

# VAN EYCK STUDIES

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**Fig. 31.1** Joan Reixach, *St John*, 1446-1448, fragment of the *Predella of the Evangelists*, panel, 62 x 47 cm, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes (deposit from the Diputación de Valencia)

## Van Eyck in Valencia

Bart Fransen

ABSTRACT: In this article I argue that Jan van Eyck visited Valencia as part of the ducal embassy to Aragon in the autumn/winter of 1426, which was the first of two embassies sent by Philip the Good to negotiate his marriage to Eleanor of Aragon, sister of Alfonso V of Aragon. This visit probably enabled a number of Valencian painters to contact the Burgundian court painter and gain direct access to his technical and pictorial innovations. Within a small network of Valencian artists, some even acquired a painting and a drawing attributed to him. Exceptionally, tracings after Eyckian works were imported and literally taken over, as is evidenced by the study of Dalmau's *Virgin of the Consellers*. Dalmau made his tracings after the *Ghent Altarpiece* in Van Eyck's workshop, before the work was installed in the Vijd Chapel. The duration of Dalmau's stay in Van Eyck's workshop should therefore be taken into account when studying the genesis of the *Ghent Altarpiece*.

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More than any other Spanish region, Jan van Eyck's oeuvre received a very early response in Aragon, and particularly in Valencia, where his models were used among a small network of Eyckian artists. Moreover, it is very likely that the painter to the Burgundian court stayed in Valencia while on one of the diplomatic missions for the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (1396-1467), even if no archival document explicitly mentions his name as part of one of the embassies.

### Jan van Eyck in Aragon

From 1 July 1427 to 15 February 1428 a Burgundian embassy of around forty members,<sup>1</sup> headed by Lourdin de Saligny and Renaud de Fontaine, Bishop of

Soissons, was sent to Aragon to negotiate – inconclusively, as it turned out – the marriage of Philip the Good and Eleanor of Aragon (1402-1445), the sister of Alfonso V of Aragon (1396-1458).<sup>2</sup> En route to Valencia the ambassadors passed through Paris, Troyes, Chambéry and Nice; on their way back they made extra stops in Ibiza and Menorca. Jacques Paviot has argued that Jan van Eyck could not have been part of this embassy, firstly because payments made in July and August 1427 suggest that he was in the Low Countries, and secondly – and primarily – because a *Johannes peintre* was received by the painters' guild in Tournai on 18 October 1427, the feast day of St Luke, a date that is incompatible with the duration of the embassy.<sup>3</sup>

From October 1428 to December 1429 Van Eyck did take part in the grand Burgundian matrimonial embassy to Portugal, which numbered around seventy five members and was led by Jean de Roubaix, councillor and first chamberlain to the duke and much more experienced than the aforementioned Lourdin de Saligny.<sup>4</sup> The adventurous journey to Lisbon and back, via the ports of southern England and Galicia, is documented in a well known travelogue probably written by a Portuguese individual, which survives in two copies, one French and one Spanish, the latter only partially preserved.<sup>5</sup> Van Eyck joined this mission not as an ambassador per se<sup>6</sup> but as a court painter, charged with painting a portrait of the Infanta, Isabella of Portugal (1397-1471), Philip's intended bride.<sup>7</sup> The portrait was painted in the Portuguese city of

Avis in January/February 1429 and its iconography is known through a seventeenth-century copy drawing conserved in Lisbon (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (see fig. 21.1)).<sup>8</sup> Once the negotiated marriage treaty and Van Eyck's painting had been sent off to Philip the Good, the ambassadors spent four months visiting several places on the peninsula. In contrast to the detailed description of the period spent in Portugal, the travelogue mentions those excursions only briefly, probably because its author was not one of the party. He does tell us, however, that some members of the embassy – Van Eyck is not specified – visited Santiago de Compostella, the duke of Arjona (in Zamora ?), the king of Castile (in Valladolid ?), the city of Granada and 'other places'. Some authors have thought that the group went to Aragon,<sup>9</sup> but this is due to a misreading of the French word 'Arjonne' which refers not to Aragon but to Arjona.

