intensified the search for a second hand (or even more) at work. Recent technical investigations of many of the paintings have revealed how complex the organization of the workshop must have been, but unfortunately, have also led to the further fragmentation of the oeuvre, without significant clarification. Jan van Eyck left no single student or group of students to carry on the traditions of his workshop, although his innovations and style were imitated by generations of painters in the Netherlands.<sup>19</sup>

It is clear that Van Eyck's continuous experimentation with the painterly description of the natural world began early and continued throughout his career. The Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* paintings are landmarks along the journey to forge a new way of painting landscapes that culminated in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* and the *Saint Barbara*. Jan van Eyck's insistence on plotting out the landmarks of observed experience in these exquisite paintings laid the groundwork for painters of the next three centuries. To Van Eyck's contemporaries and Italian artists of the next generations, his landscapes must have been a staggering innovation. No such thing had been painted before.

1. Giorgio Vasari, *Giorgio Vasari on Technique: Being the Introduction to the Three Arts of Design, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: Prefix to the Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Louisa Madhose, ed. G. Baldwin Brown (New York, 1966), p. 226.

2. For an analysis of Van Eyck's use of oil, see E. Melanie Gifford, "Jan van Eyck's *Annunciation*: Development and Alterations," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque X, 1993: Le Dessin sous-jacent dans le processus de création*, eds. Héléne Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute (Louvain, 1995), pp. 81–93.

3. For a study of this kind of development in Hans Memling's landscapes, see Catherine Reynolds, "Memling's Landscapes and the Influence of Hugo van der Goe," in *Memling Studies: Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10–12 November 1994)*, eds. Héléne Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute, and Maurits Smeyers (Louvain, 1997), pp. 163–70.

4. See [Juzanne] Sulzberger, "Une particularité du paysage eyckien," *Scriptorium*, vol. 5 (1951), pp. 40–45.

5. For the argument that this painting was begun as an underdrawing but then was completed as a sort of pen drawing, see J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "Over de techniek van Jan van Eycks *De Heilige Barbara*," in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Antwerp, 1992)*, pp. 9–18.

6. Probably commissioned by Jean de France, Duc de Berry, the manuscript was a monumental undertaking. The first part of it was completed in three different campaigns between 1380 and 1412. On New Year's Day, 1413, Jean gave the completed Book of Hours to his treasurer, Robinet d'Estampes. John of Bavaria may have commissioned Van Eyck to execute a number of miniatures in the prayer book and missal. Sometime after 1425 yet another owner (possibly Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy) commissioned the remainder of the pages to be illuminated. These were possibly executed under the direction of Van Eyck, and certainly under his influence, and worked on until the time of Van Eyck's death in 1441. After Van Eyck died, the remaining pages were illuminated by a follower, possibly also at the behest of Philip the Good. Between 1467 and 1479, the manuscript entered the collections of the House of Savoy. The prayer-book portion of the manuscript went to the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin and was destroyed in a fire in 1904. The missal, referred to today as the Turin-Milan Hours, was transferred from the Trivulzio collection to the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in Turin in 1935. See Anne H. van Buren, James H. Marrow, and Silvana Pettenati, *Heures de Turin-Milan: Inv. No. 47, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Torino. Commentary* (Lucerne, 1996), pp. 233–35, 250–51.

7. For a discussion of the problem of attribution of the Turin-Milan Hours, see the commentary volume of the *Heures de Turin-Milan* referred to in note 6. Maurits Smeyers and others have argued that all of the miniatures in the manuscript must postdate Van Eyck, and could not have been painted prior to c. 1450. See Maurits Smeyers, "Answering Some Questions About the Turin-Milan



Hours," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque VII, 1987: Géographie et chronologie du dessin sous-jacent*, eds. Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq (Louvain, 1989), pp. 55–70. On the other hand, Marigene H. Butler and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer discovered underdrawing best described as Eyckian in some pages of the manuscript. See Marigene H. Butler and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "The Examination of the Milan-Turin Hours with Infrared Reflectography: A Preliminary Report," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque VII, 1987: Géographie et chronologie du dessin sous-jacent*, eds. Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq (Louvain, 1989), pp. 71–76.

8. Georges Hulin de Loo attributed the *Gettsemane* page to Hand H, whom he identified as Jan van Eyck. He attributed several other pages in the burned portion of the manuscript to Hand G, whom he identified as Hubert van Eyck. See Georges Hulin de Loo, *Heures de Milan: Troisième partie des Très-Belles Heures de Notre-Dame, coloriées par les peintures de Jean de France, duc de Berry, et par ceux du duc Guillaume de Bavière, comte de Hainaut et de Hollande* (Brussels and Paris, 1911).

9. See the essays by Marigene H. Butler, "An Investigation of the Philadelphia *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*," and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "Some Technical Observations on the Turin and Philadelphia Versions of *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*," in J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 28–46, 51–63. See also Ezio Buzzegoli et al., "Methods and Results of Non-Invasive Testing: Infrared Reflectography and False Color," in the commentary volume of the *Heures de Turin-Milan* referred to in note 6, pp. 395–401.

10. For more on the investigations of underdrawing in Van Eyck's paintings, see J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer and Molly Faries, "La 'Vierge au Chancelier Rolin' de Van Eyck: Examen au moyen de la réflectographie à l'infrarouge," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1990), pp. 37–49. See also Rachel Billinge and Lorne Campbell, "The Infra-red Reflectograms of Jan van Eyck's Portrait of Giovanni(?) Arnolfini and His Wife Giovanna Cenami(?)," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, vol. 16 (1995), pp. 47–60.

11. For a discussion of the problems with dating and attribution as well as the relationship of the miniatures to Van Eyck's corpus of paintings, see Ludwig Baldass, *Jan van Eyck* (London and New York, 1952), pp. 90–96.

12. Anne H. van Buren named this artist the Master of Folpard van Amerongen. See Anne H. van Buren, "The Genesis of the Eyckian Book of Prayers and Masses," in the commentary volume of the *Heures de Turin-Milan* referred to in note 6, p. 360.

13. Anne H. van Buren attributed the *Confessors* or Willem Maelwel in the second campaign of illumination, and supposed that it was later repainted in the sixth Flemish campaign. She argued that the *Three Hermits* and the *Two Pilgrims*, in the initial letter on the same page, were painted in the post-Eyckian Flemish campaign by

the Master of Jean Chevrot. See Anne H. van Buren, "The Genesis of the Eyckian Book of Prayers and Masses," in the commentary volume of the *Heures de Turin-Milan* referred to in note 6, p. 361.

14. Many scholars have assumed that Van Eyck came into contact with these indigenous plants when he traveled to Portugal for Philip the Good in 1428.

15. See Michael Rohlmann, *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild: Altmiederländische Tafelmaleri im Florenz des Quattrocento*. *Alster* (Alster, Germany, 1994), pp. 105–10.

16. Francisco de Hollanda was a Portuguese painter who knew Michelangelo in Rome in the 1530s. After Francisco de Hollanda left Rome, he wrote down his memories of Michelangelo's ideas and conversations. His oft-cited description of Michelangelo's discussion of Flemish painting with Vittoria Colonna must have occurred between 1537 and 1540, but was recorded some ten years later, between 1547 and 1549. Francisco de Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting*, trans. Aubrey F. G. Bell (London, 1928), pp. 15–18, quoted in Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art, 1500–1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Ill., 1989), pp. 33–34.

17. For a discussion of these problems, see Charles Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 33 (1976), pp. 7–81.

18. For a history of the shift in attribution of the Turin and Philadelphia paintings between Hubert and Jan van Eyck, see Katherine Crawford Lubert, "Annotated Bibliography," in J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 97–108.

19. See, for example, Maryan W. Ainsworth with contributions by Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York, 1994).

## PATRONAGE AND PILGRIMAGE: JAN VAN EYCK, THE ADORNES FAMILY, AND TWO PAINTINGS OF "SAINT FRANCIS IN PORTRAITURE"

Jan van Eyck is remembered as the creator of breathtakingly beautiful paintings and was for centuries credited with the invention of oil painting. Yet, the central question of Eyckian scholarship remains the problem of attribution, of recognizing the hand of the artist. As with any artist, unsigned pictures are attributed on the basis of stylistic comparison; this is complicated in the case of Van Eyck, as his signed works vary tremendously in scale. The monumental Ghent Altarpiece stands more than twelve feet high as compared to the tiny and exquisite *Saint Barbara* (fig. 1), only twelve inches high, yet both exemplify the delicacy of technique and clarity of vision that made Jan van Eyck famous. The problems of attribution have led to similarly complex issues of dating and chronology. Every attempt to devise a history of development of the artist has been vexed by such central questions.

