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ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN



1400 | 1464

Master of Passions

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II.

ROGIER
VAN DER
WEYDEN
BEFORE
1435



THE TOURNAI ROOTS OF A MASTER OF PATHOS

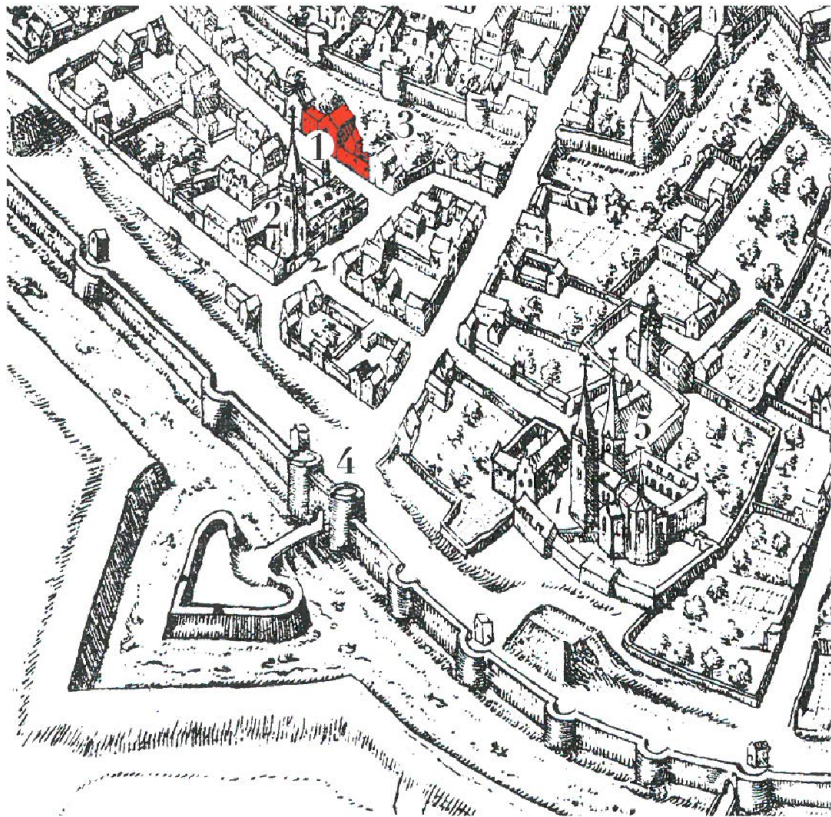
Dominique Vanwijnsberghe

II.1

Although it can rarely explain the emergence of a highly skilled artist, the influence of the environment in which he grew up and was trained naturally contributes to the formation of the mental and visual universe around which he built his success. Fortuitous circumstances – a particular temperament, being in the right place at the right time – often do the rest. In reality, to attempt to define the artistic pedigree of a painter, let alone a painter of the late Middle Ages like Rogier Van der Weyden, or to grasp how his personality was moulded in those ‘formative’ years, may appear rather futile. The challenge is insurmountable, perhaps, but that only makes it more stimulating.

Above all a favourable political, social and artistic climate is needed, a demand for high-quality work, and the presence of artists and craftsmen able to satisfy the requirements of their wealthy, cultivated clientele or those avid for symbols of prestige. The city of Tournai in the first quarter of the fifteenth century seems to have brought together these minimum conditions. Directly dependent on the French Crown, a islet enclosed between Flanders and Hainaut, three or four days’ travel by horse to Paris, Tournai’s ‘extra-territoriality’ assured it some independence vis-à-vis the central power, and consequently relative tranquillity. Its social structure was especially varied. It was the seat of the bishopric covering a large part





of the county of Flanders.² The episcopal administration and the prestigious chapter of the Cathedral of Our Lady, as well as the large Benedictine abbey of St Martin, attracted rich churchmen within its walls. The regional nobility had their *chevances* and *refuges*, sumptuous *pieds-à-terre*, spread throughout the city.³ On occasion they organized celebrations there, bringing together members of the greatest families in the North for ceremonies which sometimes had a literary character.⁴ Until the social upheavals of 1423 the reins of civic power were in the hands of a few members of the wealthy local patriciate, an oligarchy that held all the key positions in the administration on an almost hereditary basis. This civic elite represented the perfect clientele for the local craftsmen. As regards the guilds, they were apparently not very organized before 1423, a situation that ensured they had no political representation within the city government but on the other hand gave them a certain freedom of action. This relative independence, in a reputedly peaceful city, coupled with the presence of a perfect clientele, may have encouraged painters like Robert Campin from Valenciennes to live there.

