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Rogier van der Weyden and Early Netherlandish Wall Memorials

Douglas Brine

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immediations

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This issue of *immediations* features a photograph from the series *Blow Up*,
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CONTENTS

- 7 Rogier van der Weyden
and Early Netherlandish Wall Memorials
DOUGLAS BRINE
- 29 Common Derivation: *Couple Holding a Wreath*,
a Late-Medieval Pipeclay Figurine
from the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum
NOA TUREL
- 47 Bourgeois Ambition and Whist for Wives
in John Everett Millais's *Hearts are Trumps*
EMILY TALBOT
- 61 Screening Poetry:
Guillaume Apollinaire, André Breton
and Experimental Cinema
CAROLINE LEVITT
- 79 Images, Manuscripts and Hagiolatry:
Edward B. Garrison
and the Study of Late-Medieval Italian Art
JESSICA N. RICHARDSON
- 97 Hal Foster in Conversation
CATHERINE GRANT
- 109 Contributors

Rogier van der Weyden and Early Netherlandish Wall Memorials

DOUGLAS BRINE



FIG. 1 Memorial tablet of Bauduin de Hénin-Liétard and Catherine de Melun, c. 1421, Tournai limestone, Saint-Nicolas church, Tournai. (Photograph: IRPA-KIK, Brussels)

Most of the research for this article was carried out in 2006 while I was Research Forum Postdoctoral Fellow and I thank the Forum for its support over that year. I am much indebted to Lorne Campbell, whose own research provided the groundwork for this study, and to Elizabeth Cleland, Bart Fransen, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Kim Woods for their generous assistance. This material was first presented at the Historians of Netherlandish Art Conference (8–11 November 2006) in Baltimore and Washington D. C. as part of the session ‘Rogier van der Weyden: Sculpture and Painting in Early Netherlandish Art’; I am grateful to the session chairs, Mark Tucker and Lloyd DeWitt for inviting me to participate.

1 ‘Item, vollons nous que au dessus du lieu là u nous girons soit mis une lamme et tombe là u il ait seulement une crois et quatre escuchons de nos armes, et que mes noms y soit escripts autour; et en oultre que au mur à l’encontre du lieu u nous girons [...] ait ung tabliel de pierre là u nous soyons à genouls devant l’image Nostre Dame, et que S. Anthones nous y présente.’ The will was proved on 7 March 1421 (de la Grange, A., ‘Choix de testaments tournaisiens antérieurs au XVI^e siècle’, *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Tournai*, new series, vol. 2, 1897, pp. 5–365, here p. 170, no. 579).

In 1416 the knight Bauduin de Hénin-Liétard, seigneur of Fontaine-l’Evêque, made a will that included detailed instructions for the monuments that would mark his burial place after his death. A tomb slab was to cover his grave, decorated ‘with only a cross and four escutcheons of our arms’, surrounded by an inscription declaring his names. In addition, ‘on the wall at the side of the place where we will be interred’, there was to be an accompanying stone tablet (*ung tabliel de pierre*) showing the kneeling Bauduin being presented by St Anthony to the Virgin.¹ Bauduin died on 20 February 1421 and was buried in the church of Saint-Nicolas in Tournai. Remarkably, given the catastrophic levels of damage and destruction that have afflicted Tournai, the stone tablet mentioned in Bauduin’s will still survives at Saint-Nicolas (Fig. 1). Sculpted in low relief, it shows the knight and his wife, Catherine de Melun, kneeling before the Virgin and Child, presented by Saints Anthony Abbot and Catherine, accompanied by an inscription below giving their names, titles and death-dates.² Although the tomb slab under which the couple were interred no longer remains, in 1886 it was noted that a trace of oxidised metal was then visible on the church floor (presumably from brass inlays on the slab), beneath which two skulls and some other remains were found, placed side by side.³

Despite the appalling losses to the artistic patrimony of the southern Netherlands, sculpted memorial tablets (or ‘epitaphs’, as they are sometimes referred to) like that of Bauduin de Hénin survive in surprising numbers — close to 250 by my estimate — in the area now known as Belgium and northern France, dating from the late fourteenth century until well into the sixteenth century. Although there are many variations on the Hénin tablet, its size, format and typology are fairly

2 On this memorial see Nys, L., *Les tableaux votifs tournaisiens en pierre: 1350–1475* (Académie royale de Belgique — Mémoire de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, 3rd series, vol. XVII), Brussels, 2001, cat. XXIV, pp. 208–210 and Brine, D., *Piety and Purgatory: Wall-mounted memorials from the southern Netherlands, c. 1380–c. 1520*, PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2006, pp. 87–102.

3 Goffin, A., 'Rapport fait à la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai sur une pierre funéraire, retrouvée en l'église Saint-Nicolas', *Bulletin de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, vol. 21, 1886, pp. 192–198, here p. 197.

4 Brine, D., *Commemoration in Late-Medieval Tournai: Sculpted Relief Epitaphs from the Early Fifteenth Century*, MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000. They are comprehensively catalogued in Nys at n. 2 above.

5 See Appendix.

6 Henne, A., and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, revised edition, M. Martens (ed.), 4 vols., Brussels, 1975, vol. III, pp. 118–120.

7 'In Monasterio Franciscanorum [...] / An^s mesme Dame Marie fille de louys Comte Deureulx filz du Roy / de france femme de Jean troisieme Duc de Brabant la quelle / trespassa lan 1335 le 30 de jour doctobre, et Dame Marie / leur fille maisnee laquelle estoit Duchesse de Gueldres Dame / de Turnhout et morte en lan de nre sⁿ 1349 le premier / Jour de may, et comme desdictes sepultures ny avoit aulcune / memoire audict cloistre le Duc Philippe en lan 1442 / a fait mactere pour souvenance desdictes Princes leurs effegies / au mur du dict cheur du coste droit avec certaine / Inscription en langue latine / Maria soror Joanne Brabantie Vidua Regnaldi Ducis / Gueldrie pia et religiosa mulier sine liberis Bruxelles / obyt Tumulata apud franciscanos' (MS Add. 12449, fol. 46v). I am most grateful to Lorne Campbell for this reference. Mary of Brabant's death-date is inaccurately given but it is unclear what source Butkens (who was only born in 1590 and can never have seen the duchesses' monument himself) based his description on.

standard. As this example shows, these works were installed in church or cloister walls above the grave slab, and together both monuments commemorated the deceased interred below. The prime function of these memorials was to preserve the memory of those commemorated and to serve as permanent public reminders to the living to pray for their souls. These memorials constitute a rare survival of key significance for the understanding of early Netherlandish art.

It is at Tournai, the birthplace of Rogier van der Weyden, where the largest and best-known group of these sculpted memorials survives, of which the Hénin tablet is one of the better preserved.⁴ The Tournai memorials are periodically cited in the literature because of their intriguing connections with contemporary painting: they feature in discussions regarding the possible commemorative functions of some of Jan van Eyck's work and they have been occasionally marshalled as evidence in the arguments surrounding the identification of the Master of Flémalle as Robert Campin, the Tournai painter to whom Rogier is documented as having been *aprenti* in 1427. Although the interrelation of early Netherlandish painting and sculpture is often noted, the comparisons drawn with sculpted memorial tablets have tended to be rather superficial. The aim of this article is to examine more closely these memorials' connections with early Netherlandish painters, in terms of both patronage and context, by focussing on two key examples closely linked to Rogier van der Weyden, the artist who, perhaps above all others, was most influenced by, and had most influence on, contemporary sculpture.

