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Glass, Stained Glass, and Stone Sculpture. Master Jean of Tournai (fl. 1318–1329), among other Glaziers in the first half of the 14th Century in North-Eastern Catalonia

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Du verre au vitrail et à la sculpture en pierre. Maître Jean de Tournai et son temps –Résumé

Vers l'an 1300, la ville de Gérone était l'une des plus dynamiques de la principauté de Catalogne et, par extension, de toute la couronne d'Aragon. Tout d'abord, il faut tenir compte de la situation géographique et stratégique de la ville, à mi-chemin entre les deux capitales de la Catalogne médiévale, Perpignan et Barcelone. Cette situation avantageuse a également conduit logiquement à une prépondérance commerciale et administrative (siège du diocèse depuis le IV^e siècle), à qui seulement la capitale voisine du comté d'Empúries, Castelló, a parfois fait de l'ombre. Si on choisit de se concentrer sur ce triangle urbain, d'un point de vue artistique, on note l'arrivée d'artistes originaires du nord, qui vont fournir une nouvelle main

d'œuvre, spécialisée en tout ce qui concerne le développement de l'Opus francigenum, dans différents arts, dont l'architecture et la décoration des grandes fenêtres. Le plus important est peut-être ce maître Jean de Tournai, qui toutefois a été lié à des projets de sculpture mais qui, on en croit les archives, est toujours nommé exclusivement comme « verrier ». L'importance des peintres-verriers étrangers dans cette région à l'époque, et certaines découvertes récentes, permettent une approche plus précise de l'œuvre d'un artiste qui incarne l'idée du verrier entrepreneur à plusieurs facettes : verrier et peintre-verrier, dessinateur et décorateur de tombeaux, dirigeant un atelier et entouré, bien-sûr, d'autres maîtres et élèves, dont des verriers et des sculpteurs.

Glass, stained-glass, and stone sculpture. Master Jean of Tournai in 14th-century North-eastern Catalonia – Abstract

Around the year 1300, the city of Girona was one of the most dynamic cities in the Principality of Catalonia and, by extension, one of the most important ones of the entire Crown of Aragon. First of all, it is necessary to take into account the geographical and strategic situation of the city on the old Roman road, half-way between the two ancient capitals of medieval Catalonia, Perpignan and Barcelona. This advantageous location naturally led to commercial and administrative dominance, since Girona was the seat of the diocese since the 4th century, which only the neighbouring capital of the county of Empúries, Castelló, sometimes overshadowed. If we focus our attention on this urban triangle of Perpignan, Girona, and Castelló, and look with an artistic gaze, we notice the arrival of artists from the north, who fulfill the profound need for new artisans, specialized in

everything related to the development of the opus francigenum and in all kinds of arts, including architecture and the decoration of large windows. Here I will argue that Jean de Tournai was arguably the most important master among these newly arrived artisans. He was linked to sculptural projects, but – according to the archives – was still referred to exclusively as "glazier". Certain recent discoveries, and the attestation of many foreign glass-makers in this region at the time, allow for a more precise approach to the work of Jean de Tournai as someone who can be seen as embodying the maximum ideal of 'glassmaker-entrepreneur'. This picture emerges by combining several facets of his work: glass-maker and stained-glass artist, illustrator and decorator of tombs, supervisor of a workshop and its staff, and the fact that he was widely recognized by other masters and students, including both glassmakers and sculptors.

Knowledge of the glassmaker (confirmed) and sculptor (suggested) Jean de Tournai (also Joan de Tournai, as he is called in the archives), who worked between 1310 and 1330 in the regions of Empúries, Girona and Barcelona, has recently changed both through the discovery of new documentary data and the attribution of new works to him, providing new insights into his professional activity. As I intend to show in this article, a review of the archival documents and part of the *corpus* of work associated with him allows us to give a new general perspective on his artistic life in these cities and, at the same time, to add nuance to the interpretation of his artistic production that has been associated with him until now.¹

First of all, the interpretation of his work has always depended on questions about the geographical and artistic context: the epithet "de Tournai" (also Tournay, Tornay, or Torney, depending on the citation) logically suggests that he came from the city of Tournai (Doornik in Dutch), located in the ancient Flemish County (now province) of Hainaut, southwest of Brussels, in present-day Belgium. If this city was famous for anything in the Middle Ages, it was for the immense production and prefabrication of architectural

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Maria de Lluç Serra and Dr. Michel de Vreeze for the English translation of this article.

and decorative stone materials, primarily ashlar for construction and other elements of architectural and funerary sculpture.