Rogier de le Pasture – ‘de la Pasture’ is the French form of ‘Van der Weyden’ – was himself a ‘native’. He was born at the very end of the fourteenth century in the upper part of the city, near St Martin’s Gate, across from the east end of the Church of St Nicaise, which has now disappeared.⁵ The family home was opposite the entrance to the cemetery, in the Rue Roc-Saint-Nicaise, a street named after an old quarry or *roke* near St Martin’s Gate (fig. 15). This was a district known for its high concentration of metalworkers. Between 1375 and 1425 at least ten goldsmiths and three gold-beaters settled there.⁶ Rogier’s father, Henri de le Pasture, was a cutler, an apparently lucrative profession which from 1365 came under the aegis of the *fevres* or smiths.⁷ The family home seems to have been a well-appointed property, with a large garden that ran down to the moat of the old eleventh-century city walls. In the immediate vicinity lived a man who may have had a decisive influence on the young Rogier: Jean Lemonne, a painter and gilder documented in Tournai from at least 1405 to 1424.⁸

What do we know about young Rogier’s formative years? Nothing, unfortunately. The first documents to mention him appear only in 1426, and even then he is not referred to in the first deed where his name should logically appear, that of the sale of the paternal home, on 28 March. For reasons that remain obscure, he had no right to his slice of the cake: perhaps he had already received it. He finally appears only on 28 November – but then with a fanfare: the city offers a toast to the person it calls *maistre* Rogier de le Pasture. It is not certain just how this title should be interpreted, but clearly Rogier was an established artist, enjoying some prestige in his native town.

This lack of documentary evidence for over a quarter of a century of Rogier’s youth has resulted in a series of hypotheses, each more attractive than the other and each equally unverifiable by the documentation currently available. Some have Rogier staying in Tournai,

Fig. 15.

Detail of the street map of Tournai by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg in *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1576):

1. in red, the block of houses that included the De la Pasture family home
2. the Church of Saint-Nicaise
3. the moat *viès fermeté* (the earliest city wall, dating from the early eleventh century)
4. St Martin’s Gate
5. the Benedictine St Martin’s Abbey.

in the vicinity of Campin;⁹ some think it possible he went to Ghent and was involved there directly or indirectly – impossible to say just how – in the work on the *Adoration of the Lamb* altarpiece, begun by Hubert van Eyck,¹⁰ or see him in Bruges, with Jan Van Eyck;¹¹ others point to his close links with Brussels – notably due to his marriage to a Brussels girl, Elisabeth Goffaert – which suggest a stay in that Brabant city;¹² yet others (half-heartedly) mentioned a stop in Paris, which would have brought him into contact with the most progressive illuminators of the day.¹³ But almost all agree in thinking that Rogier began to learn his trade in Tournai very early, in the fourteen-tens, very probably with Robert Campin, who was indisputably Tournai's leading painter at the start of the fifteenth century. In Campin's workshop in La Lormerie, near the east end of the cathedral, Rogier came under the determining influence of the elder painter, following his training along with a boy a little younger than himself, who was also destined for a certain fame, Jacques Daret.

Many converging factors argue for this hypothesis. The stylistic homogeneity and iconography of the groups of works attributed to the trio of Campin – Van der Weyden – Daret can only be explained by long practice together under the leadership of a master with a strong artistic personality. It is difficult to conceive that this common idiom could have been forged in the short documented period – from 1427 to 1432 – in which Van der Weyden and Daret, already experienced, rejoined the Campin workshop on the way to becoming free masters. In this connection it is of fundamental importance that at least one work by Jacques Daret has been authenticated, namely the four panels of the *Altarpiece of Jean du Clercq* (fig. 16-17),¹⁴ who around 1433-1435 was abbot of St Vaast in Arras. The only paintings that can be attributed with certainty to one of the members of the trio, they serve as the uniting link between the three men, for they clearly show that Daret uses Campin compositions, which were also recycled by Rogier.¹⁵ Furthermore, the style of the two men clearly proceeds from that of Campin (fig. 18). It was with the latter that the students assimilated this new repertoire of forms, which introduced a profound break with the Gothic tradition. Through this contact, Rogier learned to compose and became familiar with the expressive and rhythmic value of the line in working out masterful constructions, built up like melodies in counterpoint, the best example of which is undoubtedly the Prado *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 1). Under the vibrant strokes, the draperies themselves come to life; their broken and tortuous pattern is in perfect resonance with the distress of the protagonists.¹⁶ The pathos that is often attributed to Van der Weyden is already present in the work of his master, in the *Crucified Thief* in Frankfurt for example (fig. 19). He also owes to Campin his sense of the monumental, of relief, and his mastery of the precise representation of reality. But far from submitting to it, like Jan van Eyck, he is able to subjugate it, to transform it in service of the expression of an idea. In this, he couples the ability of abstraction of his master, himself also sensitive to the lyricism