According to recent findings in Aragonese archives, published by Blasco Vallés and Reche Ontillera, a Burgundian embassy had already been sent to Aragon in 1426, before the mission of 1427-1428 mentioned above.<sup>10</sup> The safe-conduct for that first embassy was written by Alfonso V and dated 28 September 1426. Although Jan van Eyck is not mentioned in the document it is likely that he was part of the Burgundian delegation, which included between twenty and forty members and was led by Lourdin de Saligny.<sup>11</sup> The four ambassadors listed by name and surname in the safe-conduct are Lourdin de Saligny, André de Toulangeon, Jean de Terrant and Jean Hibert.<sup>12</sup> On 31 July 1426 those four men had already been paid by Philip the Good to undertake the secret mission 'to certain places faraway and for certain matters that affect him greatly and are close to his heart'.<sup>13</sup> Paviot pointed out that the same Burgundian accounts include a payment, dated 26 August 1426, to Jan van Eyck, also for a 'secret journey to certain places far away also ordered by the duke on which nothing needs to be declared'.<sup>14</sup> In my view, this payment to Jan refers to the same secret mission to Aragon in 1426 and confirms that Jan van Eyck was part of that first embassy.<sup>15</sup>

The exact dates of the journey are not recorded.<sup>16</sup> In principle the safe-conduct dated 28 September 1426 was valid until Easter 1428 (20 April), but it is likely that the embassy returned much earlier. Based on the available documentation, we can assume that the ambassadors left the Low Countries in October/November 1426, stayed in Valencia in December (in which month a letter from Alfonso to Philip the Good is dated)<sup>17</sup> and came back to the Low Countries in January/February 1427, in any case well before 1 April, when Alfonso V wrote another letter to the duke offering a safe-conduct for the second mission that left on 1 July 1427.<sup>18</sup>

Most scholars take it for granted that the first mission to Aragon was sent with the aim of negotiating a marriage between Philip the Good and the Catalan noblewoman Isabella of Urgell (1409-1459). This hypothesis, first put forward by James Weale in 1912, has infiltrated the literature and is widely treated as fact.<sup>19</sup> In her study on the embassies of Philip the Good, Anne-Brigitte Spitzbarth indicated that the 1426 and 1427 embassies to Aragon were both related to the same marriage, the first one being a preparation for the second and larger one that was intended to finalize the alliance between Aragon and Burgundy.<sup>20</sup> Although Spitzbarth is confused about the identity of Philip the Good's prospective bride,<sup>21</sup> it is clear from the Aragonese documents of 1427 that the ambassadors' goal was a marriage with Eleanor of Aragon, sister of Alfonso V, a plan that was abruptly cancelled by Alfonso in a letter to Philip dated 14 August 1427.<sup>22</sup> If Jan van Eyck did go along on the first journey to Aragon in 1426, his role might have been the same as it was in the 1428 mission to Portugal, that being to paint a portrait of the possible marriage candidate, Leonor of Aragon. That Van Eyck was not sent on the second mission of 1427 was probably because he had already completed his task on the first.

### A Valencian Network

The presence of Eyckian works in Aragon is well studied as far as the royal collection of Alfonso V, who resided most of the time in Naples, is concerned.

In his residence in Naples he kept a triptych of the Annunciation (originally made for Giovanbattista Lomellino), a *mappamundi* (possibly by Van Eyck), a *St George and the Dragon* and an *Adoration of the Magi*.<sup>23</sup> In this article, however, our focus is the city of Valencia and the immediate impact of Jan van Eyck's oeuvre in a network of local painters.