From the 12th and particularly the 13th century onwards, Tournai and the surrounding villages supplied stone to many cities in North Flanders, such as Oudenaarde, Ghent and Bruges, and England, thanks to the possibility of river transport via the Scheldt. By land Tournai supplied to cities in the south and southwest, such as Arras or Cambrai, and beyond, as far as to the Duchy of Burgundy or Paris itself, especially when orders came from the court.² To carry out all these projects, Tournai and its sphere of influence gave rise to a group of professionals dedicated to the art of stonemasonry, in many different specializations, from simple stonemasons to the most skilful sculptors, through the stonemasons and all intermediate categories, including the tombstones intended exclusively for funerary art, called *tombiers* or *graveurs de lames* (tomb makers).³

The documented arrival of stonemasons from the Tournaisis in Catalonia is almost exact to the date of the rise of the city of Tournai and its role: in 1300, "Guillem de Tournai" (who worked at least until 1324) appears, responsible for the tomb of Jaume Sarroca, Bishop of Lleida.⁴ In the second decade of the century a "Nicolau of Tournai" who could have worked at unspecified times, between 1317 and 1327, is documented in the Cathedral of Tarragona, perhaps working on the choir.⁵

In the second half of the 14th century, along with William, Nicholas and John, there are already reports of other professionals from the capital of Hainaut, such as a namesake John of Tournai, who on 18 March 1380, received from the bishop Bertran de Mont-rodon 20 gold florins for the manufacture of a clock with a corresponding bell, intended for the episcopal palace.⁶

Later and in a different geographical setting, J. Valero analyzed the possible echo of the works of Janin Lome de Tournai in Girona, considered the main representative (symptomatic!) of the international Gothic style in the Kingdom of Navarre.⁷ Thus, it is not surprising that between 1303 and 1349 we can trace 34 active glassmakers in the Girona area (see table). I have already talked about the context of their

² The bibliography on Tournai and the stone is very extensive, having been treated from paleontological, archaeological, architectural, and artistic points of view. Due to the nature of this study, we will focus on the main artistic contributions, especially medieval sculpture: Paul ROLLAND, "Expansion tournaisienne au XI^e et XII^e siècle: art et commerce de la Pierre", *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, LXXII, 1924, pp. 175-219; Ludovic NYS, "Les carrières du tournaisis aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles", *Carrières et constructions II, 117^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1992 (Paris, 1993), pp. 483-497; from the same author, *La pierre de Tournai. Son exploitation et son usage aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993.

³ The detailed lexical distinction of professionals of the same craft or art sector is not only observable in Tournai (see NYS 1992 and 1993), but also in other contemporary cities, as the lists of "From the capital, Paris (Françoise BARON, "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles d'après les rôles de la taille", *BACTHS*, nouv. série, 4, Paris, pp. 37-121). However, in the Catalan documents from the first half of the 14th century, this is almost never mentioned. The only ones that differ are the best masters, called "imaginaries", "masters of images" or "sculptors". It is only in the second half of the century and especially in the 15th century that the notarial vocabulary expands, and we already find "pedrer", "picapedrer", "peredador", "padrerer", "aparaylador", etc., in addition to those mentioned above (Sandrine VICTOR, *La construcció i els seus oficis a la Girona del segle XV*, Ajuntament de Girona, 2004, pp. 151-152).

⁴ Agustí ALTISENT, "El autor de la tumba de Jaime Sarroca", *Actas del X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, 1976, vol. III, pp. 281-285.

⁵ James RORIMER, "A Fourteenth Century Catalan tomb at The Cloisters and related Monuments", *The Art Bulletin*, 4, 1931, p. 427.

⁶ Arxiu Diocesà de Girona (ADG), Notularum, reg. 58. Finally, there is an indirect, late, but descriptive news that Jodocus Clergue (sic), a merchant from Bruges (then part of the Archbishopric of Tournai), died in Arbúcies on 1 September 1404, while on a pilgrimage to Saint James of Galicia (Santiago de Compostela), leaving his wife Elizabeth a widow (ADG, Lletres, reg. U-104, f. 78v).

⁷ Joan VALERO MOLINA, "El sepulcre de Berenguer d'Anglesola i els seus referents en l'escultura funerària europea", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins (AIEG)*, vol. XLV, 2004, pp. 706-707. The autor collects the initial work of R. Steven JANKE, *Jehan Lomé y la escultura gòtica posterior en Navarra*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Pamplona, 1977, and the subsequent publications.

arrival and activity a few years ago, when I studied the transfer of knowledge between North and South, as well as the activity of a dozen of these masters between 1320 and 1340.⁸

Table: Glassmakers active in Girona diocese between 1300 and 1350 [34 names]