The exhibition *Recognizing Van Eyck* provides the first modern occasion, probably since

the fifteenth century, to compare the two paintings of Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata in the collections of the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (figs. 3, 4) to one another and to examine them within the context of other works of art by Jan van Eyck and his followers.<sup>1</sup> The precise relationship between the Philadelphia and Turin versions of Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata exemplifies the paramount problems of Eyckian scholarship. The two pictures are virtually identical except for their striking difference in size—the Turin picture is four times larger than the Philadelphia painting—and neither is signed. Two pictures ascribed to Jan van Eyck that seem to fit their description, however, are mentioned in the 1470 will of Anselme Adornes, a member of a leading patrician family in Bruges, where the artist was active (fig. 24). Despite the clue to attribution about the pictures offered by the Adornes will, no consensus has been reached about who painted the pictures or who owned them. This raises the questions How were these two nearly identical paintings created? For whom, and by whom? For what purpose and with what method? These puzzles have confounded connoisseurs of Jan van Eyck's paintings, as has their relationship to the rest of his oeuvre.

Despite the history of shifting attributions of the paintings associated with the circle of Jan van Eyck, much is known about the life and activities of the artist. He was born about 1385 and worked for Count John of Bavaria before 1425. He became the court painter for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and established a residence in Bruges in the 1430s. He was the trusted councillor and emissary of Philip the Good, who gave him the title *varlet de chambre*, an honorific reserved for courtiers of the highest standing. Documents mention that Jan van Eyck made several "lengthy and secret voyages" for Philip the Good, and some scholars have argued that the artist made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land on behalf of the duke.<sup>2</sup> On at least two other occasions he traveled to Portugal as part of a ducal envoy to negotiate a marriage for Philip. In 1428 Jan made two portraits of Isabella, the Infanta of Portugal, whom Philip wed in 1430; in that year Jan accompanied Isabella to Bruges for her marriage. Jan was not only admired and trusted by Philip the Good, he

Fig. 23. The Philadelphia *Saint Francis* before 1906

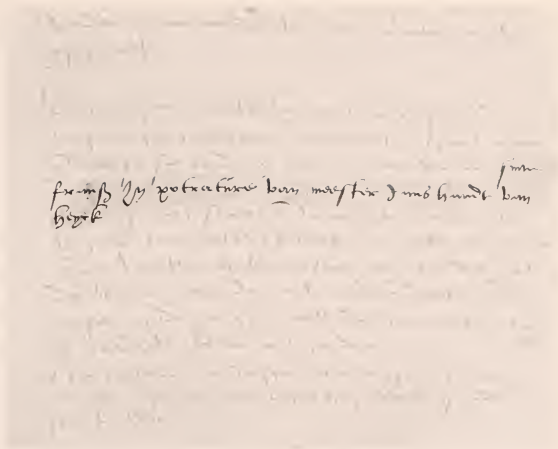


was extremely well paid and given the freedom to work for other patrons besides the duke. Indeed, many of Van Eyck's most notable commissions were made for members of Bruges's merchant class, in particular for the factors and scions of wealthy Italian trading families in Bruges and Ghent.

### The Modern History of the Two *Saint Francis* Pictures

Both the Philadelphia and Turin paintings have relatively brief critical histories; the provenance of neither stretches back before the nineteenth century. The Philadelphia painting was purchased in Lisbon between 1824 and 1828 by William à Court (later the first Lord Heytesbury) during his tenure as British envoy to Portugal. It was first attributed to Jan van Eyck by Gustav Waagen in 1857.<sup>3</sup> The painting now in Philadelphia was sold by the Heytesbury family in 1894 to a dealer and bought a month later by John G. Johnson, the noted Philadelphia lawyer and collector. After Mr. Johnson purchased the picture, he asked Roger Fry, then curator of paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to restore it. Fry noticed that the composition had been altered by the addition of a large expanse of blue sky, and elected to remove this addition (fig. 23). Mr. Johnson's entire collection was bequeathed to the City of Philadelphia at his death in 1917 and has remained in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art ever since. The picture now in the Galleria Sabauda, in Turin, was purchased by Massimo D'Azeglio, director of the Turin museum, in 1866. He acquired it from the mayor of the nearby town of Feletto Canavese, who reported that he had purchased it from a professor from the city of Casale Monferrato who had, in turn, bought it from an ex-nun living in the same city.

In 1860, a sixteenth-century copy of the will written in 1470 by Anselme Adornes was discovered in the Bruges archives (fig. 24).<sup>4</sup> In this will, written on the eve of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, Adornes, a wealthy cloth merchant, a patron of the arts, and a member of one of Bruges's leading patrician families, described two paintings by Jan van Eyck in his possession that were portraits of Saint Francis, and bequeathed one to his daughter Marguerite and one to his daughter



Louise, both of whom were at Carthusian convents near Bruges. Whether or not Marguerite and Louise ever received the pictures remains unknown; Anselme Adornes did not die until 1483, and he wrote a new will in the intervening years that made no mention of the two pictures. There is no trace of the two pictures from the 1470 will until the late nineteenth century. It was only in 1886 that W.H.J. Weale drew a connection between the Philadelphia and Turin paintings and the Adornes will.

### The Early Renown of the *Saint Francis* Pictures

Even though there are no documentary records of the whereabouts of either the Philadelphia or Turin painting between the end of the fifteenth and the late nineteenth century, the composition was copied both directly and indirectly by many artists in both Italy and the Netherlands, indicating that it must have been very highly regarded.<sup>5</sup> The Italian quotations of the composition are precise and exact. Netherlandish quotations are more global, less specific, and occur much more frequently than Italian ones, as the general impact of Van Eyck's way of recording the world around in him in paint was so far-reaching.

Most Netherlandish copies are indirect quotations of the *Saint Francis* paintings. Many are by artists who were close to Van Eyck's

Fig. 24. Sixteenth-century transcription of the will of Anselme Adornes, February 10, 1470 (pl. XIX from C. Aru and E. de Geradon, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin*, vol. 5 of *Les Primitifs flamands: I. Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle* [Antwerp, 1952]). The highlighted portion reads, "Saint Francis in portraiture from the hand of Master Jan van Eyck."





workshop, or who lived and worked in Bruges after his death and would have known some of his works firsthand. For example, the tiny *John the Baptist in a Landscape* in Cleveland (fig. 18) was probably executed by a member of his workshop about 1445, just a few years after Jan's death in 1441.<sup>6</sup> In this vertical composition, John the Baptist stands amid a flowery meadow dotted with tiny flowers, much like those found in the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings. Even the face of John the Baptist resembles the face of the prophet Micah in the Ghent Altarpiece (as well as any number of other faces in Eyckian works, including the face of the Saint Christopher; fig. 20).

It was not until almost fifty years after Van Eyck's death that Netherlandish artists felt free to copy literally the composition of the *Saint Francis* paintings.<sup>7</sup> The Master of Hoogstraeten painted a very close copy a little later (fig. 25). This painting has a vertical orientation, although the figures of Saint Francis and Brother Leo are taken directly from the Turin-Philadelphia composition. The setting is changed somewhat and has been described as a

view of Dinant. This painting, now in the Prado, has a long association with the Spanish royal collections; it was recorded in the royal collection at La Granja in 1746. Its presence there attests to its importance, since the Spanish royal family had amassed one of the most important collections of Early Netherlandish painting in the world, which remains to this day in the Prado.

One of the *Saint Francis* pictures must have been in Florence at least briefly in the early 1470s, as a distinguished group of Florentine artists, including Botticelli (see fig. 26), Verrocchio, and Filippino Lippi, copied elements of the rocky landscape and incorporated the motif of the small rock fountain in the foreground into compositions of their own. In Venice, Giovanni Bellini painted his version of the legend of Saint Francis about 1475. Bellini did not repeat the same moment of the story, but his setting, although transformed, perhaps originated from Van Eyck's invention. The way that the closely observed and realistically described rocks were repeated by Italian, and specifically Florentine, painters

Fig. 25. Master of Hoogstraeten (Netherlandish, active c. 1485–c. 1520) *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1510  
Oil on panel, 18½ × 13¾" (47 × 36 cm)  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. 1617

Fig. 26. Detail of *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1470–75, by Sandro Botticelli (Italian, 1445–1510)  
Oil on panel  
National Gallery, London, no. 592

Fig. 27. Erhard Reuwich  
*The Holy Sepulchre*, 1486  
Woodcut for Bernhard  
von Breydenbach, *Sanctae  
Peregrinationes* (Mainz,  
1486)



of the 1470s suggests that the landscape component of the picture, rather than the symbolic iconographic element, was what entranced them. Bellini also made two very direct and smaller quotations of the *Saint Francis* composition in the Pesaro Altarpiece, in two of the predella panels of the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* and the *Saint Jerome in the Desert*.<sup>8</sup>

