

Campin in Context

Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut
à l'époque de Robert Campin

1375-1445

Sous la direction de Ludovic NYS et Dominique VANWIJNSBERGHE

Avec la collaboration de Xavier FONTAINE et Jacques DEBERGH

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Fig. 1.
Jean Semont,
*Crucifixion - Elevation
of the Host*, miniatures
from a Missal for
use of the abbey of
St Amand. Tournai,
between 1409 and
1414. Valenciennes,
Bibliothèque
municipale, ms. 118,
fol. 130v^o-131r^o.

ROBERT CAMPIN AND TOURNAISIAN MANUSCRIPT PAINTING

Dominique VANWIJNSBERGHE

To Bert Cardon, dear colleague and friend

In a seminal article on the origins of the Flemish Primitives, Anne van Buren emphasised the importance of approaching the problem of easel painting tangentially rather than head-on: “The problem of Flemish origins is difficult but not insoluble. The main gate may be barred, but we may yet capture the fortress in stealthy approaches to those on the sides”¹. The metaphor inspired me when I began research on Tournaisian manuscript illumination, and it remained with me as I sought to find a small hidden doorway – a missing link – between Robert Campin and the little that was then known about miniature painting in Tournai in the first half of the fifteenth century. I was firmly convinced that establishing a connection between these two worlds would contribute significantly to our knowledge of Campin’s art. In this respect, the publication in 1993 of a financial record proving that he had been involved in miniature painting – specifically, the illustration of a Crucifixion in a missal donated by the Tournai priest Philippe Thumesnil to St Margaret’s church² further kindled the hope that easel painting and book illumination might be brought together.

I set to work in this frame of mind. What was needed above all was a foothold of some kind: a manuscript, a miniaturist, a document or – even better – a documented manuscript. Beginner’s luck brought early success. In 1966 Canon Henri Platelle had succeeded in attributing a missal for the use of the abbey of St Amand, now preserved in the municipal library of Valenciennes, to a certain Jean Semont, miniaturist from Tournai (fig. 1, 4)³. Commissioned in 1409, this large volume was completed some time before 1414, the year when the accounts of the executors of Jean Semont’s will were written up. The discovery was significant, as to this day Semont remains the only early fifteenth-century illuminator to whom a documented work can be attributed in the whole of the Southern Low Countries⁴. The Valenciennes missal offers a superb insight into Semont’s activity in the final stages of his career, and one may admire these miniatures in which Erwin Panofsky, in his inimitable turn of phrase, detected the whiff of solid *cuisine bourgeoise*⁵. It is indeed a work without embellishment or excess, perfectly in balance, executed with consummate craftsmanship,

*. This paper provides a digest of parts of my forthcoming book, « *Moult bons et notables* ». *L’enluminure tournaisienne à l’époque de Robert Campin (1380-1430)*, which will appear in the *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts* (hereinafter: « *Moult bons et notables* »). Also included here are manuscripts which have been discovered while the book has been in press, and which could not be considered in the latter. The critical apparatus is deliberately brief: the reader will find fuller information in the book. I would like to thank Graeme Small most warmly for his translation of the original French version of this text.

1. A.H. VAN BUREN, *Thoughts, Old and New, on the Sources of Early Netherlandish Painting*, in *Simiolus*, 16, 1986, p. 112.

2. J. DUMOULIN et J. PYCKE, *Comptes de la paroisse Sainte-Marguerite de Tournai au quinzième siècle. Documents inédits relatifs à Roger de la Pasture, Robert Campin et d’autres artisans tournaisiens, in Les Grands Siècles de Tournai (Tournai - Art et Histoire, 7)*, Tournai - Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993, p. 301.

3. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale (BM), ms. 118. See H. PLATELLE, *Un missal du XV^e siècle à l’usage de l’abbaye de Saint-Amand (ms. Valenciennes n° 118): le donateur, l’enlumineur, le contenu, in Littérature et religion (Mélanges offerts à Monsieur le chanoine Joseph Coppin à l’occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire)*, Lille, 1966, p. 119-155.

4. The presence of Jean Semont at Tournai is attested between 1400 and 1414. For a biographical notice, see D. VANWIJNSBERGHE, « *De fin or et d’azur* ». *Les commanditaires de livres et le métier de l’enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIV^e-XV^e siècles) (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 10)*, Louvain, 2001, p. 312 (hereinafter: « *De fin or et d’azur* »).

5. See E. PANOFSKY, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953, p. 112. This is how he described the miniatures in the Paris hours (see note 19).



Fig. 2.
 Jean Semont, *Meeting
 at the Golden Gate*,
 miniature from
 a Missal for use of
 St Peter at Lille.
 Tournai, before 1414.
 Lille, Bibliothèque
 municipale, ms. 807
 (a.c. 25), fol. 88v°.