NAME	CHRONOLOGY	ORIGIN	PLACE OF ACTIVITY
ANGEVIN, Tomàs	fl. 1334	Diocese d'Angers (Anjou)	-Castelló d'Empúries
BRETÓ, Joan o Arven "lo Broton"	fl. 1333–1343	Normandy	-Girona -Sant Cebrià dels Fuirosos (mun. Sant Celoni) -Besalú
BARAN (o BARDIN?), Guillem de	fl. 1303	Toulouse region	-Castelló d'Empúries
BARDIN (o BORDIN?), Guillemó	fl. 1333	Kingdom of France?	-Girona
BEUTERRA, Gaufred	fl. 1304	Kingdom of France?	-Santa Pellaia
BONET, Parró	fl. 1341	Soios (Toulouse diocese)	-Sant Cebrià dels Fuirosos (mun. Sant Celoni)
BORGONYÓ (o BERGONYÓ), Joan	fl. 1343	Figueres (coming from Burgundy?)	-Castelló d'Empúries
BORNA, Gualter de	fl. 1303	Lodeva diocese (Lodève, Languedoc)	-Comtat d'Empúries i fins a Barcelona.
BORN o BORNA, Rostany de	fl. 1328	Lodeva diocese (Lodève, Languedoc)	-Calms (Provença) -Lodeva (Lodève, Languedoc) -Castelló d'Empúries
CABRERA, Joan	fl. 1341–1351?	Saint-Pons-de-Thomières (Languedoc)	-Sant Cebrià dels Fuirosos (mun. Sant Celoni) -Requesens
CASTANYER, Joan	fl. 1324 d.1336	Girona	-Girona
CAYLLOL, Guillem	fl. 1320–1326	Réalmont (Languedoc)	-Castelló d'Empúries
GASCH, Pere	fl. 1328	Sorède (Roussillon)	-Castelló d'Empúries
GROSBOIRY, Raimon	fl. 1349	?	-L'Esparra (Riudarenes)
GUALTER o GAUTER [mestre]	fl. 1304	Barcelona?	-Santa Pellaia (Cruilles)
GUALTER, Bernat	fl. 1321	?	-Girona
JOAN, Bertran	fl. 1343	Peralada (Empordà)	-Peralada
LEPOSSÍ, Nicolau	fl. 1300	From Normandy, living in Perpignan	-Castelló d'Empúries
MARC, Mateu	fl. 1321	Morvedre (former Sagunt, València)	-Castelló d'Empúries
MONT, Pere de	fl. 1330	Santa Cristina d'Aro (Empordà)	-Santa Cristina d'Aro -Girona
PÀMIES, Guillem	fl. 1345	Castelló d'Empúries	-Requesens
PERE, fill d'UGOLÍ	fl. 1322	La Garriga (near Granollers, Barcelona)	-Girona
PERRIN (mestre)	fl. 1304	French Kingdom?	-Santa Pellaia (Cruilles)
ROGER	fl. 1323–1333	(Languedoc?)	-Castelló d'Empúries -Penedes (Llagostera) -Santa Pellaia (Cruilles)

⁸ Miquel Àngel FUMANAL, "El transvasament de coneixement nord-sud: vidriers del Rosselló, Languedoc i Provença al sud dels Pirineus durant la primera meitat del segle XIV", *Études roussillonnaises*, XXVI, 2013/2014, pp. 163-168.

NAME	CHRONOLOGY	ORIGIN	PLACE OF ACTIVITY
ROGER, Bernat	fl. 1329–1331	?	-Santa Maria de Bell-lloc d'Aro (Santa Cristina d'Aro) -Vidreres
ROGER, Guillem "Cap d'Espina"	fl. 1328	La Grasse abbey (Languedoc)	-Castelló d'Empúries
ROGER, Ramon	fl. 1341–1345	Girona	-Santa Pellaia -Sant Cebrià dels Fuirosos (mun. Sant Celoni) -Requesens
SALAU, Ramon	fl. 1329	Girona?	-Girona?
SAMUEL, Guillem	fl. 1343	Banyoles	-Banyoles -Castelló d'Empúries
SERVENT, Bernat	fl. 1326	Castres (Languedoc)	-Castelló d'Empúries?
SOTZTERRA, Pere	fl. 1328	Pont-de-Cameretz (Languedoc)	-Castelló d'Empúries
TOURNAI, Joan de	fl. 1318–1329	Tournai (Hainaut, Flanders)	-Castelló d'Empúries -Girona -Barcelona
VIVES, Bartomeu	fl. 1341–1349	Girona	-Girona?
XAITARD, Esteve	fl. 1349	Camps, diocese of Alet (Languedoc)	-L'Esparrà (Riudarenes)

[Table made from research at the Arxiu Històric de Girona and Arxiu Diocesà de Girona, Including all known published data].

But at the same time, it has also been suggested (as stated here at the beginning) that the description of the craft of some of this stained glass poses a lexical problem; in the documentation of the first half of the 14th century, it is not clear enough whether it is makers of vessel glass, tools, bowls, and similar objects or stained glass specialists that are referred to, leaving a certain linguistic ambiguity. As with the other examples given, this question deserves lexicographical study, which we cannot discuss here in depth.⁹ In the case of Girona, the notaries in this period indiscriminately used the Latin words *vitrarius* or *vitriarius* and the romanized form *vidrierius* to define the profession. Under this designation fell the making of pots and jars as well as the making of stained glass for the windows of houses and palaces or religious buildings, and working in enamel, either as decoration on metal for religious jewellery, weapons, vessels, etc., or stone for tombs, altarpieces, and all kinds of reliefs. This ambiguity has led to some inaccuracies, as recently in Castelló d'Empúries, where the creation of a glassmaking company to produce tools and everyday objects was confused with the creation of a stained-glass workshop.¹⁰

Therefore, the only way to identify the actual activity of glassmakers and to distinguish them from stained-glass artists often comes from the analysis of documentary finds, when they provide additional information that specifies a type of activity or order. In Barcelona or other important cities, the distinction is clearer, but only from the end of the 14th to the the 15th century, when sources provide more data in this regard.

The scope and specialization revealed by documents are much clearer in the 15th century than in the previous one, since the organization of guilds and brotherhoods and their patron saints appears only after

⁹ Recently, the nature of notarial documentation has been pointed out by Carme DOMÍNGUEZ i Sílvia CAÑELLAS, "Importància dels fons notariais per a la història de l'art. Les vidrieres", *Documentació notarial i arxius, actes de les jornades del 5 i 6 d'octubre de 2006 a l'Arxiu Històric de Girona*, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, Girona, 2007.