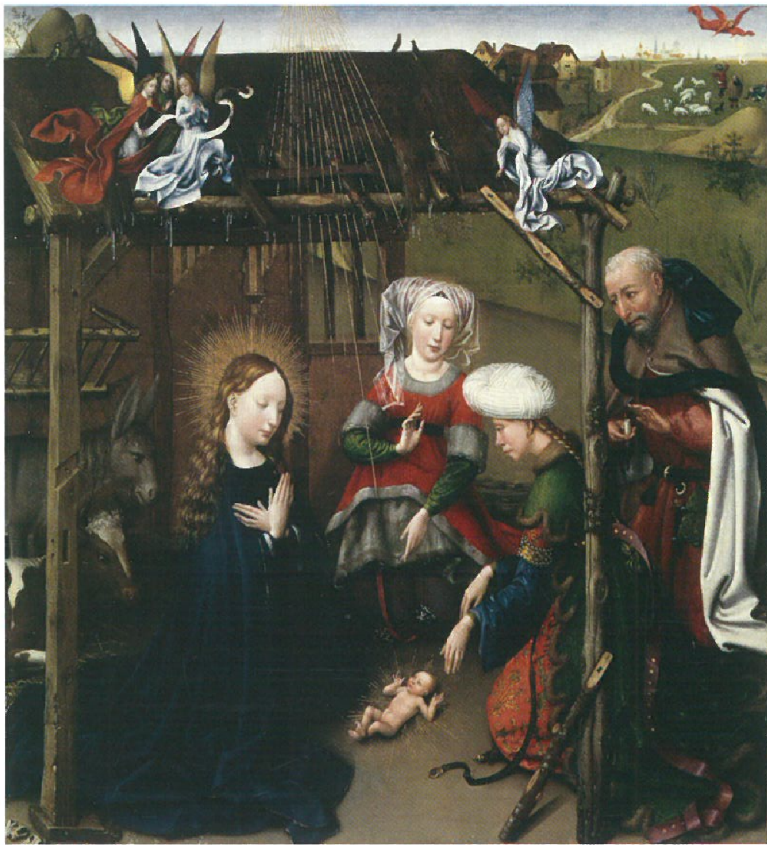
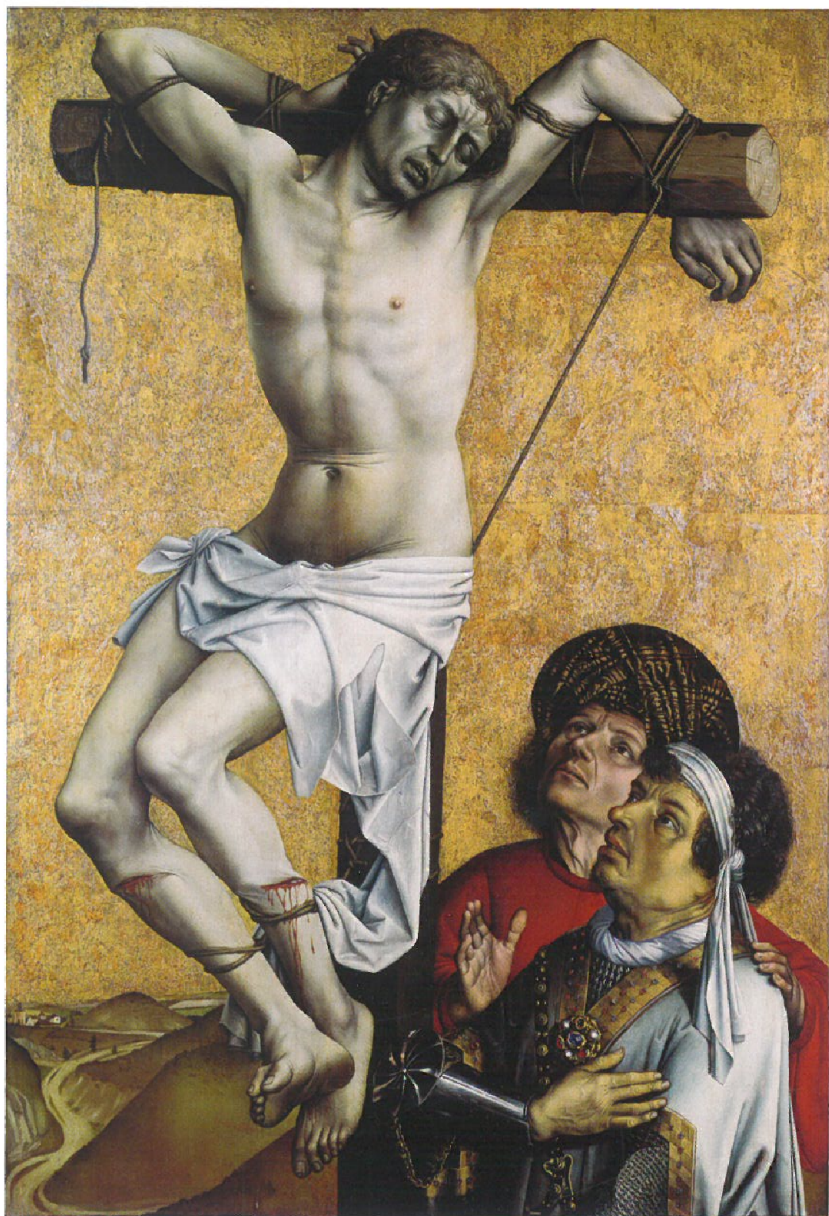


Fig. 16.
Jacques Daret, *Nativity*, 1433-1435,
MADRID, MUSEO THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA, INV. 124.

Fig. 17.
Jacques Daret, *Visitation*, 1433-1435,
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE, INV. 542.

Fig. 18.
Campin group, *Nativity*, circa 1425-1430,
DIJON, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS, INV. 150.





of compositions that are more inventive than observed. In fact, the work of master and pupils often comes together and overlaps, to such an extent that in some paintings it is difficult to separate the hands, to draw a precise boundary between them.¹⁷ The close collaboration of the two men within the Campin workshop has often been used to explain this ambiguity. Family ties may be added to this artistic relationship, because it is very possible, even though proof is lacking, that Campin's wife, Ysabel de Stoquain, was related to Rogier's mother-in-law, Cathelyne van Stockem.¹⁸ This connection, if it could be confirmed, would strengthen the hypothesis of an artistic affiliation which, if truth be told, is visually apparent and cannot really be doubted now.