Fig. 3.
Jean Semont,
Ascension, miniature
from a Missal for use
of St Peter at Lille.
Tournai, before 1414.
Lille, Bibliothèque
municipale, ms. 807
(a.c. 25), fol. 45^v
(detail).



Fig. 4.
Jean Semont,
Ascension, miniature
from a Missal for
use of the abbey of
St Amand. Tournai,
between 1409 and
1414. Valenciennes,
Bibliothèque
municipale, ms. 118,
fol. 113^v (detail).



and entirely in line with the French tradition. I would draw particular attention to the marginal extensions in two forms: on the one hand, beautiful, supple stems upon which blue, gold, pink and red ivy leaves have been grafted; on the other, simple penwork extensions with gold leaves, enlivened by thin black lines in the form of question marks. Many of Semont's initials are decorated with characteristic twisted knots (fig. 3).

Fortunately the Valenciennes manuscript is far from unique, and it has been possible to connect it to several important volumes. Thus, Semont illuminated another missal, this one for the collegiate church of St Peter in Lille (fig. 2, 3)⁶. Stylistic analysis is enough in itself to ascribe the work to the Tournaisian miniaturist, and the attribution is confirmed by the close relationship between some of the compositions in the two works, which are clearly derived from common models. One need only compare the Ascension scenes in both choirbooks to illustrate this point (fig. 3-4). No trace of the Lille missal could be found in the archives of the church of St Peter, so that it is impossible at this stage to know how or by whom the commission was placed. Nonetheless, this case does attest to the regional diffusion of Tournaisian art at the very beginning of the fifteenth century.

The same hand painted two miniatures in a compendium of texts concerning the Virgin Mary⁷. The

manuscript was made for the abbot of Marchiennes, Guillaume Chrétien († 1412), a Benedictine from the monastery of St Martin of Tournai who had studied theology at Paris University⁸. One of the miniatures depicts the Holy Family (fig. 5) opening the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew devoted to the Childhood of Christ, while the other is a fine Annunciation that introduces a treatise on the Evangelical Salvation. I will not dwell here on the unusual depiction of the Holy Family, including an old man who might be either Joseph or Joachim. The Annunciation (fig. 6) derives from an old iconographic tradition of Italian origin, which probably reached the North through French works of the early fourteenth century⁹. The composition appears to have enjoyed some success in Tournai, for a more elaborate form may be found in a work from Campin's entourage, the *Annunciation* in the Prado Museum (p. 241, fig. 2).

Several other books belonging to Guillaume Chrétien were illustrated and bound at Tournai as part of an apparent campaign to renovate and enrich the library of the abbey towards the end of the fourteenth

6. Lille, BM, ms. 807 (*olim* 25).

7. Douai, BM, ms. 355.

8. On Guillaume Chrétien, see the biographical notice in T. SULLIVAN, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris A.D. 1229-1500. A Biographical Register (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 4)*, Leiden - New York - Cologne, 1995, nr. 210, p. 123.

9. In the work of Jean Pucelle, for instance, in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*; or in that of Jean le Noir, in the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*. The miniatures are published in C. STERLING, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, I, Paris, 1987, fig. 40 et 52.



Fig. 5.
Jean Semont,
Holy Family, miniature
from a Compendium
of texts concerning
the Virgin and
the Childhood of
Christ, Tournai, late
fourteenth century.
Douai, Bibliothèque
municipale, ms. 355,
fol. 104^v (detail).



Fig. 6.
Jean Semont,
Annunciation,
miniature from a
Compendium of texts
concerning the Virgin
and the Childhood of
Christ, Tournai, late
fourteenth century.
Douai, Bibliothèque
municipale, ms. 355,
fol. 109^v (detail).

century¹⁰. The texts, probably in the form of unbound quires, were grouped by theme before being illustrated and decorated. For the binding, Chrétien called on the services of Jean Renart, an artisan whose presence at Tournai is attested between 1404 and 1417¹¹. He also asked Semont to complete the illustration of a late thirteenth-century manuscript of Southern French provenance, perhaps from Montpellier, which had very likely become part of the abbey's library¹². On the first page of these *Decretals* of Pope Gregory IX, the Tournaisian miniaturist painted the author in the act of benediction, his left hand placed upon a book (fig. 7). He also painted the initial of the text, which stands in stark contrast to the other decorated letters of the volume. This addition is only one facet of the wider modernisation, and perhaps reorganisation, of the library of St Rictude undertaken by Guillaume Chrétien.

