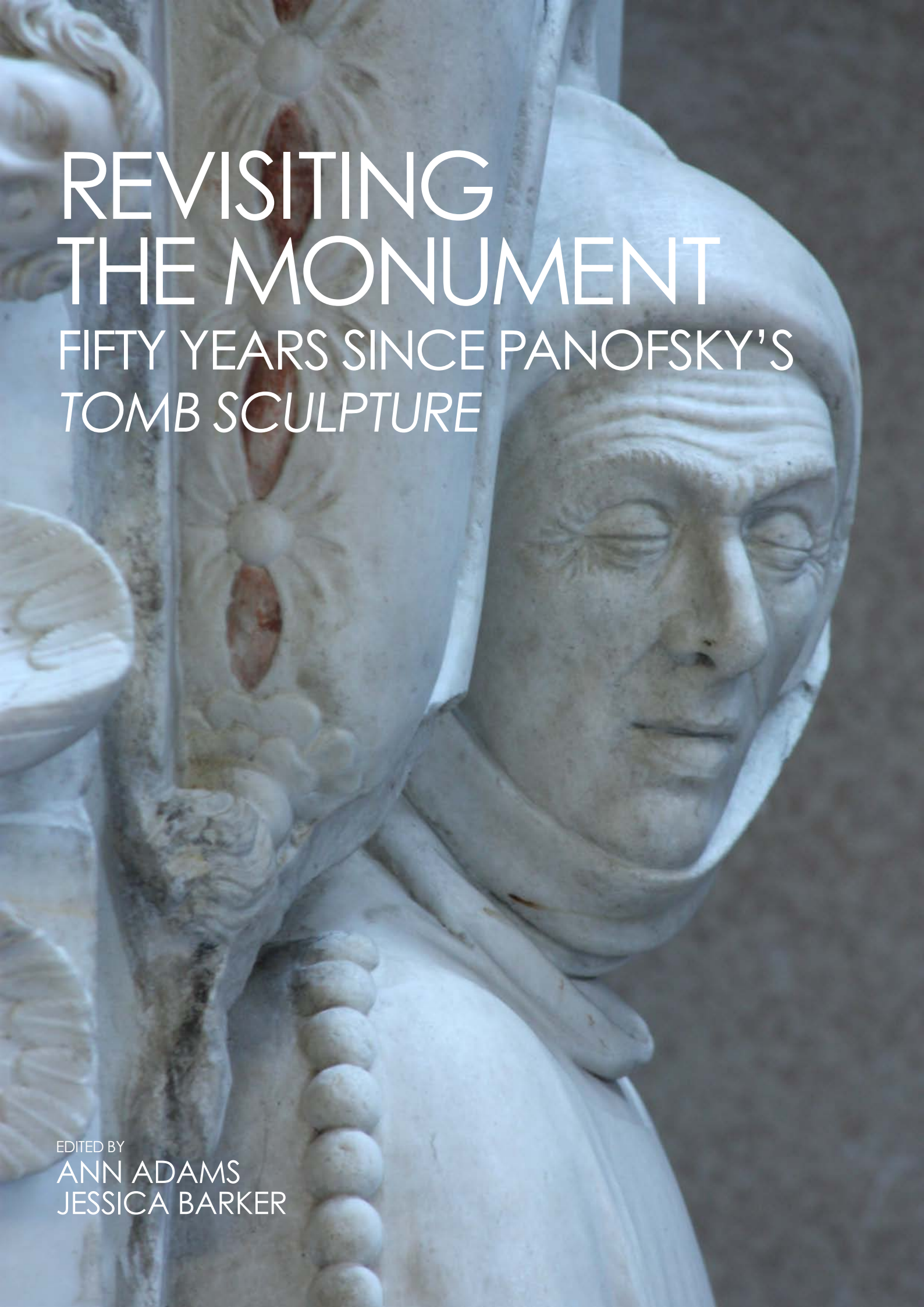

REVISITING THE MONUMENT

FIFTY YEARS SINCE PANOFSKY'S *TOMB SCULPTURE*

EDITED BY
ANN ADAMS
JESSICA BARKER

COURTAULD BOOKS ONLINE

Revisiting The Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*
Edited by Ann Adams and Jessica Barker

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Detail of tomb of Jacopo de Carrara
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KIM WOODS is a senior lecturer in Art History at the Open University and a specialist in northern European late Gothic sculpture. Her initial focus was on Netherlandish art but she has since expanded this geography to include, in particular, Spain and England. She combines an object-based approach with an interest in materials and cultural exchange. Her single-authored book, *Imported Images* (Donington, 2007), focussed on wood sculpture. Since then she has been working on alabaster and has just published *Cut in Alabaster: Traditions of Alabaster Sculpture in Western Europe 1330-1530* (Brepols, 2016). Kim edited and contributed to the Open University *Renaissance Art Reconsidered* volumes (Yale, 2007) and more recently the first volume of the Art and Visual Culture series, *Medieval to Renaissance* (Tate publishing, 2012). Among her articles are studies on the Master of Hakendover (1999, *Oud Holland*), the Master of Rimini (2012, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*), the Mercer's Christ (2007, R Marks ed., *Late Gothic England: art and display*, Paul Watkins Publishing), Byzantine art and artists in the West (2012, R Duits and A.Lymberopoulou eds., *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, Ashgate), and the Master of Elsloo (2014, F. Peters, C. Ceulemans (eds.), *A Masterly Hand*, Scientia Artis, 9).

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The book would, of course, not exist without the authors and, most of all, we thank them.

Ann Adams
Jessica Barker

INTRODUCTION

JESSICA BARKER

> An art historian can approach the subject of these lectures only with the greatest trepidation.[1]

So begins Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, the most influential and comprehensive survey of funerary monuments to be published in the last fifty years. Panofsky's trepidation in dealing with the subject of tomb sculpture derived from its fundamentally interdisciplinary nature, requiring him to 'trespass' on the preserves of archaeology, Egyptology, theology, the history of religion and superstition, philology, and many others.[2] The need to draw from—and speak to—a wide array of academic discourses is one of the reasons why tomb sculpture continues to be a difficult subject for art historians, lying somewhat outside the mainstream of the discipline.[3] Nonetheless, funerary monuments are fundamental to our understanding of the history of art. Tombs are arguably the oldest sculptural structures made by humanity; they are also a form of artwork shared by cultures across the world. Tombs comprise some of the most ambitious, expensive and spectacular artistic projects undertaken by past societies, involving the leading artists of their day. By concealing the corpse of the deceased in the grave, while simultaneously evoking their presence through a monument, tombs epitomise one of the central functions of art: namely, to render the invisible, visible. The great novelty of Panofsky's book was to treat tomb sculpture as a distinctive form of artwork, crafting a narrative of how man's hopes and fears in the face of death found expression in countless works of art.

Revisiting the Monument is the first book to examine the legacy and influence of Panofsky's work on funerary monuments. In June 2014 a conference was held at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London to celebrate the fifty-year anniversary of the publication of Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*. The aim of the event—and this publication—was twofold: to evaluate Panofsky's ideas and to examine new approaches, perspectives and material relating to the study of tomb sculpture. As the record of a conference and a project born out of the editors' own specialisms, this book does not seek to re-tread the exact path charted by Panofsky; the most notable difference being that this publication focuses on the medieval and renaissance periods, whereas *Tomb Sculpture* begins in ancient Egypt. While Panofsky wrote a single, epic narrative charting the development of tomb sculpture from Antiquity to the Baroque, this book is more akin to a series of short stories. Each chapter is a cross-section through the history of tomb sculpture, examining a particular tomb, group of tombs, or theme with wider implications for our understanding of funerary monuments. The contributors are art historians with a keen interest in funerary monuments, whose research represents new discoveries, ideas and approaches to the material. They cover a diverse range of geographies and periods, ranging from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries and including regions such as England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal.

The introductory chapter by Susie Nash, 'Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*: Creating the Monument', deals with the genesis, scope, language, illustration and immediate reception of Panofsky's book, drawing on the art historian's correspondence to reveal his own responses to the project. Nash reveals that Panofsky himself expressed ambivalence about the book, apologising to correspondents for what he considered to be the superficiality of his text. Despite the author's own misgivings, Nash emphasises the achievements of *Tomb Sculpture*: its geographical and temporal breadth, its wide disciplinary arc, and its formulation of questions and terminologies that still define debates about funerary monuments today.

This sets the context for the first section, **'Reassessing Panofsky'**, which comprises three chapters re-evaluating monuments, concepts and terms that play an important role in Panofsky's narrative of tomb sculpture. Shirin Fozi's chapter, '"From the Pictorial to the Statuesque": Two Romanesque Effigies and the Problem of Plastic Form', examines the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century effigies of Rudolf of Swabia and Widukind of Saxony, two prominent examples from the first generation of effigies made in post-classical Europe. For Panofsky, these monuments exemplified the progressive development of plastic form in Romanesque sculpture, moving from the 'frail and floating' figure of Rudolf to the 'statuesque' effigy of Widukind. Fozi posits a more complex relationship between form and meaning, arguing that one must look to the particular context of each monument for an explanation of the plasticity of the effigy and its materials. The next contribution by Robert Marcoux, 'Memory, Presence and the Medieval Tomb', re-evaluates the two fundamental categories into which Panofsky organised funerary monuments: 'prospective' (monuments pertaining to life beyond death) and 'retrospective' (tombs emphasising biographical elements). Examining six French tombs dating from the mid-twelfth to late-thirteenth centuries, Marcoux argues against a rigid distinction between 'retrospective' and 'prospective' monuments, demonstrating that many memorials combine elements of both. Geoffrey Nuttall's chapter, 'Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture* and the Development of the Early Renaissance Floor Tomb', is also concerned with Panofsky's dichotomy between the humanist glorification of the past and Christian concerns with the future. Panofsky claimed that Tuscan floor tombs which represent the body of the deceased as simultaneously standing and recumbent exemplified a new concern with the past rather than the future, a change in attitudes which he argued characterised the shift from the Middle Ages to Renaissance. Nuttall challenges this argument through a detailed examination of the fourteenth-century tomb slab of Lorenzo Trenta. He shows how a consideration of the monument's relationship to the space of the Trenta Chapel (and particularly its altarpiece) suggests that the spatial paradox of the effigy was actually intended to express the tension in Christian eschatology between the reality of death and certainty of bodily resurrection.

The following two sections extend Panofsky's work by charting new directions in tomb studies, not fully explored in *Tomb Sculpture*. While much attention has been paid

to the formal and iconographical development of funerary monuments, their patrons and conditions of manufacture, scholars have only recently begun to consider the perspective of the viewer. The three chapters that comprise **'Monuments and their Viewers'** demonstrate different approaches to this often-nebulous topic. The contribution by Luca Palozzi, 'Petrarch and Memorial Art: Blurring the Boundaries Between Art Theory and Art Practice in Trecento Italy', examines the reception of funerary monuments in fourteenth-century Italy through the eyes of the poet Petrarch. By charting Petrarch's activities as a composer of epitaphs, Palozzi reconstructs the poet's remarkable engagement with funerary monuments as well as his ideas on the relationship between textual and sculptural commemoration. My chapter, 'Stone and Bone: The Corpse, the Effigy and the Viewer in Late-Medieval Tomb Sculpture', also considers funerary sculpture in relation to medieval poetry. An anonymous fifteenth-century Middle English poem describes how the experience of seeing a beautiful female effigy prompts a vision of the same woman's decaying, verminous corpse. Taking this poem as my starting point, I explore the relationship between the corpse and the effigy—material, temporal, liturgical and imaginative—arguing that medieval viewers understood funerary monuments as containers, whose unseen interior provided an essential context for interpreting their seen exterior. James Cameron's chapter, 'Competing for *Dextra Cornu Magnum Altaris*: Funerary Monuments and Liturgical Seating in English Churches', shifts focus from lay to clerical reception. Cameron draws attention to a remarkable letter from the turn of the fourteenth century in which the Archbishop of Canterbury orders the destruction of a monument at Worcester Cathedral whose location and size was judged to obstruct the celebration of Mass at the high altar. This leads Cameron to explore the issue of competition for space to the right of the high altar between objects of individual commemoration (tombs) and those of communal liturgy (sedilia), highlighting the importance of architectural context in defining the form and reception of medieval tombs.

The next section, **'Monuments and Materials'**, comprises four chapters that focus on the materiality of monuments and their construction. These contributions rely upon first-hand access and/or technical innovations that were simply unavailable to Panofsky, who worked primarily from photographs. In her short introduction to this section, 'Panofsky: Materials and Condition', Kim Woods draws from her own work on alabaster to stress the importance of paying close attention to the symbolic and aesthetic qualities of materials. The next chapter by Ann Adams, 'Revealed/Concealed: Monumental Brasses on Tomb Chests', deals with a form of funerary monument that was entirely overlooked by Panofsky. Considering the decision to commemorate John I, Duke of Cleves, and Catherine of Bourbon with monumental brasses set into raised tomb chests, Adams argues that this distinctive type of memorial can only be understood by paying close attention to architectural context and visibility, patronal networks, and the symbolic significance of the material. Sanne Frequin's contribution, 'Veiling and Unveiling: The Materiality

of the Tomb of John I of Avesnes and Phillipa of Luxembourg in the Franciscan Church of Valenciennes', also draws attention to materials, this time in relation to a now-lost double tomb from the early fourteenth century. Two invoices—translated into English here for the first time—provide remarkable insights into the tomb's materiality, detailing its stone, polychromy and gilding, as well as tantalising references to an ironwork 'hughe' which may originally have covered the tomb. The chapter by Matthew Reeves, 'A Reconsideration of the Tomb of John, Duke of Berry, for the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges: Its Inception, Revision and Reconstruction', is another perceptive and detailed study of a single monument. Drawing on a wide array of documentary evidence, as well as close examination of the surviving effigy, Reeves offers new insights into the patronage, making, and re-making of the tomb of the Duke of Berry, showing how this monument was a unique and highly personal commission by one of the leading artistic patrons of the Middle Ages. While Frequin and Reeves deal with the reconstruction of lost or fragmentary monuments, Martha Dunkelman 'deconstructs' an intact monument in order to analyse its constituent elements. In 'Deconstructing Donatello and Michelozzo's Brancacci Tomb', Dunkelman shows how the tomb was only partially finished, hastily assembled without the supervision of the artists, and arguably incorporates parts—including Donatello's relief of the *Assumption*—originally intended for other sculptural projects.

Despite the diversity of periods, geographies and methodologies covered, the chapters in this volume share a remarkable commonality of interests, revealing the shared concerns of current researchers into tomb sculpture. Recurring themes include monuments as sites of liminality, the reception and visibility of tombs, the relationship between corpse and monument, and the symbolic significance of materials. All the authors emphasise the importance of placing tombs within a wider context (whether artistic, spatial, liturgical, or historical), expanding and destabilising the neat teleological narrative proposed by Panofsky. It is here that we light upon the tension at the heart of the subject of this book. In returning to Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*—'revisiting the monument', as it were—one needs to draw attention to its lacunae and generalisations, while at the same time recognising its ambition and intellectual achievements. It is notable that no other publication on tomb sculpture—including the present work—has achieved a survey with comparable temporal or geographical breadth.[4] The scale of Panofsky's work has allowed later researchers to set their more focussed studies of funerary monuments within a wider context. Many of the questions that Panofsky raised in *Tomb Sculpture*—whether effigies represent the deceased in life, death or the afterlife, how to untangle the relationship between monuments and belief(s), what was the meaning of symbolic and allegorical imagery on funerary sculpture—still provide the fundamental intellectual framework for tomb studies. It is the aim of this book to raise awareness of the great contribution made by *Tomb Sculpture* to the field, to continue the debates began by Panofsky, and to suggest new avenues of enquiry.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), p. 9.

2. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 9.

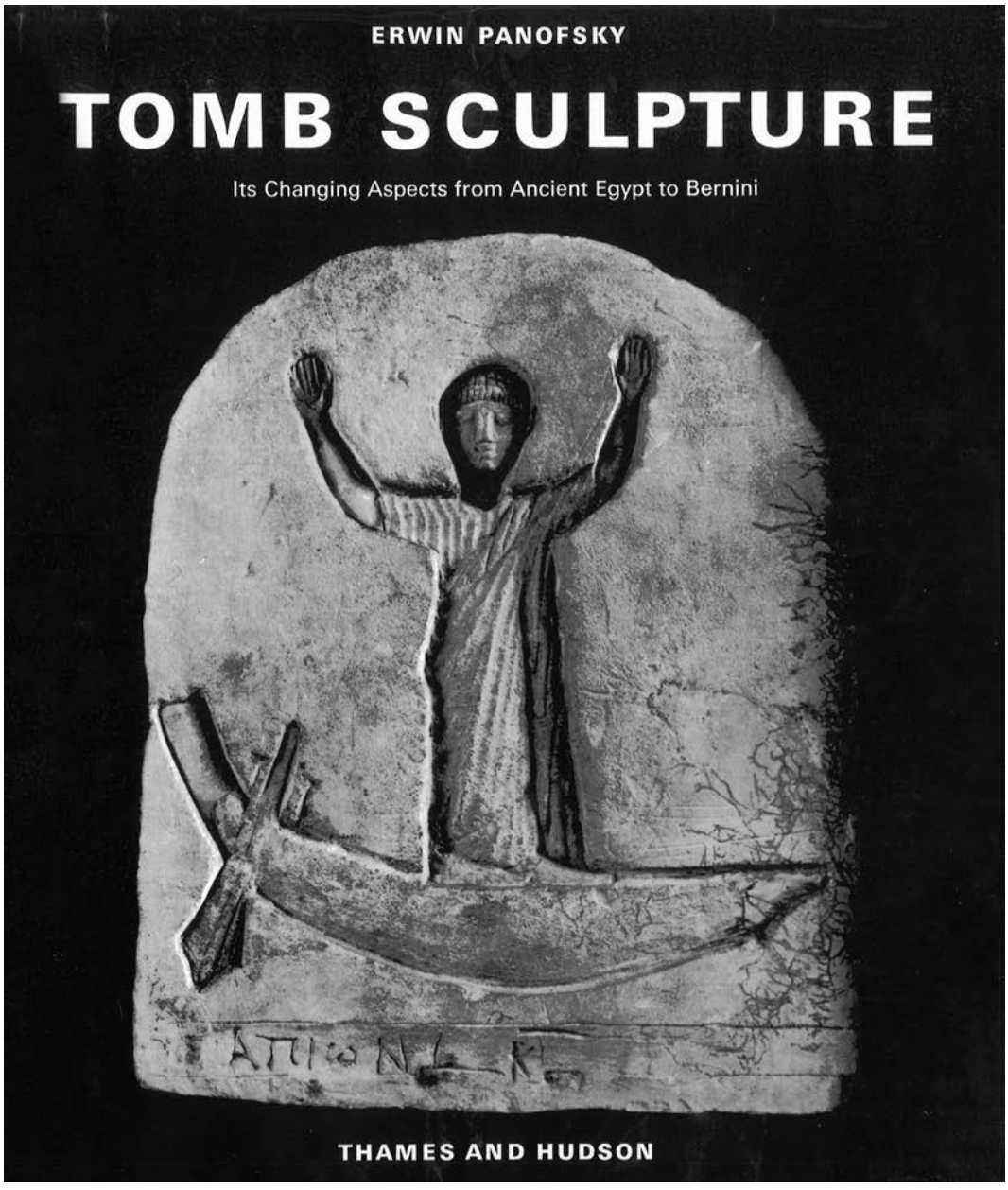
3. An overview of the state of tomb studies is beyond the scope of this book. For a discussion of recent advances and continued difficulties in the field, see Nigel Llewellyn, 'The State of Play: Reflections into the State of Research into Church Monuments', *Church Monuments* 28 (2013): pp. 7–12; Truus van Bueren, Kim Ragetli and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'Researching Medieval *Memoria*: Prospects and Possibilities', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 14 (2011): pp. 183–234.

4. The closest contender is Kurt Bauch's survey of European tomb sculpture from the 11th to the 15th centuries: Kurt Bauch, *Das Mittelalterliche Grabbild: Figürliche Grabmäler des 11 bis 15 Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976).

CHAPTER 1

ERWIN PANOFSKY'S *TOMB SCULPTURE*: CREATING THE MONUMENT

SUSIE NASH



1.1
Cover of
Tomb Sculpture.

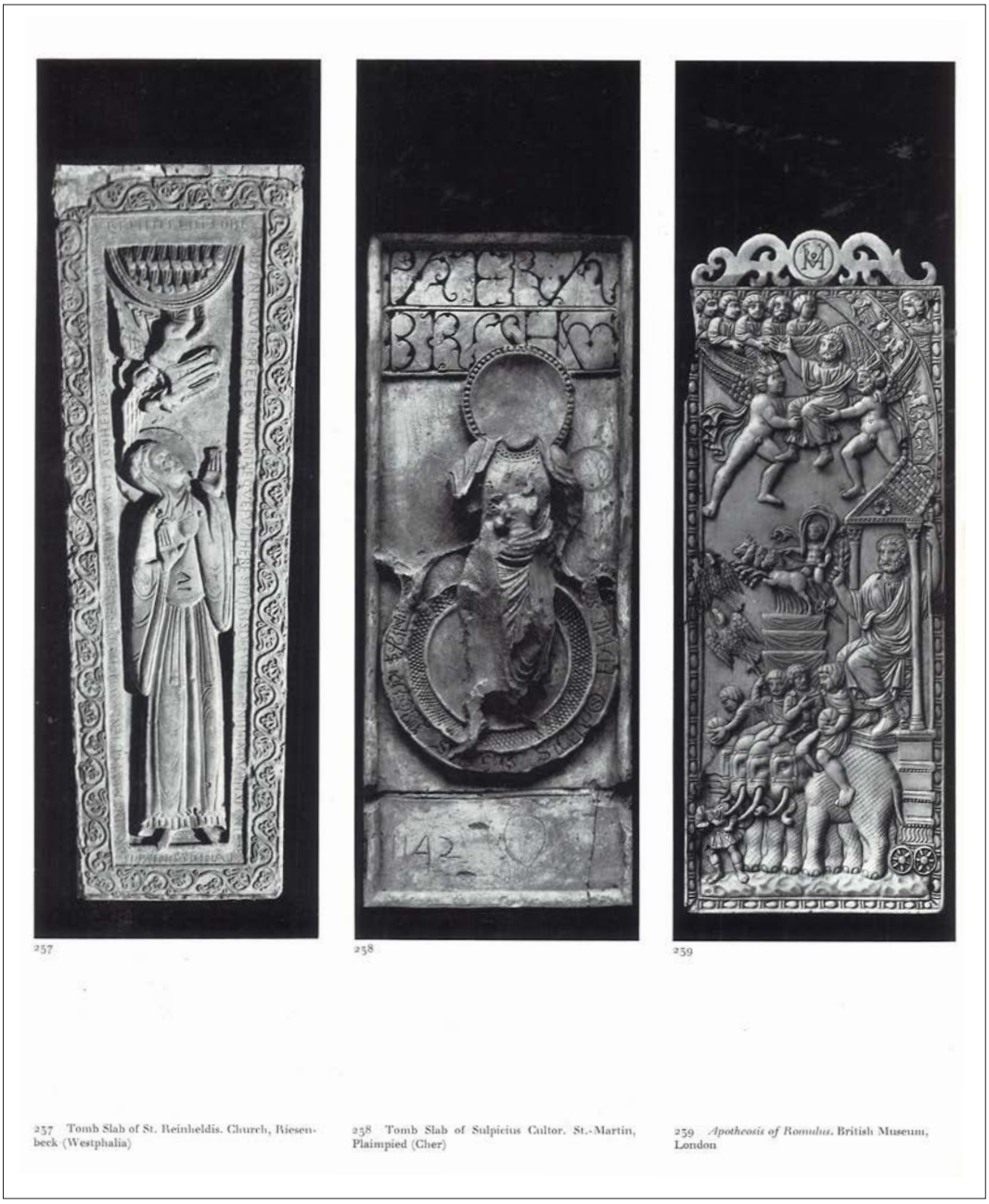
> Panofsky's synthesis…will certainly stimulate, and form a point of departure for new research…it will remain among the basic works which determine turning points in the history of our discipline.[1]

These words by Jan Białostocki on reviewing Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture* in the *Art Bulletin* in 1965 were prescient. There are few publications of the last fifty years that deal with the Western tradition of funerary monuments that do not refer to Panofsky's book, and no comparable synthesis of the subject of this scope has as yet superseded it. The works Panofsky chose to discuss in his survey established a canon for this genre,

particularly for the medieval and renaissance periods, and a way of categorising funerary monuments that remains highly influential. In this introductory essay my purpose is not, however, to trace the impact of his publication via the development of the literature in the field. I will instead consider the conception and creation of his book—that is its genesis, scope, language, illustration and immediate reception—in the belief that there is a value in contextualising the monuments of art historical scholarship, as well as in contextualising the monuments themselves.[2]

Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on its Changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini was published in 1964, when Panofsky was seventy two years old, just four years before he died.[3] With its vast chronological range, and just ninety six pages of text, limited footnotes, and a select bibliography structured around extremely copious images numbering no less than 446 black and white plates, this was a different type of book in its physical and intellectual incarnation from any Panofsky had written before.[4] The US publisher, Harry Abrams, was a relative newcomer in the early 1960s, a house that specialised in what were then somewhat disparagingly called 'art books': indeed the unusual format (25 cm x 29 cm) suggested, to some reviewers, that it was a strange cross between a coffee table book and an academic tome. They found its size 'pretentious' and its square shape 'inconvenient'.[5] As the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 5 April 1965 observed, *Tomb Sculpture* was not 'the usual picture book, or indeed a popular picture book': its combination of academic erudition, and what was seen as almost excessive, decadent, illustration caused some reviewers to feel a mixture of regret and admiration in equal parts for the volume and its author.[6]

Panofsky himself clearly had great reservations about the final product. In his correspondence he frequently refers to it as a 'book', in inverted commas;[7] 'if book it can be called' is also a phrase he uses in the preface to the publication itself.[8] Indeed, he apologised for its text and appearance to those who wrote to congratulate him on it.[9] His advice to Egon Verheyen, on sending him a copy was 'please don't read the rather superficial text… Just look at the pictures which are, for the most part, quite nice',[10] while to Jan Białostocki he wrote 'Do not expect too much from the book on funerary sculpture which should appear later this year. It is…. very superficial (only the abstract of three or four public lectures), in part misleading and horrible to look at'.[11] Its main merit, in his eyes, was its pictures. These are certainly generous, in number and size, but often disorientating: they frequently swim free of context (which can be literally blacked out) and scale, their captions lacking dates as well as material and measurements which can make certain juxtapositions vertiginous (for example his figs 237-39, here fig. 1.2). Given the date at which *Tomb Sculpture* was published it is unsurprising that none of the plates is in colour, though this remains, regrettably, a too-frequent practice for illustrations of all sculpture, not just tombs. Also unsurprising is the reliance on stock images for the illustrations (as is clear from the credits at the end), and thus on well established and canonical viewpoints, but Panofsky was not insensitive to the problems of this, and on one occasion where a particular angle of view was vital for his argument new photographs were made (his figs 224, 225, here fig 1.3).[12]



257 Tomb Slab of St. Reinheldis. Church, Riesenbeck (Westphalia)

258 Tomb Slab of Sulpicius Cultor. St.-Martin, Plaimpied (Cher)

259 *Apotheosis of Romulus*. British Museum, London

1.2
Tomb Sculpture, figs 237-39: St. Reinheldis and Sulpicius Cultor (tomb slabs); Apotheosis of Romulus (leaf of ivory diptych).

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225

1.3
Tomb Sculpture, figs 224-25: Effigy of Bishop Wolfhart von Roth, seen from above and from foot of tomb.

Tomb Sculpture may have been extensively illustrated, but it does not have the type of academic apparatus that distinguishes many of Panofsky's other major publications: the lack of a general bibliography means the wider literature Panofsky drew on is often invisible; the captions to the plates are full of errors; and the index, according to Panofsky himself was 'produced by an idiot who has made it practically impossible to locate anything in the book' which, he goes on to add 'is perhaps just as well.'[13] His irritation may well have been over such baffling entries as 'Art' and 'Bible', or Saint-Denis being listed only under A for 'Abbey Church', though these are perhaps not as perplexing as 'existence, Post mortal,' apparently only dealt with on page 13.[14] In comparison to the awe-inspiring authority of the article-length footnotes in *Early Netherlandish Painting*, and the erudite index that Panofsky himself compiled for that same book, *Tomb Sculpture* could, perhaps, seem lightweight.[15]

Panofsky often wrote somewhat self-effacingly of his lectures and publications, so we should be cautious of taking his dismissal of this book at face value. However, in the case of *Tomb Sculpture* this dismissal was consistent and insistent. The first line of the preface even reads 'The text of this volume was not intended for publication'.[16] Faced with his apparent displeasure with it, and his feelings about its superficiality, it is perhaps ironic that his 'unfortunate book on Tombs' continues to be read, and cited.[17] Its longevity and impact are however unsurprising, given the reputation and erudition of its author, the originality of many of its observations, the eloquence and wit with which it is written, and its enormous chronological scope. This scope was one of the reasons Panofsky was so concerned about its reception and tended to play down its contribution to the field: in a letter of 1964 to Horst Janson (who was editing the volume) he admitted 'I am looking forward to the reviews, if any, with considerable apprehension. If the reviewer is a classical archaeologist, he will say that the other parts of the book may be alright but that everything said about Greek, Roman and Etruscan monuments is all wrong; and the same will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to medievalists, Renaissance scholars and, above all, to Egyptologists'.[18]

While Panofsky worried about how the reach of his endeavour left him open to criticism, the longue durée set out in *Tomb Sculpture*, starting with Ancient Egypt and finishing with the work of Bernini, is one of its most impressive elements, and was seen as such at the time. As one reviewer noted, 'We feel as if we were shown a huge landscape from a mountain top';[19] and it is mostly the peaks, to paraphrase another reviewer of another book by Panofsky, that we visit, rather than the troughs: the tombs that form the central part of his narrative are canonical works found primarily in Paris, Florence and Rome, and monuments of the humanist tradition predominate. This makes *Tomb Sculpture* typical of Panofsky's approach in general; throughout his life, he had wanted to ask questions concerning the meaning of what he considered the very greatest art, and the greatest artists. He had written his doctoral thesis on Albrecht Dürer; the subject of his notorious lost—and recently re-found—*habilitation* was Michelangelo and Raphael; his book on

Early Netherlandish painting is effectively centred around Jan van Eyck; and in his last years he produced a study of Titian. It is unsurprising then that the narrative thrust of *Tomb Sculpture* moves emphatically and inexorably towards Michelangelo, and ends with what is effectively a post-script on Bernini. Characteristically, Panofsky justified stopping at this point on the grounds that funerary art after this time was simply not very good, a point of view he expressed with one of his more memorable formulations: 'All those that came after Bernini were caught in a dilemma—or rather a trilemma—between pomposity, sentimentality and deliberate archaism'.[20]

The chronological sweep of *Tomb Sculpture* is presented in four parts, a format that Panofsky was committed to since the book was, emphatically, a publication of four lectures given at the Institute of Fine Arts (IFA) in New York in the autumn of 1956, on the invitation of the director Craig Smyth.[21] Unsurprisingly, they were hugely well attended: the secretary at the IFA informed him she was 'trying to figure out a way of suspending chairs from the ceiling to accommodate your devoted audience'.[22] Panofsky at the time clearly enjoyed the experience of giving this particular series, on this particular topic, and to this particular audience, since he wrote to Janson on 5 December 1956, following his last lecture saying 'I am very happy indeed that I accepted Craig Smyth's invitation to give those lectures. Not only was it great fun, but it resulted, as hardly ever before, in really fruitful discussions, corrections and amplifications; and this is the best that can be said of any enterprise of this nature'.[23] While no recording of the lectures exists, the audio tapes of his later series on Titian at the IFA give some sense of the style of Panofsky's delivery.