Campin was not the only painter with a workshop in Tournai in the first half of the fifteenth century. Many others worked around him or independently of him, artisans who may have known and associated with the young Rogier.¹⁹ Unfortunately, next to nothing remains of their work, even though the scant archival data does evidence their presence²⁰ and show them to have been fairly active. Among Campin's contemporaries was *maître* Henri le Kien, a protean painter to whom Ludovic Nys recently attributed one of the earliest works in the Flémallesque style: the *Seilern Triptych* (fig. 20), now in the Courtauld Institute in London.²¹ Le Kien seems to have been a painter of some importance in Tournai and its hinterland in the early fifteenth century. He frequently worked for the seneschal of Hainaut, Jean III de Werchin, who in 1407-1408 commissioned five paintings – possibly heraldic – from him, to be given to the Church of Our Lady in Halle.²² He can probably be identified with the *Henry le peintre* who was entrusted with the devising and ordering of wall paintings for the St Nicholas Chapel in the Church of St James, built in 1400 to serve as a funeral chapel for Colars of Avesnes and his family. The project was carried out by the painter Pierart de le Vingne, assisted by one *maître Loys le peintre*, very likely Louis le Clerc, mentioned in the same account. Some parts of the paintings – the musician angels decorating the chapel vaults – have been preserved.²³ However, heavy-handed 'restoration' in around 1874 ruined their original appearance, so that they are no longer very revealing about the style in 1400 in Tournai. Nevertheless, they do give an idea of the richness of the decorative paintwork of churches in that city. This conclusion can also be drawn from some fragments of wall paintings that came to light during the bombing of Tournai, which destroyed many religious buildings in May 1940: the painted decoration in the apse of the Church of St Brice, attributed to Robert Campin, is so badly damaged that it now only has value as a relic; on the other hand, the *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* discovered in St Quentin's, although greatly altered, remains a good testimony to Tournai art at the end of the fourteenth century (fig. 21).²⁴ To return to the colleagues of Robert Campin, very little is known about Jean Lemonne, neighbour to the young Rogier in Roc-Saint-Nicaise, other than that he was responsible for the polychromy of the St Piat's rood screen in 1424, certainly an

Fig. 19.
Campin, *Crucified Thief*, circa 1430,
FRANKFURT AM MAIN, STÄDEL MUSEUM, INV. 886.

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Fig. 20.
Campin (Henri le Kien?), *The Entombment (Seilern Triptych)*, circa 1410-1420,
LONDON, COURTAULD GALLERY, INV. 3



important site.²⁵ Amongst other contemporaries we should also mention Jean Morel, who worked for Cambrai Cathedral from 1408 to 1431,²⁶ and Arnoulet, whose surname is unknown and who became a master the same year as Campin, in 1423. Around 1418 Arnoulet polychromed an imposing sculpted 'tabernacle'²⁷ for Pierre de Hauteville, who played an important role in Tournai's social, political and cultural network.²⁸

Another indirect testimony to the vitality of Tournai painting in the early fifteenth century is the strength of its attraction and influence. Among the painters who along with Henri le Kien and Robert Campin were admitted as masters in 1423 were Jacquemin of Mons, Bauduin of Lictevelle (Lichtervelde), Jean Brusselerre and even a Colart of Utrecht. Though names deriving from toponyms should be treated with caution, one may reasonably suppose that some of these craftsmen came from regions more or less distant from Tournai. One often-cited example is Jan de Stoevere, son of the Ghent painter Gheeraard de Stoevere, who spent time in the Campin workshop in 1419. Jan returned to Ghent and in the years 1420-1440 became one of its foremost painters,²⁹ and probably one of the main contributors to the spread of the Campin style there.³⁰ In 1428, André d'Ypres

Fig. 21.
Tournai, *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*, circa 1375-1400,
wall painting from the Church of St Quentin,
TOURNAI, MUSÉE D'HISTOIRE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE.

acquired the rank of master in Tournai. From an important family of Amiens painters, recorded there from 1425 to 1443, he appears to have taken advantage of opportunities in the Southern Netherlands very early on. André ended up settling in Paris, but he maintained close contacts with the North, for he died in Mons in 1450 on his return from the Jubilee in Rome.³¹ The same commercial opportunism perhaps decided Simon Marmion to become a master of the Tournai guild in 1468.³²