The abbot may also have ordered a psalter now at Douai (fig. 8)¹³, of which, unfortunately, only one

miniature depicting the Creation of the Firmament survives. The layout of this folio strongly resembles that of an Annunciation painted in a book of hours for Arras use, now kept in New York¹⁴, which is also by the hand of Jean Semont. The New York hours is well known to specialists, not so much for the fine illuminated folio by Semont (thus far completely overlooked by commentators), but for the illustration of the suffrages (prayers to saints) attributed to a miniaturist who could possibly be a predecessor of the Master of Guillebert de Mets¹⁵.

Among the other works attributable to Jean Semont we might draw attention to the prayer book of Robert of Wavrin¹⁶, an earlier work which can be dated on internal evidence to the years 1385-1390. A prominent member of the *Cour amoureuse* of Charles VI¹⁷, Robert VII of Wavrin, who would later die at Agincourt¹⁸, is presented as a knight kneeling in prayer before

14. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 439, fol. 371^o.

15. He also painted a superb book of hours for Duke John the Fearless, now in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), ms. n.a.lat. 3055). In « *Moult bons et notables* », I discuss at length the controversial question of the origins of this miniaturist, often taken to be a Ghenter, and his relations with the Master of Guillebert de Mets. I propose that he should be considered a separate artist, the Master of the Book of Hours of John the Fearless, someone close to Jean Semont who may have worked, for a while at least, at Tournai. Without opting for Tournai or Ghent as his place of origin, I prefer to emphasise that he is one of those figures who worked along the Scheldt, as his followers would do, notably the Master of Guillebert de Mets and the Master of the Ghent Privileges (see on this point the contributions of Gregory Clark and Erik Verroken in the present volume).

16. Paris, BNF, ms. n.a.fr. 4412.

17. See the contribution of Carla Bozzolo and Hélène Loyau in the present volume.

18. See the contribution of Bertrand Schnerb in the present volume. Professor Schnerb is currently preparing a study on Robert VII, and I am most grateful to him for providing me with valuable information on this important and neglected figure.

10. The volumes in question are ms. 355, 422, 436, 454, 692, 694 and perhaps also 768 of the BM in Douai. Ms. 422 and 436 were not decorated.

11. On Jean Renart, see « *De fin or et d'azur* », p. 310. The bindings of ms. 454 and 692 at Douai are by the same hand.

12. Douai, BM, ms. 600. « *Moult bons et notables* » was already in press when I noticed this manuscript. I am most grateful to François Avril, who provided information on the date and place of production of the original parts of the volume. According to him, the style of the miniatures and decoration, heavily influenced by the Bolognese school, would suggest a southern workshop, specifically Montpellier or possibly Toulouse.

13. Douai, BM, ms 175.

Fig. 7.
Jean Semont, *Portrait of the author*, miniature added at the end of the fourteenth century to a copy of the *Decretals of Gregory IX*, south of France (Montpellier or Toulouse), late thirteenth century. Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 600, fol. 31^r.





St George (p. 55, fig. 1). He wears a tabard bearing his coat of arms. The same arms are borne by a monkey alongside the depiction of St Robert, the knight's patron saint. Semont collaborated with two other miniaturists in the decoration of a superb book of hours painted in grisaille, now in Paris (fig. 9)¹⁹. Once again, stylistic analysis is supported by the use of models shared in the entourage of Jean Semont (fig. 1).

It may be objected that these comparatively modest book paintings have little to do with Campin. And the objection would be well founded indeed. Setting aside the Annunciation in Chrétien's compendium, the only Tournaisian miniature of the Semont group that can be connected to a Campin composition is a large initial (fig. 10), now in a private collection²⁰, which, although not by Semont himself, manifestly belongs to his immediate circle. This historiated letter reflects very closely the only documented work by the Tournaisian painter, the famous mural discovered in the chevet of the church of St Brice at the beginning of World War Two (p. 104, fig. 1)²¹. But this is admittedly not much to go on.

19. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1364, indicated in PANOFSKY, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [n. 5], p. 109, 112, 129.

20. Londres, Sotheby's, sale of 11 July 1966, lot 213.

21. Now preserved in the Musée d'Histoire et d'Archéologie in Tournai.



Fig. 8. Jean Semont, *Creation of the Firmament*, miniature from a Psalter for Tournai use, Tournai, late fourteenth century. Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 175, fol. 83r^o.

Fig. 9. Jean Semont, *Elevation of the Host*, miniature from a Book of Hours for Tournai use, Tournai, early fifteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1364, fol. 142v^o.

Fig. 10. Follower of Jean Semont, *Annunciation*, miniature from an Antiphonary, Tournai, early fifteenth century. *Olim* London, Sotheby's, sale of 11 July 1966, lot n. 213 (detail).