The slow progress of producing the book in the following years at times dampened Panofsky's immediate enthusiasm: by March 1960 when he was still trying to field queries on particularly elusive material, he suggested to Janson that a motto for the flyleaf might be a quote from the German classical scholar Theodor Mommsen 'Es gibt nichts Leichtsinnigeres auf der Welt als das Kolleglesen' ('There is nothing more irresponsible in the world than giving lecture courses').[24] Be that as it may, many of Panofsky's major publications had begun life as lecture series, including *Studies in Iconology* (1939), *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character* (1953) and *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (1960). These had involved years of further research and intensive rewriting. In 1949 while working up his Charles Elliot Norton lectures into *Early Netherlandish Painting*, he observed: 'if you write a book, you do the work first, and write the text afterwards. In a case like mine you have a text, but must change every word of it as you do the work'.[25] This transformation for *Renaissance and Renascences* was still ongoing during the period 1956-58, and perhaps because of this he was unwilling to devote similar energy to *Tomb Sculpture*. Indeed, in the preface Panofsky claimed that this book was in effect the lectures as delivered; he states that he agreed to put at the disposal of the IFA a legible but essentially unaltered typescript of his talks, a list of illustrations and notes 'as I had happened to jot them down'.[26] It was to be for the 'younger members of the institute' to

Contents

1.4
Contents page of *Tomb Sculpture.*

edit the texts—correcting palpable errors, as he called them, chasing down photographs and checking citations. Horst Janson, an old friend and specialist on Donatello, was the editor in chief 'imparting to the book its final shape'. In case we should forget, the table of contents reminds us once more of their origin, as we have 'Lectures', not 'Chapters' (fig. 1.4). And with his opening sentence of the first page, 'An art historian can approach the subject of these lectures only with the greatest trepidation', Panofsky underscores their nature yet again.[27]

Although the reviewers seemed to take this assertion concerning the genesis of the text at face value, it is much more than the lectures as he gave them. While the rewriting was not as extensive, prolonged and agonised as the process Panofsky went through transforming other lecture series into published form, *Tomb Sculpture* is far from a barely altered transcription of his lectures, despite the language of the text retaining a sense of the spoken word. This is evident just from their uneven length, if nothing else: 'Lecture' IV (The Renaissance, Its Antecedents and Its Sequel) at thirty pages is double the length of 'Lecture' I (From Egypt to the "Tomb of the Nereids") for example, and with three times as many accompanying images. In addition, Panofsky's correspondence in 1957 and early 1958, the two years after he gave the lectures, and leading up to its submission as a draft in May 1958, reveals that he spent this period, by his own account 'worrying

those tombs like an old dog does a bone'.[28] He told Bob Delaissé in the spring of 1957 that 'Tombs are my latest hobby, so much so that the whole field of Netherlandish painting … has receded into the background' and to Jan van Gelder in July of the same year he admitted that 'I have, as you rightly surmised, the 'obsession des tombeaux'.[29] Indeed, while there seems little trace of this interest, in his correspondence at least, leading up to the lectures, after their delivery there is a lively exchange with knowledgeable friends and colleagues like Adolf Katzenellenbogen, asking for opinions on tomb-related issues, such as when the first examples of the virtues appear on tombs (origins were a constant preoccupation).[30] There is also correspondence with Horst Janson, acting as editor, which indicates various additions and changes made even to the revised text as late as 1960, as new publications and evidence about old problems that Panofsky was worrying about came to light.[31]

Most significantly for the final scope and focus of the book, Panofsky spent the summer of 1957 in Europe, based for a while in Paris, where he passed most of his time, as he asserts, going to visit tombs.[32] This included a trip to Brou to see Margaret of Austria's foundation, and other (unspecified) things in the region. That the tombs at Brou, at Saint-Denis and in the Louvre were all fresh in his visual memory, and recently experienced first hand is clear in his text, and it is these works that are among the most fully contextualised, and are particularly lyrically described, and analysed. Indeed, the extensive illustrations of the tombs at Brou, showing both details and fuller context, and Panofsky's discussion of the ingenious solution to the dilemma of funerary etiquette presented by the placement of the tombs of Margaret, her husband and her mother-in-law in the church there, is one of the most insightful passages in the book, addressing as it does hierarchy of decoration, location, access and viewpoint, foreshadowing the type of work to be done so effectively by later writers.[33]

Panofsky's research at this period between the delivery of the lectures and their publication was often with an eye to prove the narrative force and 'rules' that he had already decided upon as central to his story, and which, as one reviewer noted, he was so fond of formulating.[34] In his correspondence we see him trying to establish first occurrences, and assessing the significance of any exceptions to his rules. When, after his last lecture, Janson drew his attention to the tomb slab of Antonio Amati in Santa Trinita in Florence, whose skeletal effigy seemed to undermine Panofsky's categorization of the *transi* as an iconography confined of the north of Europe, he admitted ruefully '… how careful one must be in making general affirmations or negations without an escape clause…'.[35] However he soon found just such an escape clause in this instance: Amati—whom he could find out nothing about—must have had, Panofsky averred, northern connections not least because the 'inscription is written in a kind of script that would have made the other people buried in Santissima Trinita turn in <u>their</u> graves'.[36] He subsequently went on to transform the Amati exception into a support for his argument about the fundamental

distinction between Renaissance Italy and the 'Gothic north', one of his key binary constructs in *Tomb Sculpture*: 'Upon analysis' he wrote to Janson in April 1957 'Amati's tomb has turned out to confirm my case (when we meet next week I will explain how)'.[37] His explanation, as we have it in the book, is that the effigy is still given all the dignity of life, since it is not shown naked: thus Panofsky turned the witness for the prosecution into a witness for the defence, and uses it as a clinching argument for the closing line of Chapter III, where he writes 'Here, as in a flash, we see the difference between the Northern Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance'.[38]

While Panofsky may have expanded and finessed certain elements of the material he presented in the initial lectures, the formation of his fundamental ideas about the development of funerary sculpture, and the place of the Medieval North as opposed to the Renaissance South in this story, can be traced back some years, to his 1939 publication *Studies in Iconology*. The kernel of the lectures that became *Tomb Sculpture* is here in a digression leading up to his analysis of Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II.[39] This five-page overview sets out the narrative that he would expand over fifteen years later, starting with ancient Egypt and tracing the development of funerary imagery though the early Christian and medieval periods, discussing the significance of the introduction of the Virtues and Liberal Arts, and the survival and reintroduction of classical imagery and form, with the aim of determining the place of Michelangelo's tomb within the course of this development. The other significant project for the formulation of the ideas in *Tomb Sculpture* was surely his work on the book that was to become *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (1960), another lecture project that dated back to 1952, and that Panofsky had been working on with difficulty over several years. His development of his theories about the revival of antiquity in the medieval and renaissance periods that were central to this book are clearly also a determining presence in the selection of material and its interpretation in *Tomb Sculpture*. He sent the text of both books to the publishers in the same week in May 1958, though *Tomb Sculpture* was going to be another six years in the press. In a postscript to Janson in 1959 he wrote 'I begin to be afraid that the Tombs will really appear as a posthumous memorial; but I should not mind'.[40]

It was in *Studies in Iconology* that Panofsky first puts forward the terms 'retrospective' and 'prospective' to characterise the imagery of funerary monuments, and it is these terms (always set in inverted commas) that provide the central thread for Panofsky's narrative in *Tomb Sculpture*.[41] As defined by him, the imagery of the 'prospective' tomb looked forward to salvation and the afterlife, while that of a 'retrospective' monument looked backwards to the past, commemorating the life of the individual and his deeds: as he eloquently formulated it, we move 'from the magic manipulation of the future to the imaginative commemoration of the past'.[42] The development as Panofsky traced it, in its very broadest terms, ran from 'prospective' in Egypt to 'retrospective' in ancient Greece, back to 'prospective' in the medieval world and then, with the revival of antiquity and rise of humanism in the Renaissance, to the reinstatement of their 'retrospective' function

alongside the 'prospective' purpose, as tombs became a conduit for commemoration as well as salvation. With this narrative in mind, he wrote to Katzenellengbogen about the thirteenth-century tomb of Clement II in Bamberg, a monument whose extremely lively character was proving difficult for Panofsky to classify because of its contradictory qualities, but, he assures himself, these features did not disprove the general laws he was trying to establish: 'Be that as it may', he writes, 'everyone seems to agree that the iconography is basically "prospective" and does not invalidate the general impression one receives from the rank and file of Gothic funerary monuments'.[43] This comment is indicative of Panofsky's approach to the material he amassed in *Tomb Sculpture*: he sought exceptions and marshalled them to prove his much loved rules.

Indeed, throughout *Tomb Sculpture* we can sense Panofsky attempting to codify funerary imagery by formulating its terminology. His text is liberally peppered with phrases like 'what I would like to call', 'what I propose to call' and 'what may be called', as he established or invented categories to structure the material and classify its forms and setting, literally, the terms of the debate while defining the origins of its language. In the process he examines, with great elegance and wit, terms such as 'eternity' and 'perpetuity' the 'image soul' and the 'life soul'(the Shā and the Bā),[44] exercising liberally his favourite semantic strategy of setting up opposing binaries. One of the most influential of these categories has been the 'Activation of the Effigy', but we are also treated to the 'statue accoudée'; the 'Image in Majesty' and the motif of the 'Arts Bereft'.[45] Panofsky often favours the adoption of French terms, perhaps as a way of conferring greater authority. He speaks of the 'representacion au vif' and the 'representacion de la mort'; the *enfeu*, in preference to the altar tomb; 'tombeaux de grande cérémonie' (or the double-decker tomb) the *gisant*, of course but also of *demi-gisants* 'as we may call them' (for the figures raised up on their elbows found first, he is perturbed to admit, not in Italy but on Spanish tombs at Guadalajara and Sigüenza).[46] Whether or not the terms he appears to be inventing are actually used by him for the first time (some certainly have longer histories, and some are drawn from contemporary documents), his definition of them and his explanation of their linguistic origins in *Tomb Sculpture* have ensured their currency.

The examples Panofsky drew on to support his taxonomy and to tell his story were naturally dependent on his intellectual formation, past academic endeavours, his own experience, and the arguments he was pursuing. His engagement with medieval German sculpture from his days in Hamburg ensured that this region was well covered: this was a field he continued to teach for some years once he had emigrated to the United States, as his course outlines at the IFA demonstrate.[47] His deep knowledge of this field is evident in his 1924 two volume study, *Die Deutsche Plastik*, that must have been a formative work for his IFA lectures: almost all of the examples of funerary monuments that were illustrated in the 1924 study reappear in *Tomb Sculpture* (although apparently with newer stock photographs that show the objects lit slightly differently but from the same angle as in the 1924 versions). More important than German was of course Italy: Panofsky's previous

work on Michelangelo's tomb projects, his longstanding interest in the classical tradition and the humanistic language of tomb iconography and the basic structure of his narrative also ensured that these played a major role, particularly in Lecture IV. Panofsky's close relationships with Leopold Ettlinger and Horst Janson during this period, respectively specialists on Pollaiuolo and Donatello, may also have contributed to the prominent presence of works by these artists. The extensive use of examples from Saint-Denis, notably in Lecture IV, reflects newer interests, and must relate in part, as noted above, to the time spent in Paris in the summer of 1957: the availability of dramatic photographs of these monuments by Pierre Jahan, theatrically lit (e.g. his figs 346–51), may also have helped to ensure they featured extensively.

The regions that receive by far the least attention in Panofsky's text are England, the Iberian Peninsula, Belgium and the Netherlands, and eastern Europe. There are in fact only four English works illustrated, five or six from Spain, a handful more from the Netherlands, and none from Poland or Portugal, for example. The major monuments at Westminster Abbey, Canterbury, York, Burgos, Miraflores, Toledo, Las Huegas, Batalha, Bruges, Cracow and Breda, to name but a few, are absent. Some of these must be accounted for simply by his lack of first hand experience of these regions, though Panofsky bristled at this suggestion from the reviewer in the TLS: as he wrote to Janson:

> I don't know whether you have seen the review of the TOMBS in the Times Literary Supplement. The reviewer damns us with faint praise and reproaches us for insufficient attention to English monuments. He is probably quite right….. But the trouble is that all other members of the United Nations could—and probably will—raise the same objection from their point of view.[48]

However, Panofsky's knowledge of English sculpture was probably not extensive; he had spent little time in that country, having last visited London in 1936. The equally scant treatment of Spain and Portugal is probably also partly explicable in a similar way: he had attempted to enter Spain in 1936, but was prevented from doing so by the Civil War, and never tried again.[49] However, in general terms, medieval English art did not enthral him, while the sculpture of the Iberian peninsula was mostly an unknown quantity: if he had wanted to undertake a survey of English monuments, either through travel or from photographs in the 1950s he could have done so, but Franco's Spain was likely to have been more of a problem, and its monuments were not well published, and many were then in very poor condition. While understandable, this lack of familiarity with Iberian works of the fifteenth century is particularly unfortunate, since their iconography would have complicated his narrative, though he may have batted their evidence away as effectively as he did for the perturbing examples of rule-breaking effigies he was aware of from that region.[50] The relative absence of Netherlandish tombs in Panofsky's survey is perhaps

more surprising, given the high regard in which he held the painting of this region and his considerable first hand knowledge of Belgium and the Netherlands: but Panofsky's interest had been in its painting, not its sculpture; it is possible he just did not see its contribution in this media as of great significance. Moreover, the most significant examples, like the tombs of Mary of Burgundy and Charles the Bold in Bruges, placed emphasis on heraldry and lineage in a manner that did not fit easily into Panofsky's narrative.

As well as his blind spots over certain regions, Panofsky also was uninterested in certain types of funerary monument, most notably perhaps medieval tomb brasses: despite the fact that one is embossed in gold on the cloth binding of the first edition of *Tomb Sculpture*, they are given only a couple of lines in his text, and these concern the absurdity of their imagery.[51] One senses he may not have thought of these works as art worth studying, or perhaps as 'art' at all.

While Panofsky was himself keenly aware of the limitations of his study, and how selective his survey of such a vast terrain was by necessity, his contemporaries found much to admire in it. Colleagues writing to Panofsky perhaps predictably described his book as 'brilliant', and 'exciting', but the published reviews it received were also enthusiastic, recognising its ambition and the herculean task of bringing order into such a vast and diverse body of material. Even the somewhat less positive article in the TLS admitted that 'the story professor Panofsky tells us is a story never told so comprehensively or so intelligently before' and it was acclaimed as a 'gallant effort to survey the field and name the questions that must be asked'.[52] Indeed, even if it was, arguably, as much a picture book as a text book—or perhaps, in part at least, because of it—*Tomb Sculpture* defined as well as surveyed the field. Its teleological narrative and persuasive terminology have remained tenacious. While in many ways, fifty years on, it shows its age, in 1964 it was at the vanguard of a new wave of studies, a work that considered not simply style but function, meaning and cultural significance, that drew a very wide disciplinary arc, and which set the terms of the debate, formulating questions as well as terminology, and looking at many of the monuments in new ways. As one reviewer eloquently put it: 'Panofsky takes us back to the grave, and works of art, which we knew well enough in their vacuous description as sculpture and could date by their style, now stand before us as funerary monuments and speak'.[53] This 'activation' of tomb sculpture, as a product and reflection of a culture and its set of beliefs, is perhaps the most important legacy of Panofsky's book.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Jan Białostocki, review of *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* by Erwin Panofsky, *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): p. 261.

2. I am very grateful to Emily Pegues for having located and photographed unpublished material relating to Panofsky's project on tombs in the Archives of American Art (hereafter AAA) at the Smithsonian in Washington for me.

3. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964). It was published almost simultaneously in a German edition, *Grabplastik: vier Vorlesungen über ihren Bedeutungswandel von Alt-Ägypten bis Bernini* (Cologne, DuMont Schauberg, 1964); in England, it was distributed by Thames and Hudson with a slightly different title, the 'Four Lectures on' having been removed from its subtitle.

4. Copious illustrations were a hallmark of Panofsky's other publications, to be sure, but the proportion of text to images in *Tomb Sculpture*, and the single-volume format was what distinguished this publication from his other well-illustrated endeavours such as his *Die deutsche Plastik des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wolff, 1924), with 125 plates, in a separate volume; his monograph on *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), with 325 plates, in a separate volume; and *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard university Press, 1953) which had 334 plates also in a separate volume.

5. Jan Białostocki, review of *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 258.

6. The significant reviews of the book are those by Białostocki in *The Art Bulletin*, pp. 258-61; Philipp Fehl, in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Criticism*, 26 (1967), pp. 260-1; and by Robert Klein 'La méthode iconographique et la sculpture des tombeaux' in *Mercure de France*, (1965), pp. 363-67. It is noteworthy that *Tomb Sculpture* did not draw the numerous and extensive reviews that some of Panofsky's other books did. This might be partly to do with its ambiguous format, and partly to do with the breadth of its subject and scope.

7. For example in a letter to Robert Klein, Dieter Wuttke (ed), *Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1968*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden:Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006-2011),*5*, 3132, p. 625.

8. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 7.

9. 'I have to apologize for the fact that in my silly book on Tomb Sculpture…' to Guy de Tervarent, letter of 13 November, 1964, Wuttke, *Korrespondenz*, *5*, 3087, p. 547.

10. Letter of 30 October 1964; Wuttke *Korrespondenz*. *5*, 3083, pp. 538-39.

11. Letter of 4 January, 1963; Wuttke, *Korrespondenz*, *5*, 2920, p. 291.

12. This widespread practice of reiterating the same view in subsequent photographs of the same objects, establishing a 'correct' viewpoint, is discussed with great insight by Geraldine A. Johnson, 'Using the Photographic Archive: On the Life (and Death) of Images, in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed C. Caraffa (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2011): pp. 145-156, and for the reproduction of sculpture more generally idem, '"(Un)richtige Aufnahme": Renaissance Sculpture and the Visual Historiography of Art History' *Art History*, 36 (2013): pp. 12-51.

13. To Patrick Reutesward, letter of 15 June 1965: Wuttke, *Korrespondenz*, *5*, 3165, p. 678.

14. As pointed out by Białostocki, review of *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 258.

15. For a discussion of the genesis and form of *Early Netherlandish Painting*, see Susie Nash, 'Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character, 1953', in Richard Schone and John-Paul Stonard (eds.) *The Books that Shaped Art History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2013), pp. 88-101.

16. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 7.

17. The phrase is from an unpublished letter of February 23rd 1960 from Panofsky to Horst Janson, AAA Panofsky papers.

18. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson, of 15 October 1964 AAA Panofsky Papers 1904-1990.

19. Fehl, 'Tomb Sculpture', p. 261.

20. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 96.

21. Their transcription is mentioned by the secretary of the IFA, unpublished letter from Florence Bill to Panofsky of 21 November 1956, 'I have not yet received a script from Mr Palumbo who recorded your lecture on November 9th', AAA Panofsky Papers. As yet no copy of these transcriptions has been located; it is possible they burnt in the fire at Panofsky's flat in Camden New Jersey, in the late summer of 1962 which consumed 'practically all the notes I had made concerning the Tombs and copies of … correspondence about last minute changes and additions', Letter to Horst Janson of 6 September 1962, Wuttke, *Korrespondenz*, *5*, 2892, p. 256. The IFA have no trace of any voice recordings for the Tomb Sculpture series, and possibly they only made audio recordings of the later Titian lectures. I thank Pat Rubin, Alexander Nagel and the staff at the IFA for their assistance with the search for any evidence of Panofsky's lectures, and with providing the recordings of the Titian lectures.

22. Unpublished letter to Florence Bill of 21 November 1956, AAA Panofsky Papers.

23. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of December 5 1956, AAA, Panofsky Papers.

24. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 21 March 1960, AAA Panofsky Papers.

25. Letter to George Kubler; of 24 January Wuttke, *Korrespondenz*, 3, 1277, p. 1027.

26. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 7.

27. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 9.

28. Letter to Adolf Katzenellenbogen of 18 February 1957; Wuttke *Korrespondenz*. 4, 2043, p. 30.

29. Letter to Jan van Gelder of 18 July 1957, Wuttke *Korrespondenz* 4, 2115, p.140; letter to Leon Delaissé of 21 May 1957, Wuttke *Korrespondenz* 4, 2103, p. 120.

30. Letter to Adolf Katzenellenbogen of 18 February 1957; from Adolf Katzenellenbogen of 26th February 1957; to Adolf Katzenellenbogen of 1st March 1957. Wuttke *Korrespondenz*. 4, 2043, 2044, 2048, pp. 30-32; 39.

31. For example unpublished letters of 7 October 1958, 13 April 1959, 6 March 1959 and 23 February 1960, all to Horst Janson, AAA Panofsky Papers.

32. Letters to Leon Delaissé of 21 May 1957 and to Jan van Gelder of 18 July 1957; Wuttke *Korrespondenz*, 4, 2103, pp. 119-20 and 2115, pp. 138-40.

33. For the recent literature on the funerary complex at Brou see Kim Woods in this volume.

34. Klein 'La méthode iconographique', pp. 364-65

35. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 5 December 1956, AAA Panofsky Papers.

36. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 13 December 1956, AAA Panofsky Papers.

37. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 23 April 1957, AAA Panofsky Papers.

38. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 66.

39. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 183-87.

40. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 3 June 1959, AAA Panofsky Papers.

41. They are discussed further in the chapters by Geoffrey Nuttall and Robert Marcoux in this volume.

42. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 16.

43. Letter to Adolf Katzenellenbogen of 1 March 1957, Wuttke *Korrespondenz*. 4, 2048, pp. 39-40.

44. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 11-13; 45.

45. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 76 ff and 87 ff.

46. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 82.

47. Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik*; for copies of Panofsky's course documentation from the 1930s and 40s at the IFA I am grateful to Patricia Rubin.

48. Unpublished letter to Horst Janson of 1 February 1965, AAA, Panofsky Papers.

49. Nash, 'Early Netherlandish Painting', p. 94.

50. See above on the 'demi-gisant' and Kim Woods in this volume.

51. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 55 and 212; see chapter 9 by Ann Adams in this volume.

52. *Times Literary Supplement* 5 April 1965. 'Gloria Mundi. Erwin Panofsky: *Tomb Sculpture*. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini. Thames and Hudson'.

53. Fehl, 'Tomb Sculpture', p. 260.

PART ONE

RE-ASSESSING PANOFSKY

CHAPTER 2

'FROM THE "PICTORIAL" TO THE "STATUESQUE"': TWO ROMANESQUE EFFIGIES AND THE PROBLEM OF PLASTIC FORM

SHIRIN FOZI

2.1
Tomb of Rudolf of Swabia (c.1080-84). Bronze with traces of gilding, Merseburg Cathedral.

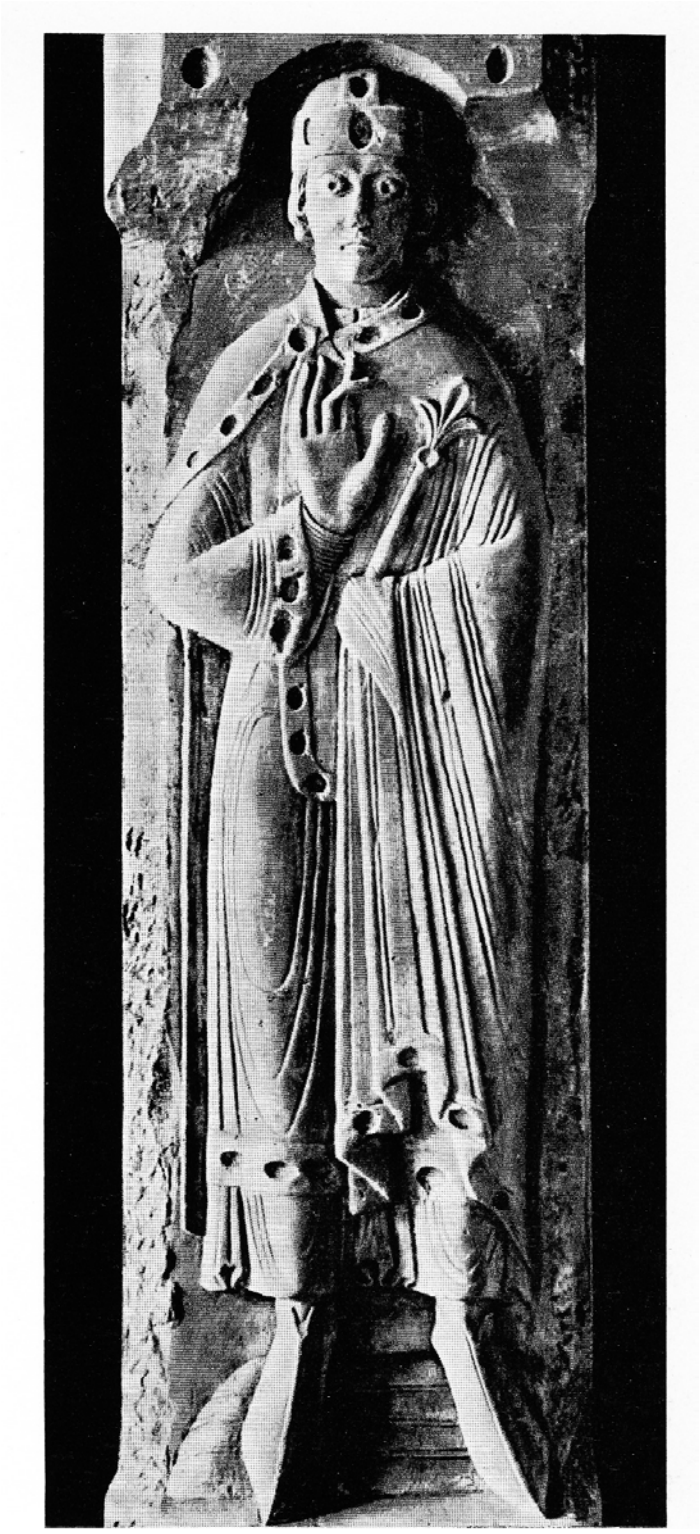
From the vantage point of the present day, it is deceptively easy to frame medieval tomb sculpture as a coherent tradition. This is certainly the impression given by the effigies that survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the period when cathedrals and churches across Europe were swiftly becoming populated with an ever-increasing number of figural tombs. Created in vast numbers to represent a wide array of lay and ecclesiastical subjects, these objects often followed certain conventions that have come to define medieval effigies as a familiar type: the dead appear on rectangular slabs with heads on cushions and hands pressed together, frozen in a state of recumbent prayer, waiting with calm, open eyes for the promised resurrection of the body at the end of time. Countless

variations exist, but many of the best-known effigies display such features with a consistency that belies their broad geographic and stylistic differences. Like their appearances, the functions of these objects also demonstrate certain patterns across a diverse spectrum of examples. To use the terms coined by Erwin Panofsky, Gothic effigies served both the retrospective and the prospective needs of the dead, commemorating their past ephemeral lives while also anticipating their expected eternal futures.[1] In late-medieval Europe, funerary monuments frequently appealed to the living to pray for the dead, and were often commissioned by the subjects themselves, or else their immediate kin, in the hope of gaining entry to heaven. While many notable exceptions exist, this model is widespread enough to allow broad-based discussions of the cultural expectations that inflected the use and meaning of Gothic effigies.[2]

At first glance the earliest tomb effigies of the Middle Ages, dating to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, do seemingly little to disrupt this paradigm. While it is true that these Romanesque examples generally lack pillows, and their hands are shown holding attributes of office rather than making gestures of prayer, their alert, expressionless faces and full-length bodies carved in static, frontal poses on rectangular slabs invite the preliminary conclusion that Romanesque effigies are the obvious predecessors of their Gothic counterparts, and once served much the same purpose. It is only upon close examination of the monuments in their historical contexts that the first medieval effigies emerge as objects that were challenging, or even radical, in their own time. Romanesque effigies intruded unexpectedly into ecclesiastical spaces in the decades around 1100, showing defeated warlords and extinguished dynasties in daring images that transformed the earthly disappointments of the dead into new heavenly victories. None of the known figural effigies from before the mid-twelfth century could have been commissioned by their subjects, and while every example is defined by a unique set of circumstances, each one also displays remarkable agency in retooling a problematic legacy as a larger spiritual success.[3]

Nowhere is this stark reversal of fortune more apparent than in the effigies of Rudolf of Swabia in Merseburg (c.1080-84, figs 2.1 and 2.2) and Widukind of Saxony in Enger (c.1100-30, figs 2.3 and 2.4), two prominent examples from the first generation of effigies made in post-classical Europe.[4] Grasping delicate sceptres and wearing heavy crowns, both appear as ideal kings on their respective monuments. Together they seem to form an intuitive point of origin for the genre: pictures of kings and emperors had enjoyed special prominence since at least the time of Louis the Pious, and these two examples share iconographic features with royal and imperial figures in manuscripts and metalwork from the ninth through twelfth centuries.[5] The complication is that neither Rudolf nor Widukind had actually reigned as a king in life. The former was elected king during the Investiture Controversy by the rebellious nobles who were waging war against Henry IV, only to die in the course of that conflict; the latter was a warlord who led the pagan Saxons in their resistance against Charlemagne, and fell from prominence after his surrender in 785.[6] Both men were justly famous as leaders of opposition parties that suffered bitter defeats

2.2
Tomb of Rudolf of Swabia (c.1080-84), overhead view. Bronze with traces of gilding, Merseburg Cathedral.



2.3
Tomb of Widukind of Saxony (c.1100-30), overhead view. Plaster (stucco), Enger (Westphalia), Church of St. Dionysus.

2.4
Tomb of Widukind of Saxony (c.1100-30), shown in profile as installed today on a sarcophagus from the 16th century. Plaster (stucco), Enger (Westphalia), Church of St. Dionysus.

in disastrous wars, but their effigies reshaped these tragic outcomes in triumphant terms. Such transformations suggest a *topos* that is familiar to hagiographic literature, but highly unusual in Romanesque sculpture, or in any medieval monument presenting single figures in iconic, non-narrative form. Thus the fact that the first effigies for kingly men were made not merely to reflect individual identities, but rather to refashion past events in the eyes of their publics, carries deep implications for the study of medieval tomb sculpture, and also for the history of memorial culture as a whole.

This point, however, is easily lost for casual readers of Panofsky's landmark volume on *Tomb Sculpture* (1964). Couched within a larger argument that stresses continuity over change, these provocative early effigies are introduced in the medieval chapter as normative advances in a much longer tradition, objects whose appearance is noteworthy, but still to be expected almost as a matter of course in a teleological history of art that began in ancient Egypt and reached an apogee with Bernini. Panofsky was eminently sensitive to questions raised by historical context, and it is not the purpose of this essay to suggest that he was blind to the events surrounding the lives of Rudolf and Widukind, or disinterested in their fates. To the contrary, *Tomb Sculpture* is rich with insightful details concerning the individuals who are commemorated in its chosen examples, and these two men are no exception. Ultimately, however, it is the formal, physical development of tombs as sculpture, and not their social history, that is the driving force of the book. The comparison between Rudolf of Swabia and Widukind of Saxony is an instructive example of this method: while biographical notes are included anecdotally in the discussion, it is the progression of sculptural forms over time that attracts Panofsky's attention, and remains his central focus.

This essay aims to untangle the visual and historical rhetoric of Romanesque effigies by revisiting the effigies of Rudolf and Widukind, as presented in *Tomb Sculpture* and also in light of current research. Two goals are at stake: first, to clarify the relationship between form and meaning in two key Romanesque effigies, and second, to consider some ways in which the objects have been misrepresented, and even misunderstood, through Panofsky's analysis. While the latter approach takes a critical view of his ideas, it is not intended to project an unsympathetic attitude or a lack of interest in them. Indeed, it is the very fact that *Tomb Sculpture* still occupies a central place in art-historical discourse more than fifty years after its initial publication that prompts scrutiny of its details here. In this vein, it should be noted at the outset that recent studies of the Rudolf and Widukind effigies have been fundamentally affected by two major changes in the world beyond art history. The first is a series of technological advances that allow sculptures to be reproduced in far better detail, from multiple vantage points, and with image rendering techniques that give a closer approximation of their physical qualities than was imaginable in 1964. The second

change is even more profound, though it too is tied to the ability of modern audiences to see the artworks in question. The political reunification of Germany was set in motion twenty-five years after the publication of *Tomb Sculpture*, and has allowed incomparably better access to major monuments, including the effigy of Rudolf of Swabia, that once lay behind an Iron Curtain. As a younger man in pre-war Germany, Panofsky would have had opportunities to view the Rudolf effigy before the rise of the Third Reich and his own emigration to the United States; nevertheless, it would not have been easy for him—or for any scholar based in the West—to revisit the site in later decades. It would have likewise posed an even greater challenge, of course, for East European scholars to see the effigy of Widukind of Saxony in Westphalia during the Cold War.