The first of these memorials unfortunately does not survive, but the details of its creation are documented in a little-studied record of payments made to the craftsmen involved in making it, amongst them Rogier van der Weyden. On 19 January 1440 several individuals were paid for a sculpted memorial tablet ordered by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, for the Franciscan convent church in Brussels. A sculptor, Jan van Evere, received thirty-eight riders 'for having made in white stone a tablet (*taeffele*) in which there is an image of Our Lady and two others, one of lady Mary, formerly Duchess of Brabant, and the other of lady Mary, formerly Duchess of Guelders'. The tablet had wings attached, as payment was made to a joiner for 'two shutters with which the aforementioned tablet is closed, and the wood supplied for it', and to a locksmith for supplying its hinges and lock. The locksmith also supplied the metal plaque to go below the tablet, 'on which to put the title and names of the aforementioned ladies'. Lastly, 'master Rogier, painter', was paid forty riders for having decorated it 'with various rich colours'. Although unmentioned in the account, it is conceivable that

8 'Requiescunt corpora illustrissimarum principum & Ducissarum Mariae senioris, filiae quondam Ludovici Comitis Ebroicensis, filij regis Francorum, quae fuit conjux gratiosa magnifici principis Iohannis hujus nominis III, Lotharingiae, Brabantiae & Lymburgi Ducis, quae obiit an. 1335. mensis Octob. 30. Atq; Mariae, filiae junioris praefatorum Iohannis III & Mariae Ducum Brabantiae, quae fuit Ducissa Gelriae & domina de Turnhout. Obiitq; an. 1399. 1. die mensis Martij.' (Pontanus, J. L., *Historiae Gelriae Libri XIV*, Amsterdam, 1639, Lib. VIII, p. 339, lines 29–33). It is unclear whether this was this text was inscribed on the wall memorial or on their grave slab, or whether it relates to a later, post-Calvinist replacement monument.

9 See Nys at n. 2 above, pp. 105–109 and Nys, L., *La pierre de Tournai. Son exploitation et son usage aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Tournai — Art et Histoire 8), Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993, pp. 125–128.

10 Tournai, Saint-Quentin church; see Brine, D., 'Campin's Contemporaries: Painting in Tournai in the Early Fifteenth Century', in L. Nys, and D. Vanwijnsberghe (eds.), *Campin in Context. Peinture et société dans la vallée de l'Escaut à l'époque de Robert Campin 1375–1445*, Valenciennes, Brussels and Tournai, 2007, pp. 101–112, here p. 106 and references.

11 Duverger, J., *De Brusselsche steenbickeleren. Beeldhouwers, bouwmeesters, metselaars enz. der XIV^e en XV^e eeuw, met een aanhangsel over Klaas Sluter en zijn Brusselsche medewerkers te Dijon*, Ghent, 1933, p. 47.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 1; see also J. Squilbeck, 'Notices sur les artistes de la famille van Mansdale dite Keldermans', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, vol. 56, 1952, pp. 90–137.

13 Lefèvre, P. F., *L'organisation ecclésiastique de la ville de Bruxelles au Moyen Age* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3rd series, 11th fasc.), Leuven, 1942, p. 251, kindly drawn to my attention by Lorne Campbell. For Jan van Opstal see also Haggh, B. H., *Musie, liturgy, and ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500*, 2 vols., PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988, vol. II, p. 598.

Rogier also provided the design for the tablet. Its dimensions are not recorded but a sense of the tablet's scale may be reflected in the fact that it took twenty-three days in man-hours for three masons with three assistants to make its stone frame and to install it in the church wall.⁵

The two duchesses referred to in the payment are Mary of Evreux (d. 1335), wife of John III, Duke of Brabant, and their youngest daughter, Mary of Brabant (d. 1399), wife of Renaud III, Duke of Guelders. Both duchesses were buried in the choir of the Franciscan church in Brussels and their memorial tablet was installed in close proximity on the right-hand wall of the choir. The convent was attacked by the Calvinists in June 1579 and on 17 August 1583 the demolition of its church was begun, although only the choir — and the monuments within — were destroyed.⁶ No visual record of the duchesses' memorial has yet been found, but it was briefly described by the historian and genealogist Christophe Butkens in an early seventeenth-century armorial now in the British Library,⁷ and a transcription of a Latin inscription is given in Johannes Pontanus's history of Guelders, published in 1639.⁸

Rogier's polychromy of the duchesses' tablet represents probably the most common way in which painters were involved in the production of sculpted wall memorials. Although most extant tablets, like the Hénin memorial (Fig. 1), are now completely devoid of any polychromy, virtually every such memorial would originally have been extensively painted and gilded.⁹ Indeed, a few years earlier Rogier seems to have been involved in the polychromy of another memorial tablet, which still exists in Tournai. Part of the inscription on the severely damaged memorial of Jehan du Bury (d. 1436) is documented as having been gilded by 'master Rogier, the painter', identifiable as Rogier van der Weyden, who apparently maintained a workshop in his native city during the mid-1430s, even after his departure for Brussels.¹⁰

Rogier's collaborator on the Brussels memorial, Jan van Evere, also called de Clerck, was described as *ingheboren porters* (native citizen) of Brussels when he became a master of the stoneworkers' guild in 1415.¹¹ He was a juror of the guild periodically between 1427 and 1446, and was married to Lijsbeth van Mansdale, apparently a daughter of the famous Keldermans family of sculptors and architects.¹² It is possible that Jan may have specialised in funerary monuments, since the only other known reference to his work as a sculptor is his execution of a brass tomb slab for the grave of Jan van Opstal, called de Gravia (d. 1443), canon of Sinte-Goedule church in Brussels.¹³

The two duchesses commemorated in the memorial at the Franciscan church had died many decades previously and were only distantly related to Philip the Good: Mary of Evreux was his great-great-grand-



FIG. 2 (left) Effigies from the tomb of Louis of Mâle and Margaret of Brabant, Count and Countess of Flanders, and Margaret of Mâle, Duchess of Burgundy, 1453–55, from Antoine de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, Royal Library, Brussels, MS II 1862/1, fol. 55r. (Photograph: Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels)



FIG. 3 (right) Effigies from the tomb of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant and William of Burgundy, 1458–59, from Antoine de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, Royal Library, Brussels, MS II 1862/1, fol. 74r. (Photograph: Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels)

14 For a genealogy of the house of Brabant see Ceunen, M., and J. Goossens, *Jan I, Hertog van Brabant: de dichtende en bedichte vorst*, exh. cat. Zoutleeuw, Stadhuis, 1994, cat. 14, pp. 52–53.

15 Chippis Smith, J., 'The Tomb of Anne of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford, in the Musée du Louvre', *Gesta*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1984, pp. 39–50; Chippis Smith, J., *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419–1467)*, PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1979, pp. 29–33, 65–74, 86–89, 369–378.

16 Published in Pinchart, A., *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*, 3 vols., Ghent, 1860, vol. II, pp. 136–137. For the tomb see McGee Morganstern, A., *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England*, University Park, PA, 2000, pp. 32–37, 159–160.

17 Ibid. (McGee Morganstern), pp. 140–149, 195–196 and Hamilton, E., *Louis of Mâle, Philip the Good: commemoration, devotion, propaganda*, MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2003, pp. 27–38. Philip's commission replaced the aborted project of the 1370s for Louis's tomb at Kortrijk, ordered from André Beauneveu by Louis himself; see Nash, S., "Adrien Biauuevopt... fasseur des thombes" André Beauneveu and Sculptural Practice in Late Fourteenth-Century France and Flanders', in S. Nash, T.-H. Borchert and J. Harris, "No Equal in Any Land". *André Beauneveu. Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders*, London and Bruges, 2007, pp. 30–65, here pp. 37–43.