A most interesting testimony to this Eyckian network is the relatively early presence of a panel by Jan van Eyck (or workshop) in the collection of Joan Reixach (c.1411-1485), an important Valencian painter with a productive workshop, active between 1437 and 1482. Listed in his will of 1448 is *una taula de pintura de la historia com Sent Francesch reb les plagues, acabada ab oli de la ma de Johannes* ('a painting on panel with the history of St Francis receiving the stigmata painted with oil by the hand of Johannes').<sup>24</sup> This was probably a third version of Van Eyck's *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, known through the works in Turin (Galleria Sabauda) and Philadelphia (Museum of Art).<sup>25</sup> In his will, Reixach left the painting to his good friend Andreu Garc a, a well-connected Valencian priest and an outstanding promoter of the arts, who had also amassed a private collection of design drawings and models which according to Garc a's will would in turn be inherited by Reixach.<sup>26</sup>

The Van Eyck painting in Reixach's collection was not, of course, an object for devotion – at least not in the first place – but served principally as a model for his own work and that of his pupils. Several derivative works by Reixach himself are known, such as the *Stigmatization of St Francis* in the predella of his *St Ursula Altarpiece* of 1468 (Barcelona, Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya), or the panel sold by Christie's in London in 1998 (formerly in the Balanz  collection).<sup>27</sup> The Eyckian model was also followed by other Valencian contemporaries, notably the Master of the Porci ncula, whose version, located in Castell n (Convento de Capuchinas), seems to be literally inspired by the Eyckian iconography (fig. 31.2).<sup>28</sup>

In the 1440s Reixach was already producing paintings in which his knowledge of Van Eyck's

innovations can be observed, as for example in the three Evangelists from the *banco* of a lost Marian altarpiece, made between 1446 and 1448 for the chapel of the Hospital of Our Lady of the Innocents (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes).<sup>29</sup> The *St John the Evangelist* is the first surviving painting in which, instead of a traditional gold background, Reixach used a modern setting, placing the saint in a fifteenth-century interior, with a view of a modern city in which the inhabitants wear contemporary Burgundian dress (fig. 31.1).

It is clear that the name and the work of Jan van Eyck were well known in a network of painters around Joan Reixach. Other significant painters in this Eyckian network were Luis Alimbrot or Lodewijk Hallincbrood (active 1432-1463), Jaume



**Fig. 31.2** Master of the Porci ncula, *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, panel, 149 x 98 cm, Castell n, Convento de Capuchinas

Baço (c.1410-1461) and Lluís Dalmau (active 1428-1460). Luis Alimbrot must have been familiar with Van Eyck's oeuvre before leaving Bruges around 1437-1438 to settle in Valencia, where he bought a house right next to that of Joan Reixach, in the street of St Vincent (in the parish of St Martin), where Jaume Baço also had a house.<sup>30</sup> Jaume Baço, called Jacomart, was Reixach's associate in many projects.<sup>31</sup> As court painter to Alfonso V between 1442 and 1448, he must have known the Van Eyck paintings in the royal collection in Naples. The monumental *Annunciation* attributed to Jacomart (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes) may predate his departure for Naples in 1442 and thus would indicate a rather early knowledge of Van Eyck's *Annunciation* in the *Ghent Altarpiece*.<sup>32</sup> Last but not least, there is the Valencian painter Lluís Dalmau, who travelled to Bruges in 1431 and may have seen Jan van Eyck working on the *Ghent Altarpiece*, as will be discussed further below.

Reixach, Jacomart and Dalmau had all worked for the king of Aragon and had the right to place the royal arms above the entrance of their houses.<sup>33</sup> To this network still must be added the name of Berenguér Mateu, a Valencian painter documented between 1423 and 1446 and brother of Jaume Mateu (1382-1452), a well-known exponent of the International Style in Valencia.<sup>34</sup> Although none of his documented works are conserved, we know that Berenguer Mateu shared with this network a particular interest in Van Eyck and was an acquaintance of Andreu García, mentioned earlier as the inheritor of the *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* from Joan Reixach's collection. The inventory of Andreu García's goods, dated 1452, has recently been studied by Encarna Montero who brought to light the fact that Andreu García had received from Berenguer Mateu the following objects as a guarantee for a loan of six florins: a book on painting, four panels with painted heads and *una myga ymatge en paper, de ploma, de mà de Johannes* ('half an image, on paper, in pen and ink, by the hand of Johannes').<sup>35</sup>