¹⁰ Miquel OROS MURUZABAL, "El mestre vitraller de la basílica de Santa Maria de Castelló d'Empúries (1303-1316)", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, LXII, 2021, pp. 111-133. Due to a misinterpretation (and transcription) of the archival documents, the author attributes the quality of the "stained glass" to the master Gualter de Borna and others.

1400. The groups of glassmakers and glass painters were distinguished from each other because the first belonged to the Brotherhood of St Bernard and the latter to that of St Luke, along with the painters; the different invocations are critical to understanding the distinction between the professions: some created utilitarian objects, as Ramon Llull mentioned in 1280 in his Book of Contemplation: "We see that the glassmaker makes glass from pear and grass, and by great force of heat he makes the glass, from which glass he makes ampoules and jars and *enaps* and *gotz* and other *vexels*".

The other professionals were engaged in the manufacture of flat glass. This was essentially glass for windows and stained glass that usually showed sacred "images" that, the more advanced in time, could become more pictorial, given the evolution of the art of stained glass, which goes from shaping figures by joining glasses of different colours to the use of flat glass as a support for images, equivalent to a canvas or table.¹¹ Everything indicates that Joan de Tournai belonged to this second more specialized working group, and he was even more versatile in applying his knowledge to all types of work.

The various examples of glassmaking societies documented so far indicate two "basic types" of these professional associations: those that occur between relatives (parents / children or uncles / nephews or cousins), and those that are formalized with other professionals and do not have to have a direct familial relationship (or they were more distant relatives, such as father-in-law / son-in-law, but this is usually indicated). What is clear is that a master glassmaker never worked alone. Since the 19th century we make the anachronistic and historically misleading mistake to attribute the authorship of works and the development of a large professional activity to a single name, but for decades historiography has refuted these ideas, and in medieval art we usually speak of "workshop". This notion of collective authorship also affects other names that have been "consecrated" by historiography, such as the famous glass painter Guillem Letungard,¹² from the diocese of Coutances (Normandy), who worked in Girona (1357–1358), Tarragona and Barcelona (1359) and lived in Avignon between 1362 and 1370 as a painter and stained-glass master of the papal court. Among the reasons that explain the appearance of this figure in the Catalan region are the transfer and contribution of new techniques and knowledge of their art, innovations that would not be possible without a geographical shift of the creators. Master Guillem, for example, is credited with introducing "silver yellow" to Catalonia.¹³ But he did not do it alone. In the documents published so far (a total of 7 notarial accounts of the diocese), only Master Guillem is mentioned, but it seems that he was accompanied by others from the beginning. On 2 June 1357, Eibelina de Pujol, born in Foixà and residing in Girona, daughter of Guillem de Pujol, made a will. She wanted to be buried in the cemetery of La Seu, among the Brotherhood of Santa Maria, to which she belonged, and which she declared her universal heir. Among the witnesses were Guillem and a hitherto unknown Rixart Lotungart, both glassmakers living in Girona (*Rixart Lotungart and Guillelmus Lotungart, vitrarii comorantes Gerunde*).¹⁴ In other words, at least two members of the same profession, Ricard and Guillem, came from the distant Coutances. And it is logical to suggest that both were involved in the elaboration of the corresponding stained-glass windows in the cathedral (and who knows if also in other places).

¹¹ For the latest contribution to this subject: Sílvia CAÑELLAS, "Els vitralls", *Arts de l'objecte, L'art gòtic a Catalunya*, Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona, 2008, pp. 219-257. In Catalan collections such as the Museum of Art of Girona or the Museum of the Castle of Peralada, there are some examples of these everyday objects. However, it is a subject that has not aroused much interest in the Principality, perhaps due to the small number of copies. As a counterpoint, and for the transition from s. XIII to XIV, with reference to the studies of Nicole MEYER-RODRIGUES in the catalogue *L'Art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils (1285-1328)*, RMN, Paris, 1998, pp. 412-416.

¹² Written in different ways: Lotungart, Letimgart, Letungart, Letungart (1357), Tumgart, Tongart, Letongart (1358), etc.

¹³ The activity of Master Guillem can be seen in the reference studies of Joan AINAUD et al. *Els vitralls de la catedral de Girona, Corpus vitrearum medii aevii*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 1987; Sílvia CAÑELLAS, "Guillem Lantungard i la renovació de mitjan segle XIV", *Arts de l'objecte*, col. *L'art gòtic a Catalunya*, Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona, 2008, pp. 239-242.

¹⁴ ADG, Notularum, vol. G-38, f. 9: "...Testes huius testamenti vocati et rogati sunt Petrus Buffart de Cilrano, minor dierum, Petrus Barners, parrochie Sancti Martini Veteris, Bernardus Maymoni, clericus tonsuratus ville Petralate, Rixart Lotungart et Guillelmus Lotungart, vitrarii comorantes Gerunde, Guillelmus Sabaterii et Arnaldus Galers [...] domini episcopi Gerundense".