18 Campbell, L., 'The tomb of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, October 1988, pp. 163–172. All three tombs appear in Antoine de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, see Comblen-Sonkes, M., and C. van den Bergen-Pantens, *Les Primitifs flamands III. Contributions à l'étude des Primitifs flamands 7. Les Mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa. Catalogue*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1977, vol. I, pp. 204–205, 169, 220–221; transcribed and illustrated in vol. II.

19 See Ceunen and Goossens at n. 14 above.

20 See Butkens at n. 7 above.

21 See Pinchart at n. 16 above, p. 137.

22 Vaughan, R., *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State*, new edition, Woodbridge, 2002, pp. 16–38.

23 Ibid., pp. 95–102 and Vaughan, R., *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy*, new edition, Woodbridge, 2002, pp. 51–53.

mother; Mary of Brabant his great-great aunt.¹⁴ The duke ordered several funerary monuments during his reign, but the duchesses' memorial in Brussels appears to be the only occasion when he commissioned a wall-mounted memorial tablet.¹⁵ However, it can be linked to an earlier restoration project and to two later tomb commissions, all funded by Philip and all commemorating similarly long-deceased and somewhat distant relatives. In 1435 Philip paid for the restoration of the late thirteenth-century tomb of Henry III, Duke of Brabant (d. 1261) and Adelaide of Burgundy (d. 1273) in the Dominican church at Leuven.¹⁶ Nearly twenty years later, in 1453, Philip ordered a splendid effigial tomb for Saint-Pierre church, Lille, to commemorate Louis of Mâle (d. 1384) and Margaret of Brabant (d. 1368), Count and Countess of Flanders, and their daughter, Margaret of Mâle (d. 1405) (Fig. 2).¹⁷ This was followed in 1459 by a closely-related tomb commissioned for the Carmelite church in Brussels to commemorate Joanna, Duchess of Brabant (d. 1406), and her great-great nephew, William of Burgundy (d. 1412) (Fig. 3).¹⁸ The three tombs and the memorial all featured prominent members of the House of Brabant: Joanna, Duchess of Brabant, Margaret, Countess of Flanders, and Mary, Duchess of Guelders, were sisters, the only surviving children of Mary of Evreux and John III of Brabant; John III was the great-grandson of Henry III of Brabant and Adelaide of Burgundy.¹⁹

In the cases of the memorial tablet and the two new tomb commissions, the length of time between the deaths of those commemorated and the erection of their funerary monuments meant that all three monuments were long overdue. Philip's efforts must partly have been simply to redress the neglect of his predecessors, which had perhaps become something of an embarrassment by the mid-fifteenth century — indeed, Butkens stated that Philip had erected the duchesses' tablet 'as the aforesaid graves had no memorial at the aforesaid convent'.²⁰ However, the dynastic significance of these Brabantine ancestors for the establishment of the Burgundian state must also have been an important motivation, as the 1435 payment for the restoration of the tomb of Henry of Brabant and Adelaide of Burgundy, in which the couple are referred to as Philip's *vorvaderen* — his forefathers, suggests.²¹ It was, after all, the marriage of Margaret of Mâle, daughter of Margaret of Brabant and Louis of Mâle, to Philip the Bold that had brought the county of Flanders under the rule of the Burgundian dukes,²² and it was Joanna of Brabant's cession of the duchy of Brabant to the house of Burgundy via Margaret of Mâle, her niece, that eventually led to Philip the Good's installation as its duke in 1430.²³ Philip's particular concern to ensure the suitable commemoration of the Brabantine duchesses in these

24 Hagopian-van Buren, A., 'Philip the Good's Manuscripts as Documents of his Relations with the Empire', in J.-M. Cauchies (ed.), *Pays bourguignons et terres d'Empire (XVe-XVIe s.): rapports politiques et institutionnels. Publications du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.), no. 36*, 1996, Neuchâtel, 1996, pp. 49–69, here p. 51. On cognatic succession in Brabant see Stein, R., 'Philip the Good and the German Empire. The Legitimation of the Burgundian Succession to the German Principalities', in the same volume, pp. 33–48.

25 Ibid., Stein, pp. 43–44; Hagopian-van Buren, pp. 50–51. See also Small, G., 'Les Chroniques de Hainaut et les projets d'historiographie régionale en langue française à la cour de Bourgogne', in C. van den Bergen-Pantens (ed.), *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les ambitions d'un prince bourguignon*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 17–22.

26 See Henne and Wauters at n. 6 above, vol. III, p. 118. John III was buried at the abbey of Villers, near Nivelles.

27 See Campbell at n. 18 above, p. 167.

28 Brussels, Royal Library, Mss. 9242–9244; see van den Bergen-Pantens at n. 25 above. For the acquisition of Hainaut see Vaughan, 2002b at n. 23 above, pp. 31–50.

monuments must relate to the fact that according to Brabant customary law the title to the duchy could pass through a woman. It was through this cognatic tradition that the house of Burgundy had come to inherit the duchy of Brabant and, as Anne Hagopian-van Buren noted, since female succession was not permitted elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, 'Philip's ambitions required him to insist on its legality in Brabant'.²⁴ This issue was evidently on Philip's mind in the early 1440s, since in 1442–43, shortly after the installation of the duchesses' memorial tablet, Philip ordered a chronicle of the dukes of Brabant from Emond de Dwynter (who had served as secretary to the last three dukes), which sought to prove the possibility of cognatic succession in the duchy.²⁵

Of the three new monuments Philip ordered, the memorial to the two duchesses at the Franciscan church was the earliest, commissioned when he had only been duke of Brabant for nine years. His patronage of their tablet must have served as a useful means of asserting his authority as the duchy's ruler at an institution in the heart of Brussels (the convent was built on the site of what is now the Bourse, a stone's throw from the Grand Place), which had enjoyed the especial favour of the Brabant dukes and duchesses throughout the previous century. John I of Brabant (d. 1294), his second wife, Margaret of Flanders (d. 1285), and his brother, Godfried, lord of Aarschot (d. 1302), were all buried there, along with Mary of Evreux and her daughter. Although Mary's husband, John III of Brabant, was buried elsewhere, he had granted to the Brussels Franciscans the right to three hundred donkey-loads (*ezellaeden*) of wood from the forest of Soignies each year on condition that they said masses for his soul after his death — this donation was confirmed by his successors, including Joanna of Brabant and Philip the Good.²⁶

It is evident, therefore, that these funerary monuments should be seen in the context of Philip's attempts to emphasise his links with the previous rulers of the territories he now governed and to assert his legitimacy to his subjects in those areas. For example, as Lorne Campbell noted, it was perhaps no coincidence that Philip signed the contract for the tomb of Louis of Mâle, Count of Flanders, only three months after the revolt in the key Flemish city of Ghent was suppressed.²⁷ Similarly, Philip's commission of the three-volume translation of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* in 1446–48 served to underline his right to rule the county of Hainaut, which Jacqueline of Bavaria, its countess, had been coerced into conceding to Philip in 1433.²⁸ Although Rogier van der Weyden never held a salaried court position like Jan van Eyck had, he enjoyed the repeated patronage of Philip throughout this period. Apparently

29 See Campbell at n. 18 above.

30 Campbell, L., 'Rogier van der Weyden and Manuscript Illumination', in E. Morrison and T. Kren (eds.), *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context. Recent Research*, Los Angeles, 2006, pp. 87–102. See also van den Bergen-Pantens at n. 25 above.