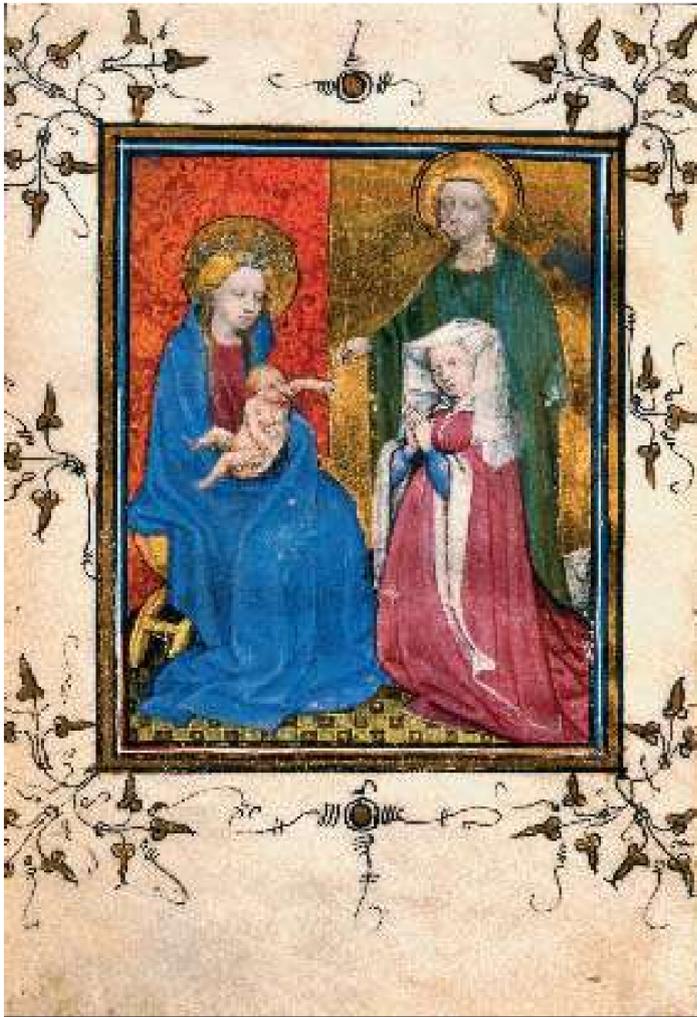


Fig. 11. Entourage of Robert Campin, *Lady Presented by St Agnes to the Virgin and Child*, Tournai, around 1415-1425. Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, inv. nr. 16.

Fig. 12. Follower of Jean Semont, *Crucifixion*, miniature from a Book of Hours for Tournai use, beginning of the fifteenth century. Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 154, fol. 31r.

A loose leaf, now in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe at Enschede²², enables us to take a decisive step forward in our knowledge of the links between Campin's milieu and Tournaisian miniature painting. This folio contains the superb depiction of a female donor dressed in a broad red cloak kneeling in prayer before the Virgin Mary and Christ Child (fig. 11). The wealthy *bourgeoise* is presented to the Virgin by St Agnes, who carries the martyrs' palm in her hand and is flanked by her symbol, a little lamb curled up behind her against the frame of the miniature. The lady's costume may be dated to the years 1415-1425.

At the risk of disappointing the aesthetes among us, I must confess that when I first saw the black-and-white reproduction of the miniature in the catalogue of the Rijksmuseum Twenthe, I was struck above all by the

22. Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, inv. nr. 16.

very specific marginal decoration of the page. A double frame surrounds the scene. From each corner, branches traced in black ink with golden ivy leaves surge forth. The intermediate spaces are filled with question marks, each highlighted by three fine strokes. On either side of the depicted scene a simple stem with three leaves is attached one-third up the vertical plane, and climbs from there to emerge at the middle point. In the upper and lower margins three hooks, each mounted on a form of coil, flank a gold disk encircled with black lines.

This type of decoration is a recurrent feature in the group of works associated with Jean Semont. In addition to the examples already cited, it is also found, for instance, in a book of hours made for Tournai which is now kept in Besançon – a second-rank work in itself, but one which can be clearly located in the immediate entourage of Semont (fig. 12)²³. The same tripartite vignettes appear around the principal scene; the climbing foliage is visible in the left and right margins. The gold disks, so characteristic of the group, are found above the scene of the Deposition from the Cross (fol. 52r^o) and in another book of hours for Tournai use (now at Kortrijk), also a product of the Semont group²⁴.



23. Besançon, BM, ms. 154.

24. Kortrijk, Stedelijke Openbare Bibliotheek, Cod. 39. Illustrations in « *Moult bons et notables* », fig. 296-300.

The contrast is great between this simple decor and the lively feast depicted in vibrant colours, combined with the great technical mastery and realism displayed in the central miniature. The faces are astonishingly true to life, with no concession made for the female donor's rather severe features. A close-up view reveals details which are scarcely visible to the naked eye, such as the rendering of the irises and the pupils of the Virgin Mary. The same precision may be observed in several details of the clothing, in the pearl-encrusted diadem of the Virgin, the cushioning of the *bouurrelet* where it meets the temples of the female donor, with the narrow band of cloth sewn on the cones, or – even more surprising – the head of the needle emerging from the floating headwear to hold it in place!