But how did such a distinguished group of Florentine artists (and the Venetian Giovanni Bellini) come to see this composition in the 1470s? One may conjecture that there was a drawing of the landscape, now lost, that was in a collection in Florence at that time. It is also possible, and more likely, that Anselme Adornes took one of the two pictures with him on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1470. We know a great deal about this journey because his son Jan kept a diary of their journey, which Anselme later presented to his friend and patron King James III of Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Anselme left Bruges on February 19, 1470, with a small group of fellow travelers and stopped in Pavia so that his son Jan, who was a student at the university there, could join them on the journey. Anselme and Jan traveled on to Rome, where they were given two audiences with Pope Paul II, and then traveled back up the coast to Genoa, where they were received and feted by the Italian branch of the Adornes family. They

sailed from Genoa, and stopped in Tunis, Malta, Alexandria, Cairo, and Mt. Sinai, where they visited Saint Catherine's monastery before traveling by camel across the desert to Jerusalem. After spending some days in and around the environs of Jerusalem, and visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on September 14, 1470, Anselme and Jan set off on their return journey home. They traveled overland through Italy, and stopped in Florence on February 5, 1471. It is conceivable that some members of the Florentine artistic community could have seen one of the two *Saint Francis* paintings at that time.

### The Franciscan Tradition of Pilgrimage

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, Rome, and other sites, such as Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain, were frequently undertaken by Christians in the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Palestine and the Holy Land were by far the most important pilgrimage sites. Saint Francis was especially revered by pilgrims and crusaders to Palestine because of his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1219. The Franciscans had been given the responsibility of caring for the holy sites in Jerusalem, including the Holy Sepulchre. The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (fig. 27), the goal of



Fig. 28. Circle of  
Jan van Eyck  
*The Three Marys at the  
Sepulchre*, c. 1425–30  
Oil on panel, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 35"  
(71.5 × 89 cm)  
Museum Boymans–van  
Beuningen, Rotterdam,  
inv. 2449

many crusaders and pilgrims, was reportedly built on the site of Christ's entombment after the Crucifixion.

Saint Francis (1181/82–1226) himself led a life of extreme and literal imitation of Christ, and voluntarily took on the vows of poverty, charity, and chastity. He renounced earthly possessions, rebuilt a church with his own hands, and lived in harmony with nature surrounding him. His most famous mystical vision—the one that provided the subject for Jan van Eyck's two pictures—occurred while he was meditating and fasting on La Verna in 1224. On that mountain, after many days of fasting, Francis saw "in a vision of God a man like a seraph having six wings, standing over him with hands outstretched and feet joined together, fixed to a cross. Two wings were raised above his head, two were spread out for flight, and two veiled the whole body. . . . And while . . . the strangeness of the vision was perplexing his heart, marks of nails began to appear in his hands and feet, such as those he had seen a little while before in the Man crucified who had stood over him." The appear-

ance of the stigmata on Francis's body were regarded as emblems of his transformation into an *alter Christus*, or second Christ.<sup>11</sup>

In the early fifteenth century, followers of Saint Francis, the mendicant Franciscan preachers, were common throughout Europe; they exhorted their followers to relive the model of Francis and Christ. The Franciscans attracted a huge following, but were very liberal in their acceptance of varying degrees of rigor in adhering to the rule. The Third Order of Franciscans embraced devout persons of both sexes who were members of local confraternities. Anselme Adornes himself belonged to a lay Franciscan group in Bruges called the Confraternity of the Dry Tree, which did not require its members to follow the Franciscan rule strictly. For instance, the chapel where the confraternity met was not allowed to possess any decorations, but the members were allowed to decorate it with their own sumptuous possessions.<sup>12</sup>

The Adornes family had their own tradition of pilgrimage to Palestine: Anselme's father Pieter and Uncle Jacob had together made a

Fig. 29. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*French King Praying before Battle*  
 Manuscript illumination,  
 Turin Hours (folio 77 verso), destroyed in 1904



pilgrimage to Jerusalem before 1428, when Anselme was a young child. Upon their return to Bruges, Pieter and Jacob Adornes sponsored the construction of a private mortuary chapel for their family, called the Jerusalemkerk, in honor of the Holy Sepulchre, which was intended as a commemoration of their pilgrimage.<sup>13</sup> Specifically modeled in plan and location on the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Jerusalemkerk is located just outside the medieval city walls of Bruges, just as the Holy Sepulchre, the site of Christ's tomb, was built outside the ancient city walls of Jerusalem. Visiting the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges (itself known as the New Jerusalem) would have been experienced as a simulacra of visiting the holy site in Jerusalem. It was not uncommon to build replicas of the Holy Sepulchre: the Adornes's church culminates a tradition begun in the fourth century. The most famous of the medieval replicas of the Holy Sepulchre are those at Konstanz and Fulda in Germany.<sup>14</sup> Generally, these copies were meant to confer sanctity on the sites where they were built. Mental pilgrimages were viewed as sound alternatives to actual pilgrimages for those faithful who could not make a journey, or as aids to memory and devotion for those who had already made pilgrimages.<sup>15</sup>

Another representation of a building very similar to the Jerusalemkerk occurs in the beautiful *bas-de-page* landscape miniature *Three Hermits near a Forest* (fig. 17), which was prob-

ably painted in the 1430s or 1440s, sometime after the completion of the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings. In this little landscape, the hermit wearing a black robe, sitting on the hillock, echoes brother Leo in the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. The little building behind the two standing hermits resembles the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges (and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem). The inclusion of this building strengthens the connection of the miniature to the two *Saint Francis* paintings and suggests that the artist (probably a member of Jan's workshop) was familiar with the composition of the two *Saint Francis* paintings and knew that they were painted for the Adornes family.

It has been suggested that the Eyckian painting *Three Marys at the Sepulchre* (fig. 28) was commissioned as a commemoration of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that the true subject of the picture is not the sorrow of the three Marys standing at the open tomb, but is a celebration of the Holy Sepulchre itself.<sup>16</sup> Although only speculation, it is possible that Pieter and Jacob Adornes commissioned the two *Saint Francis* paintings from Jan van Eyck to commemorate their pilgrimage to Jerusalem and their devotion to the Holy Sepulchre, probably just after they returned from their 1428 journey. It is also possible that the smaller painting in Philadelphia may have been conceived of as a portable devotional aide that could act as a reminder of the pilgrimage, intended to be carried along on that or subsequent pilgrimages. Anselme could have inherited the two paintings from his father, who died in 1464, or his uncle, who died childless in 1465. That Anselme mentioned the two paintings in his 1470 will, written on the eve of his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land, is significant. Perhaps the need to put his affairs in order before his departure brought back memories of his father and uncle, and led to the specific inclusion of the two paintings.

An image of a similar, small-scale portable painting is preserved in the miniature *French King Praying before Battle* (fig. 29), from the part of the Turin Hours that burned in 1904. And, a fragmentary portable altarpiece that belonged to Philip the Good survives in pieces, but demonstrates that a precedent existed for this type of small-scale devotional painting. The idea of commissioning a pair of identical paintings has a royal prototype: in 1428 Jan made a *pair* of





pre-nuptial portraits of Isabella of Portugal for Philip the Good. This was purportedly to ensure that at least one picture made it back to Philip: one was sent by land and the other by sea.<sup>17</sup> Other patrons, like the Adornes brothers, might also have specified that they wished to have two versions of a painting made, in emulation of the Duke of Burgundy.

The subject matter of portable paintings was usually more traditionally devotional. In both the burned miniature from the Turin Hours and Philip the Good's traveling altarpiece, a Crucifixion is depicted. Furthermore, representations of Saint Francis were unusual in paintings and manuscript illuminations in Northern Europe during the first half of the fifteenth century, despite the prevalence of Franciscan confraternities and churches in Northern Europe. In contrast, the tradition of Franciscan iconography was widespread and popular in Italy a century and a half earlier. As James Snyder has pointed out, the elements in Van Eyck's painting of Saint Francis Receiving

the Stigmata varies significantly from the traditional Italian iconographic and formal tradition as founded by Giotto. In Van Eyck's paintings the wound in Francis's side is not visible, nor are the rays that connect his stigmata to the vision of Christ, both prominent elements of Giotto's prototypes. Van Eyck gave Brother Leo a position of prominence in the composition, an unusual element in most Italian representations of the event. These details suggest that Van Eyck based his representation on the available literary sources recounting Francis's life, or depended on verbal instructions conveyed to him by his patrons rather than visual sources. Although the Adornes brothers were assimilated into the power structures of Bruges's patrician families, they strongly retained their Italian identities. They would have just seen the Franciscans caring for the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and could have specified the iconographic program of the two paintings, or provided the artist with one or more of the many written sources that described Francis's vision on La Verna.