This last entry is likely to refer to a drawing by Jan van Eyck: firstly because other Valencian

documents refer to him by the Latinized version of his first name, 'Johannes',<sup>36</sup> and secondly because Valencian painters named John were called 'Joan' and used a Latinized version of their name only when it appeared as part of a Latin text.<sup>37</sup> Thus we may assume that the use of Latin solely for the name of the painter indicates that he was from outside of Valencia. Judging by the high esteem in which Jan van Eyck was held within this network, and the direct connections between Valencia and Bruges, it is probable that this drawing was by the master (or his workshop). This is the only evidence that a drawing by Van Eyck left his workshop at such an early date.

It is hard to imagine what was represented on the drawing. 'Half an image' may refer to a half-length portrait but this is speculative. The main conclusion about this entry is that it demonstrates that it was possible for a Valencian painter to acquire a drawing by Van Eyck well before 1452. This is all the more fascinating when we take into account the fact that at that time, drawings were valuable possessions, belonging to the workshop or the family business in which they were produced, carefully preserved and often reused in the design of other art objects. Like the *Stigmatization of St Francis* in Reixach's collection, the Van Eyck drawing in Berenguer Mateu's collection was first and foremost a source of inspiration for his own paintings, but the fact that he left it with other objects as a guarantee for a loan of six florins indicates that the Van Eyck drawings had an important economic value long before art collectors started to buy them.

### Jan van Eyck and Lluís Dalmau

The most literal echo of Jan van Eyck's *ars nova* in Spain is without doubt the large *Virgin of the Consellers* by Lluís Dalmau (fig. 31.3) (Barcelona, MNAC). The evidence regarding the commission and execution of the painting is extremely valuable: firstly the detailed contract dated 29 October 1443; secondly the *mostra* or preparatory drawing of the composition; thirdly the artist's signature and the date, 1445, at the bottom of the panel. These



**Fig. 31.3** Lluís Dalmau, *Virgin of the Consellers*, 1445, panel, 2.72 × 2.76 (painted surface), Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya

facts, along with iconographical and historical data, have been much discussed in the literature.<sup>38</sup> The influence of Jan van Eyck is also constantly mentioned, with a focus on iconographic similarities: the angels' faces, close to those in the *Ghent Altarpiece*; the Valencian tiles, initially planned to be square but finally using a variety of forms and thus complicating the perspective; the brocade patterns, not simply painted as if on a flat surface, as

Dalmau's predecessors did, but following the folds in the robe; the suggestion of physical contact by delicate touching hands; and the figure of the Virgin enthroned, literally inspired by the *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele* in Bruges (Groeningemuseum), finished in 1436.

But Dalmau not only copied some iconographic elements, he also inserted the date of execution and his own signature on the panel: SUB ANNO

MCCCCXLV PER LUDOVICUM DALMAU FUI DEPICTUM. Exceptional for Aragonese painting, it is the painting itself that speaks:<sup>39</sup> FUI DEPICTUM, just like Jan van Eyck when he signed his works: JOHANNES DE EYCK ME FECIT. Dalmau also followed Van Eyck's concept of light and space. The ceiling in the *Virgin of the Consellers* is in fact an illusionistic continuation of the real architecture of the chapel, where the panel occupied an entire wall, as mentioned in the contract. The two pendants even seem to penetrate the space of the viewer. The introduction of the landscape and singing angels seems to have been Dalmau's own initiative, because the contract with the councillors stipulated that the background should be gilded with Florentine gold.<sup>40</sup> The same Eyckian formula is used for the representation of pearls and precious stones: instead of using pastiglia and gold leaf, as agreed upon in the contract, Dalmau opted to depict them in paint, just as Van Eyck did.