In a Tournaisian context, this miniature finds echoes in contemporary sculpture, particularly the wall-mounted stone memorials which have recently been the subject of important studies by Ludovic Nys and Douglas Brine²⁵. There are many examples in these steles of donors presented by their patron saint. A good number of them can be more or less directly related to the miniature from the Rijksmuseum Twenthe, the best comparison being the memorial of Marie de Quinghien (fig. 17). We will return to this point.

A detailed study of the Enschede folio also reveals what the illuminator owes to the painting milieu around Campin. The relationship is particularly close in the early works attributed to the Tournaisian: the *Saint John the Baptist* of Cleveland (fig. 13) and the *Seilern Triptych* in the Courtauld Institute in London²⁶ (p. xxii, fig. 2), both of which are generally dated to the period 1410–1420. The faces are rather fleshy, with deep eye cavities and heavy eyelids which lend an introverted and tired look to the characters. Stark light accentuates the forehead, temples, chin and the bridge of the nose, the latter highlighted by a stroke of white. The hair is pulled back to reveal an ear, another motif which runs through all of Campin's work, from the *Seilern Triptych* to the *Werl Altarpiece*²⁷. The draperies are full, generously wrapped around the bodies, forming supple

folds, which fall softly to the floor in S-shaped twists that one also finds in the Enschede miniature and the *Seilern Triptych*. These draperies are quite distinct from the angular, more edgy writing appearing in later works, such as the *Merode Triptych*. Finally, the treatment of space – blocked off with a screen, on either a gold



Fig. 13.
Robert Campin,
St John the Baptist.
Cleveland, Museum of
Art, inv. nr. 1966.238.



Fig. 14.
Master of the Rule of the
Hospital of Our
Lady, *Three Nuns
before the Virgin and
Child*, miniature from
the *Rule of the Hospital
of Our Lady*, Tournai,
around 1420–1430.
Tournai, Bibliothèque
de la Ville, ms. 24,
fol. 1r°.

25. L. NYS, *Les tableaux votifs tournaisiens en pierre: 1350–1475* (Académie royale de Belgique - Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, coll. in-8°, 3^e s., 17), Brussels, 2001; D. BRINE, *Piety and Purgatory. Wall-mounted Memorials from the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1380–1520*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2006.

26. Inv. nr. 1. See L. NYS, *Le Triptyque Seilern: une nouvelle hypothèse*, dans *Revue de l'Art*, 139, 2003, p. 5–20.

27. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. nr. 1352–1353. Reproduction in M.J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Early Netherlandish Painting, 2. Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle*, New York - Washington, 1967, pl. 96–97, nr. 67.



Fig. 15.
Entourage of Robert
Campin, *St Mary
Magdalene*, Tournai,
around 1415-1425.
Princeton,
Art Museum,
MS Y1930-18b.

Fig. 16.
Entourage of Robert
Campin, *Deposition*,
Tournai, around
1415-1425. Princeton,
Art Museum,
MS Y1930-18a.

background or brocade cloth – also unites the three works and distinguishes them from later productions attributed to Campin, famous precisely for their depiction of bourgeois interiors.

We may finish by noting a number of striking similarities of detail such as Mary's halo, a simple gold disk surrounded by a black line which is also found on the figure of Saint John the Baptist in Cleveland; or the delicate diadem encrusted with pearls, possibly reflecting a model circulating in Robert Campin's entourage, since it also appears in the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Prado (p. 240, fig. 1), or again in the *Thyssen Madonna*²⁸, one of the very first works attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, probably painted in Tournai when he was still attached to the workshop of his master.

28. Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. nr. 1930.25. Reproduction in *Ibidem*, pl. 16, nr. 8.

If we compare this miniature to what was being done in the Low Countries in the same period, the superiority of the workmanship is surprising: in terms of quality, it leaves other contemporary work far behind, such as the books of hours churned out by the last of the "Pre-Eyckian" miniaturists, "Pre-Burgundians" such as the Gold Scrolls Group, or the Master of Guillebert de Mets. To measure the full extent of the gulf between them, it is enough to compare the Enschede miniature with the frontispiece of the *Règle des sœurs de l'hôpital Notre-Dame* (Rule of the Sisters of the Hospital of Our Lady) (fig. 14), two contemporary works produced in the same town and very close to one another in iconographical terms. From one artist to the other a giant step has been made, which can only be explained by the influence of a great painter. If, as I believe, the folio comes from Tournai, the most obvious candidate would be Robert Campin. At this stage in the inquiry, the close stylistic links to the earliest works attributed to him seem to support this hypothesis.