In 1993, Dr. Francesca Español dedicated to Joan de Tournai the most important monographic article (published in 1994) on the master to date.¹⁵ The same author was responsible for new observations about aspects of his work, and added dates and attributions, in part, in other later studies.¹⁶

Español's study is based on a document published a few years earlier by Father Martí of Barcelona. According to this document, on 5 March 1324, King James II ordered his officers to seek and arrest a certain Jacques of France, who was a collaborator of *Johannes de Tornay, vitriarius Gerunde*.¹⁷ The reason was that John had paid him a total of 20 pounds (about 400 *solidos*) in advance – a more than considerable sum – for the realization of several stone images for the tomb of Queen Mary of Cyprus. At that time, the author stated that (translated): "It is undeniable that this last documentary discovery introduces a problematic element in the field of Master Joan. Although he worked as a sculptor, and despite having been considered as a sculptor by art history, it turns out that the first time that his professional activity is mentioned in a document (obvious in the previous cases) it is that of glazier. Undoubtedly, such a statement calls many things into question and forces us to review and refine the professional profile of the artist".¹⁸ Despite this "disturbing element", Español still titles him a "sculptor" and tries to create a justified catalogue of his stonework. In fact, it is not only in this document, but in all the documents that mention his profession, he is called a glazier.



Fig. 1. Scene from Sant Narcís tomb (Sant Feliu de Girona church). Photo: Miquel Àngel Fumanal.

Today, thanks to the work of J. M. Gironella, we can trace the activity of Master Joan to the last decade. In 1318 he was already living in Girona, but he was active for the first time in Castelló d'Empúries, in connection with those responsible for the construction of the great basilica of Santa Maria. On 9 October,

¹⁵ Francesca ESPAÑOL, "L'escultor Joan de Tournai a Catalunya", *Actes de les jornades en homenatge al Dr. Jaume Marquès i Casanovas. Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, XXXIII, 1994, p. 384.

¹⁶ For example: "Joan de Tournai, un artista-empresari del primer gòtic català", dins *Girona a l'abast*, no. 2, IV-V-VI (1996), col. Bell-lloc del Pla, 175-187; synthesized in *El gòtic català*, Angle Editorial, Manresa, 2002, p. 98 ff.

¹⁷ Martí de BARCELONA, "La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II", *Estudios franciscanos*, 92, 1991, p. 434, doc. 389. The author republishes it in ESPAÑOL 1994, doc. 1, p. 416.

¹⁸ ESPAÑOL 1994, p. 384.

Bernat de Canelles and Pere Gomir, workers of the parish, seek "*Johannis de Torney, civem Gerunde*" to make, or have made, stained glass for the church. This is for a total of five hundredweight of white glass that had to be made in a glass furnace at the end of the castle of Monells (Baix Empordà).¹⁹ The acquisition of white glass to cover one of the windows of the temple of Castelló is very significant; this confirms to us that this master knew the technical process of stained glass well and therefore had participated or collaborated in one way or another in the completion of the windows of the work *castellonina*; however, it is difficult to say whether this order had to do with one of the stained-glass windows that has been partially preserved to this day.

Following the thread of dates, we come across another unpublished notice from 1318. In July 1322, "*magister Joan de Tornay, vitriarius Gerunde*", together with Pere (son of Ugolí, glassmaker), living in the parish of La Garriga, *iuxta Granularios* (near the town of Granollers), acknowledge a debt of 67.5 *solidos* to the cloth merchant Bonanat de Bordils from Girona.²⁰ This fact confirms his professional name and is, in fact, the oldest mention of the master in the capital Onyar. While simultaneously, it allows us for the first time to see the "business" alliance with other artists or craftsmen in his field. We know that shortly afterward in Girona he had a relationship with the royal court, since in 1324 he was commissioned to work on the tomb of Queen Mary of Cyprus († 1322) for the Franciscan monastery in Barcelona.²¹ From this tomb only the marble slab with the figure of the reclining queen, which was supposed to serve "as a luminous sculpture", is preserved, together with other elements which have not been preserved.²² The second wife of James II appears as a reclining figure and dressed in a Franciscan habit that thinly covers her entire body. In the 1990s, C. Guilleré published two other stories about the Master, not mentioning his profession (due to the laconic way they were published), but this is explained in the original documents. First, on 25 August 1325, Ramon Cases, a merchant from Girona, rented a hospice (a large house with several floors), located between the houses of Pere Guillem Massana and the taverner Nadal Palma. Here, Jean de Tournay is called "*Magistro Johanni de Tornay, vitriario Gerunde*".²³ Shortly after, he worked on the tomb of St Narcissus for the Basilica of Sant Feliu de Girona (fig. 1), a project that was carried out between approximately 1326 and 1328, as Pere Freixas pointed out. At that time, the abbot and the chapter had been pushing for the construction of a new church for several years. In 1326, the work which had been stopped resumed, with 3,000 *solidi* allocated for the construction of part of the vault and the tomb of St Narcissus.²⁴ It is believed that this funerary monument, which depicts scenes with a glazed background, was completed as early as the fall of 1328, when the remains of the saint were transferred there in a solemn ceremony.²⁵ In August 1327, "*John de Tornay, qui fui de Flandria, nunc autem civis Gerunde*" (who came from Flanders but was now a citizen of Girona), concluded a contract with the nobleman Hugh of Cardona (fig. 2), archdeacon of Cerdanya in La Seu d'Urgell and canon of Barcelona Cathedral, for the construction of his own tomb and that of his sister Brunissenda (Guerau of

¹⁹ "*ad faciendum feri ad opus vitrials quas facimus et intendimus facere in dicta ecclesia Beate Marie quinque quintillos de vitreo albo in furno sito in termino castri de Monellis*". Document found by Josep M. Gironella in: Arxiu Històric de Girona (AHG), Notarials, Castelló d'Empúries, vol. 97. Quoted by Pere FREIXAS I CAMPS, *La basílica de Sant Feliu. Primera catedral de Girona*, Ajuntament de Girona, 2016, p. 139.