Fig. 30. Jan van Eyck  
*Madonna Enthroned in a Church* (Dresden Triptych), 1437  
Oil on panel, 13 × 21"  
(33 × 53.5 cm)  
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden



Fig. 31. Pieter I de Jode  
*Pieter Adornes*, 17th century  
 Engraving  
 Bibliothèque Royale  
 Albert I<sup>er</sup>, Brussels

Fig. 32. Jan van Eyck  
*Portrait of Giovanni  
 Arnolfini*, after 1430  
 Oil on panel, 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>"  
 (29 × 20 cm)  
 Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche  
 Museen zu Berlin,  
 Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
 Berlin, no. 523A

Fig. 33. Jan van Eyck  
*Portrait of Baudouin de  
 Lanoy*, after 1430  
 Oil on panel, 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>"  
 (25 × 19.5 cm)  
 Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche  
 Museen zu Berlin,  
 Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
 Berlin, no. 525G

### The Patrons

Jan van Eyck's practice of including portraits of patrons in his paintings, for example, the portrait of Nicholas Rolin in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* in the Louvre (fig. 2), has prompted scholars to speculate on the possible identity of the man portrayed as Saint Francis in the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. Although some scholars have supposed the figure to be an idealized representation of Saint Francis himself, others have searched for the patron of the painting in the portrayal. And, indeed, the features captured in this image do bespeak a portrait more than an idealized rendition of an imagined figure. Some scholars have even hoped to recognize the face of Chancellor Rolin captured in portraiture as some ten years younger than he was in the Louvre picture. Likewise, similarities have been noted in the faces of the Saint Francis and the donor in the left wing of the Dresden triptych (fig. 30).

It would have been highly unusual for an artist, even Jan Van Eyck, to represent a patron as a saint, despite the prevalence of portraits of donors appearing as themselves in paintings of the same period. Therefore, attempts to identify the representation of Saint Francis as a portrait



of a real man must be treated with skepticism. Nonetheless, the strong circumstantial evidence connecting the two *Saint Francis* pictures to the Adornes family makes it tempting to try to connect the face of Saint Francis with one of the Adornes brothers, Pieter or Jacob. No portraits of Jacob survive, and the only known portraits of Pieter Adornes (fig. 31) include one engraved by Pieter I de Jode in the early seventeenth century, one hundred and fifty years after Pieter Adornes's death. A second portrait of Pieter Adornes survives in a stained-glass window in the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges. Although the engraving must have been based on an intermediary source, his face is strikingly similar to that of Saint Francis in both the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. The nose, the shape of the mouth, and jowl line are similar, but most striking is a small detail—the distinctive branching of the ear cartilage into a Y shape in the top lobe of the ear, which is apparent in the engraved portrait of Pieter Adornes, the portrait in stained glass, and the ears of Saint Francis. Ears, of course, provided the basis for Giovanni Morelli's system to identify artist's hands (not for sitter's identities!), but in this case, a distinctive physiognomic peculiarity was transmitted through three portraits made over the span of one hundred fifty years, strengthening the circumstantial evidence connecting Jan van Eyck, the Adornes family, and the two paintings of "Saint Francis in portraiture."

### The Physical Evidence

Close comparison of the two pictures reveals the genius of Jan van Eyck as a painter. The correspondence in detail between the two pictures is uncannily precise. The lichens on the rocks are the same, as are the flowers scattered on the verdant ground and the leaves on the tree. Yet the miniature size of the Philadelphia painting required that the artist change his manipulation of certain brushstrokes to obtain the same optical description of nature. That is, the extreme similarity of the two pictures is the result of the conscious manipulation of techniques to work on two different scales/levels of recognition. The details in the larger Turin picture are handled in one way, while the same areas in the Philadelphia painting are handled in a slightly different manner. The pictures end up looking, on cursory and



Fig. 34. Jan van Eyck  
*The Annunciation*,  
 c. 1434/36  
 Oil on canvas, transferred  
 from panel, 35 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ "  
 (90.2 × 34.1 cm)  
 National Gallery of Art,  
 Washington, D.C.,  
 Andrew W. Mellon  
 Collection, 1937.1.39

even quite detailed examination, the same, but the optical means used to achieve this sameness are sometimes quite different. This reveals the mind and hand of an artist struggling with the painterly challenge of creating two optically identical images in different scales.

The restorations and investigations of both the Turin and Philadelphia pictures have cast a great deal of light upon the shifting problem of attribution of these two pictures. Dendrochronological analysis was used to investigate the two pictures. In dendrochronology, the tree rings in a wooden support panel are measured, counted, and compared to a master list of comparable data for the region where the tree was felled. In this way, probable felling dates for the trees can be determined, and, in some cases, it can be determined that panels were made from planks taken from the same tree, allowing a strong argument to be made for attribution to an artist or a workshop. Many panels by Jan van Eyck and his circle have been analyzed by dendrochronology by Peter Klein, providing a wealth of comparative information.<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Klein was able to determine that the two different trees that supplied the planks for supports of both the Philadelphia and Turin pictures were felled around the turn of the fifteenth century, providing ample time for the panels to be aged before they were used as supports for paintings. Dr. Klein has also been able to demonstrate that the panel used for the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* came from the same tree as the two panels used for the portraits of Giovanni Arnolfini (fig. 32) and Baudouin de Lannoy (fig. 33), now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. Although not signed or dated, these two portraits have been attributed to the oeuvre of Jan van Eyck. Interestingly, Baudouin de Lannoy was a member, along with Jan van Eyck and others, of the envoy sent to Portugal by Philip the Good to negotiate his union with Isabella of Portugal. In honor of his marriage in 1430, Philip established the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Baudouin de Lannoy became a member of the order that same year. Since Jan has portrayed him wearing the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the portrait must date to after 1430. If this is true, it seems probable that the other two panels from the same tree, those used for the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* and the Berlin *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini*, would have been acquired by Jan at

Fig. 35. Exterior of the  
Ghent Altarpiece



the same time. Of course, Jan could have acquired the panels together much earlier and kept them in his shop.

Infrared reflectography, a technique in which the preparatory drawing on a panel beneath the paint layers is sometimes rendered visible, was also used to investigate both the Turin and Philadelphia paintings. No overall drawing was detected with this means of investigation in the Philadelphia painting, although a great deal of underdrawing was found in the Turin painting, revealing how the artist planned and altered his conception of the composition between the commencement of underdrawing and the completion of painting. These changes in the composition, which are repeated in the Philadelphia *Saint Francis*, point convincingly to the argument that the Turin picture was designed and painted before the Philadelphia one. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that both pictures were commissioned simultaneously, and painted by the artist as a pair. Furthermore, since the Philadelphia painting is painted on vellum, then mounted on panel, any underdrawing that was executed might have been made with a material such as silverpoint, which would not show up with infrared reflectography.

Besides showing how the composition was devised and designed, the underdrawing can be compared to other examples of underdrawing or unfinished paintings. The underdrawing in the Turin picture is quite similar to that found in the Ghent Altarpiece, the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, the *Portrait of Bandonin de Lamoy* in Berlin, and the drawing in the exquisite, signed and dated *Saint Barbara* in Antwerp.<sup>19</sup> The drawing of the rocks in the Turin painting has a counterpart in the exquisitely drawn rocks in *Saint Barbara* (fig. 14). Although it is risky, at best, to make attributions of paintings on the basis of underdrawings, this evidence ties the Turin painting more closely to Jan van Eyck.

### Autograph Works

The crucial element in making an attribution of either the Turin or Philadelphia painting to Jan van Eyck is to compare the painting closely to autograph, uncontested works by the artist. *The Annunciation* (fig. 34) and the Antwerp *Saint Barbara* (fig. 1) provide that touchstone of comparison. The *Saint Barbara* gives a unique

glimpse into Jan van Eyck's working practices, since it is a drawing in brush on a panel prepared with a white ground, and must either be, or closely resemble, the underdrawn design made as a guide for the application of paints to the surface.<sup>20</sup> It is tempting to imagine that Jan van Eyck planned the compositions, and especially the landscapes, in similar detail in his other paintings, including the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* paintings. The exquisite attention to the landscape in the *Saint Barbara* suggests that, like the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings, the setting for this portrait of the saint was conceived as an integral part of the composition from the beginning. The scale of the *Saint Barbara* is remarkably similar to the Philadelphia *Saint Francis*, and the almost maniacally miniaturistic detail is quite similar to that in the *Saint Francis*. The structure of the landscape is likewise similar, although the *Saint Barbara* reveals Jan van Eyck at the apogee of his development of landscape depiction.