31 For John I's tomb see Ceunen and Goossens at n. 14 above, cat. 20, pp. 64–68.

32 See Campbell at n. 18 above, pp. 168–169, for the cost of these tombs.

33 Ibid.

34 See McGee Morganstern and Hamilton at n. 17 above.

the Duke found in Rogier a sympathetic and highly versatile artist whose formidable talents were well suited to Philip's propagandistic endeavours. Not only did Rogier polychrome and perhaps design the two duchesses' memorial tablet, but he also painted the wooden figures on Joanna of Brabant's tomb and may have been responsible for the design of Louis of Mâle's tomb.²⁹ Moreover, as has recently been shown, Rogier himself illuminated the extraordinary presentation miniature of the first volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, showing Philip surrounded by his courtiers.³⁰

The form of monument erected by Philip to the two duchesses was in itself somewhat unusual. Although members of the nobility were sometimes commemorated in sculpted wall tablets, these tend to date from before the mid-fifteenth century and were for those of no more than seigneurial rank, like Bauduin de Hénin (Fig. 1). Nobles of ducal rank were almost always commemorated with much grander monuments, in the form of wall- or free-standing effigial tombs, in the manner of the tombs of Louis of Mâle and Joanna of Brabant (Figs. 2, 3). The choice of a more modest monument for the two duchesses could simply have been due to lack of space, since the Franciscan church's choir already contained the chest tomb of Duke John I of Brabant and his wife, and it was perhaps felt inappropriate for it to have to compete with a second tomb for two less important individuals.³¹ However, it might also have been for reasons of thrift: the total cost of the duchesses' memorial in January 1440 came to 109 pounds and twelve shillings of forty Flemish groats per pound, a sum roughly equivalent to about one-third of the cost of Joanna of Brabant's tomb and about one-twentieth of the cost of Louis of Mâle's tomb.³² Despite Philip the Good's propagandistic ambitions and concern to demonstrate his princely magnificence, he was not averse to economising when the opportunity arose. As Campbell showed, the carved wooden figures from which the bronze casts for Louis of Mâle's tomb were made were cleaned and then polychromed by Rogier for re-use, at greatly reduced cost, on Joanna of Brabant's tomb, a few years later.³³ The hierarchy of expenditure in these monuments would appear to reflect the relative dynastic importance to Philip of the ancestors they commemorated.

In Louis of Mâle's tomb, Philip's patronage and relationship to those commemorated was alluded to by his presence as one of the twenty-four bronze figures of Louis's descendants set along the four sides of the tomb and by an inscription recording that it had been made at Philip's request.³⁴ The memorial to the two duchesses in Brussels also made comparable reference to its patron on the wooden wings with which it was fitted. Shortly after the payment of 19 January 1440, Rogier van



FIG. 4 Memorial tablet of Antoine de Tramecourt, c. 1478, white, northern-French limestone, Notre-Dame church, Saint-Omer. (Photograph: Douglas Brine)

35 See Appendix.

36 As seen for example in Rogier's *Chroniques de Hainaut* frontispiece.

37 On contemporary terms and meanings for 'portrait' see Campbell, L., *Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*, New Haven and London, 1990, pp. 1–2.

der Weyden received an additional six pounds for painting the Duke's *devisen*, together with those of the two duchesses, on the wings on which he had previously painted *die pourtraiture* of the Duke.³⁵ The *devisen* were presumably the sparking flint and steel emblem used by Philip,³⁶ while his *pourtraiture* could have been a portrait likeness but was more probably his coat of arms.³⁷ In any case, Rogier's additions would have made the identity of the distinguished patron of the memorial tablet abundantly clear to its viewers.

38 Hinges remain on the sculpted memorials of Pierre de Pérenchies (d. 1412; Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts), Jean Coquillan (d. 1455; Saint-Omer, Notre-Dame church) and an unknown man (Brabant?, c. 1500; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). On winged memorial tablets see Brine at n. 2 above, pp. 138–141.

39 Gil, M., and L. Nys, *Saint-Omer gothique. Les arts figuratifs à Saint-Omer à la fin du Moyen Âge 1250–1550*, Valenciennes, 2004, pp. 241, 357, 375.

40 Vander Linden, H., *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1419–1467) et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433–1467)*, Brussels, 1940, pp. 189–196.

41 On which see Brine, D., 'Evidence for the forms and usage of early Netherlandish memorial paintings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 71, 2008.

42 The tablet is currently installed in the north aisle of the choir of Tournai Cathedral. At the time of writing it is encased in a protective wooden box and surrounded by scaffolding due to the long-term restoration of the choir. I am indebted to Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Laurent Deléhouzée for kindly providing me with access to the memorial in September 2006.

43 '+ Dieu par sa grasce ait les ames de feu Jeha(n) du sart jadis bo(u)rgois de To(u)rnay et marcha(n)t et de / Demis(ell)e Margrite de gerles son espeuse . ly quez a ordon(n)e de canter en ceste eglise p(er)petueleme(n)t / le p(ro)chain lundi deva(n)t le candeler vii obiit do(n)t les dames de l'ospital du bruille o(n)t / po(u)r ca(n)ter (et) aud(it) jo(ur) son(n)er . xxviii. s(ous). t(ournois) po(ur) . xiii . poutres dinner avec / ce aud(it) jo(ur) . xx s(ous). t(ournois) de blanc pain . lx . s(ous) . [t(ournois)]. le quel Jeha(n) t(re)spassa / la(n) . M. III^c. LVI. le . II^e. daoust (et) le demis(ell)e la(n). mil. III^c. XXXV', as transcribed by Nys at n. 2 above, p. 259.

No such memorials have survived intact but it is clear from written sources and the remains of hinges on some existing tablets that it was not uncommon for sculpted wall memorials to have been fitted with painted wings.³⁸ At the collegiate church of Saint-Omer, where several well-documented memorials to its canons survive, winged tablets appear to have been popular. Although Antoine de Tramecourt's memorial (Fig. 4) now lacks its wings and hinges, the canon's 1478 mortuary account records a similar set of payments to those for the duchesses' memorial in Brussels. The sculptor Jehan Rogier was paid for supplying and carving the stone for the tablet, a metalworker provided a set of iron hinges, and the painter Jehan Steven was paid for polychroming the sculpture 'with gold, azure and several other colours' and for painting its two wooden shutters with 'four figures in flat painting'.³⁹ Although most of the documented Saint-Omer memorials date from later in the century it may be no coincidence that Philip spent most of the latter half of 1439 at Saint-Omer and was perhaps inspired by winged tablets he saw there to commission one of similar form for Brussels.⁴⁰

There is little direct evidence for the function and usage of memorial tablet wings. It is probable that they were attached simply for the protection of the sculptures within and could have been opened and closed along with the altarpieces in the church, according to the requirements of the liturgy. They must also have been opened on the occasion of the obit masses for the deceased, as seems to have been the case for painted memorial triptychs.⁴¹ Principally though, the addition of wings in effect provided four more potential surfaces that could be adorned with imagery, thus permitting a greater complexity of content in a memorial. In the duchesses' tablet the wings painted by Rogier gave Philip the Good a means of presenting himself as the rightful ruler of Brabant, dutifully honouring the memory of his predecessors.