²⁰ AHG, Notarials, Girona 5, Pere Massanet, vol. 2, 1322, fol. 48r.

²¹ Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ACA), Cancelleria, reg. 181, f. 220v. Published by Martí DE BARCELONA, "La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II", *Estudios franciscanos*, 92, n. 400-402, Barcelona, 1991, p. 434, doc. 389; ESPAÑOL 1994, doc. 1, p. 416.

²² Francesca ESPAÑOL, "L'univers d'Elisenda de Montcada i el seu patronatge sobre el monestir de Pedralbes", *Lambard*, XXV, 2013/2014, p. 31.

²³ Christian GUILLERÉ, *Girona al segle XIV*, vol. II, Publicacions de Abadia de Montserrat i Ajuntament de Girona, 1994, p. 215, n. 269. The documentary quote that we have been able to review and correct is: AHG, Notarials, Girona 5, Pere Massanet, vol. 5, 1325, f. 18r.

²⁴ This information appeared for the first time in: Pau PIFERRER i FRANCESC PI I MARGALL, *Cataluña*, vol. II, col. *España, sus monumentos y su arte, su naturaleza e historia*, Establecimiento Tipográfico-Editorial de Daniel Cortezo y Cia., Barcelona, 1884, p. 126. But, the attribution to Joan de Tournai comes from Pere FREIXAS, *L'art gòtic a Girona*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans i Institut d'Estudis Gironins, Girona, 1983, p. 106. See ADG, Secretariat del Capítol, f. 40 and 41.

²⁵ A very well known circumstance, quoted by per Antolín MERINO, Josep DE LA CANAL, *De la Santa Iglesia de Gerona en su estado antiguo*, col. España Sagrada, vol. XLIII, Imprenta de Collado, Madrid, 1819, pp. 34-44, 298-322, 307-322; Joaquim FABRELLAS, *Noticias históricas del gloriosa San Narciso. Obispo y patrono*, Girona, 1901; José Mercader, *Vida e historia de San Narciso*, Ed. Ariel, Girona, 1954, p. 105 ff.

Cervelló's wife), to be buried in the chapel of Sant Antoni, which Hugo had built in this cathedral.²⁶ To specify the stone used for the reclining figures of this tomb, John says that they are made of alabaster, "*sicut tale quale est illud alabastrum de quo facta sunt opera sepulcri illustris domine Marie [...] et quale est alabastrum de quo facta sunt opera sepulcri Sancti Narcisii de Gerunda*", implying that his workshop was responsible for these other two works. This supports the idea of his authorship for both the tombs of St Narcissus and Mary of Cyprus.



Fig. 2. Details of glazing from Hug de Cardona tomb (formerly in Barcelona cathedral, now in the MNAC).
Photo: Miquel Àngel Fumanal.

Finally, a new discovery by Ch. Guilleré attests to the chronological limit of the Master's activity. On 20 August 1329, Joan, who was already living in Barcelona, confirmed that Joan Correig, a knifemaker from Girona, and his wife Jaumeta, his parents-in-law, had received 400 sous in sheets that belonged to the dowry of Bonanata, his wife.²⁷ In this case, he is referred to as "*John de Torney, vitriarius Gerunde*".²⁸ With this information, the documentary evidence of the life of Master Joan is complete.

So, to conclude, the sources clearly speak of Master Joan de Tournai as "glassmaker of Girona". And the reality is that despite being commissioned for sculptural works, primarily tombs, none of the few documents with which he is associated (from 1326 and 1327) mention his profession, except for the royal commission related to the tomb of Mary of Cyprus (1324), where he is of course called "glazier".

At the same time, in the other mentions, both in Castellón (the oldest, from 1318), and those of a personal or economic nature (1322, 1325 and 1329), his profession is once again clearly and unambiguously stated: glazier, *vitrarius* or *vitriarius*, since he had the ability to produce flat glass suitable for windows and stained-glass (1318). So, if in 5 of 7 localized documents it is said that he was a glassmaker, and in the other documents where he hires work outside his specific profession, his profession is not specifically mentioned, it is clear that Joan de Tournai was a master glassmaker and / or stained-glass maker (with all possible variants of the trade), which had a heterogeneous workshop which offered opportunities for creativity and entrepreneurship. Among his services were included, the design, coordination and realization of funerary projects with a certain decorative complexity. All this work went hand in hand with other masters, whether glassmakers, or other artisans that were indispensable to for the carving of stone.²⁹ And if Joan is never called *magister ymaginum* or sculptor (or simply *petrarius*, in the most common form), it is because he was not, and this condition was not recognized in the profession in question. Otherwise it could have been called a lie or evasion in some notarial (i.e. public and legal) settlement, while it must be assumed that "glassmaker" was what he called himself when he was present, in notarial deeds. In fact, at that time it was not a problem to identify a single person with different professions, if he was versatile, or simply to qualify the same profession with another art, if it was necessary because of the order, to provide that this expertise was proven and recognized. In this sense,