Therefore, while one contention of the present essay is that Panofsky's comments on the Rudolf and Widukind effigies reflect the distorting effects of photography on sculpture, this assessment should be weighed against the harsh realities of a time when access to major monuments was limited not only by the conventions of photography, but also by the divisive legacy of the Second World War. In revisiting Panofsky's comparison between two seminal medieval effigies, and reconsidering their place in the history of medieval funerary culture, it is not enough merely to highlight that some of the commentary in *Tomb Sculpture* was predicated on a visual misreading. Beyond this narrow revision, it remains essential to acknowledge Panofsky's larger effort to establish a universal history of the visual arts with tomb sculpture as one of its major cornerstones. Very few scholars have tackled topics of such broad significance, or prompted so much sustained discussion through the publication of four lectures. For this reason, even if the details of his argument can be tested and rewritten in part today, such revisions need not diminish the value of Panofsky's enterprise as a whole.

EFFIGIES AMID THE 'REBIRTH' OF MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE

Panofsky's approach to the emergence of the medieval effigy in the decades around 1100 was intimately linked to a larger assumption that still haunts the study of Romanesque art today: the idea that the production of monumental sculpture was a constant in the classical world, forming a tradition that was extinguished in late antiquity and rekindled through the work of zealous but somewhat naive sculptors in the eleventh century.[7] Following this model, it was these nameless craftsmen who turned to the abundant fragments of ancient statuary scattered about Europe for inspiration, and 'rediscovered' the lost art of monumental sculpture. Such assertions have been challenged by recent archaeological findings, as well as new technical studies of the rare surviving examples of monumental sculpture from the early Middle Ages.[8] It now seems clear that Carolingian and Ottonian patrons had access to a significant amount of monumental sculpture, though scholarly understanding of this phenomenon has been complicated by increased recognition that 'monumental sculpture' cannot be understood as synonymous with sculpture in

2.5
Milan Ciborium (tenth century). Plaster (stucco), Milan, Church of Sant'Ambrogio.

stone. Even as current studies have given more attention to the various media of medieval sculpture, including stone, plaster, wood, and bronze, they have also opened up the general view that objects made from different materials often existed in dialogue with one another.[9] A staggering amount of the record has been lost, and a clear chronology remains difficult to establish, but nevertheless the surviving monuments offer ample evidence that monumental sculpture never vanished entirely from the Holy Roman Empire, particularly not when production in wood, bronze, and plaster is taken into account. To name just one prominent example, the graceful tenth-century ciborium of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan (fig. 2.5) stands as a reminder that plastic representations of both royal and saintly bodies, appearing in architectural contexts on a monumental scale, were hardly unknown at the end of the first millennium.[10]

Nevertheless, in the decades spanned by Panofsky's career it was still possible to speak of an eleventh-century 'rebirth' of monumental sculpture, and the sparking of a developmental line that found its early expression in weightless, drifting forms like the wispy Isaiah on the south porch of Moissac, and progressed smoothly towards the heavily muscled statuary of Michelangelo's David and other Renaissance icons.[11] Ever-increasing naturalism was another hallmark of this proposed evolution, implicitly linked to a constant trend towards ever-greater plasticity. The latter shift was conceptualised in almost Darwinian terms, with Romanesque reliefs understood as the early and immature signs of something better that was yet to come. Antiquated as these generalisations may seem today, they were widely acknowledged in much twentieth-century scholarship, and tacitly accepted in the text of *Tomb Sculpture*.[12] Panofsky affirmed this account of Romanesque art as a prelude to the eventual triumph of freestanding sculpture, with the effigy as its primary vehicle, by asserting two central points: first, that the medieval effigy developed in a progression from flat, schematic relief towards plastic, naturalising sculpture, and second, that the first experiments in the genre were ultimately derived from classical models, and thus participants in the great re-discovery of the ancient world that led Europe from the Middle Ages

to the Renaissance. These twin arcs are especially evident in the section that takes up the rise of the effigy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and sets the stage for effigies to emerge as a well-defined genre of medieval art.

Positioning Romanesque tomb sculpture in direct response to the legacy of ancient Rome, and measuring its forms against the achievement of ever-greater plasticity over time, required some imagination. Panofsky found an unlikely but ingenious solution that carried surprising weight, at least on its surface. In spare, elegant prose, he stated that the late antique tradition of funerary sculpture was preserved in two-dimensional mosaic portraits, particularly in North Africa and Spain. The formulation is appealing; there is indeed a visual resonance between examples like the early Christian mosaic of Optimus from Tarragona and the rare twelfth-century mosaics illustrated in the book.[13] Panofsky tightened this connection by citing the flat, schematic funerary monuments of pre-Christian Europe, such as the Niederdollendorf stone, to suggest that flat monuments would have held a special appeal for later Germanic people.[14] While Panofsky's choice of images is seductive, his arguments are deeply problematic. Not only do his references to pre-Christian art carry the notion that style is ethnically as well as culturally determined, but they also suggest that a taste for 'flatness' had remained constant despite other, far more profound changes that took place in the art of the German peoples during the period 700–1100. Further, Panofsky's model rests upon the interpretation of mosaics as the echo of sculpture, as if they were crafted in a desperate attempt to preserve the memory of freestanding monuments, or else to provide a thin substitute for that fading tradition.

The underlying assumption of a hierarchy of media, in which mosaics acted as consolation for something else that was more desirable and yet simultaneously dying, is no longer tenable. Far from acting as mere replacements, late antique funerary mosaics formed their own vital tradition that could interact with sculpted models without being dependent upon them.[15] Equally unsustainable is the assertion that Mediterranean floor mosaics later inspired Romanesque effigies, as if artists at the end of the eleventh century could not have conceptualised the effigy without recourse to prestigious ancient models, and furthermore could not have looked directly to earlier Roman sculpture without the mediation of late antiquity. Geography presents yet another problem: funerary mosaics had been popular south of the Pyrenees and the Alps, but there is no strong evidence that such images received much attention from medieval travellers. The best proof Panofsky could offer are the rare funerary mosaics from the twelfth century, the most familiar of which represents Gilbert, abbot of Maria Laach.[16] Given that Gilbert died in 1152, his intriguing tomb post-dates the appearance of Romanesque effigies by more than fifty years, and all of the examples in this section of *Tomb Sculpture* present similar problems of chronology. Even if a fuller tradition could be reconstructed from the surviving evidence, there is still no real reason to see funerary mosaics as source material for funerary sculptures. Their parallel functions and similar forms may suggest correlation, but they do not demonstrate causation, and given that all of Panofsky's examples date to the twelfth century the mosaics must be understood as a contemporaneous phenomenon, not an antecedent.

Even though Panofsky's flawed positioning of Romanesque effigies as inspired by mosaics, matched by the presumption that medieval art was wholly dependent on classical sources, can no longer be accepted, his choice of terms to frame this connection remains intriguing. Arguing that the 'absence of a continuous tradition' in the plastic arts necessitated the use of two-dimensional models, Panofsky discussed the earliest three-dimensional tomb effigies as 'translations' of Mediterranean mosaics 'into the language of sculpture'.[17] The suggestion that such media are different languages to be translated back and forth, as if members of separate cultures within the visual arts, is notably at odds with the approaches often observed today in which an open dialogue between multiple media seems at times to be taken for granted. For Panofsky, the point was not that such relationships could not exist, but rather that the adaptation of form from one medium into another, and particularly from two to three dimensions, required special expertise. This comment comes as a preface to the effigy of Rudolf of Swabia, introduced immediately after the argument for the evolution of sculpture from mosaic. Rudolf carries special weight in *Tomb Sculpture* not only as the first sculpted effigy of the Middle Ages, but also as a key site of translation between different media. Panofsky's analysis of its form equates the point of departure for medieval effigies with a greater transformation from two to three dimensions, validating his model for the re-emergence of monumental sculpture as a whole. Situating the first effigy as an intermediary between mosaic and sculpture, Panofsky emphasised the thinness of the relief to associate its style with manuscript illumination, affirming the dependence of the sculpture on flat models. As he put it,

> The first step in this direction [ie, from mosaic to sculpture] was taken in the bronze-cast tomb slab of Rudolf of Swabia … probably the first layman ever to be honored by a sculptured effigy in a medieval church, and not without reason. Elected and crowned as 'anti-king' in 1077, he had been killed in a victorious battle against Henry IV, the archfoe of Pope Gregory VII; and it is precisely on this account that the cathedral nearest to the battlefield opened its doors to his remains, and everlasting bliss was promised to him in the inscription of his tomb: 'Where his men won, he, war's pure victim, fell; His death meant life; he perished for the Church.' From a stylistic point of view, his portrait—executed in a relief so flat and delicate that the forms appear suggested by the interplay of fluctuating lights and shades rather than defined in terms of measurable volume—may be described as a Late Ottonian book illumination converted into a life-sized bronze plaque.[18]

It is not clear why Panofsky highlighted Rudolf as the 'first layman' to receive a sculpted effigy when, as far as is known, Rudolf was the first person of any kind to be commemorated in this form. Often cited as the 'first' of its type, Rudolf's effigy is the only known example firmly dated to the eleventh century, and there is no contemporary group of ecclesiastical

effigies against which the appearance of a layman could be contrasted. Using biographical information as a justification for the intrusion of a secular figure into ecclesiastical space, rather than a reason for the invention of the genre as a whole, Panofsky framed Rudolf's effigy as a mere extension of one category (images of kings) into another (funerary effigies), when in reality the latter type was new to the established norms of monumental sculpture. For Panofsky, the novelty of the effigy was ultimately of lesser interest than the continuity between the Merseburg figure and the conventions of older art forms, particularly mosaics and manuscript illumination. Despite the subtitle of *Tomb Sculpture* ('four lectures on its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini'), its goal was to show the persistence of tradition, not to highlight a radical change in the representation of the dead.

Rudolf's effigy is followed in Panofsky's text with a contrasting passage on Widukind of Saxony, which presents the latter example as a 'true' sculpture rather than a 'converted' illumination due to its apparently more convincing projection of weight and mass:

> The transition from the 'pictorial' to the 'statuesque' can be observed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the style of European art developed from Early to High Romanesque and from High Romanesque to Gothic. About 1130 the Saxon Duke Widukind, a favorite son of the Church because he had accepted the Christian faith after his defeat at the hands of Charlemagne, received a monument, executed in stucco … in which the effigy has gained a substance and stability absent from the frail and floating figure of Rudolf of Swabia. The relief is much higher, and its mass is organized by means of almost stereo-graphical surfaces and firm, incisive outlines; the feet are made to stand upon a kind of plinth which, later on, was to develop into an elaborate console; and the head is surmounted by a canopy as if the classical niche … had been transformed … into a projecting form.[19]

Panofsky's use of detail remains lively, but as in the case of Rudolf the events of Widukind's life become a preface to justify the monument's existence, and are not considered in dialogue with its finished form. As noted above, historical information in *Tomb Sculpture* is used to explain *why* individuals received effigies, but not *how* they were represented. The *how* was connected, not to the person, but to the development of tomb sculpture as a whole. This reflects another sea change that has taken place since Panofsky's time: scholarship has turned towards discussions of the ways in which history inflects the appearance of objects, not only prompting their creation but also shaping their form. Even within Panofsky's own oeuvre, a purely formalist approach is surprising, and the large role played by teleological expectations in *Tomb Sculpture* seems disconnected from the iconographical and iconological approaches that are present elsewhere in his writing. The medieval chapter of *Tomb Sculpture* grapples instead with the broad observation that monumental sculpture acquired greater plasticity over time, and centres on artists and models, not

patrons and audiences. The heroic struggle of volume to break free from the relief, like so many bodies trapped in blocks of ice that slowly melt away, takes precedence in Panofsky's discussion of Romanesque tombs. This raises two issues that are central to the discussion below: first, how such characterisations match up with the actual forms of these two early effigies, and second, how the tensions between Panofsky's observations and the physical properties of the sculptures can inform renewed discussion of the early rise and subsequent proliferation of the figural effigy in medieval art.

'FRAIL AND FLOATING': RUDOLF OF SWABIA

The images of Rudolf and Widukind in *Tomb Sculpture* offer attractive confirmation for Panofsky's descriptions (figs 2.2 and 2.3). These photographs, however, are problematic evidence for the memorable characterisation of Rudolf's effigy as 'frail and floating', and the poetic observation that the relief is 'so flat and delicate that the forms appear suggested by the interplay of fluctuating lights and shades rather than defined in terms of measurable volume'.[20] This text reflects a subtle quality best seen in person, because the combination of dark bronze in a dark cathedral makes the surface of the effigy nearly impossible to photograph. The phenomenon Panofsky described so well is especially elusive: the surface of the body rises and falls in gentle gradations that depend upon the viewer's ability to move in space, and to see the object from a shifting point of view. The effect of the figure's delicately swelling surfaces in the eleventh century, when the bronze effigy still retained the gilding that only survives in traces today, must have been even more dazzling.

For Panofsky, the weightless surface of Rudolf's effigy reflected the first tentative step from mosaic to sculpture. What is missing from his description, however, is the boldly rounded head that emerges as a solid mass from the shallow planes of the body (fig. 2.1). Smoothly integrated into the original shape of the cast bronze slab, the prominent face is the work of sculptors who had full control over their craft, and who defined the volumes of the Rudolf effigy to reflect specific purposes, unrelated to any deficiencies in technical skill or other inability to project the body as a solid mass. Recent scholarship has situated such features in dialogue with the 'speaking' or figural reliquaries that were popular at this time.[21] Following Thomas Dale, the Rudolf effigy in its original gilded and inlaid state would have been reminiscent of objects like the reliquary of Saint Baudîme, one of several portrait reliquaries known from this period.[22] The similarity is apt not only because the projecting head recalls the presence of the tactile body beneath the slab, but also because the framing inscription around the effigy alludes to death becoming life and positions Rudolf as the 'sacra victima belli', directly inviting comparison to receptacles for sacred remains.[23] The effigy makes deliberate reference to reliquaries for two purposes, idealising Rudolf's image but also highlighting the disastrous nature of his death. The upright and detached body of a processional reliquary has been denied to the stationary relief, set supine into the floor of the cathedral rather than retreating to the treasury to

show a fallen hero rather than an ever-living saint. The strangeness of this subversion—of a figure defined in quasi-saintly terms, yet lying dead on the ground and bereft of active, living movement—is elided in *Tomb Sculpture*, in which Rudolf is simply sandwiched between the earlier history of floor mosaics and the later history of recumbent effigies. Once seen as a new formulation, an object that was unique in its own context, the Rudolf effigy takes on far greater power. It is an object that invoked and yet also altered the format of the freestanding reliquary, presenting Rudolf as a tragic figure who had once seemed bound for greatness, but suffered devastating defeat instead.

The plasticity of speaking reliquaries is ample evidence that sculpture in the round was well known to patrons and artists in Romanesque Germany.[24] Such reliquaries, however, generally consisted of a wooden core with thinly hammered sheets of metal applied to their surfaces, which is very different from the technical challenge of casting a massive block of bronze like the Rudolf effigy. Comparative examples for bronze casting in this period are few, probably because of the high value of the material and the relative ease with which it could be melted down and re-used. Nevertheless, surviving monuments offer ample evidence that the skill required to cast monumental bronze in the round was readily available in the eleventh century. Famous examples include the Krodo Altar in Goslar and the bronze doors and column of Bishop Bernward in Hildesheim.[25] Produced within a hundred miles of Merseburg and likely using bronze from the same source, these examples offer virtual proof that the depth of the relief employed on the Rudolf effigy reflects the visual effects desired by its patrons, and not any limitations on the part of its makers.

It is difficult to explain why Panofsky segregated Rudolf from the evidence of the other bronze sculptures of its time, especially when he knew the Hildesheim doors quite well, and used them for a comparison elsewhere in the book.[26] It is a reminder, however, that *Tomb Sculpture* explores funerary art as a separate thread, presented with minimal reference to other object types, as if its makers adhered to a purely funerary tradition in conceptualising their creations. In hindsight, the segregation of funerary monuments from their immediate artistic contexts presents an unconvincing picture. Rather than recalling the distant mosaics of North Africa, early viewers saw Rudolf's figure in relation to contemporary reliquaries and its floating, dematerialized quality in contrast to their upright, freestanding shapes. Instead of a mosaic rendered in plastic form, the Rudolf effigy can almost be characterised as a reliquary that has melted away into shallow relief, its ambiguous surfaces reflecting the tensions that were felt within his political party after the Pope's own champion suffered a terrible defeat. Even as the monument's shining surface and framing inscription insist that Rudolf's 'death became life', his supine body projects his poignant position in the tomb. This layering of pathos over triumph would not have been lost upon eleventh-century audiences. These same viewers, after all, also witnessed new monumental images that showed Christ on the cross as dead and suffering, rather than living and triumphant, in this same period.[27] Rudolf's effigy presents a related paradox, with death displayed as a necessary precursor to life. By embedding a richly gilded monument humbly

on the floor, the sculpture acted as a sign of immediate defeat and yet also eventual triumph. Form cannot be divorced from meaning in this instance, and the contrast of its tactile head and dematerialised body provides ample evidence that medieval sculpture did not progress unilaterally towards ever-higher relief. Far from followers of a passive trend towards plasticity, the artists and patrons of this period were responding in dynamic ways to the needs of their audiences—a point that only becomes more apparent when brought to bear on Panofsky's next example.

'SUBSTANCE AND STABILITY': WIDUKIND OF SAXONY

The legacies of Rudolf of Swabia and Widukind of Saxony share a certain rebellious, almost anti-heroic quality despite vast differences in their details. Unlike Rudolf, Widukind was a figure from the distant past when his effigy was made, and in contrast to the papal approval enjoyed by Rudolf as the enemy of Henry IV, Widukind fought against Charlemagne, the quintessential papal ally. Nevertheless, Widukind too was never a ruling king, but fought famously against one, and the aftermath of his harsh defeat also held profound political and theological implications for the Holy Roman Empire. Widukind's loss led directly to the Christianisation and assimilation of the far North, and indirectly to the eventual Saxon rule of the Holy Roman Empire through the Ottonians and their succeeding cousins, the Salians. Though Widukind's own career ended in humiliation, his personal reputation would later be rehabilitated. This was largely due to his position as an ancestor of Mathilda, wife of Henry the Fowler and mother of Otto the Great.[28] Mathilda's medieval biographers gave no details concerning her blood relation to Widukind, mentioning only that she was a member of his clan, but this detail proved enough to cement his place within historical and cultural memory, particularly in the Westphalian region where Mathilda had received her early education.

By claiming descent from a rival of Charlemagne himself, the Ottonians were able to bolster their position as Holy Roman Emperors during the tenth-century transition from Frankish to Saxon rule. This link took on renewed significance in the eleventh century, when the Salians inherited rule as a junior branch of the same family through Luitgard, a daughter of Otto the Great. It was probably at this time that the awkward nature of Widukind's pagan identity was glossed over through renewed interest in his baptism, visible in the so-called 'Taufschale Widukinds' from the collegiate church at Enger.[29] Like other highlights of the Enger treasury, the object is almost certainly associated with the patronage of Mathilda, who founded the church in the tenth century. By the early twelfth century, however, legend had pushed Mathilda's donations back to her warlike ancestor, and the appearance of a crowned plaster effigy at this time seems to have been part of a larger effort to reaffirm local identity and imperial ties by celebrating Widukind in the form of an ideal king. Panofsky's broad suggestion that Widukind's role in converting the Saxons to Christianity occasioned his effigy still rings true, but is complicated by a larger pattern of interest that took place under Salian rule. It is even possible that this rising

2.6
Holy Sepulchre, western wall exterior (c.1130). Plaster (stucco), Gernrode, Church of St. Cyriakus.

investment in Widukind could be associated with the end of the Salian line in 1125, and the subsequent wrangling over the succession that took place, though this suggestion must remain inconclusive without additional research.

Panofsky's interests, however, centre on form over context. In crediting Widukind with a new degree of 'substance and stability', and noting the firmly-planted feet and thick arched canopy over his head, Panofsky postulated that the effigy had evolved towards greater plasticity in a few short decades from 1080-1125. This was based on direct comparison with Rudolf, and rested upon viewing the pair as consecutive steps in a linear tradition without allowing for the different artists, workshops, and sculptural materials that were involved. The use of materials is particularly important. Panofsky noted that the Widukind figure is made of stucco, or plaster, but did not delve into the tradition of plaster sculpture that flourished in Romanesque Germany. Just as the Rudolf effigy was presented in relation to other funerary and commemorative monuments, but not in dialogue with contemporary metalwork, the Widukind figure was likewise divorced from the close parallels existing in its own medium.

Plaster has received more attention in recent years than it had during Panofsky's lifetime, and its prominence in Carolingian, Ottonian, and Romanesque architectural sculpture has only recently been recognised.[30] Fresh examinations of fragments at sites such as Brescia, Corvey, and Hildesheim have amply demonstrated the richness of such programmes, and remarkable examples surviving *in situ* include the 'Tempietto Langobardo' in Cividale (late eighth century?), the Milan ciborium (tenth century), the Ulrichskapelle in Müstair (late eleventh or twelfth century), and the Holy Sepulchre of Gernrode (c.1130, fig. 2.6).[31]

The last of these is roughly contemporary with Widukind at Enger, as are the remarkable early plaster effigies of the abbesses Adelheid, Beatrice, and Adelheid II at Quedlinburg (c.1129).[32] It is only against these comparative materials that the formal qualities of the Enger effigy can be accurately assessed, and one point made clear: among the preserved figures in monumental plaster from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Widukind presents the most flattened body, and is easily the most striking example of a sculpture articulated through linear rather than plastic means. Further, in comparison to the bronze relief of Rudolf of Swabia, Widukind is thicker overall, but displays considerably less subtlety in the modelling and expression of its constituent forms. The fact that Widukind is thicker, but still less truly 'sculptural' than Rudolf is effectively lost in Panofsky's text, preventing disruption of the imagined paradigm of ever-advancing plasticity.

The flat handling of the Enger figure all but disappears in the frontal photograph published in *Tomb Sculpture* thanks to the deep-set contours that trace, but do not model its forms (fig. 2.3). It is only from an oblique angle that the evenness of its surfaces becomes apparent (fig. 2.4). The body and limbs are articulated through a complex interplay of pictorial and sculptural techniques, in which the elegant linear features obscure the minimal plasticity of the body. This is perhaps most evident in the proper left hand, which grasps the sceptre through the cloth mantle. This area is articulated with a series of drapery folds that belie the flatness of the sculpted masses. The right hand, splayed across the chest in an idiosyncratic approximation of the speaking gesture, plays a similar role in suggesting a sense of depth beyond what actually exists.[33] This tension between the two- and three-dimensional aspects of the image is reminiscent of the celebrated pier reliefs of the cloister of Moissac, where Saint Peter's hand is flattened across his chest in a similar fashion, and the use of strong contours likewise counteracts the shallowness of the reliefs.

At Moissac it seems likely that the marble used for the pier reliefs was in short supply, and that the exceedingly thin plaques must reflect an economy of use, but the flatness of the Widukind effigy is more difficult to explain. In noting the 'almost stereo-graphical surfaces and firm, incisive outlines' of the figure, Panofsky seems aware of this problem.[34] 'Stereographical' in particular is an interesting term as applied to this sculpture, evoking the almost planar treatment of the face, hands, and drapery. As a whole, however, it is difficult to accept Panofsky's characterisation of Widukind as formed in 'higher relief' than Rudolf. Although the body protrudes abruptly from the background, its surface is treated with minimal plasticity. Conversely, the comparatively shallow Rudolf figure displays great sensitivity in modelling, with subtle gradations at play across the body and the boldly rounded head that lends the object far greater presence in three dimensions. 'Higher relief' only characterises the projection of Widukind from the background, but not the handling of the figure itself. In sum, a reading of Widukind's relief as comparatively 'statuesque' is only convincing in frontal photographs that emphasize the same weighty contours and firmly planted feet that had caught Panofsky's eye. Viewed from other angles, Widukind could best be compared to a sugar cookie, rising sharply from the pictorial plane only to present a flat plateau within itself.

Panofsky compared the architectural elements around Widukind to a classical niche, which is especially noteworthy in the context of the Saxon warlord's decidedly anti-Roman inclinations. While the position of Rudolf's effigy on the floor allowed viewers to see the delicate modelling of the low relief at various angles, the framing columns that once flanked Widukind would have precluded observation of the sculpture from oblique angles. Together with the arch over the head, the columns—now largely removed—reinforced perception of the figure as if standing upright. This, too, is markedly different from the case at Merseburg, where the supine position and circling inscription invited visitors to see Rudolf from multiple vantage points. The text of the Merseburg inscription also insists on the presence of Rudolf's body lying horizontal beneath the slab, using the phrase 'buried in this tomb' (*conditvr in tumvlo*) to reinforce the point. In contrast, the framing arch that supported Panofsky's perception of Widukind as 'statuesque' actually opens the distinct (if admittedly speculative) possibility that the Widukind effigy may well have been installed in the same manner as the plaster figures from this period that survive *in situ*: set vertically against a wall rather than recumbent on a floor. The clearest comparison is the Holy Sepulchre at Gernrode (fig. 2.6), which features what may well be the standing effigy of an early abbess on its enigmatic western façade.[35] Another is the Milan ciborium (fig. 2.5), which is considerably earlier but still provides a key precedent for royal bodies portrayed in monumental plaster. If stone sculpture is taken into account, Durandus of Moissac could be added as yet another famous standing effigy from the turn of the twelfth century.

Nothing is known of the original installation of the Enger figure, but its current configuration on the lid of a large sixteenth-century sarcophagus is clearly post-medieval. Its good state of preservation makes it highly unlikely that the flanking columns were broken away by chance. It is easy to imagine that they were removed in the process of converting the effigy from an upright to a horizontal position, when the image was affixed to the sarcophagus lid. Given that the whole ensemble seems to lack a body, making it an apparent cenotaph, it is appealing to imagine that the medieval sculpture itself may have acted as an ersatz body for the missing remains of Widukind in this reinstallation. Indeed, the sculpture may have had a similar function in the Middle Ages; as Gerd Althoff has demonstrated, it is quite likely that Widukind died as a monk on the distant Reichenau, and his body never returned to the north.[36] Unlike the Rudolf effigy, whose inscription insists upon the presence of a body beneath the slab, nothing about the Widukind effigy (apart from its Baroque re-installation) reflects a strictly funerary function.

Even if it never accompanied the body of the dead, the essential rarity of frontal, full-figure, life-sized figures in the monumental sculpture of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries make it difficult to exclude the Widukind figure from the emerging category of the figural effigy. After all, this early adoption of a frontal relief to represent the absent Saxon warlord occurred a generation before the mid-twelfth century proliferation of funerary effigies, and yet anticipated their characteristics so perfectly that Panofsky did not hesitate to include it in *Tomb Sculpture*. Instead of relegating Widukind to a different

category, it is more useful to expand definitions of the 'effigy' to encompass all commemorative sculptures that presented the tactile bodies of the dead to the communities that claimed them, including Durandus of Moissac and the mysterious woman of the Gernrode Holy Sepulchre, regardless of the presence or absence of actual bodily remains. In the case of Widukind at Enger, the presence of treasury objects that were linked to his patronage suggests that the gap between cenotaph and tomb could be elided by other traces of his presence. Whether supine over a grave, or set standing against a wall, the sculpture still performed the essential function of shaping historical memory to fit cultural expectations, transforming the defeated warlord into a heroic converted king. This is a useful reminder of the fluid usage of medieval images, and the immediacy with which monuments were shaped by the events at hand rather than the arbitrary classifications imposed by modern scholarship. The dialogue between the Enger figure and other mural sculptures, much like the link between Rudolf and the metalwork reliquaries of this time, points to the emergence of effigies in concert with other Romanesque objects. One resolution may be that even as Panofsky once referred to a 'language of sculpture', we might imagine more precise languages of metalwork and plaster, or other dialects of media that could be translated to produce new conversations between different sculptural forms.

CONCLUSION

Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture* juxtaposed the Rudolf and Widukind effigies to demonstrate a shift 'from the "pictorial" to the "statuesque"', fitting early effigies into the larger discourse of the rebirth of monumental sculpture. Renewed attention to these monuments presents a more complicated relationship between their forms and meanings, one that must take other external factors into account. Their differences are connected to the Romanesque traditions surrounding bronze and plaster, their probable installations on a floor and against a wall, and the potential presence and absence of bodies in relation to the sculptures. It may well be that the frail, floating effigy for Rudolf was intended to heighten the essential contrast between effigy and reliquary, while the solid, statuesque effigy for Widukind once stood, quite literally, in an architectural context. Sensitive, submissive, and shimmering, the softly modelled image of Rudolf was ideally suited to his position as the lost military martyr of the Investiture Controversy, whereas the stocky and assertive figure of Widukind was an appropriate reflection of his place as the rehabilitated ancestor of the powerful Saxons. In short, the contrast between Rudolf and Widukind is not straightforward evidence for the evolution of the effigy towards greater plasticity: instead it raises complex questions about the relationship between form and meaning in Romanesque tomb sculpture and beyond.

In closing, it should be noted that *Tomb Sculpture* was not the first occasion on which Panofsky wrote about these two particular sculptures; nor was it the first time that he attempted to trace the evolution of sculptural depth in Romanesque and Gothic Germany.

Both endeavours are tied to a longer history, not only of medieval art, but also of Panofsky's own scholarship. The 1964 publication of *Tomb Sculpture* coincided with the fortieth anniversary of another influential volume by the same author, *Die Deutsche Plastik des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (1924), published at the start of his career.[37] The effigies of Rudolf of Swabia and Widukind of Saxony were also cited in this book as evidence of emerging plastic form, and in many ways their appearance in *Tomb Sculpture* echoes an argument that had first been formulated four decades earlier. It may well be that the formalist approach of *Tomb Sculpture*, and its surprising divergence from the methods advanced elsewhere by its eminent author, reflects an almost nostalgic return to the ideas first formulated in Panofsky's early writings. Even as his formal analysis of Rudolf of Swabia and Widukind of Saxony championed the rise of sculptural volume as a prospective sign of the future achievements of Renaissance art, Panofsky's own decision to revisit monuments and arguments that he had published in his youth may reflect something deeply retrospective, not only in his thinking on Romanesque tombs, but also in his last writings on the history of art as a whole.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

I wish to thank Jacqueline Jung, not only for the comments that improved this essay, but also for the inspiration of her own writings on the tactile qualities of sculpture.

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four lectures on its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), pp. 16, 39. For retrospective/prospective see also Robert Marcoux, 'Memory, Presence and the Medieval Tomb' in this volume.

2. For essential literature in addition to Panofsky, see: Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); Hans Körner, *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997); Joan Holladay, 'Tombs and Memory: Some Recent Books', *Speculum* 78 (2003): pp. 440-50.

3. See Shirin Fozi, 'Reinhildis Has Died: Ascension and Enlivenment on a Twelfth-Century Tomb', *Speculum* 90/1 (2015): pp. 158-94, esp. 188-94.

4. The very few contemporary examples include the effigies of the Nellenburg dukes of Schaffhausen, c.1110-10; Gottschalk of Diepholz in Bad Iburg near Osnabrück, c.1110-20; and the Ottonian abbesses of Quedlinburg, c.1120-29. For an overview of this material, see especially Körner, *Grabmonumente*, and Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*. A few related monuments survive from the earlier Middle Ages, including the seventh-century sarcophagus of Chrodoara d'Amay, but in such examples the figure is smaller than life-size and occupies a smaller zone set within a larger pictorial surface. Formal differences and a distance of several centuries makes it unnecessary to overemphasise potential links between the continuous tradition that took off around 1100 and the small number of isolated early examples.

5. See especially Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit: I. Teil, bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts (751-1152)* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1928), and with Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 2 vols. (Munich: Prestel, 1962).

6. On the effigy of Rudolf of Swabia, see: Elisabeth Handle and Clemens Kosch, 'Standortbestimmungen: Überlegungen zur Grablege Rudolfs von Rheinfelden im Merseburger Dom', in Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (eds), *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt: Geschichte, Kunst, und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2006), pp. 529-41; Thomas Dale,

'The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg', *Speculum* 77/3 (2002): pp. 707-43; Berthold Hinz, *Das Grabdenkmal Rudolfs von Schwaben: Monument der Propaganda und Paradigma der Gattung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1996); Tilman Struve, 'Das Bild des Gegenkönigs Rudolf von Schwaben in der zeitgenössischen Historiographie', in Klaus Herberts, Hans Henning Kortüm and Carlo Servatius (eds), *Ex Ipsis Rerum Documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmerman zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991), pp. 459-75; Helga Sciurie, 'Die Merseburger Grabplatte Königs Rudolfs von Schwaben und die Bewertung des Herrschers im 11. Jahrhundert,' *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 6 (1982): pp. 173-83. For Widukind of Swabia, see: Gabriele Böhm, *Mittelalterliche figürliche Grabmäler in Westfalen von den Anfängen bis 1400* (Münster and Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1993), pp. 31-40; Olaf Schirmeister and Ute Specht-Kreusel, *Widukind und Enger: Rezeptionsgeschichte und Bibliographie* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1992).