In 2008 a technical microanalysis was carried out on the materials and techniques of the *Virgin of*

*the Consellers* by scientists at the Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, which showed that the medium was a drying oil, and that the structure of the preparation and paint layers is comparable to that of Jan van Eyck.<sup>41</sup> This strongly supports the hypothesis that Dalmau must have spent significant time in Van Eyck's workshop, in order to obtain knowledge of techniques that were unknown in Aragon.

It is well known that Dalmau was sent from Valencia to Flanders by Alfonso V of Aragon in 1431, and although the purpose of the trip is not specified in the document it can be assumed that the painter was sent to be trained in the *ars nova* of Jan van Eyck. This was not an isolated example of such internship. The same thing happened to Zanetto Bugatto, for instance, who in 1460 was sent by the Duchess of Milan to be an apprentice in Rogier van der Weyden's studio. The Italian painter stayed no less than three years in the north. The exact date of Dalmau's return to Valencia is not known, but his presence there is documented again from July 1436 onwards.<sup>42</sup>



**Fig. 31.4** Overlay of the tracing of the head of St John the Baptist by Jan van Eyck (*Ghent Altarpiece*, Ghent, St Bavo's Cathedral) onto the head of St Andrew by Lluís Dalmau (*Virgin of the Consellers*, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)





**Fig. 31.5** Overlay of the tracing of one of Jan van Eyck's Singing Angels (*Ghent Altarpiece*, Ghent, St Bavo's Cathedral) onto the head of the left singing angel by Lluís Dalmau (*Virgin of the Consellers*, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)



**Fig. 31.6** Overlay of the tracing of the furthest right Singing Angel by Jan van Eyck (*Ghent Altarpiece*, Ghent, St Bavo's Cathedral) onto the head of one of Lluís Dalmau's singing angels (*Virgin of the Consellers*, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)

If we align the dates of Dalmau's stay in Flanders in relation to the production of the *Ghent Altarpiece* we have the following chronology: on 11 September 1431 Dalmau was paid to undertake the journey to Flanders; the date 6 May 1432 is inscribed on the frame of the lower register of the *Ghent Altarpiece*; the foundation of the altar in the Vijd chapel, however, is dated 13 May 1435; Dalmau was back in Valencia by July 1436.

It is hard to judge how long it would have taken Dalmau to travel from Valencia to Bruges in the

winter of 1431-1432. If the *Ghent Altarpiece* was finished and installed in St John's Church on 6 May 1432, then Dalmau would have had little time to get in touch with Van Eyck and receive permission to copy his new creation before it left his workshop. It is arguable that Dalmau made his copies not in the Vijd Chapel, where the height of the upper register is too great to allow the making of a detailed copy, but in Van Eyck's workshop itself, thus before the panels were installed in the church.



**Figs 31.7a-b** (a) Overlay of the tracing of the furthest right Singing Angel by Jan van Eyck (*Ghent Altarpiece*, Ghent, St Bavo's Cathedral) onto the partly-visible head of one of Lluís Dalmau's singing angels (*Virgin of the Consellers*, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya); (b) Same detail of the partly-visible head of one of Lluís Dalmau's singing angels in IRR

If, on the other hand, the complete *Ghent Altarpiece*, more precisely the upper register, was only finished by 1435, as argued by Hugo van der Velden,<sup>43</sup> then Dalmau had time enough to make the journey to Flanders, to install himself in Bruges, to get involved in Van Eyck's workshop and to make the exact copies of the work in progress in Van Eyck's studio at that time. Two simple observations seem to support this possibility. First of all, the Eyckian elements introduced by Dalmau in his *Virgin of the Consellers* originate mainly from the upper register of the *Ghent Altarpiece*: the angels, St John and the tiled floor. The lower register did not really influence the work of Lluís Dalmau.<sup>44</sup> This raises the possibility that during Dalmau's stay,

only the upper register of the *Ghent Altarpiece* was being executed in Van Eyck's workshop.