The iconographic intricacies of the *Annunciation* are matched by the exquisite observation of the details of the setting. Even though the Turin and Philadelphia paintings are overtly very different in setting, being essentially landscape compositions, they share with the *Annunciation* an intense degree of observation. For example, the rich, brocaded cope worn by Gabriel was not an invention of Jan van Eyck; it was modeled on the most refined productions of Florentine silk and velvet weavers of the time. Despite their very different settings, the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* paintings also share with the *Annunciation* an intent to convey a precise moment of mystical vision. The Virgin's impassive response to the message of the angel Gabriel is remarkably similar to the detached response of Saint Francis to the vision of the seraphim Christ. Van Eyck utilized this same passive reception of a transforming spiritual vision over and over again in his work. Similar mystical visions are depicted in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, the *Madonna of the Canon van der Paele* in Bruges, and the *Gethsemane* miniature. Like the *Saint Francis* pictures, the *Annunciation* has a restrained, monochromatic palette, which is punctuated by the brilliant figures of Gabriel and the Virgin. Of the two *Saint Francis* pictures, the Philadelphia picture is slightly more jewel-like in depth of tone and

brilliance of detail. This can perhaps be explained by the desire of Jan van Eyck to imitate in oil paint the brilliance of tonality found in the miniatures of the Turin–Milan Hours.

If these two depictions of Saint Francis were indeed painted for Pieter and Jacob Adornes, the pictures should be dated to 1430 or just after, more or less contemporaneous with the production of the Ghent Altarpiece. This dating of the works is further supported by the development of landscape painting in Jan van Eyck's works. In addition, Van Eyck was in Portugal for the duke until 1430 and most likely unavailable to paint the two pictures before then. The extremely high quality of the Turin and Philadelphia paintings, with their exact correspondence of detail, suggests that both were painted by the same artist. The rather complete underdrawing in the Turin painting, together with the small adjustments made to the composition between the under-drawn and painted stages, suggests that the Turin painting was the earlier invention of Jan van Eyck. Those changes are incorporated into the Philadelphia version and show that they had already been adjusted by the time this version was painted. The two may therefore comprise the earliest surviving example of a replica of a composition, albeit in different scales, created by a single artist. It is tempting to imagine that the smaller, Philadelphia picture, painted on vellum, which was then mounted on panel in Jan van Eyck's shop, was made especially as a portable devotional painting. Just how Jan van Eyck was able to make two paintings of such remarkable similarity on different scales remains a mystery, nearly six hundred years after their creation.

1. In anticipation of the exhibition *Recognizing Van Eyck*, the Philadelphia Museum of Art published a book of scholarly essays: J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997). Many of the issues addressed in this *Bulletin* are discussed at length in this publication.

2. For a summary of documents regarding the life of Van Eyck, see Jacques Paviot, "La Vie de Jan van Eyck selon les documents écrits," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, vol. 23 (1990), pp. 83–93.

3. G. F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of More than Forty Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Ms., &c. &c., Visited in 1854 and 1856, and Now for the First Time Described*. Vol. 4, supplement to *Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854–1857* (London, 1857), pp. 132, 389.

4. For the first publication of this will, see Alexandre Pinchart, ed., *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits* (Ghent, 1860), vol. 1, p. 267. The passage associated with the two pictures reads as follows: "Item, I give to each of my dear daughters, to be theirs, to wit, Marguerite, Carthusian, and Louise, Sint-Truiden, a picture wherein Saint Francis in portraiture from the hand of Master Jan van Eyck, and make the condition that in the shutters of the same little pictures be made my likeness and that of my wife, as well as can be made." From the testament of Anselmus Adornes, February 10, 1470, transcription, Stadsarchief, Bruges (no. 1, article 22). Text collated by Philips Cools, notary public, and published by A. De Poorter, "Testament van Anselmus Adornes, 10 Febr. 1470," *Biekof* (Bruges), vol. 37 (1931), pp. 225–39. Transcription from C. Aru and E. de Geradon, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin*, vol. 5 of *Les Primitifs flamands: I. Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle* (Antwerp, 1952), p. 13.

5. For a recent consideration of Van Eyck's relationship to Italy, see Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Jan van Eyck: un artista per il Mediterraneo," in *Jan van Eyck: Opere a confronto* (Turin, 1997), pp. 55–76.

6. Maryan W. Ainsworth recently attributed this small painting to Petrus Christus. See her catalogue entry on *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* in Maryan W. Ainsworth with contributions by Maximilian P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York, 1994), pp. 78–85.

7. The composition was also known in Augsburg at the end of the fifteenth century, as indicated by Thoman Burgkmair (the father of the more renowned Hans Burgkmair) in his drawing of the subject, dated about 1490, in a London private collection. Thoman rearranged the elements of the composition and must have been familiar with Italian compositions as well. His rendering of La Verna and inclusion of the seated Brother Leo in the composition suggest that the artist was familiar with either the Philadelphia or the Turin painting, if not both. See *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, foreword by Bruno Bushart (Augsburg, 1965), pp. 153–54.

8. For reproductions of these paintings, see Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), pp. 124–37. Senior Conservator of Paintings at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Mark S. Tucker, brought the connection to the Pesaro Altarpiece to my attention.

9. The travel diary of Anselme and his son Jan's pilgrimage to the Holy Land was published in *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–71)*, eds. and trans. Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groër (Paris, 1978), p. 83. See also Alan Macquarrie, "Anselme Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III," *The Innes Review*, vol. 33 (1982), pp. 15–22.

10. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land were very popular in the fifteenth century. See Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978). Jan van Eyck himself made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain during his 1428 journey to Portugal.

11. See James Snyder, "Observations on the Iconography of Jan van Eyck's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*," in J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 77.

12. Maximiliaan P. J. Martens discovered a document that listed the kinds of objects that were owned by the members of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree, and listed the names of the members, including Anselme Adornes. See Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, "Petrus Christus: A Cultural Biography," in Maryan W. Ainsworth with contributions by Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York, 1994), p. 18.

13. The first document referring to the construction of the Jerusalemkerk is a papal bull from Pope Martin V granting the Adornes brothers permission to construct a chapel with a clock tower to honor the earthly resting place of Christ in Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See N. Geirnaert and A. Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem: Internationaal leven in het 15de- en 16de-eeuwse Brugge* (Bruges, September 9–25, 1983), esp. pp. 11–50.

14. For further reading, see Veronica Sekules, "The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered," in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral VIII. Conference Transactions of the British Archaeological Association, 1982* (Leeds, 1986), pp. 118–31; and Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "Les Imitations du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (IX<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles): Archéologie d'une dévotion," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, vol. 50 (1974), pp. 319–42.

15. Pictorial simulacra, such as the Stations of the Cross, were more common than architectural ones. A good example is the somewhat later cycle of the seven Roman basilicas painted by Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair, and the Monogrammist L. F. between 1499 and 1504 for the Dominican nunnery of Saint Katharina in Augsburg. See *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, foreword by Bruno Bushart (Augsburg, 1965),

pp. 71–74. I would like to thank Larry Silver, Farquhar Professor of the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania for drawing this example to my attention. Margaret of York owned a guide to the pilgrimage churches of Rome, which was probably produced around 1470. See Walter Cahn, "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome," in Thomas Kren, ed., *Margaret of York, Simon Manton, and "The Visions of Tondal": Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Manuscripts of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Collaboration with the Huntington Library and Art Collections. June 21–24, 1990* (Malibu, 1992), pp. 89–98.

16. See Henk van Os, "Opstanding of Heilig Graf, enkele opmerkingen over de ikonografie van *De drie Maria's aan het Graf* uit de 'Groep van Eyck,'" *Oud Holland*, vol. 105 (1991), pp. 39–40.

17. See Jacques Paviot, "La Vie de Jan van Eyck selon les documents écrits," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, vol. 23 (1990), p. 87.

18. See Peter Klein, "Dendrochronological Analyses of the Two Panels of 'Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata,'" in J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 47–50. For further discussion of parchment supports mounted on panel, see Hélène Verougstraete, A. De Schryver, and R. H. Marijnissen, "Peintures sur papier et parchemin marouflés aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'exemple d'une *Vierge et enfant* de la suite de Gérard David," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque X, 1993: Le Dessin sous-jacent dans le processus de création*, eds. Hélène Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute (Louvain, 1995), pp. 95–105.

19. For more on the underdrawing in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, see J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer and Molly Faries, "La 'Vierge au Chancelier Rolin' de van Eyck: Examen au moyen de la réflectographie à l'infrarouge," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1990), pp. 37–49.