7. See, for example, Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures* (ed.) Linda Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); note that Schapiro's lectures were given in 1967. Another example is M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981). Hearn's discussion of 'decline' and 'rebirth' was already questioned by Willibald Sauerländer, review of Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, *Art Bulletin* 66/3 (1984): pp. 520-22. Even so, the idea of monumental sculpture dying and being reborn remains so prevalent among non-specialists that it is still emphasised in books such as Fred Kleiner, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: Backpack Edition, Book B: The Middle Ages*, 15th edn (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2016), p. 346.

8. One of the more controversial contributions to this discussion is Christian Beutler, *Statua: Die Entstehung der nachantiken Statue und der europäische Individualismus* (Munich: Prestel, 1982).

9. See for example, Hans-Rudolf Meier, 'Ton, Stein und Stuck: Materialaspekte in der Bilderfrage des Früh- und Hochmittelalters', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003): pp. 35-52.

10. For the Milan ciborium, see: Adriano Peroni, 'Frühmittelalterlicher Stuck in Oberitalien: offene Fragen', in Matthias Exner (ed.), *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters: Geschichte, Technologie, Konservierung* (Munich: Lipp, 1996), pp. 25-36; see also Schramm – Mütherich, *Deutschen Kaiser*, with bibliography.

11. For an overview of the sculpture of Moissac, see especially Thorsten Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996). For Michelangelo's David, see A. Victor Coonin, *From Marble to Flesh: The Biography of Michelangelo's David* (Prato: B'Gruppo, 2014), with extensive bibliography.

12. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 52 on reaching 'maturity' and p. 53 on 'progress', for example.

13. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 52.

14. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 49.

15. See James Breckenridge, 'Christian Funerary Portraits in Mosaic,' *Gesta* 13/2 (1974): pp. 29-43.

16. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 50-1.

17. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 51.

18. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 51-2.

19. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 52.

20. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 52.

21. Dale, 'The Individual, the Resurrected Body', pp. 707-43; Fozi, 'Reinhildis Has Died', pp. 188-94.

22. On speaking reliquaries, see especially Thomas Dale, 'Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence', in Clark Maines (ed.), *Contemporary Encounters with the Medieval Face: Selected Papers from the Metropolitan Museum of Art symposium 'Facing the Middle Ages'*, *Gesta* 46/2 (2007): pp. 101-19; Beate Fricke, *Ecce Fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Western* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2007); also Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800-1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 104; and Harald Keller, 'Zur Entstehung der sakralen Vollskulptur', in *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1951), pp. 80-81, note 44.

23. The transcribed Latin text (as given in Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 51) reads: 'Qua vicere sui, ruit hic sacra victima belli; Mors sibi vita fuit; Ecclesiae cecidit' ('Where his men won, he, war's pure victim, fell; His death meant life; he perished for the Church').

24. While the best-known examples of figural reliquaries (like Baudîme and Foy) are French, one of the earliest to survive is the reliquary of St. Paul in Münster (c.1040), which provides good evidence that such sculptures were also known east of the Rhine. See *Goldene Pracht: Mittelalterliche Schatzkunst in Westfalen*, exh. cat. (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), and Birgitta Falk, 'Bildnisreliquiare: Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der metallenen Kopf-, Büsten- und Halbfigurenreliquiare im Mittelalter', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 59.1991/93 (1993): pp. 162-65.

25. For the Krodo altar, see Peter Lasko, 'Der Krodo-Altar und der Kaiserstuhl in Goslar', in: Frank Steigerwald (ed.), *Goslar: Bergstadt, Kaiserstadt in Geschichte und Kunst: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Goslar vom 5. bis 8. Oktober 1989*, Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Niedersächsische Bau- und Kunstgeschichte bei der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 6 (Göttingen: E. Goltze, 1993), pp. 115-17. For the column and

doors of Bernward of Hildesheim, see especially Michael Brandt (ed.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, exh. cat. (Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1993), and more recently Peter Barnet et al, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) with additional bibliography.

26. Note that the doors are actually illustrated in a different chapter of *Tomb Sculpture*, for the purpose of affirming medieval art as the heir to a classical tradition; see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 36.

27. For the conceptual issues raised by images of the dead Christ, see most importantly Reiner Haussherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz: zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes* (PhD diss., Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1963); for a thorough overview of early monumental crucifixes see Manuela Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, mit einem Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005).

28. On Mathilda's heritage, see most recently: Sean Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity: the* Lives *of Mathilda and the* Epitaph *of Adelheid* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), pp. 147-53.

29. For more information on Enger and the major items from its treasury, see Lothar Lambacher (ed.), *Schätze des Glaubens: Meisterwerke aus dem Dom-Museum Hildesheim und dem Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin*, exh. cat. (Regensburg, 2010), and especially Schirmeister and Specht-Kreusel, *Widukind und Enger*.

30. Waldemar Grzimek, *Deutsche Stuckplastik, 800 bis 1300* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1975); Matthias Exner (ed.), *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalaters*. Some authors (notably Sauerländer, review of *Romanesque Sculpture*) have doubted whether the Widukind relief is made of plaster; I remain personally convinced that this is indeed the case, and I am grateful to Klaus Endemann for sharing his insights on this matter with me.

31. For more on medieval plaster programmes, see Exner, *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*.

32. On the Quedlinburg effigies, see most recently Karen Blough, 'The Abbatial Effigies at Quedlinburg: a Convent's Identity Reconfigured', *Gesta* 47/2 (2009): pp. 147-69.

33. For discussion of Widukind's hand, see Bernd Herrmann, Hedwig Röckelein, and Susanne Hummel, 'Widukinds Fingerzeig? Konstruktionen und Dekonstruktionen um eine Geste', *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 153 (2003): pp. 177-87. Although the finger cannot be tied convincingly to a skeleton found at Enger, as suggested by the authors, the iconographic discussion of raised hands and speaking gestures is very useful.

34. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 52

35. On Gernrode, see Hans-Joachim Krause (ed.), *Das Heilige Grab in Gernrode: Bestandsdokumentation und Bestandsforschung* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2007).

36. Gerd Althoff, 'Der Sachsenherzog Widukind als Mönch auf der Reichenau: Ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Widukind-Mythos', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983): pp. 251-79.

37. Erwin Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, mit 137 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Munich: Wolff, 1924), pp. 13-15.

CHAPTER 3

MEMORY, PRESENCE AND THE MEDIEVAL TOMB

ROBERT MARCOUX

3.1
Tomb of Ulger of Angers (c.1155). Wood, 132 x 198 x 46 cm, Angers Cathedral.

Like Lessing's *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* published 200 years before it, there is little doubt that Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture* has become a reference work in the field of funeral art studies.[1] While the book does not meet the same theoretical level as some of the eminent art historian's earlier, German-published work like *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (1924) and *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (1927), it did bring stimulating concepts to the cultural study of death.[2] In particular, the dual principle of 'prospective' and 'retrospective' is unquestionably a valued tool in the analysis of funerary art.[3] Panofsky, however, satisfies himself with a rather straightforward understanding of the model, limiting its scope to iconography. For him, the term "prospective" pertains to images depicting life beyond death, while the term "retrospective" relates to images displaying biographical elements. In other words, the former refers to an imagined future and the latter to the lived past of the deceased. But these categories can also be approached more productively. Provided

they are not strictly associated with iconography, it is possible to use them in a dynamic manner which enlarges their scope of meaning. This is especially true when considering funerary art from the late Middle Ages. Indeed, subsumed into the Eucharistic paradigm upon which Christian culture is largely founded, medieval tombs are memorial objects whose complexity compels us to redefine the Panofskian categories of 'prospective' and 'retrospective' by taking into account not only the images they carry but also their materiality and context.

THE MEDIEVAL COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD

Since the publication of *Tomb Sculpture*, medieval memory has been the object of great attention.[4] Frances Yates' seminal 1966 book on *The Art of Memory* instigated a profound interest for medieval mnemotechnics, which is perhaps best explored by Mary Carruthers' work.[5] At the same time, Maurice Halbwach's lessons on collective memory, rehashed by French *mentalités* (Jacques Le Goff) and German *Kulturwissenschaft* (Jan Assmann), generated on both sides of the Atlantic an array of studies on medieval memoria.[6] Understandably, these fields of research often converged with scholarship on medieval death, a topic that attracted equal attention after Philippe Ariès' pioneering essay in 1974.[7] In his thesis published in 1997 under the title *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts*, medievalist Michel Lauwers weaves all of these trends together by identifying two modes of commemorating the dead in the Middle Ages.[8] One mode consists in celebrating the memory of a group's founding figure or 'ancestor' and as a result most often serves to consolidate a collective identity (e.g. a noble family, a monastic community, an institution, etc.). The other mode entails making an intercessory gesture (prayers, alms, etc.) for the benefit of the deceased's soul, ostensibly to shorten its time in purgatory. Whereas the first primarily serves the communal interests of the living, the latter is more focused on the needs of the individual dead. Lauwers presents the two types of commemoration as succeeding one another in time. For him, the 'memory of the ancestors' (*mémoire des ancêtres*) describes the commemorative dynamics of Western society from the Carolingian era to the twelfth century, after which intercessory logic redefines the relations between the living and the dead. Structurally, this evolution from a collective and identity-oriented use of memoria to a more individual and soteriological one is indisputable. Still, it would be false to pretend that one simply replaced the other (a mistake that Lauwers himself avoids making). Indeed, the individualised 'care for the dead' (*souci des morts*) does not prevent the memory of a deceased from also benefitting the living. Rather than viewing them as mutually exclusive, the two different types of commemoration must be conceived as interdependent during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

With this dual framework in mind, the medieval commemoration of the dead can easily be described with Panofsky's own terms. It can either be retrospective when it is meant to celebrate the memory of someone whose legacy profits a certain group, or prospective when it centres on an individual's salvation by calling upon suffrages. Paradoxically, Panofsky's application of the terminology to medieval tombs proves insufficient in determining whether these promote a retrospective or prospective commemoration of the dead. Indeed, as his understanding of the terms solely concerns iconography, he fails to recognise

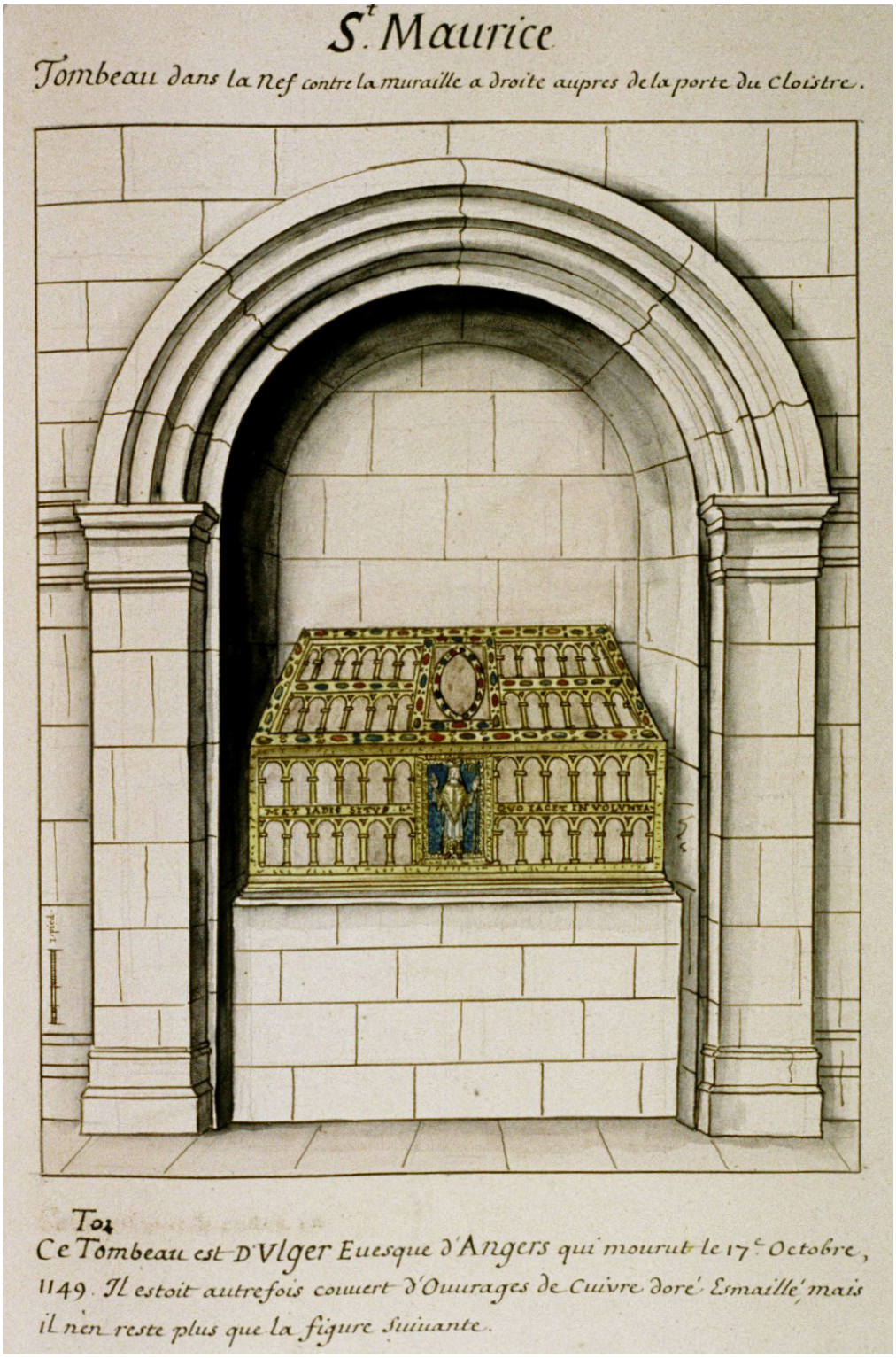
the commemorative implications of the tombs' materiality and context. Indeed, as research has shown in the last few decades, medium and location are inherent to the social functions and significance of medieval images.[9] If this is taken into account, however, it is possible to reassess the Panofskian categories and adapt them to the specificity of medieval commemoration.

The conversion can efficiently be done by carefully examining a selection of six French tombs dating from the mid-twelfth to the late-thirteenth century. These tombs were selected from a corpus of over 1500 which has been rigorously studied through factorial analysis for a PhD dissertation which was defended in 2013.[10] Like most of the monuments composing the corpus, the six tombs did not survive the aesthetic changes and revolutionary turmoil of the eighteenth century and are essentially known to us through the drawings made by Louis Boudan for the French antiquarian François-Roger de Gaignières (1643–1715) between 1687 and 1713.[11] The accuracy of the Gaignières drawings is a question that is often raised. The general consensus that stems from numerous comparisons made with extant monuments is that they are quite faithful to their models.[12] Indeed, except for minor errors in some inscriptions, resulting from bad transcriptions done by someone else and integrated by Boudan into their final edition, the drawings translate with great precision the shape, material, iconography, text and location of the original tombs. Of course, the state of the tombs is that in which they were found at the turn of the eighteenth century. If the damage sustained by some monuments can clearly be identified on some of the drawings, modifications and displacements can only be assessed by secondary sources. As a general rule, however, historians consider that the given location and condition of the tombs are authentic if no great change to their original environment was recorded between the time of their creation and that of their representation by Boudan. In other words, if approached critically, the drawings of the Gaignières collection represent reliable sources and, in the case at hand, prove to be a unique view into the great diversity of medieval tombs.

The six monuments used to redefine the retrospective and prospective categories were chosen with two criteria in mind. Firstly, their appearances reflect the diversity mentioned above. Secondly, they were created when individualised care for the dead was firmly rooted and therefore at a moment when tombs had a dual function as both memorials and intercessory tools. In other words, the six examples provide all the variables necessary to evaluate potential correlations between the material, iconographical and spatial characteristics of tombs and the type of commemoration they promote or emphasise.

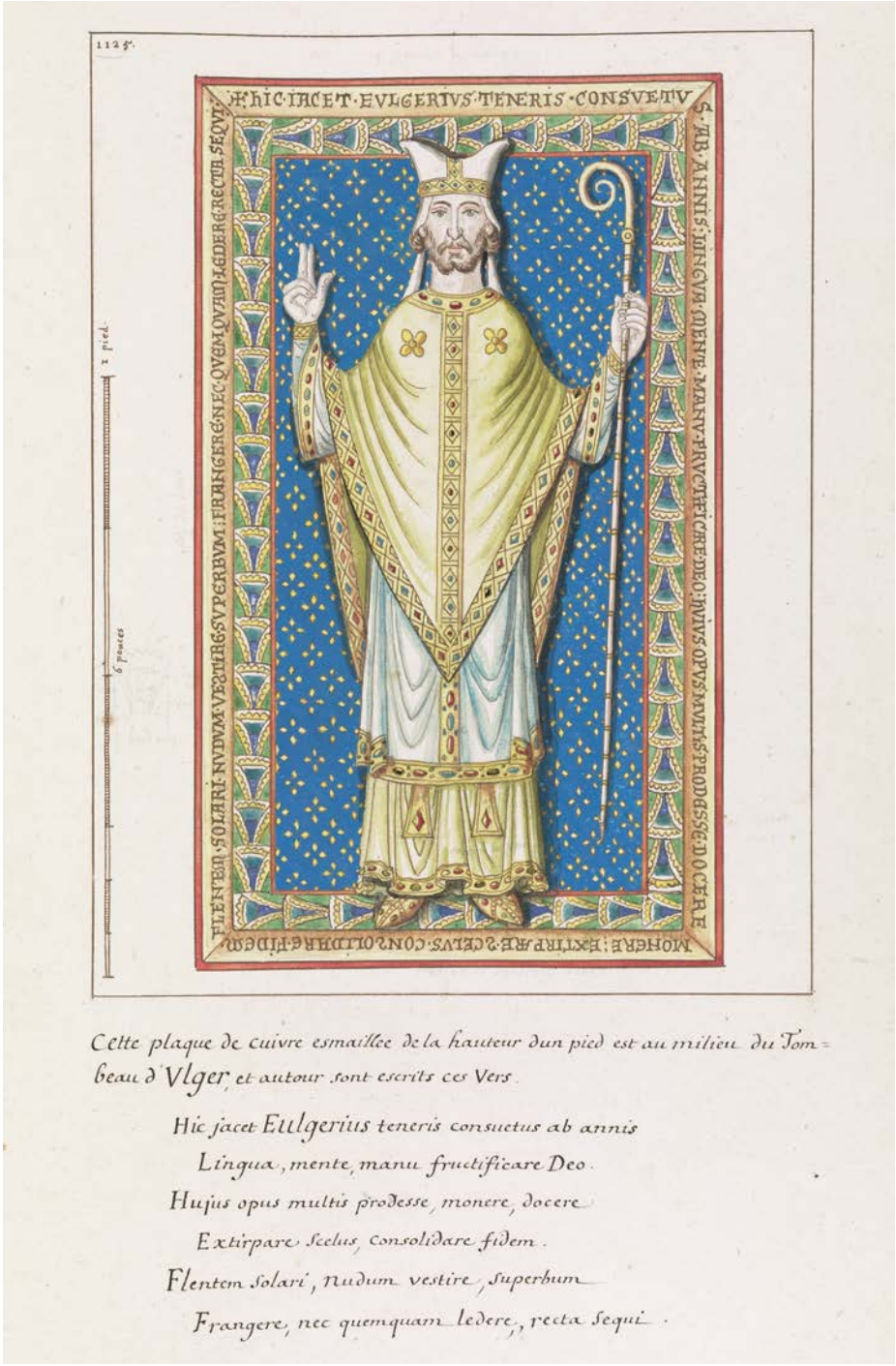
EVIDENCE OF PAST GLORY: MONUMENTAL TOMBS AND 'RETROSPECTIVE MEMORY'

The economy of salvation which came to dominate the relations between the living and the dead in the course of the thirteenth century in Europe did not substitute collective commemoration for individual intercession. Although funerary liturgy and art had become increasingly personalised for the benefit of specific souls, the celebration of the deceased's memory often continued to play an important part in the consolidation of group identity.



3.2
Tomb of Ulger of Angers (c.1155). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, fol. 190.

As such, many tombs from the period should be compared less to intercessory tools than to saints' shrines. Like these, they provide a community with a symbol and testimony of a glorious past. A perfect example of this is given by the tomb of Bishop Ulger (†1148) in Angers' Saint-Maurice Cathedral. Its wooden frame, which survives today in its original location (inside the south wall—*enfeu*—of the cathedral nave just before the cloister entry), echoes that of a reliquary casket (figs 3.1 and 3.2). The analogy is reinforced by the fact that the chest was also covered with enamelled copper plaques. Contrary to a reliquary, however, Ulger's tomb is empty. In fact, it is not a tomb at all, but rather a commemorative monument commissioned and placed next to the Bishop's burial place following the reconstruction of the nave in the middle of the twelfth century. This was most probably



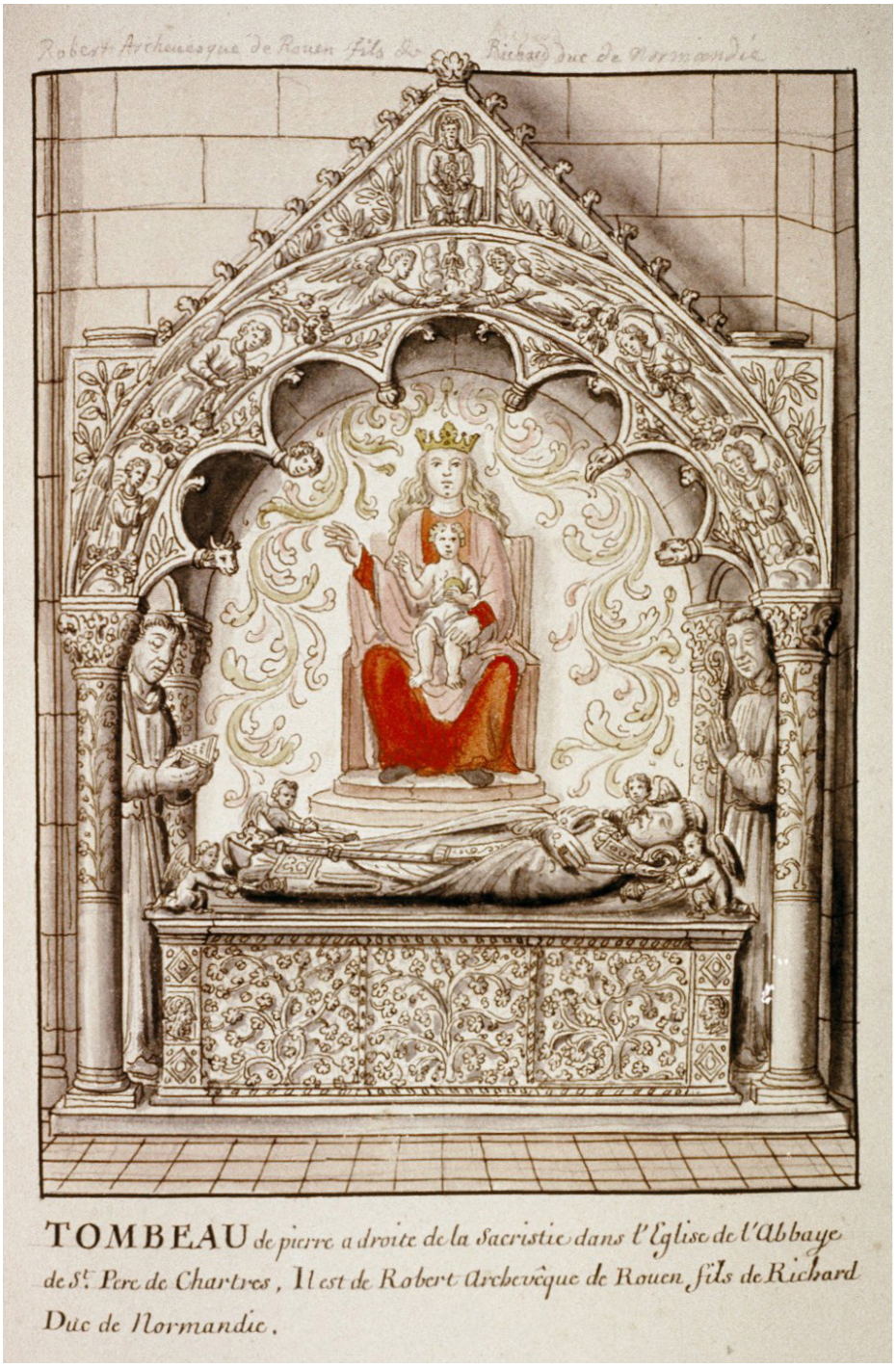
3.3
Detail of the tomb of Ulger of Angers (c.1155). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, fol. 191.

done by Ulger's successor Normand of Doué whose intention was to celebrate the late Bishop's memory by clearly likening it to that of a saint. Indeed, Ulger was recognised as a venerable, if not altogether saintly, figure. Well-educated, steadfast in his application of the Gregorian reform, politically influential, and deeply involved in the rebuilding of the city (including its cathedral), Ulger helped make the bishopric of Angers a well-organised and powerful institution.[13] The inscription on his cenotaph acknowledged these accomplishments, while also evoking the ordeals the bishop had undergone because of them.[14] The iconography does the same but on a more metaphorical level. The lid of the casket was originally composed of two series of arches on each side of a large *mandorla* holding the *majestas domini*. Inside the arches were depicted the twelve apostles and twelve prophets. Mirroring this image of spiritual collegiality, the front of the casket employed a similar composition; instead of the triumphant figure of Christ, Ulger's effigy stood in his sacerdotal garments, holding the pastoral staff in his left hand while blessing with the right (fig. 3.3). Inside the flanking arches, the apostles and prophets were replaced by the canons

of Angers. The monument therefore establishes a symbolic relation between the celestial assembly and the chapter of Angers that Ulger helped shape into an idealised community. By celebrating the bishop's memory, the 'tomb' aims to reinforce the canons' identity as a unified group, a task that it could do daily because of its location right next to the cloister door. In short, with its formal vocabulary traditionally reserved for saints' shrines, with its panegyrical inscriptions and its original iconography, Ulger's monument assumed a primarily retrospective function for the benefit of the cathedral's living community.[15]

What applies to the secular clergy also applies to the regular one. Like the canons of Angers, the Benedictine monks of Saint-Père of Chartres similarly used funerary art as a medium to help unite their community and exalt its history. During the last phase of the church's reconstruction, between 1230 and 1260, they erected a canopied tomb to celebrate the memory of one of their abbots, the venerable Arnoult, who had died two centuries before, in 1037 (fig. 3.4).[16] Destroyed during the French Revolution, the monument was originally set on the wall of the St. Lawrence chapel (now St. Solina) located on the south side of the nave, next to the cloister. As it was thus three bays away from the altar, in front of which the abbot's remains were interred, the tomb, like Ulger's casket, served as a commemorative cenotaph. Instead of adopting the appearance of a reliquary casket, Arnoult's monument is shaped more like a complex shrine. The stone gisant, or sculpted effigy, depicts the abbot on his deathbed. Wearing sacerdotal garments, with hands crossed on his chest, Arnoult lays on a shroud, the corners of which appear to be held by four angels. At his feet and head are two standing statues of abbots, one clasps his hands in prayer, while the other reads the deceased's last rites from a missal. The funeral scene is witnessed by the Evangelists, whose tetramorph symbols are sculpted on the intrados of the crowning arch. Above, the archivolt shows four censer-bearing angels facing two other angels lifting-up Arnoult's soul. Along the same axis, his soul appears once again inside the arch's gable where this time it is resting in Abraham's bosom. As for the Virgin and Child painted on the wall underneath the canopied structure, it is most likely an addition of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, although it might have replaced a similar image.[17]

Placing Arnoult's monument as 'a typical example of the complete enfeu', within the category of what he calls the *tombeaux de grandes cérémonies*, Panofsky qualifies the 'liturgical' iconography of the tomb as fundamentally prospective because of its focus on the migration and ultimate salvation of the soul.[18] But there is a way to turn the argument around. Rather than being anticipatory, the image of the abbot's soul safe or rather saved in Abraham's bosom can be viewed as a conviction. Instead of reading it as an objective or a wanted possibility, the ascending iconography can be understood as a closed proposition serving the retrospective function of the tomb. In other words, in lieu of expressing expectancy, the iconography may on the contrary reflect the monastic community's *confidence* in the blessed destiny of their revered abbot. After all, Arnoult did enjoy a saintly reputation by the time the monument was built in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the cartulary of Saint-Père, written around 1200, draws a laudatory portrait of the dead abbot. Not only



3.4
Tomb of Arnoult of Saint-Père (c.1250, erroneously identified as that of Archbishop Robert of Normandy on the drawing), Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 9, fol. 48.

does it insist on his spiritual qualities and the hardships he suffered, like the inscription of Ulger's tomb, but through the mention of a vision granted to a fellow abbot, it certifies that Arnoult's soul is saved and enjoys a sweet rest while his body waits impassively for the final resurrection (much like the tomb's recumbent effigy).[19]

In addition to its iconography and shrine-like monumentality, the position of Arnoult's tomb inside the church is equally suggestive of the deceased's saintly status. The St. Lawrence chapel was the last of a series of seven chapels surrounding the church's choir. The abbot's memory was therefore inscribed within the liturgical space of the monastic community, alongside that of various saints. More importantly, the tomb was placed opposite the shrine dedicated to St. Gilduin, a young bishop who had apparently died in odour of sanctity at Saint-Père in 1077. The shrine, whose appearance is no longer known, was built around 1210 in the now-destroyed St. Stephen chapel on the northern side of the church. It was thus contemporaneous to Arnoult's tomb and, like it, was meant to commemorate

someone exceptional who had died more than a century before. This rapprochement between both monuments is evidence that Arnoult's tomb was not primarily intended as a soteriological tool for the deceased. Like Ulger's casket, it was created as a *lieu de mémoire* intentionally bringing to mind a saint's shrine in order to convey prestige on the community that commissioned it. Also, like the Angers monument, the tomb immediately adjoined the entrance to the cloister; it thus regularly presented to the monks an example to identify with both individually and collectively.[20]

High ecclesiastics are not the only 'special dead' whose memory was celebrated by the use of lavish monuments. As founders of monastic communities, influential laymen sometimes benefitted from the same attention. Such is the case of Juhel III, the powerful lord of Mayenne whose allegiance was greatly coveted by the English and French crowns who were then warring at the Norman frontier.[21] Eight years after returning from the Third Crusade, Juhel founded the Cistercian abbey of Fontaine-Daniel in 1204.[22] Following his death in 1220, his remains were buried in the abbey church; it is likely, however, that his tomb (destroyed around 1784) was only erected in the sanctuary after its consecration in 1243 or even, as will be explained, in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (fig. 3.5).[23] There is no doubt that the foundation of the abbey and his burial near the church's high altar were deeply motivated by Juhel's spiritual concerns regarding his soul.[24] Thus, even though it was commissioned many years after his death, there is no reason to think that the tomb did not also hold a prospective function. In fact, its inscription makes this assumption quite clear by explicitly asking bystanders (though rather infrequent in the sanctuary) to 'pray so that, upon the darkest hour, he who lies within this tomb may reign with Christ'.[25] Yet aside from the prospective function, the appearance of the monument also suggests that it was meant to exalt the deceased's legacy and thus equally serve the goals of the living. The tomb presents a full-length effigy lying on a chest or sarcophagus with eyes closed. Presumably made of wood, both the figure and its support were covered with enamelled plaques of copper, like other tombs of the period belonging to members of the high nobility of Anjou, Maine, Brittany and Normandy.[26] In thus combining the material from Ulger's casket and the iconography of Arnoult's canopied monument, the tomb of Juhel undeniably projects a glorious image of the deceased. Rather than depicting him as a sinner in need of prayers, it portrays him almost as a saint. Indeed, as Thomas Dale argued in his study of Rudolf of Swabia's tomb in Merseburg Cathedral, making funeral effigies out of metal established a strong analogy with the cult of saints.[27] Just like reliquary portraits, the metal effigy suggests a transcendent image of the deceased. Without going as far as to say that it systematically represents the resurrected body, the brilliance of the medium is certainly appropriate for the communication of the spiritual merits of the deceased. Moreover, in the case of Juhel of Mayenne's tomb, the analogy with the cult of saints is reinforced by the fact that it was most probably produced by the Limousin workshops which were particularly renowned for their reliquaries. In other words, the monument shared the same techniques and the same aesthetics as a large number of reliquaries found in Europe in the thirteenth century.[28]