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century another discipline, largely subordinate to the painters' skill, was flourishing modestly in Tournai:³³ illumination. Today, thirty manuscripts have been grouped around the figure of Jean Semont, an illuminator recorded in Tournai from 1400 to 1414 and who, judging from the manuscripts attributed to him, may have been active there from around 1385.³⁴ His style (fig. 22) seems more in line with the Parisian tradition than with the innovative trends manifest in Flanders illumination in the early fifteenth century, to which the name 'pre-Eyckian' has been given.³⁵ He appears to have been fairly impervious to the pictorial revolution taking place before his eyes, as it were, around Robert Campin. Yet the latter seems also to have been involved in illumination work from time to time. An extract from an account, discovered about fifteen years ago, irrefutably attests to this. It relates to the payment made to Campin for a *Crucifixion* in a missal presented by the priest Philippe de Thumesnil to the Church of St Margaret. The cost is recorded in the parish accounts for the 1430-1431 financial year.³⁶ If the document does not necessarily prove that Campin created the illuminations himself, it at least allows the assumption that the painter might serve as an intermediary, perhaps subcontracting the work to an assistant. Could this perhaps have been Jacques Daret or Rogier van der Weyden? Like their master, the two painters were no strangers to the technique of illumination. There is now general agreement in attributing the famous dedication page of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* to Rogier (cat. 9).³⁷ Moreover, the membership register of the painters and glass-workers guild of Tournai records the apprenticing of the illuminator Éleuthère du Pret to Jacques Daret in 1436. He became a master two years later.³⁸ It is regrettable that none of his works has as yet been identified, for they most likely bear the Daret stamp. Daret's influence is certainly detectable in the work of the Master of Mansel, one of the leading illuminators active in the North in the mid-fifteenth century. Some specialists have even gone so far as to suggest the direct participation by Daret in manuscripts painted anonymously.³⁹ The theory, fascinating due to the impact of Tournai in the Arras milieu, requires additional support, specifically documentary evidence, as it is quite convincing from a stylistic point of view. As regards Robert Campin, only one group of three pages excised from a superb prayer book have as yet testified to the impact of his art on local illumination (fig. 23).⁴⁰ Hopefully, the future will reveal whether it is the dynamism of this environment that would lead Jean Tavernier, an illuminator active in Oudenaarde and Ghent, to join the Tournai guild, of which he became a master in 1434.⁴¹



Fig. 22.

Jean Semont, *Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate*, initial in a missal for use in St Peter's Church in Tournai, before 1414, LILLE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS. 807, FOL. 8.



before taking one Jean le Franc as an apprentice in 1440. In any event, his art, highly favoured by Philip the Good, borrows strongly from the Flémallesque legacy.⁴²

During the years spent in Tournai, Rogier was perhaps stimulated by other forms of artistic expression. First and foremost we may consider sculpture, for which Tournai, with its bluestone quarries, gained a great reputation at least from the Romanesque period. Having been born at the end of the fourteenth century, Van der Weyden must have been marked from a very young age by the profound anxiety of all urban communities in the face of the plague of 1400, which affected every social class.⁴³ This infused fear appeared before his eyes when he entered churches in his city and could see the votive reliefs ordered by those who were victims of the Black Death. Indeed, it might be supposed that the epidemic stimulated the activity of the Tournai *ymagiers* (the carvers of images). The documents certainly suggest that to be the case. In 1400, more than 350 Tournai citizens drew up their will, four times as many as usual.⁴⁴ These include orders for funeral monuments, one of which still survives.⁴⁵

There seem to be such strong connections between painters and sculptors in Tournai that one of the great clichés in the older literature on Van der Weyden relates to the assumed influence of Tournai sculpture on his painting.⁴⁶ The most radical theory – that of Louis Maeterlinck – even goes so far as to envisage that these relations were due to Rogier having been trained as a sculptor before entering Campin's workshop, a gratuitous claim entirely unsupported by documentary evidence.⁴⁷ While not going so far, Paul Rolland, working in the same vein, later sought to base his concept of a 'Tournai school' on formal analogies between paintings and sculpted monuments, which he believed revealed reciprocal influences.⁴⁸ The theory, which is rooted in the communitarian context of the age and which also sought to make Rogier a Tournai Primitive (before dubbing him a 'Walloon Primitive'),⁴⁹ did not last long.⁵⁰ However, this does not detract from the fact that, simply because of their number, these monuments were undeniably a part of the visual surroundings of the young Rogier in his Tournai period. He may have appreciated some of them; their sculptural power is such that they were occasionally attributed to major sculptors such as Jacques de Braibant (d. 1400),⁵¹ Jean Tuscap (d. before 1438)⁵² or Alart du Moret (d. after 1448-1449)⁵³ (fig. 24).

One of the most salient characteristics of the art associated with the name of Robert Campin is its monumentality, its 'sculptural' character. The contacts between painters and sculptors were truly quite close. Campin was paid on numerous occasions for the polychromy of sculptures.⁵⁴ The hypothesis of overlapping influences consequently appears perfectly legitimate. Nevertheless it is rather difficult to indicate clear examples of cross-fertilization in local art. When it relates to treating the subject outside the sphere of local scholarship, the reference to Sluterian art⁵⁵ is often mentioned, a vague term⁵⁶ which but poorly conceals the unverifiable hypothesis

23.
Circle of Robert Campin, *Virgin and Child, worshipped by a Lady commended by St Agnes*, Tournai, circa 1415-1425, ENSCHEDE, RIJSMUSEUM TWENTHE, INV. 16.



of a direct confrontation with 'Franco-Flemish' sculpture – in particular the works in the Charterhouse of Champmol. Conversely, the impact of Flémallesque art definitely appears to have been relatively weak on the rare examples of Tournai sculpture that have survived. Robert Didier, the last author to have considered the question in depth,⁵⁷ has clearly shown everything the rare witnesses of Tournai sculpture of the first quarter of the fifteenth century owe to Parisian art and, more precisely, to the trends introduced by André Beauneveu. At the same time he notes the late echo met by the Flémallesque trend in Tournai.⁵⁸ The same difficulty arises for Rogier: undoubtedly he would have come into contact at an early stage with works by the master sculptors of Tournai – the *Virgin and Child* of the Arbois group⁵⁹ the *Ath Entombment* (fig. 25),⁶⁰ and some votive reliefs give an idea of their quality – but it would be hazardous indeed to try to suggest how they might have influenced him. As to the influence of his painting on the art of the *ymagiers*, that is primarily apparent in Brussels, his adopted home.⁶¹

This brief outline cannot be concluded without mentioning other visual arts that flourished in Tournai during Rogier van der Weyden's formative years, and which may have fed his young imagination.