20. See J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "Over de techniek van Jan van Eycks *De Heilige Barbara*," in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1992), pp. 9–18.

- IA. Jan van Eyck (Netherlandish, born c. 1385, died 1441)  
*Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*  
 1430–32  
 Oil on panel  
 11½ × 13⅓ (29.2 × 33.4 cm)  
 Galleria Sabauda, Turin, cat. 187  
 Fig. 3



- IB. Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*  
 1430–32  
 Oil on vellum mounted on panel  
 4⅞ × 5⅜ (12.4 × 14.6 cm)  
 Philadelphia Museum of Art,  
 John G. Johnson Collection, cat. 314  
 Fig. 4



THE PRECISE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO VERSIONS OF *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, in the collections of the Galleria Sabauda in Turin and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, remains one of the great enigmas of modern art history and connoisseurship. The two pictures, magically beautiful examples of Eyckian painting, are virtually identical except for their striking difference in size. Just how the two were created, by whom, for whom, for what purpose, and with what method, has long puzzled scholars and connoisseurs of Early Netherlandish painting, as has their relationship to the rest of Jan van Eyck's corpus of paintings. The extremely high quality of the two pictures, together with their exact correspondence of detail, suggests that both were painted by the same hand. The two may therefore comprise the first known example in the fifteenth century of a replica of a composition created by a single artist.

Despite the lack of a signature or a date on either of the two paintings, they are tied closely to Jan van Eyck by physical and documentary evidence. Two portraits of Saint Francis are mentioned in the 1470 will of Anselme Adornes (fig. 24), written on the eve of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. In this will, Adornes, a patron of the arts and a member of one of Bruges's most important patrician families, described two paintings by Jan van Eyck in his possession that were depictions of Saint Francis, and bequeathed one to his daughter Marguerite and one to his daughter Louise. The whereabouts of the two pictures mentioned by Adornes in his will remained a mystery until the nineteenth century. The Philadelphia painting was purchased by William à Court, later the first Lord Heytesbury, in Lisbon in the 1820s, and the Turin painting was reportedly acquired from an unknown nun from Casale Monferrato in the mid-nineteenth century. There are no documentary records of the whereabouts of either painting in the intervening period, although one of the pictures must have been in Florence briefly in the early 1470s, as a distinguished group of Florentine artists, including Botticelli, Verrocchio, and Filippo Lippi, incorporated the motif of the small rock fountain in the foreground into their own compositions. The Venetian artist Giovanni Bellini made several quotations of the composition in the 1470s, as seen in two predella panels, the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* and *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, for the Pesaro Altarpiece, as well as his *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, now in the Frick Collection, New York.

Dendrochronological investigation of the two wood support panels used for the Turin and the Philadelphia paintings shows that they came from two different trees. Both trees were felled well within the timeframe necessary for inclusion within Jan van Eyck's oeuvre. More significant, the small



panel used for the support in the Philadelphia painting was cut from the same tree as the panels for two portraits in Berlin: the portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini (fig. 32) and the portrait of Baudouin de Lanoy (fig. 33), both attributed to Jan van Eyck. Not only were the panels taken from the same tree, these three panels were adjacent radial sections of the same tree. This evidence firmly ties the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* to Jan van Eyck's studio, even if, by itself, it does not place it beneath his hand.

Just as dendrochronology connects the Philadelphia painting to Van Eyck, infrared reflectography connects the Turin picture closely to Jan van Eyck himself. Infrared reflectography can reveal the underdrawing beneath the painted surface. The underdrawing in the Turin picture shows that the artist carefully worked out the modeling and volume of faces and drapery forms and planned the composition of the landscape and distant city in great detail. He made alterations between the underdrawing and the final painting, slightly changing the orientations of the heads of both friars, modifying the position of a tree on the horizon, and changing the depiction of Saint Francis's feet as well. Some scholars have understood the changes apparent in the underdrawing of the feet to show Van Eyck's removal of shoes or socks from Francis's feet, and have interpreted this change as evidence of the artist's lack of familiarity with Franciscan iconographic tradition. If Francis were wearing shoes, the stigmata would not have been visible, and the significance of the event hidden from the viewer.

Overall, the style of the underdrawing in the Turin *Saint Francis* is similar to that found in the Ghent Altarpiece. The way the artist utilized underdrawing to map out a compositional plan that was then freely altered is typical of the way Jan van Eyck worked. Almost no underdrawing shows with infrared reflectography in the Philadelphia painting, which may demonstrate only that the material used is not made visible with this technology. The Philadelphia *Saint Francis* is painted on vellum, and it is possible that a drawing medium like silverpoint was used, which does not contain enough black pigment to absorb infrared heat, rendering it invisible to infrared reflectography. Many of the pages in the Turin-Milan Hours that were examined also show no trace of underdrawing, and they, too, are painted (albeit with tempera, not oil) on vellum supports.

The recent reconstruction of the red border surrounding the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* (fig. 4) highlights the similarities between it and some of the miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours. The vermilion and red-lake border, highlighted as if the entire picture is lit from the upper-left corner, enhances the illusion of peering through a window frame into the landscape beyond. The border sur-

rounding the *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* page (fig. 11) in the Turin-Milan Hours—although not conceived with the same illusionistic shading—separates the image from the surrounding page and heightens the illusion of looking through a window into another space. This compositional trope was used to its greatest advantage in the landscape in the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (figs. 2, 5).

The tonalities of the landscapes in the *Saint Francis* paintings have often been commented upon, and the slight differences between them emphasized. The monochromatic quality of the two *Saint Francis* paintings may, however, reflect an innovation first tried by Jan van Eyck in certain miniatures in the Turin-Milan Hours, particularly the *Funerar Mass* (fig. 8), which has an overall silvery gray tone. The suppression of brilliant areas of local color to the overall composition was one of the means with which Jan van Eyck was able to create a convincing, uniform illusion of space. A similar suppression of local color is used with great power in the *Annunciation* (fig. 34), where the brownish, monochromatic space of the architecture behind Gabriel and the Virgin acts as a foil to their gaudily colored costumes. Perhaps because it is in a slightly better state of preservation than the Turin painting, the Philadelphia *Saint Francis* shows a similar effect of intensely saturated colors playing against the overall warm brown tonality of the painting, giving it a lustrous, jewel-like quality.

On the basis of their connection to the Adornes family, the dates of Jan's travels to Portugal, and the way the two paintings bridge the gap between Jan's earliest landscape endeavors in the Turin-Milan Hours and his most mature masterpieces, such as the *Saint Barbara* (fig. 1) or the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2), both *Saint Francis* paintings should be attributed to Jan van Eyck and dated between 1430 and 1432.

2. Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Barbara*, 1437  
Signed and dated on frame with inscription:  
·IOHES DE EYCK ME FECIT·1437·  
Brush drawing on panel  
12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> (31 × 18 cm)  
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone  
Kunsten, Antwerp, cat. 410  
Fig. 1



THE SAINT BARBARA IN ANTWERP PROVIDES A RARE glimpse into Jan van Eyck's working practices, since it is a drawing in brush on a panel prepared with a white ground, and must either be, or closely resemble, the underdrawn design made as a guide for the application of paints to the surface. Whether or not the *Saint Barbara* is complete as a highly finished drawing or remains an unfinished painting has never been fully resolved. The refined detail and flawless complexity of the drawing, together with the inscription on the painted frame, may indicate that it is a complete work of art. Yet, the *Saint Barbara* is unique: no comparable examples of framed, signed, and dated drawings executed on panel exist. Furthermore, many scholars have pointed out that frames on small paintings like this were an integral part of their construction (sometimes the frame and the painting were carved out of a single piece of wood), and that the frames could have been painted after the underdrawing was complete but before the more important final painting was begun.

Using infrared photography and infrared reflectography, it is now possible to reconstruct the underdrawing in some paintings, but drawing executed with an extremely fine brush in very dilute pigment, like that found in the *Saint Barbara*, may not be made visible with this technology. Recent research about painters' practices and techniques shows that fully worked-up underdrawings were common. Sometimes artists presented a completely underdrawn design to the patron of a work of art for approval before embarking on the painting itself.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the *Saint Barbara* was prepared for such a patron, but for unknown reasons was never completed.

The "unpainted" quality of the *Saint Barbara* was commented on by Carel van Mander, the sixteenth-century biographer of Dutch and Flemish painters.<sup>2</sup> Much of the value of his 1604 book on Dutch and Flemish painters lies in his personal knowledge of artists and works of art. He described a picture seen in the Ghent home of his teacher and mentor Lucas de Heere as an unfinished, yet unusually attractive portrait of a woman with a small landscape behind her. This must be the Antwerp *Saint Barbara*. Van Mander's description of the picture as unfinished is significant, since it indicates that he believed he was looking at a work of art that was not yet fully realized, but that was perhaps the more remarkable because of being unpainted. Likewise, Van Mander's emphasis on the inclusion of the landscape setting in the picture is important because it underlines the recognition given to Jan van Eyck's landscape inventions as late as the turn of the sixteenth century.