I was fortunate enough to find in Princeton two other folios (fig. 15-16) that were detached from the same prayer book²⁹. They depict a St Barbara and a Deposition from the Cross. Although the quality of the work is slightly weaker, the codicological features and the marginal decoration show beyond doubt that the three fragments come from the same book. A linguistic argument lends unexpected support to the supposed origins of the miniatures. On the rear of the Deposition we find a prayer text in the Picard dialect of Middle French, with dialectal traits that locate the text more specifically in the north-eastern corner of its region, where Tournai is situated.

For whom was this prayer book made? If we accept that it was painted for an important Tournaisian lady by the name of Agnes, the possible candidates are greatly reduced in number. One might even suggest an identification, with suitable caution. An examination of surviving wills and accounts of executors of wills drawn up after 1415 yield just one name, that of Agnes de Quinghien³⁰. She came from an important Flemish family, the Kooigems, who were established in Tournai and the surrounding Tournaisis in the early fifteenth century. The Quinghien were related to numerous families of the Tournaisian aristocracy, and two of its members belonged to the *Cour amoureuse* of Charles VI³¹. On 17 September 1426, some time before her death, Agnes bequeathed a book of hours to her sister Andrieuwe³². This volume could possibly be our manuscript. It will be recalled that the iconography of the Enschede folio is very close to that of a wall-mounted memorial of another member of the family, Marie de Quinghien (fig. 17), a cousin of Ernoul de Quinghien, Agnes's father³³. While it is true that the elongated format of the stele permits a more open composition than the one found in the miniature, one cannot fail to notice the great similarity between the two in terms of the representation of the female donor and her costume. St Catherine has replaced St Agnes, but the martyred saint is also carrying the



palm. Her symbol, the wheel, is wedged like St Agnes's lamb between the frame of the miniature and the folds of her robe in the lower right-hand corner of the stele. Like Agnes too, Marie is represented alone, without her husband Fastret du Chasteler, who had fallen at Agincourt twelve years earlier.

In the last section of this paper, I would like to focus briefly on an enigmatic manuscript that has recently been brought to my attention by James Marrow³⁴. The volume in question, a psalter now at Brighton, has two fine full-page miniatures, unfortunately heavily repainted, but which still retain such impressive force that James Marrow ended his letter to me with the question: "Am I crazy in suspecting the influence of Campin in some features?"

I think the answer is "No". First of all, the binding carries the signature of a certain Jacques Gontier, a bookbinder active in Tournai in the period 1414-1431³⁵. In a particularly interesting coincidence, he was also

Fig. 17. Marie de Quinghien Presented by St Catherine to the Virgin and Child, wall-mounted memorial of Marie de Quinghien, after June 1427. Tournai, Cathedral.

29. Princeton, Art Museum, MS y 1930-18a and 18b.

30. The argument from silence must be used with great caution in this instance, for the evidence of wills, although abundant, is certainly far from complete. On this methodological problem and its relevance to the reconstruction of manuscript collections in Tournai, see « *De fin or et d'azur* », p. 50-51.

31. On the Quinghien family, see P.-A. DU CHASTEL DE LA HOWARDERIE, *van Coyghem ou de Cuinghien*, in *La noblesse belge. Annuaire de 1912*, 1st part, Brussels, 1913, p. 93-165 (p. 104-105 for Agnes de Quinghien).

32. See « *De fin or et d'azur* », nr. 118, p. 183.

33. On this monument see NYS, *Les tableaux votifs tournaisiens en pierre* [n. 25], nr. XXXII, p. 230-231.

34. Jubilee Library, inv. nr. R77550. See C.W. MUSGRAVE, *Brighton Public Libraries. Catalogue of Manuscripts and Printed Books before 1500*, Brighton, 1962, nr. 10, p. 8; N.R. KER, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2. *Abbotsford-Keele*, Oxford, 1977, nr. 10, p. 182-183. I am particularly grateful to James Marrow for having sent me photographs of this extremely interesting manuscript, and for sharing his first impressions with me.

35. « *De fin or et d'azur* », p. 289-290.