3.5
Tomb of Juhel III of Mayenne (c.1260). Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières 14, fol. 200.

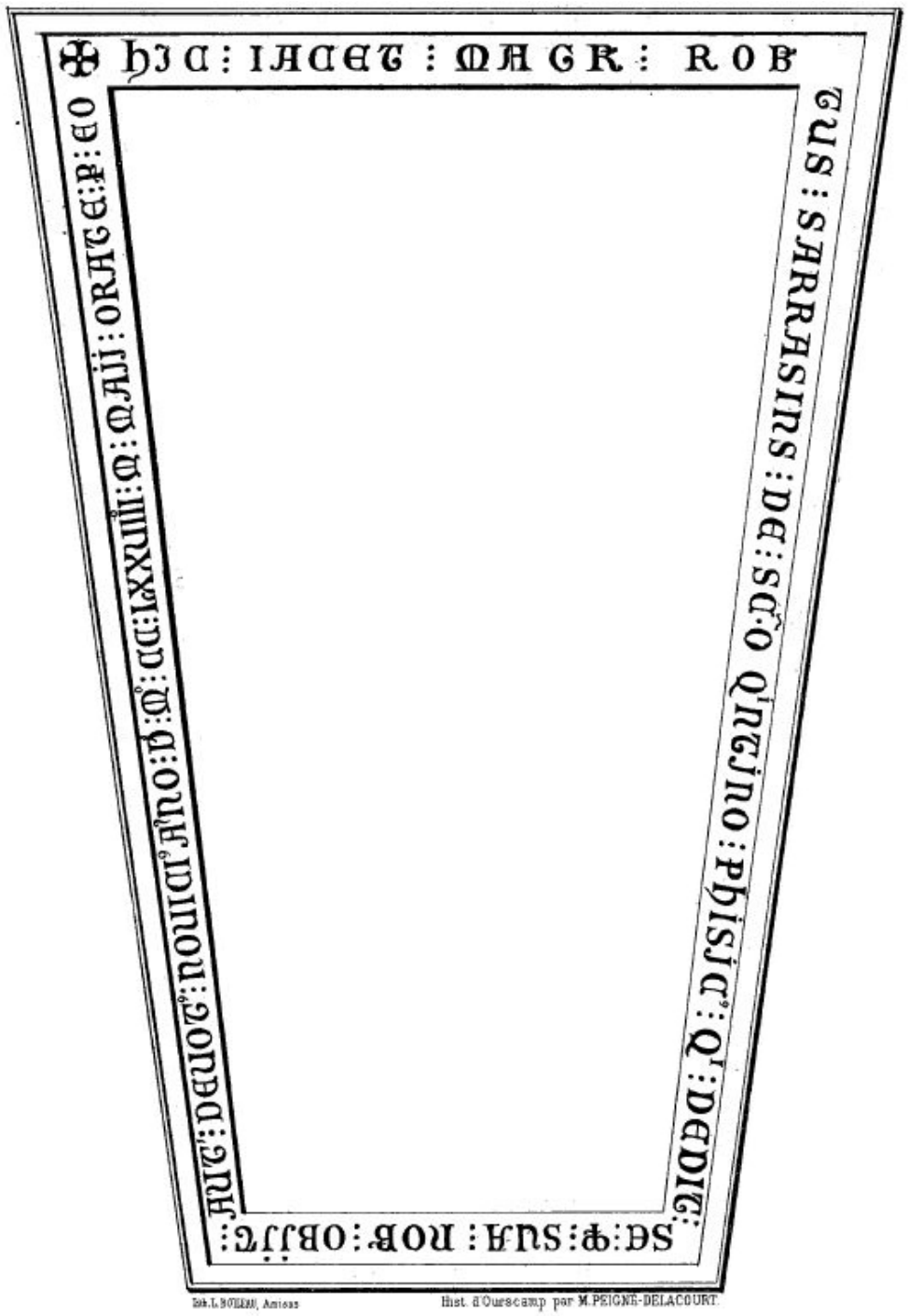
In light of these observations, the call for prayers found on Juhel of Mayenne's tomb inscription appears almost formulaic. In reality, it is completely overshadowed by the remaining content of the epitaph, which is more in concert with the monument's grandeur. Indeed, it describes Juhel in a manner which leaves no doubt of his greatness. Terms like *bene*, *famosus*, *generosus* and *triumphator* idealise him as a just and powerful lord who *merits* reigning alongside Christ in heaven. Although such a portrait would do no harm to the soul of the deceased, by glorifying him in this way the inscription unquestionably took on a retrospective function; for the qualities expressed by both the content of the inscription and the appearance of the tomb were bound to reflect positively on those who benefitted from Juhel's legacy. The one who could have profited most from the monument was Juhel's third daughter Jeanne. According to Meredith Parsons Lillich, Jeanne is the most likely candidate to have commissioned the work, somewhere between 1258 and 1264.[29] For at that moment, the lordship of Mayenne had passed onto the Avaugour family and risked be-

ing sold to the duke of Brittany along with other lands.[30] For Lilich, the tomb was probably a way to denounce the situation by reviving and promoting Juhel's memory and, therefore, should be interpreted as a 'cry of "Mayenne lives"'.[31] In other words, it was conceived as a sort of manifesto meant to rally support in favour of maintaining the integrity of Juhel's legacy, a support that was certainly solicited from all the families whose alliances with the former lord of Mayenne are recorded and displayed on the four faces of the tomb's stone chest (fig. 3.5).[32]

Placed in its social and political context, Juhel's monument thus assumes an important retrospective function. Beyond the dynamics of salvation, it responds to temporal needs and reflects the tensions that are growing within an aristocracy whose identity and relations are being redefined in the aftermath of Philip II's conquest and the confiscation of King John's continental lands.[33] But the lay nobility is not the only community that endows the tomb with an identity (or identitary) value.[34] The same logic applies to the Cistercians of Fontaine-Daniel who were Juhel's religious beneficiaries. Although the monument was likely commissioned by the deceased's daughter, its placement in the choir of the abbey church made it an intrinsic element of the monastic environment. It could be argued that its inscription was even authored by one of the monks. Indeed, not only is it written in elegant rhyming Latin verse, but it emphasises the tie that binds Juhel of Mayenne to the abbey by referring to him as *fundator* and *amator* of the monastic community. In so doing, the inscription therefore relates closely the individual memory of the deceased to the collective memory of the Cistercians of Fontaine-Daniel. This interdependence, in turn, gives a specific meaning to the analogies between the tomb and reliquaries. Displayed in the centre of the church's sanctuary where its formal appearance further evokes the monuments raised to "the very special dead", the tomb helps glorify the origins of the monastery by making its founder appear like a saint.[35] On another more pragmatic level, the intertwining of Juhel's memory with that of the monks of Fontaine-Daniel also serves as a way to sustain relations between the monastery and the descendants of the deceased and eventually to extract further donations from them. In short, the tomb of Juhel III of Mayenne compares on many levels to those of Ulger and Arnoult. Commissioned many years after his death, it too played a significant role in forging group identities by commemorating an important figure of the past. And it merits being interpreted primarily as a retrospective monument.

TOOLS OF INTERCESSION: TOMB SLABS AND 'PROSPECTIVE MEMORY'

As evidenced by Juhel's epitaph, the role of funeral monuments in the thirteenth century was not restricted to glorifying the past. With the Church clarifying the mechanics of its economy of salvation, tombs were readily made into efficient tools of intercession. The success of the tomb slab, which came to dominate sepulchral production during the period, is symptomatic of this change in focus. Indeed, with their numbers growing fast as



3.6
Tomb of Robert Sarrasin (†1278). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Est. Réserve Pe 1e, fol. 67, copy of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 13, fol. 67.

the need for individualised suffrages spread across society, funeral monuments were forced to adapt their form in order not to overcrowd the interior of churches. But pragmatism alone does not explain the popularity of the tomb slab. Often cited as equally responsible for the trend are the low cost of the monument and the sense of humility conveyed by its appearance.[36] However, these factors must be measured with circumspection. They might apply to certain slabs like the one made for Robert Sarrasin, a physician from Saint-Quentin who, according to the inscription on the tomb, donated himself and his wealth to the Cistercian abbey of Ourscamp before dying as a devout novice in 1278 (fig. 3.6).[37] Entirely blank, except for the epigraphic text that runs along its edges, it may be argued that the stone tomb reflects both the deceased's modest personality and means.[38] But the majority of slabs are not this bare. Some are even quite ostentatious, like the tomb of

3.7
Tomb of Abbot Mathieu of Vendôme (†1286). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 7Est. Réserve Pe 11a, fol. 84.

Abbot Mathieu of Vendôme (†1286) formerly in the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis (fig. 3.7). Not only does the monumental slab proudly depict the deceased in his ceremonial dress below an elaborate Gothic canopy, but it is also entirely made of carefully polished brass bearing a diapered fleur de lis pattern. Far from expressing humility, the technique and material involved here are not so different from those observed on elevated monuments like those previously analysed. So, in trying to explain the spread of tomb slabs in the thirteenth century, the association between their appearance (even the barest) and the

financial and/or moral motives of the deceased should not be systematically assumed.[39] What should be considered instead is the appeal of this type of funeral monument from a prospective angle. In other words, the focus should be less on personal intention and more on the reason why funeral slabs came to represent a particularly useful tool of intercession for so many individuals from many walks of life.

By merging with the surface of the ground, the tomb slab does more than liberate space for the clergy and the faithful, just like its exposure to the trampling of passers-by is more than an expression of so-called humility. Beyond pragmatism and symbolism, the fact that the tomb becomes one with the church floor is certainly advantageous for the soul of the deceased, for it allows for burial in places of great spiritual potency but where the presence of a raised monument would be bothersome if not plainly impossible. The tomb of Robert Sarrasin, for example, was originally located in the cloister of Ourscamp Abbey, right in front of the chapterhouse entrance. Thus, it found itself within the inner compound of the monastery to which the deceased was granted access at his end of his life as a novice. Besides visually marking the integration of the former surgeon into the Cistercian community, the location of the tomb is also strategically situated at a very important intersection of monastic life, where it would be passed by and actually stepped on repeatedly by the monks during the course of their daily routine. Helping to keep the memory of the deceased present in the community's thoughts, this sustained exposure would inevitably prompt prayers for his soul. Concomitantly, it is likely that the tomb's position also served to remind the monks of the context in which Robert was ultimately admitted as one of them. Indeed, Robert certainly obtained the status of novice in 1277 after making a donation which, according to the Ourscamp cartulary, was meant for the care and maintenance of the monastery's gatehouse (and its gatekeeper).[40] Placing the tomb in front of the chapterhouse entrance was probably a means of evoking the donation by establishing a link with the liminal space of the gatehouse. In doing so, it could have helped secure the identity of the deceased as well as flaunt his merit and, ultimately, open up for him the final door to paradise.

A place even more coveted than the cloister for its intercessory agency is the church sanctuary. Though burial in the vicinity of the main altar was not a new phenomenon per se, in the thirteenth century the combined effect of relics and the Eucharist definitely made it a valued practice for those wishing to shorten the passage of their soul through purgatory. Except for the exceptional dead, like Juhel of Mayenne to whom an almost saintly status was ascribed, the inner sanctum was not to be encumbered with elevated monuments. Tomb slabs allowed for both the grave's advantageous proximity to the sacred locus and its visibility as a crucial visual reminder to pray for the deceased. Anne of Beaulieu's († c.1280) tomb in the Franciscan (or Cordelier) church of Senlis is a good example of the mechanics inherent in the funeral slab (fig. 3.8). Before the destruction of the mendicant church during the French Revolution, the stone monument was located within

3.8
Tomb of Anne of Beaulieu († c.1280). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Est. Réserve Pe 3, fol. 28.

the sanctuary, near the chancel ('balustrade') separating it from the nave. Such a prominent position obviously reflected the social status of the deceased who clearly was a noblewoman, judging from the courtly gestures and luxurious attire of her effigy, as well as the title of *madame* mentioned in the tomb's inscription. The text also asserts that Anne 'held her rank well in the world' (*qui bien tint au siecle son leu*) but provides no other information about her life. Instead of dwelling on her past, the inscription focuses mainly on her salvation by twice requesting prayers for her soul (*prions que dex merci li face […] priez diex pour li*). In contrast to Juhel of Mayenne's monument, where it seemed somewhat gratuitous after following a rather long sequence of eulogies, the call for prayers here is imperative. By taking up almost three-quarters of the length of the inscription, it makes the prospective function of Anne's tomb quite clear. On top of allowing the deceased's remains to bathe in the sacredness of the church's inner sanctum, the slab reminded the celebrants to pray for her soul. This was done not only by providing a support for the funeral inscription, but equally by drawing attention to the burial place itself.

Indeed, the material specificity of the tomb slab is that it is intrinsically linked to the grave by serving as its cover. This is made evident in the cases where, as with the tombs of Robert Sarrasin and Anne of Beaulieu, the trapezoidal shape of the slab accurately reproduces that of the anthropomorphic grave which is thus adapted to the presence of the corpse. The functionality of the slab therefore makes the monument quite different from elevated tombs whose relation to the gravesite is more often distant, like the one commemorating abbot Arnoult in Saint-Père. Furthermore, the flatness of the slab, beyond being practical, establishes a phenomenological rapport with the viewer that is fundamentally different from the one imposed by monumental tombs, especially those bearing a gisant. Although the question has largely been ignored, the differences in form and medium of funeral monuments are bound to have consequences on their reception. Like the reliquaries from which they adopted part of their aesthetics, monumental tombs made the dead present. Taking advantage of the haptic experiences offered by the medium of sculpture, the gisant in particular acted as a sort of simulacrum that gave the impression that the deceased was in the *hic et nunc* of the viewer.[41] Levelled with the floor, tomb slabs could not have the same effect. By explicitly marking the gravesite, what they did was emphasise the presence of its *content* rather than having it dispelled by an idealised sculptural double of the deceased. In other words, by their sheer materiality, tomb slabs could entice the viewer to consider the buried remains of the deceased and, in response, take action by praying for his soul. It is certainly what Robert Sarrasin hoped his plain monument would accomplish in the Ourscamp cloister each time a monk passed over his grave.

If the tomb slab can prompt an intercessory action simply through its shape and medium, this agency is by no means diminished by the addition of an effigy.[42] Compared to the sculpted effigy, the graven image does not physically encroach upon the viewer's space. It does not act as a double of the deceased by substituting itself to his hidden (or even absent) remains. On the contrary, indexically, it brings to mind the dead body by tracing its figure directly above it on the tomb's flat surface. At first glance, the effigy of Anne of Beaulieu obviously does not appear as a cadaver and even less as a skeleton. Her gesture and the draping of her dress show her as an animate and vertical figure. But it is not. It is a perfectly plane and horizontal image that is entirely susceptible of echoing what is lying underneath it. This impression is even stronger with Mathieu of Vendôme's effigy. Like Arnoult of Saint-Père's tomb, it portrays the deceased on his deathbed while his soul is carried away by two angels. Clad in liturgical vestments, with eyes closed and head resting on a pillow, the effigy is moreover an accurate image of the entombed body of the abbot; for as is known from the work of medieval liturgists like William Durandus (c.1230-96), and as is duly documented by archaeological evidence of the period, prelates in the thirteenth century were traditionally buried with the attributes of their office.[43] Thus the correspondence between the image on the tomb and the tomb's content is strongly reinforced. In effect, it likens the monument to a sort of window that allows the viewer to glimpse

into the grave.[44] In other words, instead of evoking the phenomenological effects of bodily presence, like the gisant of Arnoult of Saint-Père, Mathieu's graven effigy more strongly indicates the real presence of the deceased's body. Determined by the funeral monuments' respective typology, this difference in reception can also affect the manner in which the image of the soul's *transitus* is interpreted. As already argued, the iconography of Arnoult's tomb suggests that the abbot's soul is already saved since its elevation is followed by its repose in Abraham's bosom. In glorifying the abbot, the scene therefore took on a more retrospective significance. In the case of Mathieu of Vendôme's tomb, however, the soul only appears in the midst of its elevation by angels. The iconography does not anticipate or infer salvation but insists on the transitory status of the abbot following the separation of his soul from his body. This only strengthens the prospective function of the tomb slab; placed before the uncertain fate of the deceased, the viewer may be compelled to take a proactive action and pray for him. One could also imagine that this impulse becomes stronger if the viewer actually stands on the tomb, as he then finds himself *between* the body (below) and the soul (above) of the deceased and physically becomes an intercessory channel.[45] In short, depending whether its support makes itself physically palpable through sculpture or mainly visible through engraving, the funeral iconography may be perceived as either more retrospective or more prospective in its function and meaning.

In his 1965 review of *Tomb Sculpture*, the French art historian Robert Klein had judged Panofky's distinction between prospective and retrospective monuments often arbitrary.[46] Having no intention to make the same mistake, the revaluation of the categories established here has no pretence to systemisation. What it proposes is more of a dialectical way of understanding the rich diversity of medieval tombs by presenting the notions of retrospection and prospection as two poles between which the commemoration of the dead oscillates in the later Middle Ages. These poles should not be considered incompatible, but understood rather in terms of their complementary nature. Praising the dead does not prohibit praying for them. As a result, the tombs studied here are not to be branded as strictly retrospective or strictly prospective. At a certain level, each one combines both qualities. A monumental tomb expecting to draw admiration for the deceased may also trigger an empathic reaction for his soul; just as a tomb slab may conjointly request prayer and exalt past accomplishments. However, by taking into account the historical and spatial context of the tombs, and more importantly, by recognising the potential impact of their shape on the viewer's response, it is possible to perceive the former as being particularly disposed for commemorating a group or community's history, and the latter as working primarily for the eventual salvation of the dead. Freed from Panofsky's iconography-based system, the prospective and retrospective categories can thus gain a heuristic value and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of medieval tombs.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

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2. For an appreciation of the book's importance (and shortcomings), see chapter 1 by Susie Nash in this volume. For a critical analysis of Panofsky's intellectual career, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, orig. French ed. 1990), pp. 117-70.

3. Amongst others, it deeply influenced the seminal work of Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) which, in turn, had a profound impact on the study of 'medieval death'.

4. For a recent overview of the literature, see introduction in Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

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8. Michel Lauwers, *La mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts. Morts, rites et société au Moyen Age (Diocèse de Liège, XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996).

9. In the midst of the "material turn", the bibliography on the subject proves to be rather vast. For a general view, see Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Peterborough, Ont., and Orchard Park, N.Y.: Broadview Press, 2004), pp. 19-42.

10. Robert Marcoux, 'L'espace, le monument et l'image du mort au Moyen Âge: une enquête anthropologique sur les tombeaux médiévaux de la Collection Gaignières' (PhD diss., Université Laval, Québec City and Université de Bourgogne, Dijon, 2013). The factorial analysis helped reveal the structural dynamics of a wide array of tombs from the mid-12th to the end of the 15th century. The principal dynamic observed is that of a bipolarisation between two main groups to which was ultimately applied the dual notion of retrospective and prospective.

11. On the Gaignières collection, see Henri Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1891); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Oxford Collection of the Drawings of Roger de Gaignières and the Royal Tombs of Saint-Denis', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 78/5 (1988): pp. 1-74; Anne Ritz-Guibert, 'La collection Gaignières: Méthodes et finalités', *Bulletin monumental* 166/4 (2008): pp. 315-33.

12. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Les dessins de tombes médiévales de la collection Gaignières', in Roger Grégoire (ed.), *La figuration des morts dans la chrétienté médiévale jusqu'à la fin du premier quart du XIVe siècle*, Cahier de Fontevraud 1 (Fontevraud: [Centre culturel de l'Ouest], 1988), pp. 60-96; de Vaivre, 'Les dessins de tombeaux levés pour Gaignières dans les provinces de l'Ouest à la fin du XVIIème siècle', *303 Arts, recherches et créations* (special issue *Dix siècles de gisants*) 18 (1988): pp. 56-75; and Anne-Marie Lussiez, 'L'art des tombiers aux environs de Melun (XV^{e}-XVI^{e} siècles) et la collection Gaignières: fidélité ou interprétation?', in *Art et architecture à Melun au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie tenu à Melun les 28 et 29 novembre 1998* (Paris: Picard, 2000), pp. 301-11.

13. On Ulger and his tomb, Charles Urseau, 'La tombe de l'évêque Ulger à la cathédrale d'Angers', *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 28 (1925-27): pp. 45-68; Jean-Marc Bienvenu, 'Le conflit entre Ulger, évêque d'Angers, et Pétronille de Chemillé, abbesse de Fontevrault (vers 1140-1149)', *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1970-75) : pp. 113-32; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Émaux méridionaux: Catalogue international de l'œuvre de Limoges. Vol. 1, L'époque romane* (Paris: Éd. du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), pp. 106-10 and no. 103; Gauthier, 'Naissance du défunt à la vie éternelle: Les tombeaux d'émaux de Limoges au XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècle', in Grégoire, *La figuration des morts*, pp. 97-116 (esp. pp. 100-02); and Louis Julien, 'L'effigie funéraire dans le royaume de France, Pays d'oïl, 1134–1267' (PhD diss., Université Marc Bloch, 2006), pp. 67-69 and 183-85.

14. HIC JACET EULGERIUS TENERIS CONSUETU/S AB ANNIS LINGUA MENTE MANU FRUCTIFICARE DEO HUIUS OPUS MULTIS PRODESSE DOCERE / MONERE EXTIRPARE SCELUS CONSOLIDARE FIDEM / FLENTEM SOLARI NUDUM VESTIRE SUPERBUM FRANGERE NEC QUEMQUAM LEDERE RECTA SEQUI and HIC JACET EULGERIUS QUI PRAESUL NOMINE QUIDQUID DURA POTEST SO[RS DARE SUSTINUIT] GAUDIA NULLA DIES DEDIT ILLI NEC LOCA PACEM SOLAMENQUE TULIT NULLUS AMICUS EI POST RES ABLATAS PROPRIA DE SEDE FUGATUS HOSPES ERAT MUNDI CERTA STATIONE CAREBAT.

15. It must be pointed out that Panofsky's understanding of Ulger's tomb is not entirely different. In his brief mention of the monument, he qualifies the bishop's image as a 'commemorative [understood here as retrospective] portrait'. This he does however only to distinguish it from what he narrowly defines as a funeral effigy, that is a reclining full-length figure. He never extends the retrospective attribute to the cenotaph itself; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 50.

16. For this tomb, see René Merlet, *Tombeau du XIIIe siècle autrefois dans l'église Saint-Père à Chartres* (Chartes: Garnier, 1890); Julien, *L'effigie funéraire*, pp. 99-100 and 213-15.

17. However, in his thorough description of the monument given in 1672, Dom Bernard Aubert mentions no trace of an image on the wall; Dom Bernard Aubert, 'Véritable inventaire de l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père (1672)', Chartres, Médiathèque l'Apostrophe, MS 1151, chapter 25; Merlet, *Tombeau du XIIIe siècle*, pp. 3-5.

18. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 61-62.

19. Benjamin Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, vol. 1 (Paris: Crapelet, 1840), p. 121: *Frater dilectissime ab hujus mundi turbinibus me erutum scias, nuncque felici requie perfrui.*

20. Both the genesis and dynamics of Ulger's and Arnoult's tombs are closely related to those of the relief depicting Abbot Durandus in the cloister of Moissac. In the case of Moissac, the relation between tomb and commemorative monument is even more ambiguous given that the deceased is presented upright. Furthermore, the "pseudo-sanctification" of Durandus is further reinforced by the fact that the abbot is portrayed with a halo (compare the effigy with the image of Saint Luke in the New Testament (c.1100) from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 254, fol. 10, illustration in Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (ed.), *La France romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987-1152)* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2005), no. 226.

21. On Juhel III de Mayenne (also known as Juhel II), see Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

22. On the tomb, Albert Grosse-Duperon and Émile Gouvrion (eds), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Fontaine-Daniel*, vol. 1 (Mayenne: Impr. Poirier-Realu, 1896), pp. 290-92; André Mussat, 'Le chevalier et son double: naissance d'une image funéraire (XIII^{e} siècle)', in Grégoire *La figuration des morts*, pp. 138-54; Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, 'Tombs of Limoges Work', in John P. O'Neill (ed.), *Enamels of Limoges: 1100-1350* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 436. On the abbey of Fontaine-Daniel, see Abbé Angot, *Dictionnaire historique, topographique et biographique de la Mayenne*, vol. 2 (Mayenne: Joseph Floch, 1977), pp. 179-83.

23. According to Mussat, 'Le chevalier et son double', pp. 148-49.

24. Jean-René Ladurée, 'Clairmont et sa fille, Fontaine-Daniel: deux fondations claravalliennes dans le Bas-Maine (1150-1204)', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 120-23 (2013): pp. 135-51. Although Bertrand de Broussillon and Paul de Farcy, *Sigillographie des seigneurs de Laval, 1095-1605* (Paris: Picard, 1888), p. 19, mention that the monument was erected directly over Juhel's tomb, there is no sound evidence of this.

25. QUEM · TEGIT HEC · TELLUS · DICTUS · FUIT · ILLE · IUHELL/US VIR · BENE · FAMOSUS · DUM · VIVERET · ET · GENEROSUS DAPSILIS · IMMENSIS CLIPEUS FUIT · ORBIS · ET · ENSIS · EST · PER · EUM · NOTA · MADUANE NATIO · TOTA/ MACE TRIUMPHATOR PROCERUM CAPUT · ET · DO/MINATOR FONTIS · FUNDATOR · DANIELIS · ET · EIUS AMATOR · QUI · LEGIS HEC · HORA · TENEBROSI · TEMPORIS HORA · REGNET CUM · CHRISTO TUMULO · QUI · DORMIT · IN ISTO. Transcription given by the Marquis de Beauchesne, 'Le passais, Domfront et les comtes de Montgommery depuis leur origine jusqu'au XVIe siècle', *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine*, vol. 4 (1886), p. 306.

26. For an overview of these tombs: Chancel-Bardelot, 'Tombs of Limoges Work', pp. 398-416 and 435-43. This type of monument is also used in royal circles, such as the tomb of William de Valence (†1296) in Westminster Abbey, which bears a striking resemblance with that of Juhel. For this tomb, see Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 64-67. For a corpus of copper-alloy tombs, see Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, ' "Monumentum aere perennius"? Precious-metal effigial tomb monuments in Europe 1080-1430', *Church Monuments* 30 (2015): pp. 7-103. Up until the end of the 13th century, metal tombs in France were reserved for a select elite, consisting mostly of princely figures and individuals to whom was given the status of 'ancestor or founder'. On the evolution of metal tombs in France between he 12th and 15th centuries, see Robert Marcoux 'Investigating the Metal Tombs of Medieval France: A Statistical Approach', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 19/3 (2016): pp. 186-212.

27. Thomas E. A. Dale, 'The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg', *Speculum* 77/3 (2002): pp. 707-43. For Rudolf of Swabia see also the chapter by Shirin Fozi in this volume.

28. Chancel-Bardelot, 'Tombs of Limoges Work', p. 446. The bibliography on the Limoges enamels is dense. For an overview, see *L'Œuvre de Limoges: art et histoire au temps des Plantagenets: actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel, le 16 et 17 novembre 1995* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1998); O'Neill, *Enamels of Limoges*; Gauthier, *Émaux méridionaux. Vol. 1, L'époque romane*; and Gauthier, *Émaux méridionaux: Catalogue international de l'œuvre de Limoges. Vol. 2, L'apogée, 1190-1215*, (Paris: Éd. du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2011).

29. Meredith Parsons Lillich, 'The Tric-Trac Window of Le Mans', *The Art Bulletin* 65/1 (1983): pp. 23-33.

30. On the descendants of Juhel de Mayenne: Frédéric Morvan, 'Les règlements des conflits de succession dans la noblesse bretonne au XIII^{e} siècle', *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 116/2 (2009): pp. 7-53; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, pp. 460-63 and appendix 21.

31. Lillich, 'The Tric-Trac Window of Le Mans', p. 28.

32. The families whose coats of arms have been firmly identified are: Vitré, Craon Mathefelon, Guerche and Avaugour. See Mussat, 'Le chevalier et son double', p. 147 n. 15.

33. On this question, see Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Plantagenêts et Capétiens, confrontations et héritages. Actes du colloque international organisé par le CESCM Poitiers et l'HIRES Angers les 13, 14 et 15 mai 2004* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) in particular the contributions in the second part intitled 'Les fiefs français dans le conflit'.

34. The term "identitary" derives from *identitaire* in French and is used in social studies to reflect the notion of the construction of the self.

35. For the saints as the "very special dead" see Peter Brown, *Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

36. Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), p. 239. On this, see also Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 89-92.

37. HIC IACET MAGISTER ROBERTUS SARRASINS DE SANCTI QUINTINO PHISICUS QUI DEDIT SE ATQUE SUA NOBIS OBIIT AUTEM DEVOTUS NOVICIUS ANNO DOMINI M CC LXXVIII MENSE MAII ORATE PRO EO.

38. The blankness of the depicted tomb is not the result of an unfinished drawing. The Gaignières collection does include some sketches which focus only on the inscription. But these are always reworked by Louis Boudan into a final version which includes the monument's iconography. The drawing of Robert Sarrasin's tomb, like the ones of many other blank tombs in the collection, is a definite version. Had there been an image on the monument, it would assuredly have been depicted. Moreover, the fact that a large number of blank tombs are still extant argues in favour of the drawing's accuracy.

39. In the case of blank tombs, the social status of the deceased may explain the monument's appearance but this thesis needs to be explored rigorously because some of these tombs belong to knights and even abbots.

40. Achille Peigné-Delacourt (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp de l'ordre de Citeaux* (Amiens: Lemer aîné, 1865), p. 16 no. 22. On the relation between donation and conversion, see Charles de Miramon, 'Embrasser l'état monastique à l'âge adulte (1050-1200). Étude de la conversion tardive', *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales* 4 (1999) : pp. 825-49 (I thank Michel Lauwers for pointing out this reference).

41. Roland Recht, 'L'habitant de la sculpture', in *Histoire de l'art et anthropologie* (Paris: INHA and Musée du Quai Branly ('Les actes'), 2009), accessed July 18, 2015, http://actesbranly.revues.org/92/.

42. The absence of an effigy on Robert Sarrasin's tomb might be explained by its location. Most aniconic tombs documented by the Gaignières collection were found in monastic cloisters. Although, further investigation is necessary to determine if this observation reflects a real tendency, it might mean that tombs were expected to respect the meditative nature of the cloister by displaying a sober appearance.

43. William Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, chap. 7, § 40; Daniel Prigent and Jean-Yves Hunot, *La mort: Voyage au pays des vivants pratiques funéraires en Anjou.* (Angers: Association culturelle de Maine-et-Loire, 1996), pp. 81-95.

44. The same effect would apply to slabs set upon tomb chests. In both cases, it is the relationship between the content and the container which is brought to the fore.

45. This is perfectly depicted in the Breviary of Châteauroux (c.1414) where the image accompanying the mass for the dead shows a praying monk sitting on top a tomb slab underneath which rots the deceased's corpse, Châteauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2, fol. 395v. See Inès Villela-Petit, *Le Bréviaire de Châteauroux* (Paris: Somogy, 2003), p. 92.