Secondly, comparative research based on tracings confirms that the size and the contours of several copied heads in Dalmau's work are so close to the ones in the *Ghent Altarpiece*, that Dalmau must have made exact tracings of the Eyckian heads and that he used them in 1445 (ten years later!) in his *Virgin of the Consellers*.<sup>45</sup> A first example is the figure of John the Baptist, in which the position of the mouth, the nose and the eyes is identical (fig. 31.4) to those in the *Ghent Altarpiece*. The use of green for John's mantle indicates that Dalmau had seen Van Eyck's painting in a finished stage. A second example is the angel on the

extreme left in Dalmau's panel, which closely matches the one in Van Eyck's panel of the Singing Angels, specifically in the contours and the position of the diadem, the eyes, the eyebrows, the nose, and the (slightly shifted) open mouth (fig. 31.5). A third and last example, in the left window of Dalmau's panel, are the two angels seen in frontal view, the second of whom is only partially visible. Here Dalmau seems to have used the same Eyckian model twice. The first face shows the eyes, eyebrows, nose and chin in the same position – only the mouth is slightly different (fig. 31.6). The second face, only partially visible, is based on the same model (fig. 31.7a), but remarkably, Dalmau decided to change the position of the angel's right eye: in a first stage he underdrew and painted the eye in the same position that it appears in the Eyckian model; in a final stage he positioned the eye slightly higher (fig. 31.7b).

These proportional similarities between the masterpieces of Van Eyck and Dalmau confirm the idea that during his stay in Bruges Dalmau had the privilege of direct access to the panels of the upper register of the *Ghent Altarpiece* in Van Eyck's workshop, and that he was allowed to make faithful copies of these in the period between his arrival and the altarpiece's completion.

In summary, we can conclude that in fifteenth-century Spain it was first in Valencia that certain painters had a particular interest in imitating the technical and pictorial innovations of Jan van Eyck, not only because Alfonso V had Eyckian works in his collection, as is often said, but principally because in a relatively early stage a small network of Valencian artists were able to gain direct access to the work and the working method of the Burgundian court painter. They might have been in touch with Van Eyck when he was in Valencia in the winter of 1426-1427; some of them even acquired a painting and a drawing attributed to him; and exceptionally, as in the case of Dalmau, tracings made directly after Eyckian works in the North, were imported and literally taken over.

## NOTES

1 On the estimated number of participants, see Spitzbarth 2013, pp. 475-476. In any case the embassy could not have exceeded sixty members, which was the maximum indicated in the safe-conduct Alfonso issued in 1427. See Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 92, 412.

2 The main document on this embassy, its participants, duration and itinerary, is the mission report dated 20 August 1429, conserved in Lille (ADN, N 19-fol. 257r-259r) and published by Spitzbarth 2013, pp. 616-621.

3 Paviot 1990, p. 86, nn. 22, 24.

4 Spitzbarth 2013, pp. 296, 473, 476.

5 The complete version, in French, which Paviot erroneously thought lost (Paviot 2013), is well conserved in Brussels (Archives Générales du Royaume, Chambres des Comptes, registres, 132, fols 157-166) and was first published by Weale 1908, pp. lv-lxxii. The incomplete version, in Spanish and conserved in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Archives et Manuscrits, Ms. Portugais 20, Ancien fonds no. 10245, fol. 105-129 v) has been published by de Vasconcelos 1897, pp. 10-45.