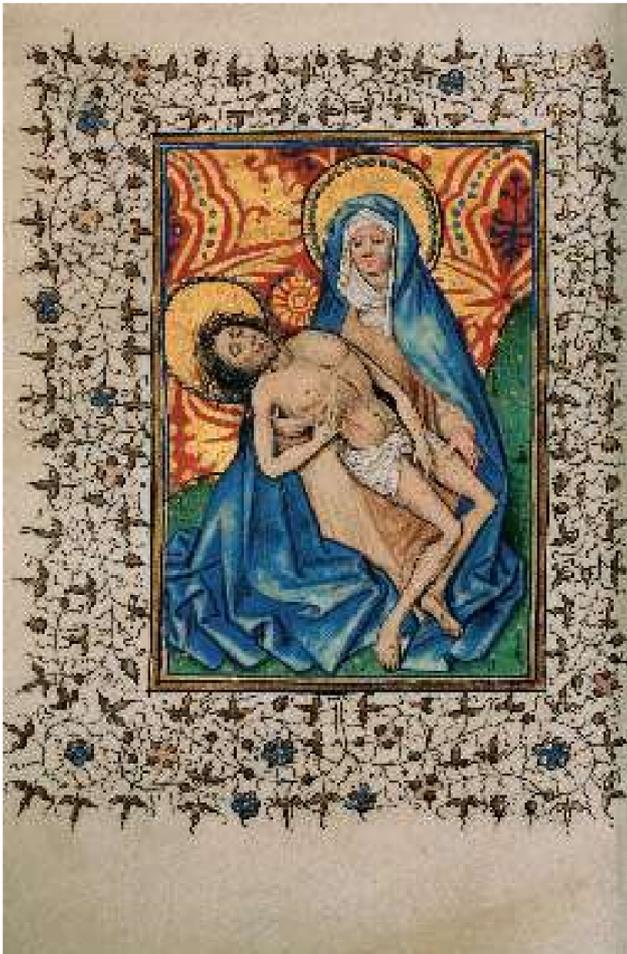


Fig. 18.
Pietà, miniature from
a Psalter, Tournai,
1435-1450. Brighton,
Jubilee Library,
inv. nr. R77550,
fol. 1v°.



Fig. 19.
*David Playing the
Harp*, miniature from
a Psalter, Tournai,
1435-1450. Brighton,
Jubilee Library,
inv. nr. R77550,
fol. 2r°.

paid for the work in the missal made for Philippe de Thumesnil – the very volume, it will be recalled, in which Campin painted the Crucifixion introducing the canon of the Mass³⁶. Gontier was also responsible for the binding of the armorial of the *Cour amoureuse* in Vienna³⁷, a fact which led me to think that this particular volume may have been made for a Tournaisian member of the *Cour*³⁸.

36. See p. 125 above.

37. Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Archiv des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies, ms. 51. On this manuscript, see C. BOZZOLO and H. LOYAU, *La Cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI*, I. *Étude et édition critique des sources manuscrites. Armoiries et notices biographiques*, 1-300, Paris, 1982, p. 7-19.

38. D. VANWIJNSBERGHE, *La Cour amoureuse de Charles VI à Tournai et son Prince d'Amour, Pierre de Hauteville: commanditaire de livres enluminés?*, dans *Hainaut et Tournais. Regards sur dix siècles d'histoire. Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de Jacques Nazet (1944-1996)* (Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, n° spécial 58 | Publications extraordinaires de la Société royale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Tournai, 8), Bruxelles, 2000, p. 135-177.

The substantial retouching to which the miniatures of the Brighton psalter (fig. 18, 20) have been subjected makes stylistic interpretations a delicate matter. It is clear, for instance, that the oversized brocade in the background has been repainted. The faces, hair and hands have all received a disfiguring layer of new paint. Other elements may have been touched up and a more detailed technical analysis would be necessary to determine the extent of these later interventions. Only one decorated initial sheltering David playing the harp (fig. 19) enables us to gauge the original condition of the miniatures, painted in much subtler tones that are quite unlike the saturated contrasts that can be seen in the brocade and flesh tints.

By contrast, these restorations do not appear to have affected the general composition of the miniatures, where the mark of Campin is particularly evident. The Christ of the *Pietà* is inspired by an eminently Campinian model, which one finds, inverted, on the

Frankfurt panel (p. 141, fig. 1). We may note the gesture of Christ pointing to the wound on his side, a theme entirely in keeping with a Pietà. The short loin-cloth and the parallel position of Christ's legs also command our attention, along with the position of the left foot, which permits the sole to be seen. In the panel of the Hermitage Museum³⁹, Christ's head lies to the left as it does in the miniature. Finally, the Leuven *Trinity*⁴⁰ achieves a synthesis of these two works and is thus astonishingly close to the composition of the Brighton work. Among the details we might point to, the pearl-encrusted halo of the figures is directly echoed in the work of the Campin group (so long as the restoration respected the original composition). The Virgin of the Philadelphia panel sufficiently illustrates the point⁴¹.

There are also clear links between the Brighton psalter and the Enschede and Princeton folios. The St Agnes of Brighton (fig. 20) and the Mary Magdalene of Princeton (fig. 15) represent two ways of depicting the same model of a saint holding a book in her left hand and her attribute in the right. Curiously, their garments form a colour chiasmus in green and pink. In each case the book displays naturally creased parchment folios, another detail characteristic of Campin, which one finds, for example, in the Brussels *Annunciation*⁴² and the *Merode triptych*⁴³. Agnes is portrayed in a monumental fashion, her dress and gown falling to the ground in broken folds, the capricious creases of which stand in sharp contrast to the clear arrangement of Mary Magdalene's costume. These differences give away the chronological gap between the two works. They correspond to two points in the development of Campin's style: the same distance, for example, which separates the *Seilern* from the *Merode triptych*.