Fig. 24.
Alart du Moret (?), Votive relief of Antoine Watiers,
Marguerite Caron and Isabelle Tacquet, Tournai, 1420-1426,
PRESENT LOCATION UNKNOWN (PROBABLY LOST IN THE BOMBARDMENT OF MAY 1940).

H.
BOGHE
VAN DER
WEYDEN
1433
H. 1



The city was not yet the brilliant centre of tapestry production that it would become from the fourteen-forties.⁶² Nevertheless, one work of tapestry art would have impacted on its inhabitants: the famous choir hanging representing the *Lives of SS Piat and Eleutherius*, still preserved in the cathedral (fig. 26).⁶³ Produced by the Arras tapestry-maker Pierrot Feré in 1402, it was commissioned by an eminent Tournai canon, Toussaint Prier, who became chaplain to Philip the Bold. It is often accepted that the cartoons were created by a Tournai painter or his team – the name of Jean de Vrenay⁶⁴ has been mooted, and even, with greater insistence, the participation of the young Robert Campin⁶⁵ – but there is no documentary proof to support these theories, no matter how attractive they may be.

The city also boasted goldsmiths and metal-founders of great renown, like Michel Le Maire called ‘of Ghent’, a contemporary and close acquaintance of Robert Campin, and also an office-holder in the guild system:⁶⁶ head dean, assay-master (*maire des eswardeurs*) and second provost; and also on occasion entrusted with diplomatic assignments for the city. He travelled to the Holy Land in 1431 and there met a compatriot, Coppart de Velaines.⁶⁷ None of his works have survived, but archive documents show that in addition to the bells and the cannons that earned him the title of the ‘Tournai Krupp’ he also created metal sculpture, such as the Holy Sepulchre for the jurors’ hall (1427), and the monumental cross commissioned by Abbot Jean du Clercq – the patron of Jacques Daret – for the Place Saint-Vaast in Arras (1446).⁶⁸ Michel Le Maire was thus a leading metal craftsman, also active in Bruges and Antwerp, with whom, via Robert Campin, Rogier must certainly have associated.



Fig. 25.
Hainaut, *Entombment*, circa 1400-1410,
ATH, MUSÉE ROYAL D'HISTOIRE ET DE FOLKLORE.

Fig. 26.
Pierrot Feré, Tapestry from the series depicting the
Lives of SS Piat and Eleutherius, Arras, 1402,
TOURNAI, CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY.

Social unrest broke out in Tournai in 1423. At the end of a short 'revolution'⁶⁹ the guilds reclaimed their banners, which had been confiscated in 1365, and demanded participation in the government of the city, following this up with a 'witch-hunt' against the supporters of the old regime. Under the pressure of 'demagogues' numerous eminent burgesses left Tournai. Their sudden departure caused a profound reshaping of the social structure of the city. A significant percentage of the art clientele had departed, reducing still further a consumer base already decimated by the defeat at Agincourt some years before.⁷⁰ The installation of an authoritarian 'democratic' regime, in which – albeit in a relatively marginal fashion⁷¹ – Robert Campin, Michel Le Maire and Jean Tuscap were involved, paradoxically appears to have corresponded with the beginning of the decline in some artistic disciplines. The intellectual fermentation established at the end of the fourteenth and in the first quarter of the fifteenth century in any event experienced a serious recession. The momentum was lost. If, as Lorne Campbell⁷² has recently suggested, the hunt for the 'émigrés' could be one of the reasons why Rogier van der Weyden provisionally returned to Tournai, in order to look after his family and family property, is it not significant that the painter did not set down roots? Once the situation returned to normal in October 1435 at the latest, Rogier left the city, this time for good, for more promising climes. It will hardly have been a coincidence that the most prominent Tournai sculptor of his generation, Jean Delemer followed his example (cat. 26). Both moved to Brussels, where the court of the duke of Burgundy offered new challenges.⁷³

Rogier nevertheless continued to maintain privileged and continuous connections with his home town, the place where he received the decisive impetus, in the workshop of Robert Campin. In 1436 there are several references to payments to a *maistre Rogier le peintre*, for various works carried out in Tournai. Five years later, he empowered the goldsmith Louis du Chastillon to take care of the affairs of his niece Hennette Caudiauwe, whose guardian he was. Around 1452-1453, he produced a devotional triptych at the commission of Tournai citizen Catherine de Brabant, probably in memory of her husband Jean Braque who died shortly after their wedding, in June 1452. The *Braque Triptych* (fig. 27), with its superb representation of Mary Magdalen on the right wing-panel, is now one of the treasures in the Early Netherlandish painting section of the Louvre. Finally, after Rogier's death on 18 June 1464, the painters' guild of Tournai, from which he received his free mastership, gave him a final honour and dedicated an annual Mass in his memory.