The genre-like description of the activities of the figures busy with the construction of Saint Barbara's tower must have been equally striking to Van Mander. Van Eyck's representations of people

engaged in physical labor echo the depictions of the labors of the months in calendar pages in manuscript illuminations of the period, such as the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, Duc de Berry. Yet, the miniature-like quality of this portion of the painting contrasts strikingly with the iconic monumentality of both Barbara and her tower.<sup>3</sup> Van Eyck was renowned for his monumental and sometimes impassive Virgins, like those in the Dresden triptych (fig. 30) and the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2). In these pictures, a monumental Virgin dominates the sacred interior space of an imagined church. Barbara, in contrast, is seated outdoors, on an elevated hillock in the landscape above the plain on which her tower is being constructed. Her quiet, contemplative devotion is balanced by the activity of the architect, stonemasons, and laborers busily constructing the tower, the symbol and physical manifestation of her devotion.

Compositionally, the *Saint Barbara* weds an iconic portrait of the seated female saint before her tower with a sweeping expanse of remarkably unified landscape. Barbara's tower symbolizes both the contemplative devotion of the saint and the active devotion of the architect and laborers engaged in its construction. Jan van Eyck's painterly craft is paralleled by that of the architect constructing his tower. Technique, composition, and subject matter are bound in this precious painting in an expression of the parallels between contemplative and active forms of devotion.

1. See J. P. Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing and Other Technical Aspects in the Paintings of Lucas van Leyden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 29 (1978), pp. 72–92. See also Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Northern Renaissance Drawings and Underdrawings: A Proposed Method of Study," *Master Drawings*, vol. 27, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 11, 16.

2. Carel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters: Translation from the Schilderboeck*, trans. Constant van de Wall (New York, 1936), p. 13.

3. In 1957 a fragment of a painting on a section of Gothic tracery in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (inv. Pe 2), was attributed to Jan van Eyck by Pierre Quarré. The architectural forms depicted in this fragment are similar to the structure of Saint Barbara's tower. It is possible that the two shared a common model. See Pierre Quarré, "Fragment d'un primitif de la Chartreuse de Champmol," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 7 (1957), pp. 59–64. See also Valentin Denis, *All the Paintings of Jan van Eyck*, trans. Paul Colacicchi (London, 1961); and Nadine Gasc, "Panneau à décor d'architecture," in *Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée des Arts Décoratifs* (Paris, 1985), pp. 24–25.

3. Jan van Eyck  
*The Annunciation*, c. 1434/36  
 Oil on canvas, transferred from panel  
 35% × 13% (90.2 × 34.1 cm)  
 National Gallery of Art, Washington,  
 D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection,  
 1937.1.39  
 Fig. 34



THE COMPLEX ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM OF THE *Annunciation*, together with its extraordinary beauty, has long captivated scholars of Early Netherlandish painting.<sup>1</sup> Transformative spiritual visions recur as a theme in many of Van Eyck's paintings, including the *Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (fig. 2) and the *Madonna of Canon van der Paele* in Bruges, as well as the two *Saint Francis* paintings (figs. 3, 4) and the *Annunciation*. In the Philadelphia and Turin paintings, Saint Francis is transformed into an *alter Christus*, or second Christ, by his vision of the crucified Christ and the subsequent appearance of the

stigmata, or Christ's wounds, on his hands, feet, and side. Similarly, the Virgin is transformed by the words spoken to her by Gabriel in the *Annunciation*. These two events are not iconographically or typologically related, yet both are analogous to the deepest, most inscrutable mystery of the Passion: the transubstantiation of the human Christ into the Savior through death and resurrection, with the attendant promise of salvation to all of mankind.

Recently, increased attention has been devoted to the technique and physical creation of Netherlandish paintings. Like the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings, the Washington *Annunciation* was recently cleaned and restored, and the technique of the painting has been exhaustively studied and reported.<sup>2</sup> Investigation of the *Annunciation* with infrared reflectography shows that the underdrawing in the painting is consistent with other works by Van Eyck in style and function. The artist freely altered the composition as he painted, adding details such as the lush vase of lilies in the right foreground to enrich the iconographic program of the painting. In addition to their obvious iconographic significance as symbols of the Virgin, Van Eyck's inclusion of the lilies in the foreground of the picture reveals the degree of concern he had with the spatial construction. As a sacred interior scene, the *Annunciation* is comparable to other interior scenes in Van Eyck's oeuvre, such as the *Funeral Mass* from the Turin-Milan Hours (fig. 8), and the *Annunciation* from the Ghent Altarpiece (fig. 35). Like the two *Saint Francis* paintings, these constructed interiors show how Van Eyck unified his compositions and spatial constructions with a relatively monochromatic palette. The steely gray of the *Funeral Mass* is quite different from the warm brown tones of the Ghent Altarpiece or the *Annunciation*. The tonality of the *Annunciation* acts as a foil to the brilliant ultramarine blue of the Virgin's robe, the red and gold embroidered cope of Gabriel, as well as the archangel's rainbow-hued wings. Jan van Eyck's unified palette in these paintings is a significant part of his accomplishment in the representation of magically realized representations of space and time.

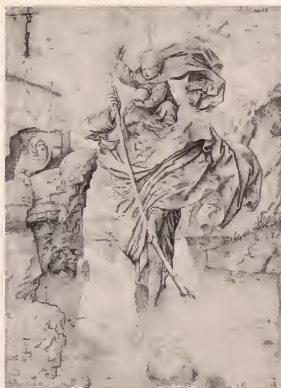
1. See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), vol. 1, pp. 59, 137–39, 147–48, 182, 193–94ff., 252, 305. See also John Oliver Hand on the *Annunciation* in John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 76–86.

2. See E. Melanie Gifford, "Jan van Eyck's *Annunciation*: Development and Alterations," in *Le Dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque X, 1993: Le Dessin sous-jacent dans le processus de création*, eds. Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete (Louvain, 1995), pp. 81–93.

4A. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Christopher*, c. 1465  
 Oil on panel  
 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8  $\frac{5}{16}$ " (29.5 × 21.1 cm)  
 Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G.  
 Johnson Collection, cat. 342  
 Fig. 20



4B. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*Saint Christopher*, c. 1440  
 Ink on paper  
 8 × 5  $\frac{1}{2}$ " (19 × 14 cm)  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des  
 Dessins, RF 20664  
 Fig. 21



JAN VAN EYCK'S LANDSCAPE COMPOSITIONS WERE copied very early, probably by members of his workshop during his lifetime, and for many generations after his death. It has frequently been suggested that the *Saint Christopher* in the Johnson Collection reflects an early version of a lost composition by Van Eyck. The painting was acquired by the Philadelphia lawyer and collector John G. Johnson as a Hans Memling before 1909, and was later attributed by some scholars to Dierick Bouts, probably because of the facial type of the *Saint Christopher*. Yet, a closer model for the face of *Saint Christopher* is found in the face of the *Prophet Micah* in the *Ghent Altarpiece*. A very similar rendering of this facial type is found in the Cleveland *John the Baptist in a Landscape* (fig. 18) as well.

Certain elements of the landscape are closely related to Eyckian models, and the drawing of *Saint*

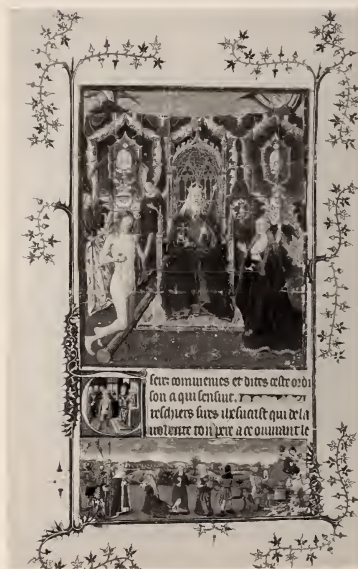
*Christopher* in the Louvre, which might record or have provided the model for the artist of the painting of *Saint Christopher*, further strengthens the connection to the circle of Van Eyck. The Louvre drawing, like the Philadelphia *Saint Christopher*, has a long and complex history of attribution. It was recognized very early as being related to the Eyckian school, and bears an annotation, "Johannes," in a sixteenth-century hand in the upper-right corner. Max J. Friedländer thought it one of few drawings that could safely be attributed to Jan van Eyck. Many other scholars have seen in the drawing a copy of a lost original; however, its high quality and importance have always been recognized.<sup>1</sup>

Recent dendrochronological analysis of the *Saint Christopher* panel shows that it must have been executed about twenty years after Van Eyck's death in 1441, sometime in the mid-1460s. Van Eyck's

original composition as recorded in the Philadelphia painting and the Louvre drawing had an extremely long afterlife, probably because of the spatial structure of the landscape with its illusion of clearly demarcated planar recession. Later artists clearly recognized the importance of this innovation in the depiction of landscape painting, and artists such as Dierick Bouts, Gerard David, and Joachim Patinir continued to make use of the essential landscape composition well into the sixteenth century.