46. Robert Klein, *La forme et l'intelligible* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), p. 234 note 1.

CHAPTER 4

PANOFSKY'S *TOMB SCULPTURE* AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE FLOOR TOMB: THE TOMB SLAB OF LORENZO TRENTA BY JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA REAPPRAISED

GEOFFREY NUTTALL

4.1
Donatello, Tomb slab of Giovanni Crivelli (1432-33). Marble, 235 x 88 cm, Rome, Santa Maria Araceli.

4.2
Donatello, Tomb slab of Bishop Giovanni Pecci (after 1427). Bronze, 247 x 88 cm, Siena Cathedral.

PANOFSKY'S PARADOX

In Chapter IV of *Tomb Sculpture*, 'The Renaissance, Its Antecedents and Its Sequel', Erwin Panofsky encountered what he called 'a new paradox' that marked a significant moment in the evolution of tomb sculpture.[1] The paradox, Panofsky argued, appeared in Italy during the first decades of the fifteenth century, at a time of 'artistic flux', as the 'medieval'

4.3
Jacopo della Quercia, Tomb slab of Lorenzo Trenta (1413-16). Marble from the quarries at San Lorenzo in Vacca, near Lucca, 247 x 122 cm, Lucca, San Frediano, Trenta Chapel.

gave way to the 'modern' and 'iconographical innovations symptomatic of this novel attitude' impelled artistic development from the Middle Ages into the Renaissance.[2] To illustrate the hypothesis, he referred to six floor tombs produced by Tuscan artists between about 1415 and 1435, and in particular two works by Donatello: the marble tomb slab of Giovanni Crivelli in the church of Santa Maria Araceli in Rome, and Bishop Giovanni Pecci's bronze floor tomb in Siena cathedral, both datable to the mid 1430s (figs 4.1 and 4.2). This chapter focuses on another tomb mentioned only en passant in *Tomb Sculpture*, that of Lorenzo Trenta by Jacopo della Quercia, dated 1416 and still in situ before the altarpiece Lorenzo Trenta commissioned for his chapel in the church of San Frediano in Lucca (fig. 4.3). In doing so, it questions Panofsky's interpretation of his paradox, and argues that he significantly underestimated Jacopo della Quercia's contribution to the development of the early Renaissance floor tomb. In its discussion of the Trenta tomb in context, it also

provides fresh insights into the complex interplay between the material form and the spiritual meaning of the burial chapel, a relationship ignored by Panofsky and, in the case of the Trenta Chapel, overlooked in recent scholarship.[3]

Panofsky's so-called paradox was that although the effigies of Crivelli and Pecci followed fourteenth-century Italian precedent—their heads pressing down onto a cushion, their eyes closed and hands crossed—their bodies appear to stand upright, their feet firmly planted on the base of a 'modern' *all'antica* frame. As a result, Crivelli and Pecci seem to be 'sleeping the eternal sleep whilst ostensibly standing upright in a niche', lying as in death, but at the same time standing as if alive.

Panofsky argued that this paradox had its origins in a 'basic change in outlook: a rejection of Christian concern for the future in favour of the glorification of the past' that began in Tuscany around 1400 and is first evidenced in the floor tombs of Lorenzo Trenta and his wife in Lucca, dated 1416, and Ghiberti's bronze floor tomb of Lorenzo Dati in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, dated between 1425 and 1427.[4] In these examples, Panofsky argued, the religious imagery traditionally associated with the medieval floor tomb, such as angels and saints, has been removed, leaving an iconographically minimalist, essentially secular '*representacion de la mort*.' A hundred years later this transition, driven by a move away from the medieval preoccupation with the salvation of the immortal soul to the Renaissance glorification of the mortal man, led to the '*representacion au vif*' monuments, typified by those of the French kings Francis I and Henry II in Saint-Denis in Paris, the subjects kneeling as if in life, their deeds recounted in eulogistic sculptural narratives and witnessed by personifications of the Virtues whose qualities these sovereigns embodied. For Panofsky, however, the key transition works in this evolutionary process were Donatello's tomb slabs of Giovanni Crivelli and Bishop Pecci.

Donatello's achievement, Panofsky believed, was in not just abandoning Christian iconography, but also introducing classical motifs, for example, *all'antica* shell niches and pagan *spiritelli*, into the design of the floor tomb, thus defining Crivelli and Pecci in terms of Ancient Rome rather than the Catholic church, and in doing so shifting the primary function of the tomb away from the salvation of the soul to the glorification of the man. These innovations, however, created Panofsky's paradox because, by rendering the apparently dead figure upright in an *all'antica* frame, the upper part of the body is represented as if horizontal whilst the lower part appears in the vertical, a clearly impossible state of being.

Panofsky identified a limited solution to the paradox, 'to the extent that it could be solved' in the bronze floor tomb of Pope Martin V in the church of Saint John Lateran in Rome, dated around 1435 and sometimes attributed to the Florentine sculptor Simone Ghini.[5] Here the artist's introduction of 'perspective artifice' produced 'a fairly convincing illusion of three-dimensionality' apparent to the observer from a specific view point at the foot of the tomb. This allowed the flat effigy 'to transform itself into a statue in the round reposing beneath ground level', the Pope thus appearing unambiguously dead but still within the *all'antica* frame, grounded by perspective and no longer oscillating between the vertical and the horizontal.

PANOFSKY'S PARADOX: AN ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION

Although Panofsky was perhaps the first art historian to be troubled by the paradox, he saw both the problem and its solution purely in terms of the object and its inherent iconography, in isolation from its context in the church or burial chapel for which it was made, and without reference to the other visual elements of the funerary ensemble such as the altarpiece, or the non-visual components of the ecclesiastical environment, for example the services conducted in the church or private chapel for the salvation of the deceased's soul. Additionally, rather than observation of the object itself, Panofsky relied on photographs of the floor tombs taken directly from above. This results in the loss of any real sense of sculptural relief and the subtleties of depth and shadow are erased, making the effigies seem as flat as two dimensional paintings in their frames.

By viewing and de-contextualising the floor tombs in this way, Panofsky overlooked the significant differences between the examples he uses in Chapter IV which in fact contradict his own argument. For example, the context of the Crivelli tomb differs fundamentally from that of Pecci's.[6] As the memorial of a Franciscan canon, the Crivelli slab was originally set into the floor of the nave, amongst other similar memorials, remote from the high altar and outside the flanking private chapels. Therefore, in fulfilling its function as a tomb slab, it was required, of necessity, to be iconographically self-contained. The Pecci tomb, in contrast, was originally sited immediately before the high altar of Siena Cathedral, the most prestigious burial site in the cathedral, juxtaposed directly in front of Duccio's *Maestà* and, almost literally, on the spot where the liturgy was enacted. As a result, it was integrated into the centre of the cathedral's religious performance, in dialogue with the objects and actors involved in the celebration of the Mass.

Equally significant, by relying on photographs Panofsky mistakenly assumed that, as with the Crivelli tomb, Donatello had designed the figure of Bishop Pecci to appear both standing and lying within an *all'antica* frame. Viewing the object in situ, however, shows that Donatello in fact anticipated Panofsky's observation regarding the tomb of Martin V, using 'perspective artifice' to convey a plausible image of the body as if it were lying, not within a shell niche but on a funeral bier, at the moment the corpse had been placed before the high altar at the bishop's actual funeral ceremony. This contextual reading of the image was first suggested by John Shearman, who observed that by representing Pecci at this specific moment in time and in a naturalistic manner, the subject was 'conceptualised in space and time and in biographical circumstance.'[7] Shearman's insight was subsequently developed by Geraldine Johnson. She argued that the memorialising of the bishop as if at the moment of his own burial service not only created a more immediate and biographically specific image, but also provided a very practical means of hastening the bishop's passage from Purgatory to Paradise, through the intercessions of the priest and congregation during the religious services performed before the high altar:

> the absolution rites are suggested neither by low-relief figures depicted in the same plane as the two-dimensional effigy, nor by higher relief figures along one side or at either end of the a three dimensional effigy... [but by the] evocation of the funeral ceremony, realised when a living spectator views the tomb.[8]

Unlike the Crivelli floor tomb, remote from the high altar in a less significant location in the nave, Pecci's effigy was immediately apparent during the celebration of the Mass, the priest and congregation transforming the naturalistically rendered bronze image into the actual lifeless corpse, in a symbolic and perpetual remembrance of his soul, 'to create metaphorically an eternally recurring Mass', enacted before the dead bishop; a device which not only reduced the bishop's period in Purgatory, but also obviated the need to fund memorial funeral masses in perpetuity for the bishop's soul, that the clergy might in any event neglect to perform.[9]

Shearman and Johnson's insights into the Pecci tomb are invaluable, in that they demonstrate the importance of direct observation and the danger of relying on photographic reproduction. They also remove the Pecci tomb from Panofsky's paradox, and underline the need to take into account the physical and metaphysical environment surrounding the effigy, as well as highlighting the dangers of a narrow interpretation of a tomb's iconography. Neither Shearman nor Johnson, however, offers a resolution to the visual paradox still evident in Crivelli's disconcertingly ambiguous existential status.

In seeking an explanation, this chapter adapts Johnson's approach, focussing on the example of Lorenzo Trenta's tomb which, unlike the Pecci tomb, has survived in situ and is still in dialogue with the components of the funerary chapel for which it was commissioned. It concludes that where Panofsky saw a paradox in the Crivelli tomb there is in fact none. It also contends, however, that just as Panofsky overlooked the significance of the Pecci tomb by ignoring its context and relying on photographs, so Shearman and Johnson failed to notice that it was in fact Jacopo della Quercia in the 1410s, rather than Donatello in the 1430s, who first exploited 'perspective artifice' to 'activate the effigy,' and that it is Lorenzo Trenta, not Giovanni Pecci who, to use Shearman's phrase, is the first instance of a floor tomb, 'conceptualised in space and time and in biographical circumstance'.[10]

Panofsky's reliance on photographic reproductions not only mislead him into overstating the affinity between the Crivelli and Pecci tombs, but also into making the more general claim that the convention of representing the effigy as both upright and prostrate only came into being in Italy around 1430 with the Crivelli tomb, and that this constituted a 'paradox'. In fact, it had been the norm for Tuscan floor tombs since the beginning of the fourteenth century to portray the figure as simultaneously vertical and horizontal, and this remained so well into the sixteenth century. This is evident in the formal similarities between the tombs of Giovanni Castracani degli Antelminelli, who died in 1342, in San Francesco, Pisa, and Giovanni Riccardi in the church of the Carmine, also in Pisa, dated

4.4
Tomb slab of Giovanni Castracani degli Antelminelli (†1342). Marble, 234 x 84 cm, Pisa, San Francesco.

4.5
Tomb slab of Giovanni Riccardi (dated to 1517). Marble, 225 x 86 cm, Pisa, Carmine.

1517 (figs 4.4 and 4.5). Both effigies are framed within niches, an architectural form associated with statuary and the vertical rather than the horizontal plane. The enduring popularity of this format suggests that, far from being an evolutionary aberration, as Panofsky saw it, for over two centuries it satisfied the spiritual and practical requirements of Italian patrons, and suggesting that where Panofsky saw an unresolved paradox, none would have been evident to the period eye.

Crucially, Panofsky overlooked the fact that the spatial anomaly of Crivelli tomb entails a temporal one: that by existing simultaneously in the horizontal and vertical plane the subject is not only located in space as simultaneously alive and dead, but also in time. A simple interpretation of the image in time is, consequently, as impossible as its interpretation in space, suggesting that a metaphysical, rather than a simply physical explanation of the image needs to be sought.

For the early fifteenth-century Christian convinced of the co-existent and, therefore, non-paradoxical reality of bodily resurrection and eternal life, it would have been possible to read the Antelminelli/Crivelli/Riccardi tombs metaphysically, and thus resolve the apparent paradox by allowing the earthly parameter of the material body and divine parameter of the immaterial soul to act as the joint determinants of reality, rather than the single phenomenological contingency of physical space employed by Panofsky. Viewed from this spiritual perspective, the oscillation between horizontal and vertical is explained as existence in and outside time, and the image understood as both corpse on

earth and resurrected body in Heaven. By challenging spatial-temporal logic in this way, far from creating a paradox, the effigy constitutes a self-contained, self-activating image, expressing the key representational objectives of a funerary effigy: the reality of death, the preservation of memory and the certainty of resurrection. Conveyed in a concise and intellectually convincing format, it is understandable why this spiritually coherent formula remained popular for so long.

INNOVATION AND THE TOMB SLAB OF LORENZO TRENTA

The importance of Lorenzo Trenta's floor tomb, overlooked by Panofsky, lies in its anticipation of Donatello's Pecci Tomb, its rejection of the traditional 'paradoxical' format, exemplified in *Tomb Sculpture* by Donatello's tomb slab of Giovanni Crivelli, and, as will be discussed below, in its pivotal role in the iconography of the Trenta Chapel.

The wealthy silk merchant and banker, Lorenzo di Magister Federico Trenta, built his new chapel, 'from its foundations' over the course of 1412, on the south side of the mother church of the Augustinian Canons, San Frediano, in Lucca.[11] The chapel consists of two roughly equal spaces, originally partitioned by an iron grille, opening out onto the nave through two wide arches.[12] At the base of the altar steps, in the half of the chapel closest to the high altar, are the marble floor tombs of Lorenzo Trenta and his male descendants and that of the women of Lorenzo's family (fig. 4.6).

Jacopo della Quercia worked for Lorenzo Trenta in the chapel during most of 1413, alongside another master, Giovanni da Imola. The tombs were probably left unfinished in December 1413, following the accusations of criminal activity brought against both sculptors, Quercia's precipitous flight from the city and Giovanni da Imola's arrest and imprisonment. The tombs were probably completed in 1416 and 1417 respectively, after Quercia's return to Lucca in the spring 1416 and Giovanni da Imola's release from prison in June 1417.[13] The inscriptions on both tombs carry the date 1416, commemorating not the year of Lorenzo's death - he lived until 1439 - but the dedication of the chapel to Saints Richard, Jerome and Ursula in February 1416.[14]

Work on the altarpiece, signed by Quercia and dated 1422, also began in February 1416, when the Roman sarcophagus containing the remains of St. Richard and a marble slab were brought from the old chapel dedicated to St. Richard, probably located across the nave of the church, and placed in Lorenzo's newly dedicated foundation.[15] The large but thin slab of marble had served in the old chapel as the double tomb marker of a German bishop and a Lucchese nobleman. The bishop was Gebhard III of the abbey church of Eichstätt in southern Bavaria, who had died outside Pisa in 1327. He had asked to be buried in front of the old altar of St. Richard because of his special devotion to the saint, his abbey having been founded in 741 by one of Richard's children, St. Willibald, its first bishop. Francesco Baldini, the Lucchese nobleman who probably paid for the tomb slab, was buried alongside the bishop in 1347. The slab, which was almost 100 years old by the time Lorenzo took possession of it, had been carved with the bishop's effigy and next to it

4.6
Interior of the Trenta Chapel (begun 1412, sculptural decoration completed 1422), looking towards the geographical west, but the liturgical east of the church, the vault and tomb slab of the Trenta's domestic servants, paupers and pilgrims in the foreground, the vaults and tomb slabs of Lorenzo Trenta and the Women of his family in the floor in front of the altar, the sarcophagus containing the bones and relics of St. Richard beneath the altar, and the Trenta Altarpiece set into wall. An iron grille originally dividing the two bays ran between the pilgrims' slab and the Trenta vault.

4.7
Jacopo della Quercia and Giovanni da Imola, The Trenta Altarpiece, depicting the Virgin and Child with Saints Ursula, Lawrence, Jerome and Richard (1416-22). Marble, main panel, 230 x 296 cm, with predella 273 x 303 cm, Trenta Chapel.

the Baldini coat of arms. Following the move to the new chapel, this side was set into the wall of the Trenta chapel; the reverse, now facing outwards, was carved by Jacopo della Quercia and Giovanni da Imola to form the dossal of the Trenta Altarpiece (fig. 4.7).[16]

The decision to use the old and brittle slab for the new altarpiece, instead of freshly quarried stone as Lorenzo had done for his tomb slabs, suggests that this specific slab had special significance for the patron. Cost was certainly not the issue; had it been Lorenzo would have commissioned either a painted panel or a wooden sculpted altarpiece, requiring far less time and labour to execute. Even if a new block had to be brought to Lucca from the nearby quarries above Pietrasanta, this could have been done for less than ten florins, a negligible sum for a merchant as wealthy as Lorenzo Trenta.[17] The most likely explanation for recycling the marble slab, despite the practical limitations and technical problems it might have caused the sculptors, is that it substantiated a direct, physical connection between St. Richard and Lorenzo Trenta mediated through the episcopal succession of Richard's son, St. Willibald, to Gebhard III who, as Lorenzo intended for himself in his new chapel, had been buried before the relics of the saint in the old one. The material substance, therefore, as well as the form of the altarpiece conveyed meaning, and the forms themselves were made more potent symbols by virtue of the substance from which they were carved. If, as Jim Harris has argued, the material of Donatello's *Annunciation Tabernacle* in Santa Croce, Florence, also had symbolic meaning (the local stone, *macigno*, used rather than marble because of its specific associations with the city of Florence), further credence is given to the hypothesis proposed above.[18] Additionally, Donatello's patron, Niccolò Cavalcanti, was Lorenzo Trenta's son-in-law and may, therefore, have been aware of the precedent of the Trenta altarpiece, and of the meaning inherent in the use of a specific piece or type of stone. Probably installed early in 1422, it completed the chapel's sculptural decoration of floor tombs, sarcophagus and altarpiece.

In the context of the Guelf families who dominated private patronage at San Frediano, the Trenta tombs are unique in having a figurative representation of the deceased on the slab, thus following the Ghibelline precedent rather than the norm for the Guelf families of the city whose slabs carry only the family's coat of arms.[19] This suggests that Lorenzo may have entertained aristocratic pretensions, but it also meant that he was memorialised figuratively within the chapel, as well as verbally in the slab's inscription, and heraldically in its coat of arms. Additionally, the effigies of Lorenzo Trenta and that of the women of the Trenta family are also unusual when compared with the other tomb slabs in San Frediano in that they face away from not towards the altar, thereby presenting their features towards rather than away from the viewer in the chapel's second bay.[20] Lorenzo Trenta's tomb slab, however, differs in other respects from established precedent, exemplified in the existentially unstable format of the traditional Antelminelli/Crivelli/Riccardi type of Tuscan floor tomb typical of Lucca's Ghibelline families and, as discussed below, from that of the tomb of the women of the Trenta family immediately adjacent to it. Rather Lorenzo is represented as an unambiguously lifeless corpse in a single visual plane, as if laid out

on a funeral bier. As such, the image anticipates the Pecci tomb by at least two decades, an observation that scholars of early Renaissance sculpture from Panofsky through Janson, Seymour, Shearman, Beck, Johnson and Bennett and Wilkins have overlooked.[21] This oversight may have occurred because the naturalism of Lorenzo's effigy is only evident in photographic reproduction when the now worn slab is observed in strong raking light, as for example when the sun shines through the window on the south side of the chapel (fig. 4.3). In this light, Lorenzo's entire weight appears to sink into the yielding mattress of the bier, crumpling the cloth of honour beneath and pulling the fringe away from the lower edges of the frame, both head and feet heavily indenting the embroidered cushions upon which they rest. When Lorenzo commissioned the tomb in 1413, therefore, it was to be represented as he imagined he would one day be seen in his chapel at his own funeral mass, and as he set out in his will some 25 years later in June 1438. His body was to be placed on a bier and:

> carried and taken inside the major chapels of the Lucchese churches by the prior and monks of San Frediano [their names] as listed below, and the brothers will be paid for and carry twelve wax torches around the body when it is carried to his tomb, on four and a half braccia of black silk.[22]

This practice followed a tradition of elite funerals in Lucca and Florence, where the body was occasionally displayed before burial, for example in the funeral procession of Lorenzo's kinsman, Francesco Guinigi in 1387, or his contemporary and relation through marriage Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici in 1429.[23] It was in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, however, during Lorenzo's time in northern Europe, that the display of an effigy of wood or wax was substituted for the actual corpse and formed the centrepiece of the Valois court's elaborate ceremonials.[24] Sometimes the royal corpse itself was covered with transparent Lucchese silk called *racamas*, embroidered with gold thread or painted with the likeness of the deceased.[25] When circumstance demanded that the body had to be interred immediately after death, or was too decayed for public display, effigies were used to evoke the real presence of the deceased, clothed in luxury fabrics of Lucchese manufacture.[26] The Trenta and other Lucchese families in Paris and Bruges also routinely financed and furnished the phenomenally expensive silks that were an integral part of these rituals; for example, Dino Rapondi advanced all the cash and furnished all the silks for the funeral of Philip the Bold in 1404, and in 1416 Giusfredo Cenami fitted out the chapel in the Grands-Augustins for John of Berry's lying in state.[27] As a result, the Lucchese were familiar with both the practicalities and the significance of the naturalistic display of the deceased.

Lorenzo's own initiative, to be represented as he would actually be seen on his funeral bier, derived from deep religious conviction as well as northern precedent, perhaps influenced by the teaching of contemporary preachers, notably Giovanni Dominici. Dominici

4.8
Jacopo della Quercia and Giovanni da Imola, Tomb slabs of Lorenzo Trenta and his male descendants (left) and of the Women and female descendants of Lorenzo Trenta (right) (1413-16). Lucca, San Frediano, Trenta Chapel.

was a leading figure in the *Bianchi* movement which numbered Lorenzo Trenta amongst its most zealous followers, and he was also close to the Lucchese communities in Venice and in Lucca. He advocated the use of vivid religious images as didactic tools and as such, Lorenzo's decision to be represented with forceful clarity as unambiguously dead might be seen as an aide to contemplation on the stark reality of death, compatible with Dominici teachings. Where the visual anomalies and existential ambiguities of the Crivelli tomb obscure dramatic clarity in the contemplation of a symbolically complex but logically unreal image, the naturalism of Lorenzo's tomb engages the viewer emotionally in the immediacy of a specific event. Lorenzo is fixed in time and within the boundaries of his tomb, immutably dead and forever awaiting resurrection.[28]

The significance of Lorenzo's effigy is underlined when contrasted with that of its companion tomb, the women of Lorenzo's family (fig. 4.8). In the published literature photographs reveal little difference between the design and execution of the slabs, Panofsky himself only illustrating the female slab, and mistakenly locating it in the church of San Frediano in Florence, not in Lucca.[29] Unlike Lorenzo's effigy, the female borrows heavily from traditional Tuscan practice. Though the conventional architectural niche has been replaced by drapery, the ambiguity between horizontal and vertical is maintained as the fabric behind the figure hangs rather than lies beneath her body, untouched by her weight, her body making no impression on the flat, unyielding surface of the tomb. This is in sharp contrast to Lorenzo's effigy, which sinks weightily below the frame as on a soft and yielding mattress. The deep cut, strongly moulded folds of his robes emphasise the physicality of the corpse they clothe, whereas the female dress is conceived as an abstract, decorative surface pattern swirling over her insubstantial form. Thus, as the inscription asserts Lorenzo's pre-eminence, his physical presence in the funeral chapel is emphasised through innovative design inspired by northern realism, juxtaposed alongside the spatially unresolved and stylised abstraction of the female figure.[30] These visual distinctions are signalled in the very different meanings of the inscriptions of their frames. One identifies the effigy as a specific individual, Lorenzo Trenta, the other is a defined only in terms of Lorenzo's identity and place of origin, the 'women and the female descendants of Lorenzo...of Lucca.'[31] Consequently, although the two figures appear superficially to have equal ontological status, their inscriptions exclude a straightforward interpretation as the double portrait of Lorenzo and his wife, Isabetta Honesti. As the texts state, Lorenzo's image represents an individual, the founder of a dynasty in both the male and the female line and worthy of personal commemoration. The distinctions in text and image found in the Trenta Chapel not only prioritise Lorenzo's identity but also assert his dominance within its iconographic programme. His effigy's innovative design required an artist receptive to

4.9
Giovanni da Imola, St. Mark and St. John, from an unfinished pulpit (1423). Marble, 73 x 51 cms, Siena Cathedral.

new ideas, with whom Lorenzo could communicate his very specific requirements, unfamiliar to Tuscan sculptors of the early fifteenth century. Coupled with the more pedestrian design and execution of the female tomb, this suggests that although Lorenzo's effigy is indisputably attributable to Quercia, the less iconographically significant female tomb was produced by Giovanni da Imola, a hypothesis that is given further support when the female effigy is compared to the only two documented works by Giovanni da Imola in the cathedral of Siena, which share the same lack of spatial depth and insubstantial bodily forms (fig. 4.9).

Lorenzo's tomb was executed at least twenty-three years before his death, an interval that suggests he planned it not only with a view to posterity, but also as an aid to worship during his lifetime.[32] By installing a realistic likeness in 1416, as Johnson has shown in the case of the Pecci tomb of the late 1430s, the masses Lorenzo subsequently attended in his private chapel, with the image of his own corpse facing him as he prayed, symbolically anticipated his own funeral mass. As such, it would have intensified his contemplation of death on multiple levels, literally as his mortal self, symbolically in his sculpted corpse, and metaphysically in the funeral mass that was yet to come.[33]

Lorenzo Trenta's physical likeness was clearly an important part of the chapel's spiritual programme. His sculpted features were made visible to him and to others, including the pilgrims who came to worship in the large, double-bayed chapel, at what was the shrine of St. Richard as well as the Trenta family burial place, the saint's remains and relics enclosed behind the iron grille that also divided the Trenta tombs and altarpiece in the westerly bay. Within the easterly bay, and in further remembrance of Lorenzo Trenta, was a third tomb slab, dedicated to the burial of the families of Lorenzo's household, to pilgrims and to paupers, and commissioned by Lorenzo specifically 'for the health of his soul and all of his own.'[34] This charitable provision gave access to a prestigious burial site otherwise far beyond the means of its beneficiaries, in proximity to and in sight of St. Richard's sarcophagus and the altar made from the tomb of an earlier pilgrim. Between worshipper and altar, Lorenzo's effigy faced the worshippers in full view, promoting the remembrance of his charity as they adored the shrine and eliciting their prayers of intercession and thanks.

This provision, as Johnson has argued for the Pecci tomb, ensured that prayers were said on the patron's behalf by a far larger cohort and with far greater frequency than otherwise would have been the case. So, by placing his likeness in death on public view, Lorenzo not only ensured the preservation of his memory and the spread of the Trentas' fame, but also a constant stream of prayers for the salvation of his soul.

The interpretation of Lorenzo's effigy, in Johnson's words, as a means 'to create metaphorically an eternally recurring Mass of the Dead for his [Pecci's] soul,'[35] is given further credibility by the fact that there are no provisions in Lorenzo's detailed wills of either 1438 or 1439 for Requiem masses, although he did make provision, as he was bound to do for a family chapel, for a chaplain to say a daily mass.[36] Furthermore, though he made bequests for services on the feast days of Saints Richard, Ursula and Jerome, he made no provision for the feast day of his name saint, Lawrence, suggesting that his likeness symbolically transformed all masses performed in the chapel into Requiem masses, thereby obviating the need for specific arrangements or additional payments to the clergy for special services dedicated to Lawrence.[37]

In its multiple functions Lorenzo's effigy also served as a votive image, its efficacy in direct proportion to its resemblance to the subject.[38] In this respect, Lorenzo was again influenced by his experience of northern practice, what Panofsky would have termed, 'northern naturalism', and the examples of the numerous life-size wax images donated to shrines across France and Flanders, such as the chapel of Pierre de Luxembourg in Avignon, for which Lorenzo Trenta's relative, the great Lucchese banker Dino Rapondi, had commissioned a wax statue of Charles VI in 1389. In dialogue with the altar before which they were placed, these statues secured the intercession of the chapel's dedicatory saints, and of the worshippers.[39] In the same way, Lorenzo's naturalistic effigy before the altar and relics of St. Richard not only solicited the prayers of the living but also prompted the intercession of the Virgin and Saints represented in the chapel's altarpiece above him. The absence of any imagery within the floor tomb suggesting resurrection, such as putti or angels, further emphasises Lorenzo's isolation in death, reinforces its unique spatial-temporal reference, stimulates an emotional as well as a spiritual response from the viewer, and further enhances its efficacy as a votive image.

ICONOGRAPHY AND THE TOMB SLAB OF LORENZO TRENTA

Realism, however, has its limitations. In isolation, unlike the Crivelli type, Lorenzo's effigy offers the viewer only one possible interpretation, a corpse laid out in death, and consequently it lacks the existential flexibility of the more popular floor tomb. This symbolic limitation in comparison to the compact Crivelli type of memorial is even more apparent when the Trenta tomb is compared to the northern European type, the transi tomb. This format enacts the transition from death to resurrection not through spatial ambiguity but through multiple representations of the subject within the same monument. For example,

4.10
Details of Lorenzo Trenta in the guise of St. Jerome in the tomb slab, dossal and predella of the Trenta Chapel.

the great tomb of Cardinal Jean de la Grange, who died in 1404, originally filled the apse of the church of St. Martial in Avignon.[40] Through its multiple levels the patron ascended from decomposing corpse within his tomb at the base, to bodily resurrection at the feet of the Virgin in Paradise at the summit. This type of sculpted tomb required considerable wealth and space within the church, making it an option only for the elite.

In the case of Bishop Pecci's floor tomb, where the corpse is represented only as a corpse, Geraldine Johnson has suggested that the affirmation of bodily resurrection was realised, not within the tomb itself, but in the tomb's relation to the high altar of Siena cathedral, and visible to the priest and attendant clergy during the celebration of the mass:

> Thus it was whilst performing these rites or when distributing the Host the celebrant would have seen the dead bishop's illusionistic effigy most clearly and would have re-enacted some of the most important ceremonies probably performed at Pecci's funeral. The incense, holy water, and Eucharistic wafers dispensed by the priest while overlooking Pecci's effigy would thus metaphorically have served to link the dead bishop's mortal remains, buried beneath the bronze relief, to the eternal Body of Christ incarnate consecrated on the altar above.[41]

Able to exert far greater control over the physical environment of his tomb than Giovanni Pecci could exercise before the High Altar of Siena Cathedral, in his family chapel Lorenzo created a more permanent and less contingent link between his effigy, the altarpiece and the consecrated host by exploiting the theatrical as well as the liturgical potential offered by the three dimensional spaces he had constructed ex novo. He did this by having his likeness incorporated not only into his tomb but also into both the dossal and the predella of the chapel's altarpiece, in the guise of one of its main protagonists, St. Jerome (fig. 4.10). The three faces have the same distinctive line of cheek and jaw, rounded chin, sagging jowls, curved upper lip and deep set eyes, and, significantly as the Italian tradition was to portray St. Jerome bearded, all three faces are clean shaven in the contemporary Italian fashion. Lorenzo was born around 1360, and both Lorenzo in the tomb and Jerome in the altarpiece are consistent as men in late middle age.

In lending his features to Jerome, Lorenzo identified himself with the saint's spiritual values and evoked the saint's protection. He also activated (in Johnson's sense of the word) his otherwise inanimate image within the tomb, not only in the metaphysical re-enactment of the funeral Mass, but at any moment when the viewer, be they laity or clergy, realised the similarity between the features of the dead man contained within his tomb and the

immortal saint facing them from the altar. This reinforces the rationale for unconventionally orientating the tomb away from rather than towards the altar, to make possible a direct comparison with the St. Jerome of the altarpiece. As they looked up from Lorenzo's tomb the gaze of the viewer would have been engaged by St. Jerome standing to the Virgin's left, in contrast to the youthful St. Lawrence to her right who looks fixedly down at the effigy of his namesake in detached and isolated contemplation. Similarly, as the priest turned away from the congregation and Lorenzo's effigy and towards the altar he was confronted with Lorenzo's likeness, not only in the standing figure of St. Jerome but more intimately in the small predella panel immediately above the altar table at the moment of the Eucharist.

Although Jerome's pose is consistent with the other standing saints of the altarpiece, he differs significantly in concept from saints Richard, Ursula and Lawrence. These three figures are those of idealised youth, their faces and hands perfect in form, their expressions abstracted and their characterless features hardly differentiated from one another. By contrast and even allowing for the convention that dictated Jerome was represented as mature rather than youthful saint, his features are clearly individualised in a way that stresses his human rather than his divine presence. His face lined, his pupils incised and his hands and feet carved with careful attention to anatomical detail, the veins running over their surface. He is also the only saint in the dossal whose feet are exposed to view. This contrast parallels the distinction between the individuality of Lorenzo's effigy and the generic representation of the female effigy in the tomb slabs below the altar. The importance of St. Jerome's physical identity is emphasised further in the continuity between his appearance in the dossal and predella not observed in the case of the other saints. This is most obviously apparent in a comparison between Jerome and Lawrence, the latter a svelte saint in the main panel and a muscle-bound martyr in the predella. These distinctions in the artist's treatment of Jerome highlight his primary role in the iconographic programme of the chapel, as intercessor between the living and the dead, who, by sharing the physical features of the patron, is understood to perform this role explicitly on Lorenzo's behalf.