6 Spitzbarth 2013, p. 297.

7 Isabella of Portugal became Philip the Good's third wife in January 1430. A marriage between Philip and Isabella had already been negotiated following the death of the first duchess, Michelle de Valois (1395-1422), but nothing came of it. Instead, Philip married Bonne of Artois (1396-1425) in 1424 but she also died shortly afterwards. A third marriage for Philip was first projected with Leonor of Aragon, a project that seems to have been almost completed, only to be suddenly cancelled due to the interference of the son of John I of Portugal, Peter, Duke of Coimbra (1392-1449), who negotiated a double alliance with the house of Aragon: he himself married Isabella of Urgell and his brother Edward married Leonor of Aragon. So Philip the Good finally married the Portuguese princess with whom a marriage project was already initiated by January 1424, as stated in a letter to the Republic of Venice dated 31 January 1424. See Spitzbarth 2013, p. 343, n. 448.

8 Fransen 2009, p. 107; Fransen 2012, p. 76. See also Kemperdick in this volume.

9 Van Puyvelde 1940, p. 23.

10 Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 91-95.

11 These numbers are based on an estimate of twenty-one members, following the calculation by Spitzbarth and the maximum of forty members indicated in Alfonso's safe-conduct of 1427. See Spitzbarth 2013, pp. 473, 475-476 and Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 92, 412.

12 It is not clear to whom the certain *Iohannis militem, cambellanum* refers. It might be the squire Jean de Baissey or one of the two couriers, both called Jean; only one of them is known by his surname, Coq. See Spitzbarth 2013, p. 295, n. 282.

13 This payment is dated 31 July 1426 and the amounts mentioned are: for Lourdin de Saligny 1440 francs (of 40 groats) and a gift of 500 francs; for André de Toulangeon 720 francs and a gift of 250 francs; for Jean de Terrant 480 francs and a gift of 150 francs; and for Jean Hibert 360 francs and a gift of 100 francs. Paviot 1990, p. 86.

14 The complete reference reads as follows: *tant pour faire certain pelerinage que mondit seigneur pour lui et en son nom lui a ordonné faire, don't autre declaracion il n'en vault ester faicte, comme sur ce que par icelui seigneur lui povoit ester deu a cause de certain loingtain voyage secret que semblablement il lui a ordonné faire en certain lieux que aussi ne vault autrement declarer*. The first lines deal with a 'certain pilgrimage' that probably has nothing to do with the diplomatic character of the missions discussed here. The word *pelerinage* cannot allude to any diplomatic mission as these are always referred to as *voyage* or *ambassade*. See Spitzbarth 2013, p. 45.

15 The fact that the payment to Jan van Eyck is not listed together with the payments to the ambassadors is no reason to think

that he was not part of the same mission. A comparable example is the payment to a certain Remon Monnessou who took part in the second embassy to Aragon, for which he received 55 pounds (Courtrai, B. Ville, Cod. 322, XVI, fol. 88v), though he is never listed together with the other ambassadors and does not appear in the final report of the embassy. See Spitzbarth 2013, online database <http://ambassadeurs.plb.free.fr>, embassy record no. 277 (accessed 4 November 2014).

16 Paviot, in this volume and Paviot 2013 thinks that the journey took place during the summer and autumn of 1426 but this contradicts his earlier statement in which he argued that two payments to Jan van Eyck (26 August and 27 October) imply that Jan was resident in the Low Countries during the summer and autumn of 1426. See Paviot 1990, p. 86.

17 In a letter dated 20 December 1426, the Aragonese king informs the Burgundian duke that his 'instructions have been followed'. See Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 412.

18 Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 412-413.

19 See, for example, Paviot in this volume; Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, pp. 92-95, 411-414; Mira 2007, p. 265; Lacarra Ducau 2007, p. 246; Bermejo 1990, p. 559; Dhanens 1980, p. 47; Pemán y Pemartín 1969, p. 33.

20 In 1427 Philip the Good sent the same four ambassadors to Aragon as in 1426, but added two important men: the Bishop of Soissin, Renaud de Fontaine, for the religious aspects of the marriage, and a Genoese merchant Oliviero Maruffo, who probably dealt with the financial aspects of the agreement but was also useful because he knew Aragon very well, having lived there for many years. See Spitzbarth 2013, p. 382, n. 592.