1. See Charles Sterling, "Petrus Christus Problems," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 53 (March 1971), p. 25; and Charles Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 33 (1976), pp. 53–55. See also Fritz Lugt, *Des écoles du Nord*, vol. 8 of *Inventaire General des Dessins. Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1968), pp. 3–4.

- 5A. Follower of Jan van Eyck  
*God the Father Enthroned between Christ and the Virgin Mary*, c. 1440  
 Tempera on parchment  
 10¾ × 7" (27.3 × 17.7 cm)  
 Manuscript illumination from the  
 Turin-Milan Hours (Louvre 4 verso)  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des  
 Dessins, RF 2023  
 Fig. 15



5B. Unknown Flemish Artist

*The Confessors*, c. 1420–25

Tempera on parchment, 10¾ × 7⅞"  
(27 × 18.5 cm)

Manuscript illumination from the  
Turin-Milan Hours (Louvre 2 verso)  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des  
Dessins, RF 2025

Fig. 16

Follower of Jan van Eyck

*Three Hermits near a Forest*, c. 1440

(*bas-de-page* of fig. 16)

Fig. 17



BOTH OF THESE PAGES CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO followers of Jan van Eyck and both rely upon models found in Jan's painted oeuvre. The work of mapping out the various hands involved in the creation of the Turin-Milan Hours, and understanding the related issue of patterns of borrowing to and from it by Jan van Eyck himself, his followers, and later copyists, remain far from clarified. These two pages are among four pages separated from the Turin Hours in the nineteenth century that found their way to the Louvre. The remainder of the Turin Hours were destroyed in a fire in 1904.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the pages in the Turin-Milan Hours are organized thematically: the main illuminations are usually typologically related to the illuminated initial and the scenes in the small, horizontal *bas-de-pages*. However, the separate elements on any single page were often painted by different artists in the course of various campaigns. The combination of paintings in the International Gothic style, Eyckian style, and post-Eyckian style provides remarkable insights into the genesis of painting during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The page with the illumination *God the Father Enthroned between Christ and the Virgin Mary* is unified around the iconographic theme of intercession. All the subjects echo the sacrifice of Christ's corporal body for the salvation of all Christians and are listed in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, a medieval book that lists prototypes for New Testament events prefigured in the Old Testament. In the main illumination on the page, God the Father is enthroned between the Virgin and Christ, who plead with him for intercession. The initial on the page, which begins the prayer, is decorated with a depiction of *Antipater Showing His Scars to Caesar*, and the landscape at the bottom of the page is a depiction of *Esther Interceding with Ahasuerus*. The page was painted after Jan van Eyck's participation in the project was complete. *God the Father Enthroned* reflects the central *deïsis* from the Ghent Altarpiece, and the *bas-de-page* landscape demonstrates the artist's knowledge of Eyckian innovations in landscape painting.

The illuminations on the page with *The Confessors* and *Three Hermits near a Forest* were probably completed in two different campaigns, with *The Confessors* in the International Gothic Style completed before Jan van Eyck's involvement and the *Three Hermits near a Forest* afterward. Of special interest in the *bas-de-page* is the little building behind the two standing hermits with a tower topped by a round, globe-like finial. This rather unusual architectural feature is reminiscent of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges, built by the Adornes family as a mortuary chapel in 1428 (fig. 27). The inclusion of this feature on this page points strongly to the possibility that the artist responsible for this page was familiar with either one or both the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* pictures.

1. See Silvana Pettenati, "How the Heures de Milan Became the Heures de Turin-Milan," in Anne H. van Buren, James H. Marrow, and Silvana Pettenati, *Heures de Turin-Milan: Inv. No. 47, Civico d'Arte Antica, Torino. Commentary* (Lucerne, 1996), pp. 233–48.

6. Circle of Jan van Eyck  
*John the Baptist in a Landscape*, c. 1445  
 Oil on panel  
 15¼ × 4⅞" (40 × 12.5 cm)  
 The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard  
 C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1979.80  
 Fig. 18



THE ATTRIBUTION OF THIS TINY PANEL HAS BEEN hotly debated, some scholars seeing it as the product of a painter immediately in the circle of Jan van Eyck, and others seeing it as the work of Petrus Christus.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the attribution, the correspondences between it and the Philadelphia and Turin *Saint Francis* paintings are unmistakable: thematically, as a representation of a saint in the wilderness, and formally, in the construction and features of the landscape. The miniature scale of the Cleveland picture makes it an intriguing comparison to the Philadelphia painting and points to the tradition of miniature painting within the Eyckian workshop.

The Cleveland painting, like the Philadelphia *Saint Christopher* (fig. 20), probably reflects an Eyckian prototype. This prototype might have been a triptych by Jan van Eyck seen by Marcantonio Michiel in Venice in the early sixteenth century. Commissioned by a member of the Lomellini family, it included a wing with a representation of John the Baptist, which might have been the precise model for this picture. Van Eyck made a number of paintings of saints in the wilderness, perhaps to exploit the potential in the subject matter for landscape painting. Other examples include the lower, interior wings of the Ghent Altarpiece and the two *Saint Francis* paintings. The lost *Saint George on Horseback* that was in the collection of Alphonse of Aragon in 1445 in Sicily may have belonged to this tradition as well.

The details and execution of the landscape of the *John the Baptist* painting reflect Eyckian models and techniques, and are very close to details in the *Saint Francis* paintings. Similarities include the grassy, flowered landscape, the river winding back into the composition with a town reflected in the background and, most striking, the large sedimentary outcropping of rocks on the left middle ground. However, some sections in the rock strata are portrayed unrealistically, suggesting that the artist had not himself observed this type of geological formation but had depended upon a pictorial model.<sup>2</sup>

1. See Ann Tzetschler Lurie, "A Newly Discovered Eyckian *St. John the Baptist in a Landscape*," *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. 67, no. 4 (April 1981), pp. 86–109. See also Maryan W. Ainsworth's catalogue entry on *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* in Maryan W. Ainsworth with contributions by Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York, 1994), pp. 78–85.

2. See Kenneth Bé, "Geological Aspects of Jan van Eyck's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*," in J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer et al., *Jan van Eyck: Two Paintings of "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata"* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 88–95.



- 7A. Master of Hoogstraeten  
(Netherlandish, active c. 1485–c. 1520)  
*Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1510  
Oil on panel,  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ " (47 × 36 cm)  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid,  
inv. 1617  
Fig. 25

NOT IN EXHIBITION



THE MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN'S ADMIRATION FOR Jan van Eyck's composition of the *Saint Francis* is apparent; the figures of both Francis and Brother Leo are taken directly from the picture, as is the essential landscape structure, including the rocky cliff behind Brother Leo and the river winding into the distance with a city on the far shore. Notably, the Master of Hoogstraeten directly quoted Van Eyck's cleft rock fountain in the cliff, the same detail so admired by Florentine artists including Botticelli, Fillipino Lippi, and Verrocchio in the 1470s. The repetition of this particular detail by the Master of Hoogstraeten, far removed from Florence, reinforces the significance of the original Eyckian composition as well as its wide-reaching fame.

The large trees behind Saint Francis and the foreground, densely carpeted with closely observed plants, are very much in keeping with the traditions of landscape painting around the turn of the century. In 1746 this painting was included in the inventory of the Spanish royal collection at La Granja. Before

the Turin and Philadelphia *Saint Francis* paintings became widely known in the nineteenth century, the director of the Prado attributed the landscape to Joachim Patinir and the figures to Albrecht Dürer, testament to the high esteem in which the painting was held.<sup>1</sup> Max J. Friedländer recognized it as a copy of the Van Eyck *Saint Francis* and gave it the present attribution.<sup>2</sup>

1. Don Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo Nacional de Pintura y escultura* (Madrid, 1876). The presence of the painting at La Granja by 1746 was noted in *Museo del Prado, Catálogo* (Madrid, 1949), p. 195, with an introduction by F. J. Sanchez Canton.

2. Friedländer's attribution is included in *Museo del Prado, Catálogo* (Madrid, 1949), p. 195.