The immediate precedent for the inclusion of the patron's sculpted likeness in the guise of a holy figure was not Florentine, or Italian, but northern, in the practice of the Valois rulers of France and Burgundy. Most strikingly, this can be seen in the so-called 'portrait of sacred identification' of Philip the Bold in the guise of the prophet Jeremiah, in Claus Sluter and Jean Malouel's *Well of Moses* in the cloister of the Charterhouse of Champmol, carved about 1402 and still in the grounds of the foundation (fig. 4.11).[42] Lorenzo and his brothers in Paris are likely to have been familiar with the ducal project at Champmol through Lorenzo's own contacts with the Valois court from the 1380s onwards, and the Lucchese communities many contacts with the patrons, administrators, suppliers and artists involved in the building of the Charterhouse. For example, the Rapondi and the Mercati supplied all the luxury silks for the ducal oratory and oversaw the production of one of its tombs, that of Guy de la Trémoille.[43]

4.11
Claus Sluter, *Well of Moses* (1395-1403), detail of Philip the Bold in the guise of the Prophet Jeremiah. Limestone and polychromy, height 179 cm, Dijon, Chartreuse de Champmol.

4.12
Parement Master, St Jerome in his study, *Très Belles Heures* (the Turin Hours) (c.1390). MS 47, fol. 80v. Destroyed.

In the guise of Jeremiah, the prophet with whom the Carthusian order most closely identified, Philip was able to achieve in stone his ambition to be memorialised in the cloister of the Charterhouse, otherwise the exclusive privilege of the monks. In being represented as a living prophet, he also asserted the reality of his bodily resurrection and eternal presence amongst the monks of the Charterhouse he had founded. Analogously, Lorenzo's likenesses in his altarpiece in the guise of St. Jerome emulated Valois practice, asserting his eternal existence within the church in the guise of the Augustinian canon's favoured saint, and in a chapel that he had founded.

Lorenzo's representation of himself specifically in the guise of St. Jerome anticipates the earliest, generally accepted example of the type, the Eyckian St. Jerome, now in Detroit, dated between 1435 and 1442.[44] Representing Niccolò degli Albergati, it was either commissioned by him, or given to him around the time of his visit to Arras in 1435. Both Lorenzo and Albergati, however, may well have been following established northern precedent dating back to the fourteenth century. This is suggested by the carefully individualised features of Jerome in the Turin Hours, though the identity of the model and his relationship to the saint are not known (fig. 4.12).

Referring to northern examples of individuals represented in the guise of St. Jerome, that are equally applicable to Lorenzo Trenta, it has been observed by Eugene Rice that:

> The practice was at once a flattering testimonial that the sitter possessed at least some of Jerome's titles and merits and an act of sympathetic magic by which the devotee declared his special veneration for Jerome and sought to secure his blessing and protection.[45]

But the Trenta chapel goes much further than this. Here the image of the saint is pivotal to the iconographic programme of the whole ensemble. It affirms Lorenzo's identification with Jerome's spiritual and cultural values. It solicits Jerome's intercession and furnishes the means by which the earthly and divine worlds of tomb and altarpiece are conjoined, and Lorenzo's transition from death to resurrection accomplished.

CONCLUSION

The Trenta Chapel's complex iconographic programme, centred on the interaction between Lorenzo's effigy, his likenesses in the altarpiece and his relationship to St Jerome, is unprecedented in early fifteenth-century Italy. The floor tomb provides the key to one of the most sophisticated early fifteenth-century burial chapels in Italy. It anticipates Donatello's use of 'perspective artifice' and 'modern naturalism' by almost two decades.[46] The comparison of Lorenzo's floor tomb with that of the Giovanni Crivelli, set out in this chapter, questions the existence of Panofsky's paradox, suggesting rather that the visual anomalies of the figure 'sleeping the eternal sleep whilst ostensibly standing upright in a niche' solved the spiritual problem of representing both the reality of death and the certainty of bodily resurrection in a single image. More generally, this chapter demonstrated that Panofsky's reliance on photographs taken from directly above was the primary cause both of his misinterpretation of the Trenta tomb and his failure to recognise that its 'naturalism' anticipates the tombs of both Martin V and Bishop Pecci. Additionally, his failure to see the floor tomb not as part of an interactive religious ensemble, but as an iconographically isolated image, prevented his seeking a resolution to the 'paradox' he thought existed in the Crivelli tomb. Furthermore, this discussion validates Shearman and Johnson's insights, based on the Pecci tomb, regarding the dynamic nature of the funeral effigy within the environment of the burial site. It provides, however, a more comprehensive account of the relationship between the effigy and its context, because unlike Crivelli or Pecci, Lorenzo's tomb has survived in its original position before the altarpiece within the chapel for which it was always intended.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1964), pp. 67-96, especially pp. 71-72 and figs 303-04 and 307.

2. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 72.

3. Some scholars, notably James Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 94-97 have argued that the tomb slabs are not in their original position, but were intended for the funerary chapel of St. Catherine in the cloister of San Frediano, where Lorenzo was in fact buried in 1439. However, this is based on a misreading of the surviving documents, as demonstrated by Marco Paoli, *Arte e committenza privata a Lucca nel trecento e nel quattrocento, produzione artistici e cultura libraria* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1986), p. 250-52. That they were always orientated away from the altar is indicated by the fact that Lorenzo's slab is over the vault containing the male bones, the female slab over the female bones and that if the slabs were re-orientated towards the altar, the effigies would face away from, not towards, each other, which is both aesthetically unsatisfactory and historically unlikely.

4. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 72.

5. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 72.

6. For the Crivelli tomb, see John Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), p. 140. For the Pecci tomb, see Geraldine Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy, Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral', *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): pp. 445-59.

7. John Shearman, *Only Connect, Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 15.

8. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', p. 459.

9. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', p. 458. For the early fifteenth-century belief in the reduction of the soul's time in Purgatory through prayer, see Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', pp. 454-58.

10. Similarly, Johnson's assertion that the Pecci tomb is 'Unlike any previous tomb' (Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', pp. 454-55), should more accurately be said of the Trenta tomb.

11. Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, Pietro Carelli, *Notizie Antiche di San Frediano*, MS 415, fol. 20v, referring to an original document, now lost, dated 28 February, 1412.

12. Romano Silva, *La Basilica di san Frediano, Urbanistica, Architettura, Arredo* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1985), p. 26.

13. Eugenio Lazzareschi, 'La Dimora a Lucca di Jacopo della Quercia e Giovanni da Imola,' *Bullettino Senese della Storia Patria* 31 (1924): pp. 63-97.

14. Carelli, MS 415, fol. 20v. St. Lawrence was one of the church's three dedicatory saints and there was already a chapel dedicated to him in the church.

15. This chronology differs from the established accounts of Beck and Geddes, who argue that the altar was begun as early as 1410, two years before Lorenzo received permission to build the new chapel, and six years before the slab from which it was carved was moved from the old chapel of St. Richard. Quercia cannot, therefore, have begun the altarpiece before his return to Lucca in the spring of 1416. For their discussion, see Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia*, vol. 1, pp. 71-77 and Helen Geddes, 'The Polychromy of an Early Italian Sculpture: The Marble Altarpiece by Jacopo della Quercia in San Frediano, Lucca, 1412-1422,' *The Sculpture Journal* 11 (2004): pp. 32-48.

16. Romano Silva, *La Basilica di San Frediano a Lucca; imagine simbolica di Roma cristiana* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 2010), pp. 165-68.

17. For the costs of marble and its shipping from Versiglia to Lucca, see Archivio di Stato di Lucca, *Gabelle del contado e delle vicarie,Gabella di Pietrasanta*, 65, fols 77-79.

18. Jim Harris, 'Donatello's Polychromed Sculpture: Case Studies in Materials and Meaning' (PhD Diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2010), pp. 67-96. Lorenzo's son, Girolamo, married Bartolomea di Giovanni Cavalcanti, Niccolò Cavalcanti's sister, in about 1410.

19. For the contrast between Guelf and Ghibelline tomb slabs in Pisa and Lucca, see Marco Paoli, 'Un aspetto poco noto della scultura trecentesca pisana: la lapide sepolcrale con ritratto', *Antichità Viva*, 5-6 (1982): pp. 38-47.

20. When the church was rebuilt in the twelfth century its orientation was reversed in order to make space for a piazza within the city walls, to which the building was immediately adjacent. As a result, the high altar subsequently faced not to the geographical west, but to the east. By orientating the effigy away from not towards the altar, unlike all the other tombs in the church, Lorenzo took advantage of this, not only making his image more visible from the second bay, but also orientating it to the east.

21. See for example, Bonnie A. Bennett and David G. Wilkins, *Donatello* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), pp. 144-45, who use the tomb slab of Lorenzo Trenta to exemplify the 'traditional' Tuscan model, in contrast to the Pecci slab. Robert Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments* (New York: The American Philosophical Society, 1993), p. 4, observed that the cloth of honour beneath Trenta's body was unprecedented in Tuscan sculpture, but makes no further comment. This imagery may relate to brass floor tombs, which often show the subject lying on representations of the luxury silks manufactured by the Lucchese in Lucca and Venice and sold by them to the northern courts; see for example the tomb of Martin Visch, illustrated in

Ronald Van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten en memorietaferlen met persoonsafbeeldingen in West-Vlaanderen, een inventaris, funeraire symboliek en overzicht van het kostuum* (Bruges: Van de Wiele, 2006), p. 155.

22. Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Archivio Notarile, *Testamenti 11, ser Domenico Ciomucchi, 1398-1438*, fol. 160r. The original entry reads: 'Item; dominus Laurentius testator voluit, juberit et mandavit quem solum ad cuias et sui corporis funeralia convocatur et interfuit totum capellum maioris eccelsie Lucem et prior et monari sancti Frigiani soprascriptis et non pluros et fratris nec expensis vel emantur duodecim torcie de cera ut consuctis est portentur circa corpus eodem quando portabitur ad tumulli et supra quartuordecim bracchia pannis nigris'.

23. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', p. 450.

24. As, for example, depicted by a Flemish miniaturist, 'Funeral of Charles VI, King of France,' [1422], c. 1450: British Library, MS Royal, 20 C IX, fol. 11r.

25. As, for example, depicted in the miniature attributed to the Master of the Coronation of Charles V, 'Funeral of Jeanne de Bourbon,' [1378] *Grandes Chroniques de France*, c. 1380: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 2813, fol. 480v.

26. As, for example, in the miniature attributed to a Parisian master, 'Funeral of Anne of Brittany,' 1515: BnF, MS fr. 25158, fol. 43r.

27. For Dino Rapondi and Philip the Bold, see Henri David, *Philippe le Hardi, le train somptuaire d'un grand Valois* (Dijon: Bernigaud et Privat, 1947), p. 180, and for Giusfredo Cenami and John of Berry, see Françoise Lehoux , 'Mort et funérailles du duc de Berri (juin, 1416)', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 114 (1956), p. 87.

28. For Dominici's teaching and influence, see Pino da Prati, *Giovanni Dominici e 'umanesimo* (Naples: Istituto Editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1964), pp. 60-77, and Daniel Bornstein, *Sister Bartolomea Riccoboni, Life and Death in a Venetian Convent; The Chronicle and Necrology of the Corpus Domini, 1395-1436* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 3-36 for his contacts with the Lucchese in Venice, the connections with the Bianchi in Venice, and his encouragement of the visual arts. For the Bianchi movement in Italy, see Daniel Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), and specifically in Lucca, see Telesforo Bini, *Storia della sacra effigie, chiesa e compagnia del ss. crocifisso de' Bianchi* (Lucca: Giuseppe Giusti, 1855), especially p. 84 for the transcription of Lorenzo Trenta's statement to the notary of the miracles he had witnessed whilst on pilgrimage to Florence in 1399. For Giovanni Domenici in Lucca, Armando Verde and Domenico Corsi, 'La "Cronaca" del Convento domenicano di S. Romano di Lucca:Testo e note', *Memorie domenicane*, 21 (1990): pp. 141-43.

29. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 307. Even though Beck, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 95-97 and vol. 2, p. 238-39 discusses and reproduces an oblique view of Lorenzo's tomb as well as the standard vertical views, his argument is to minimise, rather than highlight the differences between the male and female Trenta tomb slabs, any stylistic distinctions between them, according to Beck, attributable to the gender of the subject rather than the hand of the sculptor or the meaning of the images.

30. As Geraldine Johnson, taking an observation from Klapisch-Zuber, argues, there was a similar ontological distinction in Florentine portrait busts, the identity of the male usually preserved, whereas those of the female rarely, if ever; and whereas the male portrait is highly individualised, those of their female counterparts 'are drained of much of their individuality, as if they were 'images without memory'. See Geraldine Johnson, 'Family Values: Sculpture and the Family in Fifteenth-Century Florence,' in Giovanni Ciapelli and Patricia Rubin (eds), *Art, Memory and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 215-33, and especially pp. 228 and 232.

31. The full text of the inscriptions reads as follows: 'Hoc est sepulcrum Laurentii quondam nobilis viri Magistri Federighi Trenta et suorum descendentium, AD MCCCCXVI' ('This is the tomb of Lorenzo, son of the late virtuous man Master Federigo Trenta and of his male descendants, 1416.') The female tomb reads: 'Hoc est sepulcrum dominarum et descendentium Laurentii quondam nobilis viri Magistri Federigi Trenta de Lucha, AD 1416' ('This is the tomb of the women and female descendants of Lorenzo, son of the late virtuous man Master Federigo Trenta of Lucca.')

32. Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, p. 4, observes that this interval is unprecedented in fifteenth-century Tuscan sculpture.

33. For the systems of religious beliefs on mortality and intercession for the dead in this context, see Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', especially pp. 454-59.

34. The inscription reads: 'Hoc sepulcrum constituit Laurentius Trenta pro families sua domus et peregrinis et pauperibus yxi pro salute sua anima et omnibus suorum AD MCCCCXXII'.

35. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', p. 458.

36. For Lorenzo's wills and codicils, which remain unpublished in full, see Paoli, *Arte e committenza privata a Lucca*, p. 251. The first is Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Archivio Notarile, *Testamenti, 11, ser Domenico Ciomucchi*, fols 160r-165v, 29th March, 1438, with a codicil dated 2nd April, 1438; a separate codicil, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Archivio Notarile, 549, *Protocoli 1439, ser Ciomeo Piero*, fol. 26r, is dated 7th June, 1438. For Lorenzo's completely rewritten last testament, see Archivio di Stato di Lucca, *San*

Frediano, 7, ser Benedetto di Bartolomei, fols 130r-132r, 20th June, 1439.

37. This follows Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', pp. 458-59 with reference to the Pecci tomb, though it is argued here that it is Quercia's sculpture, not Donatello's that is 'Unlike any previous tomb'.

38. For a detailed discussion of the votive image and its efficacy, in a northern European context, see Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image, Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), esp. pp. 253-57.

39. For the wax statue of Charles VI, see Auguste Vallet de Viriville and Baron de Girardot, 'Statue de cire du roi Charles VI offerte par ce prince au tombeau de S. Pierre de Luxembourg (à Avignon)', *Archives de l'art français, recueil des documents inédits relatifs a l'histoire des arts en France* 8 (1858), pp. 342-46, and Noel Valois, *La France et le grand schism d'occident*, vol. 2 (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1896), pp. 363-64, and Jacques Chiffoleau, *La compatibilité de l'au-delà, les hommes, la mort et la réligion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge, vers 1320-vers 1480*, Collection de l'école française de Rome 47 (Rome: Académie française de Rome, 1980), p. 293 for the shrine of Pierre of Luxembourg. For life-size votive images, wax over a wooden frame were the usual materials, though attempts were made to fund life-size statues in silver of the equivalent weight to the subject, with the intention of increasing their efficacy even further. For example, the statue of Robert of Bar that his mother Yolande attempted to fund between 1370 and 1407, see Ernest Bouteiller, 'Notices sur les Grand-Carmes de Metz', *Mémoires de l'académie imperiale de Metz* 41 (1859-1860): p. 465.

40. For the Grange tomb, see Anne Morganstern, 'Pierre Morel, Master of the Works in Avignon', *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): pp. 323-49 and esp. p. 67, and Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 12-14, 33-39.

41. Johnson, 'Activating the Effigy', p. 457.

42. The identification is argued for conclusively in Susie Nash, 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses" for the Chartreuse de Champmol reconsidered: part III', *The Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): pp. 724-41. For additional examples of royal personages in the guise of saints, see Nash, 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses"', p. 740, and for northern influences on Italian disguised portraits of St. Jerome, see Penny Howell Jolly, 'Antonello da Messina's *Saint Jerome in his Study*: An Iconographic Analysis', *The Art Bulletin* 65 (1983): pp. 238-53, and Bernard Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol, Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen: Bourma, 1984), p. 74.

43. For example, see Louis de la Trémoille, *Les La Trémoille pendant cinq siècles, tome premier, Gui VI et Georges, 1343-1446* (Nantes: E. Grimaud, 1890), pp. 85-86.

44. See *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi, 1430-1530, dialoghi tra artisti: da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello*, exh. cat., (Livorno: Sillabe, 2008), pp. 86-90.

45. Eugene Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), p. 108.

46. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 72.

PART TWO

MONUMENTS AND THEIR VIEWERS

CHAPTER 5

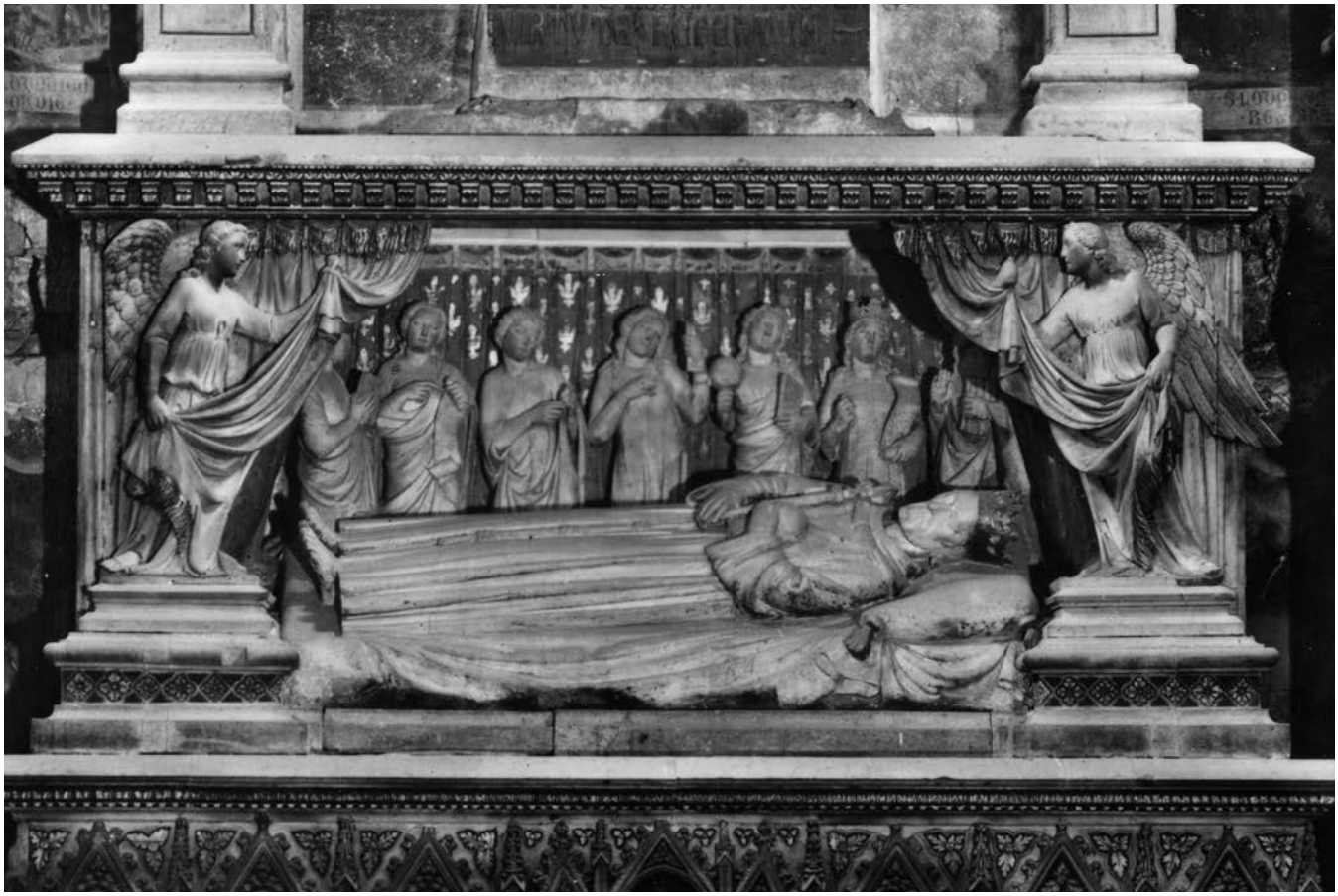
PETRARCH AND MEMORIAL ART: BLURRING THE BORDERS BETWEEN ART THEORY AND ART PRACTICE IN TRECENTO ITALY

LUCA PALOZZI

5.1
Pacio and Giovanni Bertini, Tomb of King Robert of Anjou (†1343), detail, before the extensive damage suffered during the Second World War. Naples, Santa Chiara.

To Maria Monica Donato

Erwin Panofsky was the first to re-evaluate the centrality of Petrarch (1304-74) to memorial art in the West—in his book *Tomb Sculpture*—crediting him in particular with the introduction of the iconography of the Liberal Arts.[1] This iconography would find its best-known expression in Antonio Pollaiuolo's tomb of Pope Sixtus IV in St Peter's, Rome, completed in 1493. Yet, as Panofsky noted, it had already been portrayed in Giovanni



5.2
Pacio and Giovanni Bertini, Tomb of King Robert of Anjou (†1343), detail of King Robert's gisant before the extensive damage suffered during the Second World War.

and Pacio Bertini's tomb of King Robert of Anjou (†1343), in the church of Santa Chiara, in Naples (c.1343–46, fig. 5.1).[2] Although the epitaph that Petrarch was commissioned to write for Robert was never inscribed onto his monument, Panofsky conjectured that a couplet of hexameters from this text may have inspired the representation of the Liberal Arts mourning the King's death (fig. 5.2): 'Bereft by Robert's death | the Seven Arts sharing their grief with the Nine Muses, wept.'[3] Panofsky regarded the introduction of the 'Arts Bereft' theme as one of four crucial philosophical-iconographical innovations—alongside the revival of funerary symbolism from Antiquity, the readmission of biographical elements, and the activation of the effigy of the deceased—that emerged during the late-medieval period and informed the transition from medieval to Renaissance tomb sculpture. Hence his description of Petrarch as 'the one man who so often embarrasses historians by doing or saying what should have been done or said only some hundred, or hundred and fifty, years later.'[4]

Recent studies on Petrarch and the arts have confirmed Panofsky's portrayal of Petrarch as an innovator and a precursor of the Renaissance, with several scholars discovering in the latter's work the seeds of concepts, ideas and even *avant-la-page* art historical theories that would only prove influential centuries later.[5] Scholars have also thoroughly investigated Petrarch's ties to coeval painters (including Giotto, Simone Martini and others who never made it into the canon), as well as the role he may have played in adapting the subject matter of some of his works (e.g. his *De viris illustribus*, begun c.1338) to monumental contexts, namely fresco cycles (e.g. in Padua).[6] Conversely, both Petrarch's more controversial ties to the coeval sculptors and his multifaceted involvement with, and understanding of, Trecento tomb sculpture in particular have remained in the shadows.[7] This chapter addresses this oversight by both complementing and challenging Panofsky's insights. On the one hand, it seeks to offer a broader, if not exhaustive, picture of the topic and thus takes into account all known evidence of Petrarch's activity as a memorial

epigrammatist by discussing the different degrees of his engagement in funerary projects. On the other, and perhaps most importantly, it proposes a revision of Petrarch's agency as postulated by Panofsky. Specifically, it contends that Petrarch's contribution in Naples, as elsewhere, would have gone beyond simply providing poetic subjects to be transposed literally into funerary marble. As an intellectual—at least in those cases where his contribution protracted over time and was therefore more substantial, as happened in Naples and Padua—he arguably participated in discussions among patrons, courtiers, and artists about the form of the tombs on which his epitaphs would be carved. Petrarch was well aware of the multi-layered interrelations (e.g. conceptual, visual and aesthetic) between inscribed words and carved images on tombs. Most importantly, he demonstrated an understanding of the advanced artistic and technical processes underlying contemporary tomb making. Assessing the latter in particular will bring our discussion into terra incognita. What did Petrarch and Trecento Italian intellectuals know of coeval sculptural practice and the practice of funerary sculpture in particular? And what can we learn by looking at this specific artistic production through their eyes? Finally, how porous, if at all, were the boundaries between the Latinate culture of the early Italian intellectuals and the vernacular culture of Trecento sculptural workshops?[8] Was there any room for useful debate and the exchange of ideas between these two seemingly distant realms?

The broader theoretical implications of these questions are addressed in the pages that follow. My focus will gradually shift from Petrarch's texts (Sections 1 and 2) to the carvings of the tombs his epitaphs were destined for (Section 3). I will move, as it were, from the poet to the sculptor(s). In so doing, I will also encroach upon some issues that are greatly debated and often controversial among today's art historians such as: 1) late-medieval practices of commemoration, coeval concepts of memory, and anxieties about the fading of memory and forgetfulness;[9] 2) the increased centrality of the human body in funerary rituals in Europe during the period at hand, the techniques used to preserve distinctive individual features in dead bodies and the making and use of stand-in effigies;[10] 3) the revival of realistic portraiture in the West during the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, its philosophical underpinnings (e.g. the rhetoric of verisimilitude, the terminology of likeness and lifelikeness), and its material and technical aspects (e.g. fourteenth century artists' use of facial casts as a reproductive means).[11] While I do not aim to address any of these issues at great length—not least because of editorial constraints—I suggest that we might benefit greatly from looking at them through the prism of Petrarch's exceptionally rich biography, breadth of interests and work.

UT SCULPTURA POESIS: SCULPTURE AND POETRY

While Panofsky focused exclusively on Petrarch's epitaphs, we might find it useful to start by considering Petrarch's most medieval text, *De otio religioso* (*On Religious Leisure*, 1347-56).[12] This text in fact contains Petrarch's most eloquent meditation on the funerary

culture and practices of his own day in Europe. The context is the poet's discussion in the second part of his treatise of the frailty of the human condition and the vanity of earthly fame. He is interested in the characteristically medieval question of 'ubi sunt' and even quotes from Job, 14:10: 'But when the human being dies, naked and wasted away, *where is he*, I ask?'[13] After naming several illustrious 'ancients' from Caesar Augustus to Emperor Theodosius I, he turns to the 'moderns':

> Where is Boniface VIII, the Roman Pope and true wonder of the world, whom unless I am mistaken, some of you saw? Where are his successors John (John XXII), Benedict (Benedict XI) and the two Clements (Clement IV and Clement V) whom we indubitably saw? Where is Henry (Henry VII of Luxembourg) the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire? Where is the French King Philip (Philip IV of France), who acquired the nickname The Fair after an untimely death stole him away just as it did his sons, who like their father were very attractive and succeeded him his turn? … Finally, where is the glory of the Gauls and that crown of Italy, the Sicilian King Robert (Robert of Anjou)?[14]

Petrarch points out influential personalities from the present and the recent past whose splendid tombs he had seen or at least heard of. As we have seen, he had also composed the epitaph for one of these figures: the King of Naples, Robert of Anjou. However, given his marked—and somewhat deliberately contrived—criticism of monumental sepulchres in *De otio religioso*, and the fact that his epitaph never made it onto King Robert's tomb, Petrarch was not in the position to claim paternity here. It is noteworthy that Petrarch's examples include masterpieces of Duecento and Trecento funerary sculpture by Arnolfo di Cambio (e.g. the tomb of Pope Boniface VIII, in St Peter's, Rome), Tino di Camaino (e.g. that of Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg in Pisa Cathedral), Pietro di Oderisio (e.g. the tomb of Pope Clement IV now in the church of San Francesco alla Rocca, Viterbo) and the Bertini brothers (e.g. the aforementioned tomb of Robert of Anjou in Santa Chiara, Naples, fig. 5.1).[15] The inclusion of French tombs, such as that of King Philip IV of France, served to provide tangible *exempla* to his dedicatees—his brother Gherardo and the latter's Carthusian brethren at Montrieux, France.

At first glance, Petrarch's answer to the clearly medieval question of 'ubi sunt' is ostensibly medieval itself:

> If you ask where these princes reside now, you will be shown *tiny tombs decorated by the talent of artists*. In death their sparkling tombs, adorned with jewels and gold, reflect their ambition in life. *Representations of the dead live in Parian marble* in accordance with that saying of that foremost poet: "[Sculptors] will produce living countenances from marble". But I ask you: where are

> they themselves? *Their inscriptions are magnificent, and their epitaphs are lofty-sounding, but empty.* You stand astounded when you read them. But wait, I beg you, until the doorstep of that last resting place is opened, and new miracles and a new wonder appear. Alas! How small the amount of ash or how huge the amount of vermin and serpents there will be! What an unexpected transformation![16]

The poet develops his argument along the lines of the biblical precept that 'all is vanity' (Ecclesiastes, 1:2), which is evoked by the repulsive vision, at the close of the passage, of a corpse reduced to dust in a sarcophagus. Petrarch is suggesting that even the most lavish of sepulchres are of little use to us since—as Genesis, 3:19 has it—'we all are ashes and to ashes we shall return'. However, the interest and paratextual implications of this passage are manifold. Above all, brand-new early Renaissance anxieties about commemoration, self-commemoration and the increasing use of sumptuous memorial art appear to glimmer amidst the dust of Petrarch's argument against hubris. Undoubtedly, Petrarch is here delivering a highly accomplished piece of medieval logic by creating a dialectic opposition between boastful tombs and humble ashes. Yet, while the latter take pride of place in his argument, his description of the former is far from generic, which in turn betrays his familiarity with this specific artistic production. In fact, Petrarch details the two most outstanding features of coeval funerary monuments: a) the accurately carved, lifelike features of the marble effigies ('*vivae imagines*'); and b) the elegant epigraphs ('*epygrammata*') inscribed with high-sounding epitaphs in verse ('*tituli*'). In so doing, he also introduces a second and definitely more interesting dialectic pairing—that between poetry and sculpture—that recurs often in his work.