21 Erroneously Spitzbarth mentions 'Éléonore, the mother of Alphons V' as Philip's prospective bride and elsewhere she is identified as 'the daughter of John V'. Spitzbarth 2013, p. 295, 343.

22 The reason for the cancellation of the Burgundian-Aragonese marriage is that Alfonso V had meanwhile accepted a deal with Peter, Duke of Coimbra and son of John I of Portugal, concerning a double alliance between the house of Aragon and the house of Avis: Isabella of Urgell married Peter, Duke of Coimbra, and Leonor of Aragon married Peter's brother Edward. See Blasco Vallés, Reche Ontillera 2007, p. 414.

23 On these works, and on an *Adoration of the Magi* that was also attributed to Van Eyck, see Toscano 2007, pp. 352-357; Challéat 2007, pp. 371-374; Cornudella 2009-2010, pp. 47-54; Jones 2014, pp. 30-43.

24 Benito Doménech 2001, p. 24; Gómez Frechina 2001, pp. 67-75; Valencia 2001, pp. 118-120; Gómez Frechina 2007, pp. 390-392; Jones 2014, pp. 35-37.

25 Valencia 2001, pp. 106-117.

26 On the relationship between Joan Reixach and Andreu Garcia, see Ferré i Puerto 1999. On Andreu Garcia, see Montero Tortajada 2013.

27 London, Christie's, 10 July 1998, lot 193 (as Valencian School); Gómez Frechina 2001, p. 69; Jones 2015, p. 35-37.

28 Valencia 2001, pp. 118-123.

29 Valencia 2001, pp. 208-215; Almudín 2007, vol. 2, pp. 364-367.

30 Bermejo 1990, p. 561; Benito Doménech 2001, p. 33.

31 Benito Doménech 2001, pp. 31-45; Gómez Frechina 2007, pp. 392-396.

32 Valencia 2001, pp. 192-196; Benito Doménech 2001, pp. 32-36.

33 García Marsilla 1996-1997, p. 46.

34 Madrid/Valencia 2001, pp. 185-189. On the documented works of the brothers Mateu, see also Mocholí Roselló 2009, pp. 975-978.

35 Montero Tortajada 2015, pp. 196-197; Montero Tortajada 2016. I am very grateful to Encarna Montero for sharing this recent finding with me.

36 See the archival references to the abovementioned *Stigmatization of St Francis, de la ma de Johannes* in the collection of Joan Reixach and of the well-known *St George, de ma de mestre Johannes lo gren pintor del illustre duch de Burgunya*, sent from Valencia to Naples in 1444. Valencia 2001, pp. 118-120.

37 For example, this is the case for Joan Reixach in the inscription IOHANNES REXACH FECIT CIVIS VALENCIE IN ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CCCC LX<sup>o</sup> OCTAVO on the *St Ursula Altarpiece* of 1468 (Barcelona, MNAC). See Barcelona 1992, pp. 294-298.

38 Simonson Fuchs 1982; Berg Sobré 1989, pp. 288-297; Barcelona 1992, pp. 298-301; Barcelona/Bilbao 2003, pp. 296-301; Ruiz Quesada 2007, pp. 248-256.

39 I thank Didier Martens for drawing my attention to this.

40 Simonson Fuchs 1982, p. 50; Berg Sobré 1989, p. 295; Ruiz Quesada 2007, p. 244.

41 Salvadó et al. 2008, pp. 48-50, 56.

42 Simonson Fuchs 1982, p. 48.

43 Van der Velden 2011a, pp. 38-39; Van der Velden 2011b, pp. 140-141.

44 Dalmau's view of a landscape is undoubtedly related to Early Netherlandish painting but the link with the *Ghent Altarpiece* is less convincing than the other Eyckian elements mentioned above. More precisely the seascape, the little winding river and the steep mountains on the horizon indicate that another source of inspiration must be taken into account.

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