The individuals commemorated in the second sculpted wall memorial under discussion were of far less exalted status than the Duchesses of Brabant and Guelders, although their memorial can also be linked to Rogier van der Weyden and, like the duchesses' memorial, it was originally equipped with wings, as evidenced by the remains of four iron hinges on its sides. This tablet is carved in white, northern-French limestone and shows a Nativity scene, with the Virgin, Joseph and two angels adoring the Christ-Child as shepherds peer through the stable window at the right (Fig. 5).⁴² Across the underside of the memorial an inscription identifies those commemorated as 'the late Jehan du Sart, formerly burgess of Tournai and merchant' and '*demoiselle* Marguerite de Guerles his spouse', who died in 1456 and 1435 respectively (Fig. 6).⁴³



FIG. 5 Memorial tablet of Jehan du Sart and Marguerite de Guerles, 1456–57, white, northern-French limestone, Notre-Dame cathedral, Tournai. (Photograph: IRPA-KIK, Brussels)



FIG. 6 (above) Detail of inscription on memorial tablet of Jehan du Sart and Marguerite de Guerles. (Photograph: IRPA-KIK, Brussels)



FIG. 7 (below) Detail of memorial tablet of Jehan du Sart and Marguerite de Guerles. (Photograph: Douglas Brine)

44 Described in *ibid.*

45 On the title *demoiselle sec* Campbell, L., 'Brussels and Tournai', in Nys and Vanwijnsberghe at n. 10 above, pp. 113–123, here p. 115.

46 Du Chastel de la Howardries-Neuvi-reuil, P.-A., *Notices généalogiques tournaisiennes dressées sur titres*, 3 vols., Tournai, 1881–87, vol. III, pp. 602, 893, 912. Vergelois was city magistrate repeatedly between 1459 and 1474, a juror in 1473, and churchwarden of Saint-Jacques parish in 1474. An extract from Jehan du Sart's will was published by de la Grange at n. 1 above, pp. 274–275, no. 966.

Their identity is confirmed by the coats of arms in the tracery spandrels at the upper two corners of the tablet.⁴⁴ Since they are not shown in the carved central scene, it is likely that paintings on the wings formerly attached to the tablet portrayed the couple kneeling in prayer.

The couple were probably gentle-born since they bore coats of arms and Marguerite is titled *demoiselle*, implying that both her parents were of gentle birth.⁴⁵ They had at least two children: Noël, named in Jehan du Sart's will, and Jehenne, who married Willaume Vergelois, a Burgess of Tournai from 1451 and subsequently a city magistrate and juror.⁴⁶ Jehan du Sart and his wife were evidently prosperous townspeople, representative of a social class newly equipped in the fifteenth century with the economic power to commission works of art such as this. The tablet inscription also records the charitable donations that Jehan

47 See n. 43 above.

48 The tomb slab text was: 'Chy desoubz ce marbre gist Jehan du Sart, en son temps brasseur et marchand de blés, vins et autres denrées, liquelz en son vivant fonda ung obit qu'on doit canter chacun an en ceste église le premier lundy de février perpétuellement'; see de la Grange at n. 1 above, p. 275.

49 The figure on the left appears to be St James the Major; the figure on the right is unidentified and was inaccessible when I viewed the monument.

50 Maeterlinck, L., 'Une sculpture votive tournaisienne inconnue du XV^e siècle', *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, vol. 60, 1900–01, pp. 19–24, here p. 23.

51 'Je eslis ma sépulture en l'église de S. Nicolay ou Bruille, desoubz ung marbre, au plus près du piller de le cappielle de le Fontaine, laquelle place me fu à ce ottroyé quand je donnay le bénitoir'; see de la Grange at n. 1 above, p. 274. On Saint-Nicolas see Cloquet, L., 'Notice sur l'église paroissiale de Saint-Nicolas à Tournai', *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, vol. 17, 1882, pp. 333–363.

52 On the chapel and its image see Brine at n. 2 above, pp. 93–97.

53 See Nys at n. 2 above, pp. 98–100 and at n. 9 above, pp. 159–160.

made, whereby the nuns of the Saint-Nicolas de Bruille hospital sang obit masses for them annually, on the last Monday before Candlemas in return for him having paid for thirteen poor people to dine that day and for them to be given white bread.⁴⁷ No doubt these donations were financed by Jehan's mercantile activities. In his will of 27 July 1456, made six days before his death, the text he specified to be inscribed on his tomb slab described Jehan as 'brewer and merchant of grain, wine and other commodities'.⁴⁸

The form of the du Sart memorial, carved on a curved block of stone with standing figures of saints at either side of the main scene,⁴⁹ is unlike any other extant Netherlandish tablet (Figs. 5, 7). This curved shape is explicable by the original setting of the monument. Although now housed in Tournai Cathedral, its early nineteenth-century provenance was to the church of Saint-Nicolas in Tournai.⁵⁰ This is corroborated by Jehan du Sart's will, which stated that he was to be buried at Saint-Nicolas by the pier nearest to the Fontaine chapel, a location 'which was granted to me when I donated the holy water basin'.⁵¹ The Fontaine chapel forms the north transept of the church and was founded by Bauduin de Hénin-Liétard, seigneur of Fontaine-l'Evêque, whose memorial at Saint-Nicolas is discussed above (Fig. 1). The chapel was constructed in the early years of the fifteenth century and housed a venerated statue of the Virgin known as 'Notre-Dame de Fontaine'.⁵² Presumably it was the desire to be buried within sight of this image that had prompted Jehan du Sart to donate the holy water basin to Saint-Nicolas church. His grave therefore was towards the end of the north side of the nave, by the easternmost pier before the choir. Installed on this pier above Jehan's grave slab would have been the memorial tablet, its curved form following the profile of the column. The placement of the inscription along the memorial's sloping underside (Fig. 6) indicates that it was placed fairly high up against this pier, perhaps around head height.

The memorial's format and intended location also explain the choice of stone from which it is carved. The famous local black Tournai limestone was widely used for tomb sculpture and memorial tablets, but the stratified nature of the beds from which it was quarried meant that the stone was rather brittle, acceptable for low relief sculpture but unsuited to larger scale or more three-dimensional sculpture. For more complex, high relief works — such as the du Sart tablet — softer, white, northern-French limestone, usually from Avesnes-le-Sec, tended to be employed instead.⁵³

Despite the damage and abrasion the du Sart memorial has sustained, its composition and imagery are clearly of far greater sophistication than



FIG. 8 Detail of memorial tablet of Jehan du Sart and Marguerite de Guerles. (Photograph: Douglas Brine)

54 See Maeterlinck at n. 50 above.

55 See Nys at n. 2 above, cat. XLIII, pp. 258–260 and references. For the 'Bladelin' Triptych see de Vos, D., *Rogier van der Weyden. The Complete Works*, Antwerp, 1999, cat. 15, pp. 242–248.

56 Rolland, P., 'Quelques textes relatifs à Robert Campin', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1932, pp. 49–57, here p. 51, and Rolland, P., *Les Primitifs tournaisiens. Peintres & sculpteurs*, Brussels and Paris, 1932, pp. 72–73.

57 Alte Pinakothek; see de Vos at n. 55 above, cat. 21, pp. 276–284.

the vast majority of existing memorial tablets. Rather than the standard formula of a centrally positioned Holy Trinity or Virgin and Child with kneeling mortals and patron saints at either side (e.g. Fig. 1), the du Sart tablet presents a carefully arranged narrative scene within a complex architectural setting. Several aspects, such as the way in which the Virgin's robe trails over the front edge of the tablet and the naturalistic detail, seen for example in the shepherd group (Figs. 6, 8), bring to mind contemporary Netherlandish painting. Indeed, ever since it was first published in 1901,⁵⁴ authors have repeatedly remarked upon the close similarity the memorial has to the work of Rogier van der Weyden, especially the centre panel of his 'Bladelin' Triptych in Berlin, datable to c. 1445–48 (Fig. 9).⁵⁵ Comparison, for instance, of the Virgin and dim-inutive angels adoring Christ in the two works reveals the du Sart sculpture's obvious debt to Rogier's painting. Additionally Paul Rolland drew attention to the tablet's affinities with the Master of Flémalle's Dijon *Nativity*, notably the shepherd group at the window to the right,⁵⁶ and the tablet also paraphrases elements of other works, such as the central panel of Rogier's Columba Triptych in Munich.⁵⁷



FIG. 9 Rogier van der Weyden, *Nativity* from 'Bladelin' Triptych, c. 1445–48, oil on panel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. (Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin/ Art Resource, New York)

58 Stroo, C., and P. Syfer-d'Olne, *The Flemish Primitives I. The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden Groups. Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Painting in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium*, Brussels, 1996, cat. 9, pp. 130–151.