²⁶ Quoted by: Josep MAS, *Lo Fossar de la Sèu de Barcelona y ses inscripcions funeràries*, col. *Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona*, E. Subirana, vol. VIII, Barcelona, 1911, pp. 61, 175-176. Agustí DURAN I SANPERE, *Els retaules de pedra*, col. *Monumenta Cataloniae*, vol. I, Ed. Alpha, Barcelona, 1932. p. 26. Transcribed by Francesca ESPAÑOL, "La escultura gòtica funeraria en Catalunya -siglo XIV-," Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, vol. I, pp. 339-343, and the same author published again in 1993, pp. 417-419. Original: ACB, Bernat de Villarubia, 1327, f. 37 r-v.

²⁷ Therefore, in that year or shortly before (ca. 1328-1329) he married Bonanata Correig in Girona, daughter of a knifemaker from the city.

²⁸ GUILLERÉ 1994, p. 215, n. 269. AHG, Notarials, Girona 4, Ramon Viader, vol. 2, 1329, f. 73v.

²⁹ On this idea, already much discussed, of "the artist-entrepreneur", see ESPAÑOL, 1994. We have recently dealt with the issue of entrepreneurship in medieval Girona in Miquel Àngel FUMANAL, "Entrepreneurs et innovation dans l'art à Gérone au XIV^e siècle", *Aedificare*, 5, 2019, pp. 57-76.

we are well aware of the professions by which some of the most famous sculptors of the 14th century were recognized, including Aloi de Montbray "*pictor sive imaginator*",³⁰ Jaume Cascalls *pictori*,³¹ and Pere Moragues, first *carpinterius*³² and later *argentario* (silversmith);³³ even the painter Lluís Borrassà, was described as "*regent de fer vidrieres*" ("king of stained glass production"), among others.³⁴

In short, in the case of Joan de Tournai, the job title "glassmaker" is clear and repeatedly stated, leaving little doubt. This finding does not completely exclude the possibility that the master had knowledge of the supply, nature and the carving of the stone, especially if we consider his geographical origin and the environment of the "quarries" from which he came. As already mentioned, he came from a Flemish town where the working of stone took on an industrial and international scale, and therefore he had to be familiar with this activity, even if it was because of his environment and upbringing. But this circumstance, together with the last-mentioned archival discoveries, is no longer a sufficient argument to call him a sculptor, since his ability to execute in sculpture is never made explicit (on the contrary, it generates a lot of uncertainty, as for example in the royal order of 1324) and, on the other hand, his sole status as a glazier and/or stained-glass artist is officially emphasized.

In this sense, the idea of artist-entrepreneur attributed to him is correct, but not in relation to the physical authorship of most of the works. Although he was the one who signed the orders and perhaps also established the "design", the stonework itself may have nothing to do with it, because from the documents we can only attribute to him the glazing of the background and probably the drawing and planning of the works.

All of the above is well illustrated in the document of 1324 published by Father Martí of Barcelona, which shows that an assistant made the stone sculptures of the tomb of Mary of Cyprus. These sculptures, if they decorated the "box" where the figure was, have not been preserved. In fact, the enigmatic Master Jacques de França, to whom various identities are attributed, worked on the sculptures of at least one of the tombs commissioned by Master John. And he surely was not the only one to work within this group setting, because the contributions of F. Español, P. Freixas, M. Durliat and others, have already argued convincingly for at least two well-differentiated authors in the works related to Joan de Tournai.

At this point it is worthwhile to revisit some indirect data published in recent years about stained glass in Girona. The first is the will of the cloth merchant Bonanat de Bordils, dated 6 December 1332, which directly refers to the fact that he could not fulfil the will of his grandfather Jaume to pay for a stained-glass window for the chapel of Santa Magdalena in the convent of Sant Francesc de Girona. Apparently, at that time there was no master stained-glass artist in the city capable of making such a work, as the document says: "*quia non potui recipere magistrum ydoneum qui dictam vidrieriam faceret, ideo volo et rogo quod quam citius fieri possit, dicte vidrierie fuit*".³⁵ This circumstance served Joan Ainaud as a *post-quem* date to narrow down a possible chronology of the so-called Master of the Presbytery, the author of the oldest stained-glass group at the top of the Girona Cathedral.³⁶

The data that we have discussed in the previous pages now allows us to considerably clarify the interpretation of this document, especially in two respects. First, according to the list of glassmakers, there are at least five names from around 1332 that we know worked between Girona and the county of Empúries, such as the glassmaker from Anjou Tomàs Angevin (... 1334 ...), the Norman Joan Bretó (... 1333 ...), the Frenchman Guillemó Bardin (... 1333 ...), Master Roger (... 1323–1333 ...) and his pupil

³⁰ Josep M. MADURELL, "El pintor Lluís Borrassà, su vida, su tiempo, sus seguidores y sus obras", *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VII, 1949, p. 213.

³¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 1952, p. 378.