Van der Weyden's deep attachment to his native region was probably not only emotional but economic as well. If Lorne Campbell is correct, Rogier may have maintained a workshop in the city after his departure. It would have allowed him to continue to serve the local clientele, while taking his business to the capital of Brabant. The Brussels-Tournai painter Jehan Le Bacre (de Bakker), who gained



Fig. 27.
Rogier van der Weyden, *Braque Triptych*, 1450-1452.
PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, R.F. 2063.

the rank of master in Tournai in August 1435, may have been the head of this branch. Moreover, the Rogierian tradition may have endured a few years more in Tournai through Louis le Duc. Louis was Rogier's nephew, and may have completed his apprenticeship with his uncle before himself becoming a master at Tournai in 1453, and later in Bruges, in 1460.

The painting of Rogier van der Weyden, if it became established in Tournai, thereby grew in a rhizome fashion in the Tournai soil. The vertical stalks still remain to be studied.



NOTES

- 1** See Kubler 1962: 6-7. In this connection the author speaks of a 'good entrance' as a condition sine qua non for the success of talented personalities.
- 2** See Wim Blockmans, *From Tournai to Brussels, from Hainaut to Brabant*, in this publication, pp. 24-31.
- 3** The hôtel of the seneschal of Hainaut, Jeanne de Werchin is one of many examples. See Nys 1992.
- 4** Such as the feast organized in the hôtel of 'Tieste d'Or' by Jean III de Werchin on 17 May 1408. The presence among the guests of Gilles de Chin, Robert de Mortagne, lord of Cavrines and the young Hue de Lannoy is noteworthy. See Bataille 1934: 310.
- 5** On Rogier's original milieu, see Hocquet 1912; Hocquet 1913a; Hocquet 1913b; Houtart 1914 and most recently Campbell 2007.
- 6** Campbell 2007: 115.
- 7** Hocquet 1938: 140-141.
- 8** On Jean Lemonne, see Cloquet 1884; De La Grange-Cloquet 1887-1888: II, 64, 248-249. The painter's residence is mentioned by Houtart 1913: 102, repeated by Campbell 2007: 115 and n. 34. I have not been able to confirm this information.
- 9** This hypothesis was first defended by Adolphe Hocquet (see Hocquet 1913a, 1913b). It is taken up by De Vos 1999: 48. Other authors refrain from mentioning any trips: Davies 1973: 19; Thürlemann 2006: 20-21.
- 10** Dhanens 1999: 99-101; Kemperdick 1997: 161 (a hypothesis that is not repeated in his monograph on the painter: Kemperdick 1999); Châtelet 1999b: 11.
- 11** Beenken 1940: 129-137; taken up in part by Panofsky 1953: 251-256. This is also the theory put forward by Émile Renders, who refutes any apprenticeship with Campin. See Renders 1931, especially p. 72-73.
- 12** Campbell 2007: 120. This seems to me the best-founded hypothesis to date. Unlike Robert Didier, I do not think Rogier's style is necessarily the result of a Flémallesque current, which in Didier's opinion is a purely Brussels idiom (Didier 1981).
- 13** Châtelet 1999b: 10-11.
- 14** Now divided between: Berlin (Staatliche Museen), Madrid (Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza) and Paris (Musée du Petit Palais). For identification, see Hulin de Loo 1909: 202-208. For the development regarding Daret, see Vines 1996 and Joubert & Lorentz 2000.
- 15** In its composition the Madrid *Nativity* (fig. 16) is a simplified version of the Dijon panel (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts; fig. 18) attributed to Robert Campin. The Berlin *Visitation* (fig. 17) is related to the *Visitations* by Van der Weyden now at Leipzig (Museum für bildenden Künste; ill. 27.1) and Turin (Galleria Sabauda; cat. 27c).
- 16** See Lorne Campbell, *The New Pictorial Language of Rogier van der Weyden*, in this publication, pp. 32-61.
- 17** On this subject see the theoretical reflections of Otto Pächt (Pächt 1994b: 63-68) and the comments by Stephan Kemperdick (Kemperdick 2007a: 9-14). This relates to a problem that throughout his career and lead him to change his mind on the division of works attributable to one or the other. For instance, see Friedländer 1924: 64.
- 18** Renders & Lyna 1933; Duverger 1974: 87-88; Campbell 2007: 117-120.
- 19** This paragraph is largely based on the summary recently published by Douglas Brine in the proceedings of the *Campin in Context* colloquium (Brine 2007), in which the necessary bibliography and illustrations can be found.
- 20** It should be borne in mind that these sources are not complete, often limited to the municipal accounts, which only mention minor decorative works. When these data are brought together, however, it becomes possible to form a fairly clear picture of artistic life in Tournai in the early fifteenth century.
- 21** Nys 2003.
- 22** Paravicini 1999: 131.
- 23** Rolland 1946: 47-48. Reproduced in colour in Brine 2007: 106, fig. 3.
- 24** On these two ensembles, see Brine 2007: 103 (with bibliography).
- 25** Cloquet 1884.
- 26** Houdoy 1880: 176-182. He polychromed a number of statues, painted heraldic panels, and drew on parchment the patterns for four angels. The Jean Moriel who is known to have produced paintings for the city in 1438 is probably the same man. See De la Grange-Cloquet 1887-1888: II, 252.
- 27** De la Grange 1890: 32.
- 28** For Pierre de Hauteville, see Vanwijnsberghe 2000a (with bibliography).
- 29** See Liévois 2007: 210-212; Verroken 2007: 225-226.
- 30** See Nys 2007.
- 31** For further details, see Vanwijnsberghe 2000b.
- 32** See Vanwijnsberghe 2001: 25-28.
- 33** See the file of documents published in Vanwijnsberghe 2001.
- 34** Vanwijnsberghe 2007a; Vanwijnsberghe 2007b.
- 35** On pre-Eyckian miniatures, see Leuven 1993.
- 36** Dumoulin-Pycke 1993: 301 no. 148.
- 37** Campbell 2007a.
- 38** Vanwijnsberghe 2001: 307-308.
- 39** Nicole Reynaud put forward this hypothesis regarding *The Martyrdom of St Andrew* that opens the second volume of the Brussels *Fleur des histoires* (Royal Library of Belgium, Ms., 9232, fol. 9). In her wake, Marc Gil has identified the same hand in the *Hours of Antoine de Crèvecoeur* (Leeds, University Library, Brotherton Collection, Ms. 4). See Gil 2000: 83-89.
- 40** Vanwijnsberghe 2006a.
- 41** Vanwijnsberghe 2001: 21-25, 313. Verroken 2006: 105-110 has recently questioned whether the Jean Tavernier recorded in Tournai is the same as the Jean Tavernier in Oudenaarde and Ghent.
- 42** Hulin de Loo 1928b; Avril 1999; Kemperdick 1997: 63; Leuven 2002: 300-301, no. 79.
- 43** Cousin 1619-1620, 4: 183.
- 44** Vandenbroeck 1961: 47 n. 1.
- 45** Ten of the eighty-eight wills listed by Amaury de la Grange for the year 1400 mention a grave slab; six, a votive tablet (De la Grange 1897). That of Jacques Polès (no. 385) still remains in the Cathedral of Our Lady. See Nys 2001: 174-175, no. VIII.
- 46** Nys 2001: 18-23.
- 47** Maeterlinck 1900-1901; Maeterlinck 1900; Maeterlinck 1901.
- 48** Rolland 1926; Rolland 1928; Rolland 1929; Rolland 1931; Rolland 1932a.
- 49** Beyen 2007.
- 50** De Vos 1999: 73-75.
- 51** Monument of Nicolas de Seclin, round 1380-1390 (Tournai, Cathedral). See Nys 2001: 164-168, no. V.
- 52** Monuments of Gauthier de Beauvoir, after July 1401, and of Jean Daniaus, after 1408 (both in the Musée Municipal in Cambrai). See Nys 2001: 178-179, no. X; 200-201, no. XX.