59 Ainsworth, M. W., and K. Christiansen (eds.), *From Van Eyck to Bruegel. Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998, cat. 45, pp. 212–216.

However, examination of the du Sart memorial reveals that in fact it is closer to some of the Nativity scenes in paintings attributed to Rogier's workshop, rather than to Rogier himself. For example, the Virgin and Child and angels group is closely paralleled by those on the left wing of the Sforza Triptych in Brussels, painted by a workshop assistant in c. 1444–45 or c. 1460 (Fig. 10),⁵⁸ and in the central scene of the Cloisters *Nativity* polyptych in New York, attributed to Rogier's workshop and dendrochronologically dated to 1459 or later (Fig. 11).⁵⁹ In the latter picture, the parallel juxtaposition of the ox and ass against the picket fence at the back of the stable is also strikingly close to that seen in the sculpted tablet (Fig. 12).

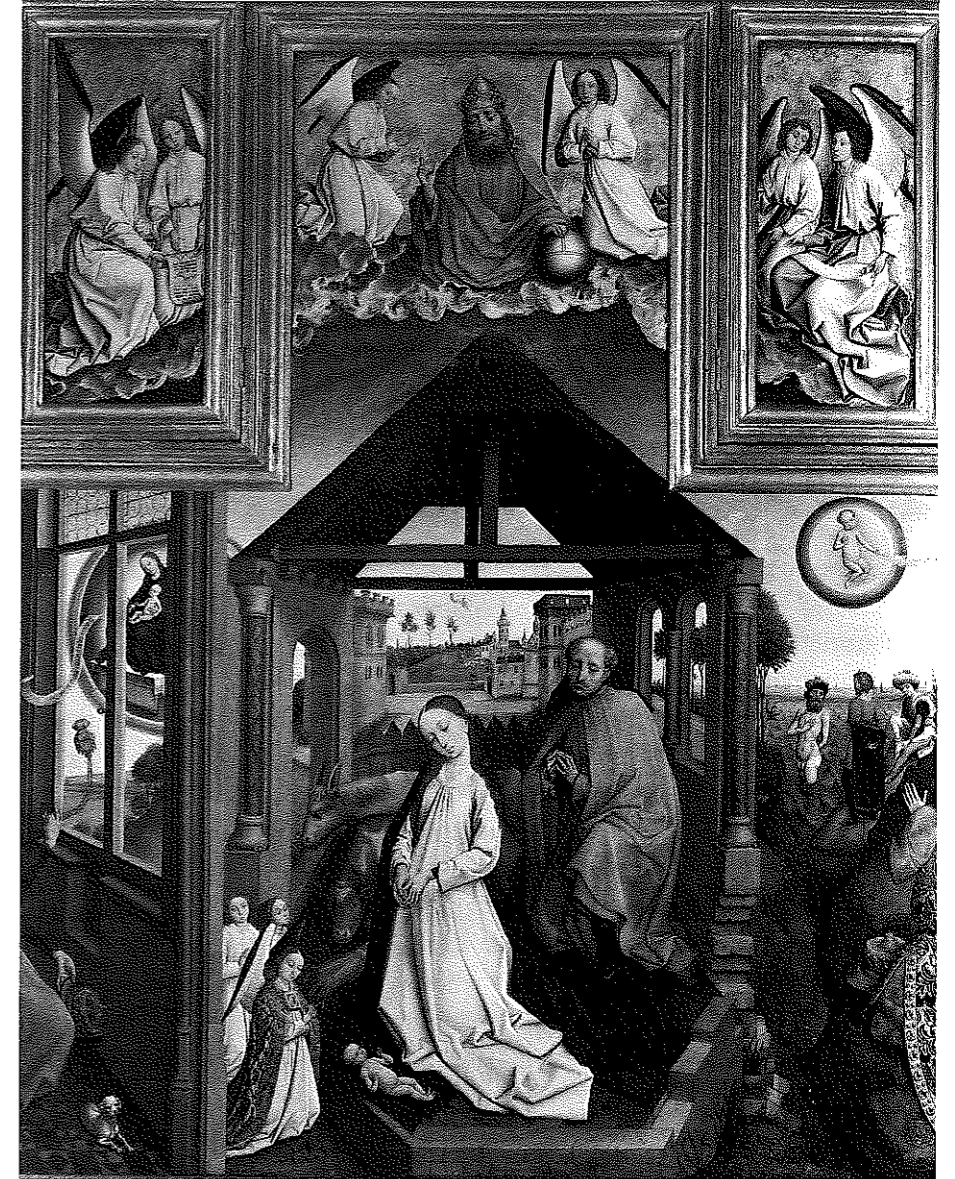
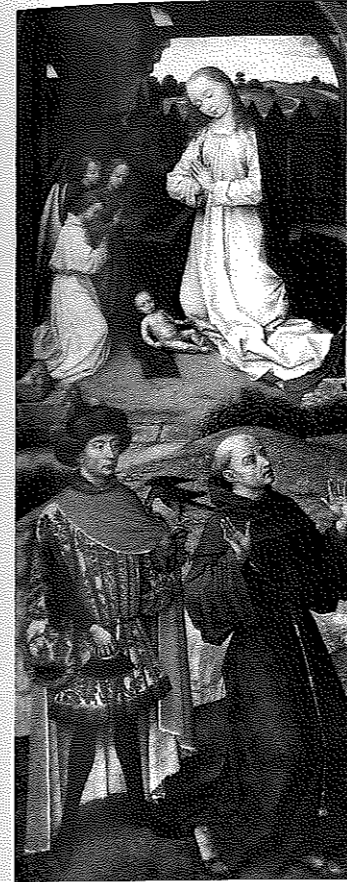


FIG. 10 (left) Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, *Nativity* from Sforza Triptych, c. 1444–45 or c. 1460, oil on panel, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. (Photograph: IRPA-KIK, Brussels)

FIG. 11 (right) Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, *Nativity* polyptych, c. 1459–60, oil on panel, The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



FIG. 12 Detail of memorial tablet of Jehan du Sart and Marguerite de Guerles. (Photograph: Douglas Brine)

60 Grosshans, R., 'Infrarotuntersuchungen zum Studium der Unterzeichnung auf den Berliner Altären von Rogier van der Weyden', *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, vol. 9, 1982, pp. 137–177, here pp. 154–173.

61 See Ainsworth and Christiansen at n. 59 above, pp. 213–216.

62 Van Asperen de Boer, J.R.J., J. Dijkstra, and R. van Schoute, *Underdrawing in the Paintings of the Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle Groups* (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, vol. 41, 1990), Zwolle, 1992, pp. 202–221, especially p. 210.

63 The same picket fence also appears in Hans Memling's *Floreins Triptych* in Bruges, providing further evidence that Memling had spent time in Rogier's workshop; *ibid.*, p. 221.