The relationship between the secondary decoration of the Brighton psalter and the decorative repertoire of the Semont group is particularly striking. The *vignettes* are stiffer and sharper than those of Semont, while at the same time some of his preferred motifs recur, such as the flat twisted knots. The line-fillers vary considerably in form and are reminiscent of those in the



Fig. 20. *St Agnes Worshipped by a Lady in Prayer*, miniature from a Psalter, Tournai, 1435-1450. Brighton, Jubilee Library, inv. nr. R77550, fol. 182v^o.

Douai psalter⁴⁴. By contrast, the penwork initials are highly inventive in form, quite unlike anything in Jean Semont's work. The illuminated folios have marginal decoration with more elaborate foliage, suggesting that they were produced at a later date. In this respect the broken structure of the folds and the costume of the lady at prayer before St Agnes enable us to date the folios to some time after 1435⁴⁵.

The book belonged at the start of the sixteenth century to a certain Honorine de Bonnières, canoness of Maubeuge, who married François de Pollinchove,

39. St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. nr. 447. Reproduction in FRIEDLÄNDER, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [n. 27], pl. 92, nr. 65.

40. Louvain, Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, inv. nr. 8. Reproduction in *Ibidem*, pl. 99, nr. 71a.

41. Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. nr. J #332 (*Ibid.*, pl. 81, nr. 56).

42. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. nr. 3937 (*Ibid.*, pl. 80, nr. 54b).

43. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (*Ibid.*, pl. 78, nr. 54).

44. See n. 13.

45. According to Anne van Buren, whom I thank here for her advice, the dress of the female patron is rather difficult to date due to its sober and conservative style. The neckline does not suggest a date earlier than 1435, but this type of garment may have existed as late as 1455.

lord of Westoutre⁴⁶, member of a leading family from West Flanders⁴⁷. Honorine was the daughter of a bourgeois of Arras, Charles de Bonnières, baron of Auchy⁴⁸. Needless to say it would be hazardous to work back through the family tree in search of possible Tournaisian connections. But the experiment is worth carrying out, if only to show that the ancestry of the Bonnières – in keeping, in all probability, with that of most of the great northern families – spreads out in the direction of Tournai, and that the origins of the book in such a milieu are in no way incongruous. If, for example, one starts with the hypothesis that psalters, like books of hours, were above all intended for women and tended to be passed down the female line, it takes only four generations to go from Arras to Tournai, where we soon find ourselves among the members of one of the city's most prestigious families, the Cottrels, some of whom belonged to the *Cour amoureuse* of Charles VI⁴⁹.

This is not the place for a conclusion, since this rapid survey is by no means a final point. Further research is needed, and it is my sincere wish that it will bring to light other stimulating “missing links”, more manuscripts illuminated in Tournai in the immediate entourage of Robert Campin. They should inevitably re-emerge now that concrete examples have surfaced. A little door has been opened in the thick curtain wall surrounding Campin. We may now dream that the drawbridge will descend, the portcullis will be raised, and the lord of the manor will welcome us with open arms, introducing us to all his close acquaintances, whether they come from Tournai, Oudenaarde, Ghent or elsewhere.

46. Westouter or Westoutre, a village in West Flanders located on the current Franco-Belgian border, between Ypres and Bailleul.

47. On Honorine de Bonnières, see P. DENIS DU PÉAGE, *Notes généalogiques sur quelques familles d'Artois et de Flandre*, 2, Lille, 1951, p. 29 [in the notice devoted to the “de Guines de Bonnières” family, p. 16-32]. The volume contains a “Memoir for remembering the age of my children”, mentioning eight children the couple had from 1586 to 1596. Among the godparents mentioned are members of related families such as the Le Lièpvre, lords of Neufville-lez-Cassel and the de Saint-Omer, lords of Walloncapelle (*Ibidem*, 2, p. 87-144).

48. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 28. Charles's first wife was Florence de Bernemicourt. Honorine was the daughter of his second wife, Jacqueline de la Tramerie, whom he married on 31 December 1569.

49. I have been unable to trace the genealogy of Jacqueline de la Tramerie, Honorine de Bonnières's mother. But we know that Florence de Bernemicourt, first wife of her father Charles, was the daughter of Jean de Bernemicourt, lord of Le Maisnil, a bourgeois of Arras, and of Antoinette de Markais, herself the daughter of Pierre de Markais and of Agnes Cottrel (*Ibid.*, 2, p. 12).