NOTES

53

Monuments of Antoine Watiers (between 1420 and 1426, lost), Jean Fievés (after March 1426; Brussels, Royal Museums for Art and History) and Jean de Bury (between 1436 and 1438; Tournai, Church of St Quentin). See Nys 2001: 206-207, no. XXIII; 219-221, no. XXVIII; 239-241, no. XXXVI.

54

Most famously for Jean Delemer's *Annunciation* group (cat. 26), a work dating from 1428, and thus from the period in which Rogier was working with his master. See Rolland 1932b. We should remember that the painters set-up a brotherhood with the creators of images in 1404 which was centred in the cathedral. See Vanwijnsberghe 2001: 100-101.

55

For instance: De Tolnay 1939: 13; Châtelet 2006: 18 (suggests that here was direct contact), 55, 70-71, 11. The idea is taken up and expanded in Borchert 2004.

56

At least insofar as the channels by which this presumed influence flowed as far as Tournai have not been defined.

57

Didier 1983; Steyaert 1994: 51-53.

58

Didier 1983: 377.

59

Didier, Henss & Schmoll 1970.

60

Didier 1967-1968; Cologne 1978: I, 99-100 (note from R. Didier and J. Steyaert).

61

Fransen 2009. None the less, there are traces of Van der Weyden's influence on sculpture in Tournai. It may have spread via the works of painters such as Louis le Duc (see below), as Douglas Brine has recently suggested (Brine 2008: 15-25).

62

The earliest reference to a historiated tapestry dates from 1438. See Joubert 1993: 39-58 (especially 42).

63

Cologne 1978: I, 106 (note by R. Didier); Weigert 1999; Weigert 2004: 19-51.

64

Châtelet 1996: 48.

65

Thürlemann 2002: 19-28; Dirk De Vos, on the other hand, claims that they have none of the impressive dramatic dimension of the Flémallesque style (De Vos 1999: 74).

66

De la Grange-Cloquet 1887-1888: I, 336-341; Houtart 1911.

67

Paviot 2007, especially 93, 95-96.

68

Loriquet 1884.

69

On this subject see Small 2007.

70

Schnerb 2007. Several members of the Tournai patriciate must be added to the tally of the slain cited by the author, for instance Fastret du Chasteler, husband of Marie de Quinghien. See Du Chastel de la Howarderie 1900-1901: 77.

71

Small 2007.

72

Campbell 2007: 120-123.

73

See Wim Blockmans, *From Tournai to Brussels, from Hainaut to Brabant*, in this publication, pp. 24-31.