Intriguingly, infra-red examination of the underdrawing of Rogier's 'Bladelin' Triptych revealed that inscribed banderoles were planned as part of the initial design for both the Tiburtine Sibyl and right-hand Christ-Child but were never actually painted.⁶⁰ The painted surface of the Cloisters *Nativity*, though, does feature these banderoles, indicating that its painter saw the 'Bladelin' Triptych during its planning stages or at least that he had access to Rogier's preparatory drawings for it.⁶¹ In addition, infra-red examination of the central panel of Rogier's *Columba Triptych* showed that the back of the stable was initially intended to have a wooden picket fence, which was underdrawn and partially painted, but then repainted with the crumbling wall and landscape now visible.⁶² However, this picket fence does appear on the painted surfaces of the *Nativities* in the *Sforza Triptych* and the *Cloisters polyptych*, and in the du Sart memorial relief (Figs. 10, 11, 12). Thus it appears that the designer of the relief, like the painters of the Brussels and Cloisters pictures, had direct access to Rogierian workshop patterns.⁶³ Moreover, the memorial's inscription records that Jehan du Sart had died in August 1456 and so it must have been commissioned by his executors shortly afterwards, meaning that — unlike the majority of sculptures influenced by Rogier van der Weyden, which generally post-date his death — the tablet was made well within Rogier's lifetime.

64 Goovaerts, A., 'Les Ordonnances données en 1480 à Tournai, aux métiers des peintres et des verriers', *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire de Belgique*, 5th series, vol. 6, 1896, pp. 97–182, here pp. 118–119, 155–156 (articles 11 and 12). However, the children of 'mirror-makers, embroiderers, tomb engravers, tapestry weavers and others' could learn to design for the purposes of their metier from their fathers or other masters of their respective craft.

65 On this issue see Nys at n. 2 above, pp. 95–98 and at n. 9, pp. 115–116.

66 See Campbell at n. 45 above. For the Braque Triptych (Paris, Musée du Louvre) see Lorentz, P., and M. Comblen-Sonkes, *Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la Principauté de Liège au quinzième siècle*. 19 *Musée du Louvre Paris III*, 2 vols., Brussels, 2001, vol. I, no. 193, pp. 133–184.

67 As suggested in Destrée, J., review of L. Maeterlinck, 'Roger van der Weyden et les imaigiers de Tournai', *Archives belges. Revue critique d'historiographie nationale*, III, 1901, pp. 128–129. Bart Franssen (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) is currently writing a doctoral thesis on Brussels stone sculpture at the time of Rogier van der Weyden.

68 See Rolland, 1932b, at n. 56 above, pp. 74–75. It measures 174 cm across.

69 As proposed in Campbell at n. 45 above, p. 123. See also Campbell, L., 'The Workshop of the van der Weyden Family', in F. Gombert (ed.), *Le Maître au Feuillage brodé. Démarches d'artistes et méthodes d'attribution d'oeuvres à un peintre anonyme des anciens Pays-Bas du XV^e siècle. Colloque organisé par le Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille les 23 et 24 juin 2005*, Paris, 2007, pp. 45–54.

This raises the question as to who would have designed this memorial. Despite painters' efforts throughout the fifteenth century to assert their right to design works in other media, sculptors of memorial tablets did not always rely on painters for their design. Significantly, while the 1480 Tournai guild regulations place great emphasis on the importance of design within the painter's craft, they also make provision for craftsmen from other trades to learn to design themselves, as long as they are trained by a master painter.⁶⁴ It does seem that graphic models were used by memorial tablet sculptors and, in certain cases, the degree of repetition between different works indicates that they were based on stock patterns that were in circulation. From the (admittedly limited) available evidence it may be surmised that when a memorial tablet featured standard imagery, such as the seated Virgin and Child, patron saints and generic praying figures, the sculptor would have just based his design on patterns in his own stock. On occasions when more complex or atypical imagery was required a painter could have been called upon to supply a *patron* or design for tablet.⁶⁵

In the case of the du Sart memorial, its unusually sophisticated composition suggests the involvement of a painter in the design, and, in view of its style and early date, this painter must have been in some way associated with Rogier van der Weyden and his workshop. Several possible scenarios may explain this. For example, the painter-designer may have copied Rogierian *Nativity* paintings available in Tournai, especially since Rogier himself maintained close links with the city throughout his life and in c. 1452 had accepted the commission for the Braque Triptych from Jehan Braque's widow there.⁶⁶ It could also be argued that the Rogierian character of the du Sart memorial is due to it having been made in Brussels and then exported to Tournai.⁶⁷ Although possible, given the importance of Tournai as a sculptural centre in its own right, this seems unlikely. Moreover, the du Sart memorial is not the only Rogierian stone sculpture in the city. An imposing carved fragment from a *Descent from the Cross* (Fig. 13), derived from Rogier's *Descent* now in the Prado, survives in Tournai Cathedral and may even have been carved by the same sculptor as the du Sart memorial. Like the du Sart memorial, it has a provenance to Saint-Nicolas church and although nothing is known about its original setting or function, it must have formed part of a large-scale retable or even a memorial.⁶⁸

One possible conduit by which these Rogierian designs found their way into Tournai sculpture is the painter Louisle Duc, the son of Rogier's sister, Agnès van der Weyden. On 12 May 1453, just three years before the du Sart memorial was carved, Louis registered as a master of the Tournai painters' guild. Although born in Tournai, Louis was



FIG. 13 Fragment from a *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1450–60, white, northern-French limestone, Notre-Dame cathedral, Tournai. (Photograph: Douglas Brine)

70 Schoutet, A., *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge* (Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae II), vol. I: A–K, Brussels, 1989, pp. 182–183 and references. Louis's arrival may have had something to do with the delivery or installation of Rogier's paintings at the Prinsenhof and Saint James's church in Bruges, seen by Albrecht Dürer in 1521, see Stechow, W., *Northern Renaissance Art 1400–1600. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, 1966, p. 102.

71 As translated in *ibid.* Stechow, p. 28. The original text is: 'Et de Tournay, plain d'engin célestin / Maistre Loys, dont tant discret fut l'œil', quoted in Eichberger, D., *Leben mit Kunst — Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*, Turnhout, 2002, p. 351; see also pp. 334–337, 349–352, 404–405 on Lemaire and his poem.

72 *Ibid.* (Eichberger) is the most recent and thorough account of Margaret's collections and their display.

73 Campbell, L., *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, London, 1998, pp. 25–28.

not trained there since his name is absent from the city's guild lists of apprentices. It is highly likely that he trained with his famous uncle in Brussels before returning to their native city to set up his own business, which perhaps — at least on occasions — functioned as a kind of Tournai branch of Rogier's Brussels workshop.⁶⁹ Louis later moved to Bruges, becoming a master of the painters' and saddlers' guild in 1460 and a burgher of the city the following year.⁷⁰ He evidently became an artist of some renown: in 1505 the poet Jean Lemaire de Belges included Louis in the pantheon of artists cited in the *Couronne margaritique*, an allegorical poem written in honour of Lemaire's patron, Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands:

And then from Tournai, full of gifts divine,
Came Master Loys of th'unfailing eye.⁷¹

The artists named in Lemaire's poem appear to reflect Margaret's artistic tastes since some of them, like Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, were represented in her sizeable collection of early Netherlandish pictures.⁷² Louis le Duc's presence in the poem implies that he was familiar to Margaret and perhaps that she even owned works by him.

The gathering of a collection of reference drawings was an essential component of every painter's training.⁷³ The re-use by Rogier's grandson, Goosen van der Weyden, of his grandfather's portrait of Isabella of Portugal for the head of the donatrix in Goosen's *Donation of Kalmthout* panel of 1511 attests to the circulation of Rogier's drawings among

74 Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; see Campbell, L., 'The Early Netherlandish Painters and their Workshops', in D. Hollander-Favart and R. van Schoute (eds.), *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque III 6–7–8 septembre 1979. Le problème Maître de Flémalle — van der Weyden*, Louvain-la Neuve, 1981, pp. 43–61, here p. 53.