³² *Ibid.*, VIII, 1950, doc. 8, pp. 14-15.

³³ FRANCESC MARTORELL, "Pere Moragues i la custodia dels Corporals de Daroca", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, III, 1909, pp. 229-230.

³⁴ Quoted by: FRANCESC MARTORELL, "Els Borrassà, pintors de Girona", *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, XXXI, núm. 317, 1921, p. 152. The full published text can be found in: AINAUD 1987, reg. 18, p. 35.

³⁵ "Therefore we could not find a master for it, so we had the stained-glass window made as soon as possible", cited by Christian GUILLERÉ, *Diner, poder i societat a la Girona del segle XIV*, Ajuntament de Girona, 1984, pp. 154 and 167). Bonanat de Bordils was one of the richest and most influential cloth merchants of the first half of the 14th century in Girona, and had great influence lending money between private individuals, so that he acted *de facto* as a true "banker" specialized in credit.

³⁶ AINAUD 1987, p. 17.

Bernat Roger (... 1329–1331 ...), etc. From the will of Bonanat it appears that none of them was a "suitable master" to produce the stained glass in Girona, or simply did not live in the city to produce it.

The second aspect is that, at the same time, we know that a master stained-glass artist like Joan de Tournai, who actually knew Bonanat de Bordils personally (as we have already proven in the document of 1322), was not living in Girona in 1332; we remember that he was living in Barcelona on 20 August 1329, when he acknowledged the dowry of his wife Bonanata. Could it have been that Bordils wanted Joan de Tournai to provide the the stained-glass window referred to in the document? And strictly speaking, was there no glazier suitable for it, or did Bordils simply want Joan de Tournai to provide it, perhaps because Master Joan had already made other stained-glass windows in the city? And if so, where? When these questions are asked, to which there is still no clear or documented answer, the first hypotheses are made about the possible stained glass of Master Joan in Girona, who apparently did not lack a certain prestige. To establish the chronology of the master of the presbytery of the Cathedral of Girona, J. Ainaud quotes the report on the work of the bishop of 21 May 1348. In that year, the presbyter and worker of the chapter Pere Esteve presented to the episcopal delegates Ramon de Campllong and Bernat d'Albi the costs spent on iron grilles, "*et cathedras*" and stained-glass windows, "*quod noviter fiunt et facte et aptate fuerunt in dicta ecclesia administratis temporibus preteritiis usque ad primam diem presentis mensis madii*", a total of 1,924 *solidos* and 6 *denarios*.³⁷

According to Fidel Fita, who refers to a similar agreement of June 1327, it was customary to perform the operation every four years (the period studied here corresponds to the years 1323–1326), although the only capitular statute on the subject, dated 29 April 1312 (when the work on the new Gothic choir began), states that the operation had to be performed annually "*per illud annis singulis comptum*".³⁸

Given the laxity of certain ecclesiastical customs and the sometimes difficult circumstances of running a cathedral work, it is understandable that these reckonings of the work's administration simply occurred when it was convenient. This being said, the phrase "*temporibus preteritiis*" is found in the 1348 text. The document does not contain any specific reference to a chronological period, which is instead set in imprecise "past tenses". The indications of 1312 or the account of 1327 give a precise idea of the time, even if they are different periods. However, this is not the case with the revision of 1348, because if it had been the last 4 years, the corresponding accounts would have been indicated in a different way. One could even say that in medieval Latin the term "*temporibus preteritiis*" refers to an obscure temporality that hardly anyone can remember and that could go back much longer than just the four assumed years. If so, what age would we be talking about? Stained glass from c.1330–1340? Could we even be talking about stained-glass made shortly after 1327? From the period just before Joan de Tournai left for Barcelona in 1329?

This all leads us to an intriguing possibility. The more we learn about Master Joan and the better we can place his work in temporal, social and artistic contexts, the more the idea suggests itself that we could be dealing with the master of the presbytery of the Cathedral itself, or at least with his workshop, or a workshop associated with other professionals, which as we have seen would be the normal working condition. And in the same sense, Joan de Tournai and his attributed work is perhaps one of the key elements to decipher the common authorships that emerge from the numerous correspondences between the stained-glass windows of Girona, Barcelona and Tarragona (and Castelló d'Empúries?), made long before 1348, with the same chronologies, patrons and stages that we know Joan de Tournai lived and worked. With the certainty of an insightful observation, Dr. Alcoy has already written (translated): "The workshop that [worked] in the apse of the Cathedral of Girona, under the direction of the so-called Master of the Presbytery, has stylistic links with the works of Barcelona and with the stained-glass windows of the Virgins of Tarragona".³⁹ It might be no coincidence that the Letumgards followed a similar career path in the third quarter of the 14th century.



³⁷ Lluís BATLLE I PRATS, *La Biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona*, CSIC i Diputació de Girona, 1947, pp. 70-71.

³⁸ Fidel FITA I COLOME, *Los reys d'Aragó y la seu de Girona desde l'any 1462 fins al 1482*, Barcelona, 1873 (2d edition), p. 102.

³⁹ Rosa ALCOY, "Evolució estilística del vitrall medieval a Catalunya", in *Corpus vitrearum medii aevi. Estudis entorn del vitrall a Catalunya*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 2014, p. 91.