75 See Mactierlinck at n. 50 above, p. 23.

the van der Weyden family.⁷⁴ If Louis was apprenticed to his uncle in Brussels, then he too must have amassed a portfolio of copy drawings of Rogier's designs. The date of the du Sart memorial, 1456–57, coincides exactly with the period of Louis le Duc's documented presence in Tournai and it is plausible that it was one such drawing that formed the basis for the design of the du Sart tablet. In addition, the tablet was described in 1848 as extensively painted and gilded (although virtually none of this now remains) and it also may have been Louis le Duc who undertook the polychromy of the tablet and the painting of the wings with which it was originally equipped, very much in the manner of his uncle's contributions to the duchesses' memorial in Brussels, some fifteen years earlier.⁷⁵ For Jehan du Sart's executors, the commissioning of a Rogierian memorial, perhaps designed and painted by the master's nephew, enabled them to obtain an impressive and innovative work that was recognisably, if indirectly, a product of Rogier's workshop, and allowing them, at least on some level, to emulate the famed master's more aristocratic patrons at the Burgundian court.

Compared to other categories of fifteenth-century Netherlandish sculpture, carved wall memorials have the particular virtue of being rather well documented and it is sometimes possible to deduce a great deal about the circumstances of their creation and the motivations of their commissioners. In this respect, both the lost Brussels memorial to the duchesses of Brabant and Guelders polychromed by Rogier and the surviving Tournai memorial to Jehan du Sart and his wife based on one of his designs demonstrate the especial interest of these objects. It is apparent that sculpted wall memorials can offer important evidence, ripe for further exploitation, for the symbiotic relationships between painting and sculpture, and between painters and sculptors, in early Netherlandish art.

APPENDIX

Payments for the sculpted wall memorial of Mary of Evreux, Duchess of Brabant, and Mary of Brabant, Duchess of Guelders, from the account of the Receipt General of Brabant, 1439-40, as published by A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*, 3 vols., Ghent, 1860, vol. I, pp. 115-116, with references to Brussels, Archives du royaume, Chambre des Comptes, Reg. 2411, fol. 87r and Reg. 2412.

Aan Peteren Van der Eycken betaelt de somme van cix l. xij s., vlaemschen munten, te xl grooten, 't pont, voer diverse personen ende om der redenen wille hierna vereleert, te wetene:

- Janne Van Evere, beeldesnydere te Bruessele, om te hebbene gemaect in witte steene eene taeffele daerinne is eene beelde van Onser-Vrouwen ende ij anderen, d'ecne van vrouwen Marien, wilen hertogynne van Brabant, ende d'andere van vrouwen Marien, wilen hertogynne van Ghelre, met schildekens van Mynsheeren divisien, dairom omtrent voir al mit vorweerden iegen hem gemaect, xxxvij ridders, te iij grooten vlaemschen munten, 't stuck;
- brueder Andriese Van Yssche, minderbruedere te Brussel, voor ij metsers om eene lyst, te makene van steene; om de voirschreve taeffele dair op te settenen, van iij dagen, elken te iij s. vlaemschen s'daeghs, maken lxij s.;
- denselven d'welc by betaelt heeft eenen anderen metsere, omme den muer op te brekene ende de voirschreve taeffele daerinne te settene, voir v dage, xx s., munten voirschreven;
- item, voor eenen opperknape die de voirschreven metsers diende vj dage lanc, ij s. vij d. s'daighs, val. xvj s., munten voirschreven;
- item, voer savele, calc, vracht: vj s.;
- item, voer ij andere persone die de voirschreven taeffele hebben geholpen opsetten, elken voire ij dage, te iij s. s'daighs, val. xvj s.;
- item, eenen scrynmakere, voer ij vensteren dair de voirschreven taeffele mede besloten is, ende t'hout daertoe leverde: xvj s.;
- item, eenen slootmakere, voor laecxkens ende eenen slote dairtoe dienende: xij s., ende voire eene lattenene platte daironder om den tytele ende namen van den voirschreven vrouwen inne te settene, wegende xxx l., te iij s. 't pont, val. iij l. x s.;
- meester Rogier, schildere, omme de voirschreve taeffele te stofferene van diversen rikeliken veruwen met vorwerden yegen hem gemaect xl ridders, te l grooten vleems 't stuck, comende voirschreven partien t'samen, als blyet by Mynvoirschreven Heeren openen brieven, gegeven xix in januario xiiijc xxxix, hiermit quitancie van den voirschrevene Janne Van Evere, brueder Andriese ende meester Rogiere, elken van sinen aengedeelte, met certifficacien van meester Cornelyse Lambrechts op te voirschreven partien, t'samen overgegeven te hove, ter voirschreven somme van cix l. xij s., vlaemschen munten voirschreven, val. munten deser rekening clxiiij l. vij s.

Meester Rogier, schildere, om te hebbene, ter ordinantie van Mynenheere gemaect die devisen van Mynenheere ende Mynrevrouwen den hertogynnen aen de veynstere dair men met slut in der kercken van den minderbruederen, te Brussel, die pourtraiture die Mynvoirschreven Heere dair heeft gedaen maken, by voirwairden mit hem overcomen, om vj liv.

Translation

Paid to Pieter van der Eycken the sum of 109 pounds, 12 shillings, Flemish money of 40 groats per pound, for several people and on account of what is written here below, namely:

- Jan van Evere, sculptor of Brussels, for having made in white stone a tablet in which there is an image of Our Lady and two others, one of lady Marie, deceased duchess of Brabant, and the other of lady Marie, deceased duchess of Guelders, with coats of arms of My Lord's devises, in accordance with the agreement made with him, 38 riders, of 4 groats Flemish money per piece;
- Brother Andriese van Yssche, friar minor of Brussels, for two masons to make a stone frame on which to set the aforementioned tablet, for four days, each of 4 shillings Flemish [money] per day, making 64 shillings;
- To the same who had paid another mason, in order to break the wall and to set the aforementioned tablet in there, for five days, 20 shillings, of the aforementioned money;
- Item, for a labourer who helped the aforementioned masons for six days, 2 shillings, 8 pence per day, worth 16 shillings of the aforementioned money;

- Item, for sand, lime, transport: 6 shillings;
- Item, for two other people who had helped install the aforementioned tablet, each for two days, at 4 shillings per day, worth 16 shillings;
- Item, a joiner, for two shutters with which the aforementioned tablet is closed, and the wood supplied for it: 16 shillings;
- Item, a locksmith, for hinges and a lock for it: 14 shillings, and for a latten plate beneath on which to put the title and names of the aforementioned ladies, weighing 30 pounds, at 3 shillings per pound, worth 4 pounds, 10 shillings;
- Master Rogier, painter, in order to furnish the aforementioned tablet with various rich colours [in accordance] with the agreement made with him, 40 riders, of 1 Flemish groat per piece; the aforementioned parties came together, in accordance with My aforementioned Lord's letters patent, given on 19 January 1439, herewith receipts for the aforementioned Jan van Evere, brother Andriese and master Rogier, each one was dealt his part, with certification from master Cornelis Lambrechts on the aforementioned parts, handed over together at the palace[?], the aforementioned sum of 109 pounds, 12 shillings, of aforementioned Flemish money, worth money of this account 164 pounds, 8 shillings.

Master Rogier, painter, for having, by decree of My Lord, made the devises of My Lord and My Ladies the duchesses on the closing shutters in the church of the Friars Minor, at Brussels, on which he had made the representation of My aforementioned Lord, as agreed beforehand with him, for 6 pounds.