The Horatian belief that the work of painters and poets is largely comparable (*ut pictura poesis*) gained new momentum during the fourteenth-century in Italy. Generations of commentators on Dante's *Commedia* would address and thereby amplify the importance of his famous triplets on the transitory nature of human fame in Purgatorio XI, in which he parallels Giotto's surpassing of his master Cimabue with the competition between the two Guidos of Italian poetry, Guinizelli and Cavalcanti.[17] Later, Dante himself would enter this canon by being compared to Giotto. And Petrarch would astound his avid readers by verbally recreating in two sonnets his beloved Laura's 'heavenly' features and praising her portrait by Simone Martini.[18] Sculpture, despite being considered an ancillary and more difficult form of art than painting, also entered this comparison with poetry.[19] Petrarch discusses the poetry-sculpture relationship, as well as how both arts perpetuate someone's fame, in a sonnet (RVF, 104, arguably post 1356-57) and a letter (*Disp.* 63, also traditionally referred to as *Var.* 18, c. 1364) addressed to his friend, Pandolfo Malatesta († 1371), the son of the ruler of Rimini, Malatesta Antico.[20] In both the letter and the sonnet, Petrarch expresses his belief—shared by ancient authors like Horace and Virgil—that poetry is more solid and durable than sculpture (sculpture itself being, in turn, more durable than

painting), and thus that words, not monuments, bestow eternal fame.[21] In particular, the poet cautions Pandolfo that portrayals of living people "carved" in paper [i.e., literary portraits] are more durable than marble.[22] Recent scholarship has reinterpreted the burst of commemorative activity and the increasingly elaborate monumental tombs of late-medieval Europe in the light of coeval preoccupations with the fallibility of memory.[23] Petrarch envisages a descending hierarchy of *poetry–sculpture–(painting)*—with respect to how different media of expression endure—that falls in line with this re-reading of the phenomenon. However, for Petrarch and fourteenth-century writers, truthfulness—understood as both historical truth and artistic verisimilitude—counted at least as much as durability. Indeed, he believed that poets, sculptors *and* painters should try to come as close to the truth of their subject(s) as possible. This could be achieved by developing familiarity—a feeling distinct from, but analogous to, that of friendship—with the individual(s) to be portrayed. After all, commemoration and friendship shared common foundations in virtue. In Petrarch's view, only virtuous individuals deserved monumental commemoration. And who would be so foul as to befriend wicked or contemptible people?[24]

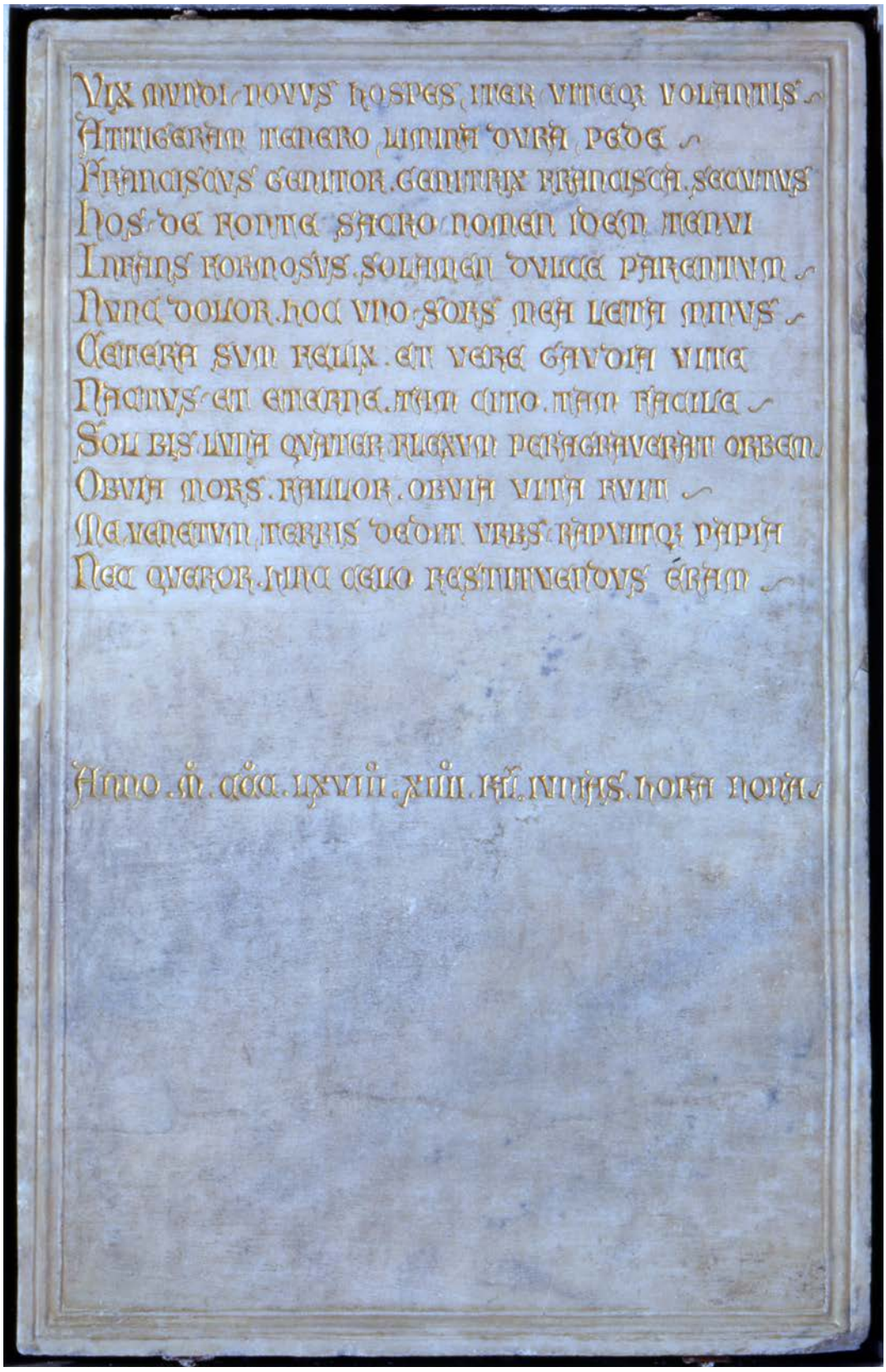
Once carved into marble, Petrarch's epitaphs in verse would become part of—and bridge—the realms of both poetry and sculpture. In so doing, however, his carved epitaphs would also paradoxically take on a much more fluid and problematic status. As we shall see in the last two sections, not only would they necessarily be subjected to the conventions, violations and hazards of epigraphy, but they would also partake in the sphere of carved (and often polychrome) images.

EPYGRAMMATA MAGNIFICA: MAGNIFICENT INSCRIPTIONS

We know that Petrarch only composed epitaphs for individuals he was familiar with: relatives, friends or patrons.[25] These included a king (Robert of Anjou, †1343),[26] a city ruler (Jacopo II da Carrara of Padua, †1350),[27] and a Venetian Doge (Andrea Dandolo, †1354);[28] as well as an adventurer (the Florentine Manno Donati, † c. 1374),[29] a fellow humanist (Tommaso Caloiro of Messina, †1341),[30] and his nephew, Franceschino di Francescuolo da Brossano (†1368).[31] Petrarch also wrote two different versions of his own epitaph, one of which was inscribed onto his tomb in Arquà.[32] The Latin epitaphs Petrarch composed from at least 1341 have come down to us either in the margins of his cover letters (e.g. those for Robert of Anjou, Andrea Dandolo, and Tommaso Caloiro), carved in the sepulchres that they were destined for (e.g. the epitaph that was carved onto his own tomb in Arquà), or both (e.g. Petrarch's epitaphs for Jacopo II da Carrara and Manno Donati in Padua).[33] The poet's correspondence also bears witness to epitaphs he was requested to write but was unwilling or unable to do, as with his friend Barbato da Sulmona (†1363) and the ruler of Rimini (and Pandolfo's father) Antico Malatesta (†1364).[34] The reasons behind Petrarch's refusals can only be conjectured. But whilst occasional illness might

have prevented him from writing eulogistic verses,[35] Petrarch's well-known concern for truthfulness—'I shall write, truth will dictate'—seems to provide a better explanation.[36] The poet's epitaphs really are concise yet truthful biographies in verse in which he recapitulated the facts and deeds of the deceased's life with great acumen. The intonation and content of these texts are markedly classical,[37] as the poet praises in his friends and patrons precisely those Republican values and qualities (e.g. Friendship, Knowledge, Love of Justice, etc.) one would have read of in ancient Roman commemorative inscriptions and historical sources.[38] In his *De remediis utriusque Fortune* (*Remedies for Fortune, Fair and Foul*, c.1354–66) Petrarch condemned the modern habit of erecting lavish monuments to wealthy individuals regardless of their achievements or moral qualities.[39] Conceiving of posterity as an implacable judge, he also considered it far too hazardous, if not altogether wrong, to serve as a witness, through his poetry, for ordinary people or people he did not know well. This he gladly left to his friends and colleagues who, in turn, sought his stylistic advice.[40]

Petrarch and fellow Trecento humanists did not revive ancient epigraphy. Yet we know that Petrarch did often indulge in lapidary readings, both ancient and medieval. As shown by Armando Petrucci, this also led him to develop a predilection for neatly spaced epigraphs in Gothic majuscules.[41] This emerges most clearly in his commission for his nephew Franceschino's tomb slab for the church of San Zeno in Pavia (fig. 5.3). In a letter of 1368 to Donato Albanzani, Petrarch recounts having supervised the epitaph's carving into the slab and its gilding, thereby also providing direct evidence of his first-hand involvement with a stoneworker. (It cannot be ascertained, and thus remains a fascinating hypothesis, that the shiny gilding of Franceschino's slab, as we see it today, is the result of a modern restoration conducted in light of Petrarch's detailed account of the object in the letter).[42] We do not know what Petrarch's exchange of opinions with the Pavia carver might have consisted of. Scholars are inclined to believe that Petrarch himself was a skilled amateur draftsman; therefore he could have even sketched the general layout of the epigraph on paper or parchment before passing it to the carver.[43] Whatever the circumstances, the making of the inscription in Pavia would have provided room for debate and unavoidable compromise between the two—something to which the object still bears witness today. Unlike most comparable examples in Lombardy and Northern Italy at the time, the Pavia epigraph is incredibly well arranged and uniform.[44] Lines and words are well spaced, making the epigraph highly readable, even from a distance.[45] The Gothic letters used in this inscription are also rounded and well spaced—just as in Petrarch's own handwriting at the time. Moreover, the inscription contains only two abbreviations—lines 1 and 11, respectively (e.g. VITeQ[Ue]; RAPUITQ[Ue]).[46] That said, Petrarch was not often in the position to supervise the layout of his epitaphs on the slabs and consequently adopted a very pragmatic approach. He would generally trust his recipient, often a scholar, with all the unforeseeable interpolations implied by the carving process. For example, he would agree to remove a couplet of verses if an epitaph was too long, as probably occurred with his epitaph for Manno Donati in Padua.[47] In his cover letter of September 1, 1357 to the



5.3
Tomb slab of Franceschino di Francescuolo da Brossano (†1368). Marble, 140 x 90 x 9cm deep. Pavia, Musei Civici del Castello Visconteo.

Chancellor of the Venetian Republic, Benintendi Ravagnani, he wrote regarding his epitaph for Andrea Dandolo that: 'If the number of verses is more than you requested, there is an easy solution: remove the two you think best.'[48] In this case, he even provided alternative variants from which to choose in the form of *postille*—now lost—in the margins of his text. Perhaps most importantly, Petrarch was also aware of the thematic interplay between his text and the imagery of the tomb it was destined for, once carved in the marble. Writing to royal notary Niccolò d'Alife with his epitaph for King Robert of Anjou in 1345, Petrarch expressed concern that his verses might surpass the general tone of the tomb. He

therefore asked Niccolò to tune his epitaph to the key of the monument with good sense and judgement.[49] He was aware that the monument was approaching completion, yet he clearly did not know whether any major changes to the original design of the tomb had occurred.

Petrarch's instructions to Niccolò—thus far overlooked—are best understood in context. Florentine sculptors Pacio and Giovanni Bertini began work on Robert's tomb right after the King's death on January 19, 1343, committing themselves to completing the commission by the close of that year.[50] Vinni Lucherini has argued convincingly that the monument's overall design had been established by February 24, 1343 at the very latest.[51] We cannot know when Petrarch, who was in Avignon when King Robert died, was first commissioned to write the King's epitaph, though the request conceivably arrived with Niccolò's now-lost letter announcing the King's death. Even if that had been the case, Petrarch would have had little-to-no time to devise an iconography for the tomb. This invites us to problematise his agency as conjectured by Panofsky. Designing a funerary monument was a complex process in which different categories of individuals were involved by necessity—commonly, the patrons (Queen Joanna I Anjou, according to the Angevine documents);[52] their emissaries, in charge of overseeing the work's progress (Jacobo de Pactis, followed upon his death by Andrea de Gismondo; and Guglielmo de Randacio); one or more intellectuals (Petrarch and Niccolò d'Alife); the order in charge of administering the building that would house the monument (the Franciscans); and, of course, the artists (Pacio, Giovanni Bertini, and their assistants; as well as painters like Roberto d'Oderisio responsible for executing the frescoed imagery of the tomb and/or its polychromy). Like Franceschino's tomb slab in Pavia, King Robert's monumental tomb would therefore have originated out of a positive tension between the expectations of the various actors involved. Their exchange of ideas most likely continued even after the contract for the monument had been signed in late January or February 1343. In October 1343 Petrarch visited Naples and his sojourn at the Angevin court likely allowed him to discuss the form of the King's monument with the patrons, his fellow humanists, and fellow Tuscan sculptors Pacio and Giovanni Bertini.[53] On this occasion Petrarch might well have advised including the iconography of the 'Arts Bereft' in the decoration of the monument (fig. 5.2). After all, it held personal significance for Petrarch, who had been crowned poet laureate in Rome on April 8, 1341 after passing a thorough examination conducted by King Robert in Naples in March that same year.[54] However, we should not forget that Robert's knowledge was proverbial at the time and as such was celebrated widely in both words and images in artworks produced in Naples about the same time as the creation of the King's tomb, namely illuminated manuscripts (e.g. the so-called Malines Bible, c.1340).[55] Long before Petrarch came to write his epitaph, the Dominican friar Federico Franconi had already described Robert as 'a man sufficiently versed in all the liberal arts' in his memorial sermon preached upon the King's death.[56] Therefore, the influence might have gone in the opposite direction, that is, from Naples to Avignon and, conceivably, even from the sculptors to the poet. Indeed, Petrarch might

5.4
Andriolo De' Santi and workshop, Tomb of Jacopo da Carrara (†1350), detail. Marble, Padua, Eremitani, formerly in the church of Sant'Agostino.

have been shown the tomb's agreed-upon design on paper or parchment (perhaps even including drawings of different details) and consequently decided to verbalise in his epitaph the monument's most striking eulogistic image—the King's association with the Arts.

Niccolò d'Alife decided not to use Petrarch's epitaph despite its close thematic consonance with Robert's monument. Damian Dombrowski has conjectured that Niccolò might have considered Petrarch's text too long to be legible from a distance, once carved in the marble.[57] Indeed, Niccolò—or someone in his stead—ended up choosing a simple text in Leonine verse, which was carved in monumental Gothic capitals in relief (fig. 5.1): CERNITE ROBERTUM REGEM VIRTUTE REPERTUM (Behold Robert, a King full of Virtue[58]).[59] The inscription is found beneath the eerie figure of *King Robert in Majesty* in the tier above the funerary chamber. The focus of this inscription is clearly on readability with the image and words meant to be perceived together. The incipit of the inscription —CERNITE ('Behold')—addresses the onlooker directly, thus leading him or her to focus on the image above.[60] The dignitaries that Roberto d'Oderisio frescoed into fictive Gothic niches on either side of *King Robert in Majesty* also follow the advice of the epigraph closely (fig. 5.1). They all look at the King intensely, except for one who looks outwards to establish visual contact with the viewer. The thematic and visual interplay on Robert of Anjou's tomb between inscribed words and sculpted and painted images is very tight, thus implying meticulous coordination of the tomb's creation.[61] Both formal and informal, or even fortuitous, work-progress briefings among the artists, as well as between them and the intellectuals, would also have been indispensable. While we have little evidence of the formal version of such meetings in relation to Trecento Italian sculpture, we know that various informal and/or fortuitous encounters took place in forms that depended on the occasion. For example, one day in May 1351 Petrarch entered the church of Sant'Agostino in Padua to meditate on Jacopo II da Carrara's tomb, then nearing completion, and composed an epitaph for his friend in a flash of inspiration (fig. 5.4).[62] Petrarch's text invites the reader to look at the monument, though the epitaph and the imagery of the tomb do not

mirror each other, except perhaps for a reference to Jacopo's amiability in the text which could be compared to the lively countenance of the effigy.[63] Considering that he was living in Padua at the time the monument was being created and that he was in charge of composing its epitaph, it is conceivable that Petrarch had already met the sculptors before and on that occasion happened to see them at work on the tomb.[64] As Petrarch writes in his cover letter to Giovanni Aghinolfi (*Fam.* XI, 3), Jacopo's monument was 'being polished by outstanding sculptors.'[65] Petrarch's account is concise yet authentic. He did visit the Carrarese Chapel in Sant'Agostino where he saw Venetian sculptor Andriolo De' Santi and his collaborators Alberto di Ziliberto and Francesco di Bonaventura polishing the marble surfaces of the monument before they received polychromy and gilding.[66] He therefore witnessed an intermediate step in the making of the monument, clearly responding to the lustre of the polished marble.[67] Now that most of the paint and gold have vanished, the whiteness of the marble has re-emerged to dazzle the eyes of onlookers (fig. 5.4).

At the same time, one cannot help but see the theoretical implications between Petrarch's lines—i.e. that the sculptor and the poet—or Sculpture and Poetry—had worked together using different tools and skills to perpetuate Jacopo II da Carrara's fame. But what did Petrarch know of contemporary sculptors' tools and work practices? In order to answer this question, we must return briefly to *De otio religioso.*

VIVOS DUCENT DE MARMORE VULTUS: PRODUCING LIVING COUNTENANCES FROM MARBLE

Trecento Italian scholars saw art mostly through the eyes and pen of Pliny.[68] While they delighted—as he had before them—in the lifelike expression of both painted and sculpted images, they were also gradually developing an interest in portraiture.[69] Nicholas Mann has shown that Petrarch and intellectuals in his circle played fundamental roles in spreading awareness and promoting an appreciation of this specific artistic genre.[70] Suffice it to recall the many Trecento portraits of Petrarch, surviving or documented, two of which were commissioned by Pandolfo Malatesta; Petrarch's predilection for ancient portraits such as those of Roman emperors he had learned to spot on ancient coins; and, of course, the story of Simone Martini's portrait of Laura.

Because they emphasised the lifelike quality of both ancient and modern artworks and empathised with portrait makers and their work, fourteenth-century scholars also felt, and thus may help us understand, that *gisants* like that of King Robert of Anjou in Naples were precisely meant to explore the transition between life and death. Two lines from the passage by Petrarch from *De otio religioso* quoted above provide fitting commentary for Robert's funerary effigy'both philosophically and, as we shall see, technically (fig. 5.1): '*Representations of the dead live in Parian marble* in accordance with that saying of that foremost poet: "[Sculptors] will produce living countenances from marble".'[71] While it is true that Petrarch's discussion of funerary sculpture in his *De otio religioso* was primarily

5.5
Pacio and Giovanni Bertini, King Robert of Anjou's gisant A. Naples, Santa Chiara, Choir of the Nuns.

intended to support the author's argument against hubris, his choice and use of examples deserve scrutiny. In order to hypothesise the extent to which his choice reflected knowledge and understanding of actual works, I shall limit my analysis to Petrarch's Italian examples. I will then use Petrarch's words to start investigating technical similarities between the *gisants* of King Robert in Naples and Jacopo II da Carrara in Padua.

Petrarch, who travelled widely, likely saw in person most of the Italian tombs he mentions to Gherardo and the Carthusians of Montrieux in *De otio religioso*. Yet it is debatable whether he ever saw the *gisants* of any of those tombs from up close. These were in fact fairly inaccessible to medieval viewers—if only because of their positioning high up on church walls. The recumbent effigy of Pope Boniface VIII in St Peter's Rome, for example, was originally housed in a deep recess in the wall and the entire monument was framed by a monumental canopy housing an altar.[72] Arnolfo di Cambio's innovative concern for how his sculpture would be viewed, which led him to carve with specific perspectives in mind to accommodate the viewer's experience, would in this case have been targeted more at the priest officiating at the altar associated with the tomb than at secular onlookers.[73] The tombs of Pope Benedict XI in Perugia, Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg in Pisa, and Robert of Anjou in Naples would have presented similar if not greater difficulties to medieval viewers. However, Petrarch may have been able to contemplate a *gisant* from up close on at least two occasions. This occurred during his stay in Padua, where he saw Jacopo II da Carrara's recumbent effigy in the church of Sant'Agostino, most likely already in place above its classicising sarcophagus-lit-de-parade that, unlike a traditional funerary chamber, facilitates the viewer's task. But it also almost certainly happened during his Neapolitan sojourn of October 1343. While Robert's monument was only completed and set up in the choir of Santa Chiara Church in 1345–46, a document of 1343 records Pacio and Giovanni Bertini's commission to create a temporary tomb for the Angevin sovereign.[74] The document is laconic, containing as it does only partial information about the form of the monument and no information at all about the quality and quantity of the work undertaken by the sculptors. All we know is that two agents, Nicolao and Angelo, had been requested to supply six marble slabs for a plain coffin that would house the King's body.[75] Aldo De Rinaldis was the first to hypothesise that a remarkable *gisant* of King Robert today preserved in the Choir of the Nuns in the same church also pertained originally to Robert's provisional sepulchre (fig. 5.5).[76] I will henceforth refer to this as King Robert's '*gisant* A'. *Gisant* A is almost exactly the same as Robert's tomb in size, shape and style. Robert's features are rendered in both works in great detail, with the sculptor(s) paying

the utmost attention to all indicators of age. The function of *gisant* A can only be conjectured. We can draw at least two possible conclusions: 1) that *gisant* A was created for King Robert's temporary tomb, as suggested by De Rinaldis; or 2) that it was made expressly for the choir of the nuns who would have prayed for the King's salvation.[77] Whatever the case, it is likely that the Bertini brothers first sculpted Robert's recumbent effigies. This means that King Robert's *gisant* A, and perhaps also the *gisant* for the tomb, were likely completed by the time Petrarch visited Naples in October 1343. If so, would Petrarch have understood the technical devices adopted by the artists to create this and other similarly lifelike images? If read carefully and in context, the passage from *De otio religioso* quoted above implies that was likely the case.

Significantly, Petrarch's evocation of lifelike *gisants* in his *De otio religioso* is followed by a remark about the makers of such images, as the poet quotes Virgil—'vivos ducent de marmore vultus'[78] ([the sculptors] will produce living countenances from marble)—to praise their technical skills. Petrarch's choice of the Virgil passage provides insight into the mental processes—the recollection, selection and mnemonic association or coupling of literary excerpts and actual artistic objects or classes of objects—that lay behind Trecento humanists' appropriation and deployment of sculpture-related metaphors and clauses found in ancient literature. And it was particularly felicitous. The poet knew that the Latin word 'vultus' (countenance) is precisely about 'expressing and communicating', and thus aptly describes the Trecento funerary effigies that he had contemplated from up close.[79] It is difficult, though not impossible, to hypothesise Petrarch's awareness of the technical aspects of art making and stone carving in particular. We have Maria Monica Donato to thank for having some idea of Petrarch's ties to modern painters.[80] Sometimes Petrarch was directly involved in 'supervising' artists' work, though more often he simply admired them *at work*.[81] Donato has shown that Petrarch witnessed Simone Martini putting the final touches on his *Virgilian Allegory*. As is known, this is a full-page illuminated frontispiece that the poet commissioned from the painter for one of his manuscripts containing works by Virgil, the so-called *Virgilio Ambrosiano* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. Ambrosiano S.P. 10/27).[82] When transcribing his famous eulogistic verses for Simone onto the same page of the manuscript, he inadvertently touched the still-wet paint.[83] As Donato pointed out, we can see fingerprints on the initial letters of Petrarch's verses.[84] Art theory and art practice had not come this close together since Antiquity.[85] Petrarch's direct involvement with sculptors, on the other hand, is far more problematic.[86] While Trecento humanists and poets praised modern painters and ancient artists alike, they failed to acknowledge the contributions of coeval sculptors, significantly refusing, with few exceptions, to name a single one in their published works. I have argued elsewhere that the reasons for such neglect were in the first place theoretical, arising specifically from the 'quarrel between the ancients and the moderns' popular among intellectual circles in Trecento Italy that also involved a discussion about art makers and their means.[87] Humanists were prejudiced against modern sculptors mainly because of how they

5.6
Andriolo De' Santi and workshop, Tomb of Jacopo da Carrara (†1350), detail of Jacopo's face.

5.7
Andrew George, *Josefina* (2014).

practiced their art. These scholars believed that whereas modern painters had truly revived painting by copying nature, sculptors simply copied the naturalism of ancient works and were thus 'artists of minor renown.'[88] Despite these premises, we have seen that Petrarch supervised the work of the unnamed Pavia stone-carver and even called Andriolo De' Santi and his collaborators in Padua 'outstanding sculptors'. Because we know that Petrarch spent several months in Padua in the spring of 1351 and was directly involved in the tomb project, this enthusiastic value judgement arguably reflects his first-hand appraisal of Andriolo and his collaborator's work, including its technical aspects. For my conclusions, I will focus on the latter.

The veristic recumbent figure of Jacopo II is the most striking feature of the Padua tomb (fig. 5.6).[89] His eyes and forehead are contracted as though in a death spasm, his lips are parted as if he was about to speak, and blood seems to flow through the veins in his hands. As noted by Paul Binski, 'a state of conflict arises between the temporal notions of death and lifelikeness' in *gisants* such as this.[90] American artist Andrew George has explored this temporal conflict in photographs of individuals during their final days on earth for his 2014 project *Right, Before I Die*. Comparing Andriolo's effigy of Jacopo with George's moving portrait of Josefina—despite the sheer distance in time and space that separates these two works—enables us to make some suggestions about the technical processes underlying the making of the Padua *gisant* (and, in turn, of both *gisants* of Robert of Anjou in Naples), as well as serving to address the unspoken bias inherent to these three funerary effigies and to early Italian veristic portraiture as a whole (fig. 5.7). The main focus of attention in both portraits of Jacopo and Josefina is on a quality that modern observers may be tempted to define as either 'liveliness' or 'vivacity', but is rather more a conflation of anatomically credible (and, at least in the case of Josefina, individual) physiognomy and psychological movement. I would like to suggest that such a quality or conflation of closely-interrelated qualities might have derived, at least in part, from the respective technical devices adopted by the artists. Just as photography has allowed George to capture Josefina's physiognomy and her transition between life and death; so too using a facial cast – either a life mask or a death mask – would have allowed Andriolo De' Santi to capture Jacopo's likeness—that is, both his individual proportions and physiognomical exactitude—right before, or upon, his death.[91] A cast of Jacopo's folded hands could have been made at the same time (fig. 5.4). As first conjectured by Antonino Maresca, a facial cast could have been made in preparation for King Robert's *gisants* in Naples (figs 5.2 and 5.5).[92] De Rinaldis for his part has noticed the astonishing realism, in both *gisants* of Robert, of the King's bare feet.[93] These too could have been moulded on Robert's body,

as later happened in the case of a three-dimensional image of King Charles VI of France (†1422), now lost, to be used during the King's funeral.[94]

We know from a passage in *De remediis utriusque Fortune* that Petrarch was aware of ancient practices to model figures and portraits in wax and plaster; he might therefore have also been interested in analogous modern practices and techniques.[95] While no facial casts have survived from fourteenth-century Italy, Laura Jacobus has convincingly suggested that Trecento Italian carvers would sometimes take life masks as models for sculpting features that closely resembled the sitter, as was probably the case for both Enrico Scrovegni's (†1336) honorary statue and his *gisant* in the Arena Chapel, also in Padua.[96] At this juncture we should recall that the Carraresi court painter Cennino d'Andrea Cennini was the first to elucidate the technical aspects of life-mask-making in his *Libro dell'arte* (*The Craftsman's Handbook*, early fifteenth century).[97] By the time Cennini came to write his book, knowledge of such techniques was surely widespread in Italy. Dominic Olariu has shown that facial impressions are documented in Cennini's hometown Florence from as early as the 1370s,[98] and he has suggested that sculptors might have been using death masks in Italy from as early as the late thirteenth century (e.g. in the tomb of Queen Isabel of Aragon in Cosenza Cathedral, c.1271).[99] Olariu has also convincingly linked the introduction and use of corporeal casts to contemporary ways of preserving the cadavers of influential individuals—especially wax embalmment—for public display during funerary ceremonies. From the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, the dead bodies of kings, popes and important prelates were exposed to public view for longer periods of time than they had been previously (often with face, hands and feet uncovered).[100] Incidentally, this was also the case with Robert of Anjou. As pointed out by Ronald Musto, 'eighteen days before his death [Robert] was dressed in the Franciscan habit in which he was buried in the church of Santa Chiara.'[101] His dead body would then have been displayed in the same dress and position for several days in the church of Santa Chiara. Both *gisants* of Robert in Naples, then, referenced and thereby immortalised the dying King and his inexorable crossing of the threshold between life and death. This association between both effigies of Robert, the image of the dying King and the public display of his dead body—which may account for the temporal ambiguity of both Neapolitan *gisants* and other similar images—eludes us today. But it was probably an obvious one for contemporary observers in Naples, one of whom may have been Petrarch.

But the comparison between George's portrait of Josefina and Andriolo De' Santi's *gisant* of Jacopo II da Carrara may help us disclose further meaning (as well as further contradictions). While photography is a largely unbiased witness, replicating the information provided by a facial cast into stone was hardly a neutral, objective operation. Furthermore, as Jacobus has shown, such operation would have also involved a conceptual paradox; that is, moving away from the model, the cast, in order to reintegrate animation and emotion into the final work (thus eventually coming closer to the living subject). In this sense, even if we accept the possibility of facial casts having being used for the *gisants* that Petrarch inspected in Naples and Padua, the processes underlying their making would not have

been entirely 'indexical', instead leaving plenty of room for artistic re-interpretation, potentially also alteration and falsification, of the model(s). Maria Loh has reminded us in her essay *Renaissance Faciality* that concepts of identity were nebulous and unstable before the invention of photography; something to bear in mind whenever we look at Trecento lifelike images (and likenesses).[102] As suggested above, likeness and lifelikeness were key concepts for Trecento humanists who saw them as the visual counterpart of biographical truths; and they would have appealed to the relatives, friends and admirers who cherished a living memory of the deceased. But while talking about identity and likeness in Trecento Italy is no anachronism, both qualities (in particular the latter) would have been difficult to measure or assess in retrospect, that is—as Petrarch puts it in *De otio religioso*—after the body had turned into ashes. Corporeal casts were, by their own nature, impermanent and perishable. At the same time, however, they were also easily reproducible. Had they remained in the artist's workshop rather than in the family of the dead, they could have been easily re-used—in different geographical contexts, by the same or a separate workshop—to forge images with credible human features or even to counterfeit new likenesses.

To conclude, however, we need to return to Petrarch in Padua, in 1351. The poet's account in *Fam.* XI, 3 of his visit to the burial place of his friend Jacopo II da Carrara holds in fact the key to our argument.[103] Having stepped inside the Carraresi Chapel in Sant'Agostino one spring evening, Petrarch stood still before Jacopo's tomb (fig. 5.4). The monument appeared to him as a resplendent, solid piece of marble ready to receive polychromy and gold leaf. Indeed, the *gisant* would have been as white as it is now (fig. 5.6). While Petrarch does not reference Jacopo's funerary effigy explicitly in *Fam.* XI, 3, he does so implicitly, as he recounts talking profusely to his dead friend and the frustration of his soliloquy ('accessi solus ad tumulum sedique iuxta et non responsuris ossibus multa dixi'). Jacopo's bones (and his realistic effigy) did not respond as they lacked speech. The ambiguity between the marble's intrinsic aesthetic aspects (its whiteness and lustre) and the striking mimetic quality of Jacopo's carved features would have doubtlessly tricked Petrarch's mind. 'Representations of the dead live in Parian marble,' he might have thought to himself. For once, Petrarch would have been presented with a rather convincing modern equivalent of ancient honorary statues, thus conceivably perceiving a commonality of intent between himself and the sculptor. In Petrarch's writings, as in Andriolo's portrait of Jacopo, sculptures breathe and appear to speak.[104] Both Petrarch and Andriolo also felt that a portrait—either sculpture or in verse—should be a faithful representation of the subject. Petrarch's enthusiastic value judgement about Andriolo as 'outstanding' is therefore best understood in light of his first-hand aesthetic experience of the sculptor's work.[105]

Petrarch suggests in his *De otio religioso* that Trecento funerary sculpture was a no man's land where the ambitions of the dead and those of the living met and often collided. However, as Petrarch knew (and thus teaches us), Trecento memorial art also represented a porous threshold between art theory and art practice, a liminal field where borders between life and death, between concepts and things, were blurred, as it were, to the point of being indistinguishable.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

ABBREVIATIONS

De otio religioso
Francesco Petrarca, *Il De otio religioso*, Giuseppe Rotondi (ed.), (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958).

Rem
Francesco Petrarca, *De remediis utriusque Fortune*, 2 vols, Christophe Carraud (ed.), (Grenoble: J. Millon, 2002).

Disp.
Francesco Petrarca, *Lettere disperse, varie e miscellanee*, Alessandro Pancheri (ed.), (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1994).

Epyst.
Epystole (*metrice*), in *Francisci Petrarchae poëmata minora quae extant omnia*, Domenico Rossetti (ed.), 3 vols, (Milan: Società tipografica de' classici italiani, 1829-34).

Fam.
Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (eds), 4 vols, (Florence: Sansoni, 1933-42).

RVF
Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, Marco Santagata (ed.), (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1996).

Sen.
Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum senilium*, 4 vols, Elvira Nota (ed.), (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002-6).

Sine nomine
Petrarcas Buck ohne Namen und die päpstliche Kurie, Paul Piur (ed.), (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925).

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1. For this and that which follows, see Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1964), p. 87.

2. The tomb of King Robert of Anjou suffered extensive damage during a fire caused by the Allied bombing of Naples on August 4, 1943. The black-and-white Anderson photographs used in this chapter show the monument in its state of preservation previous to the fire.

3. English translation quoted in Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 87. The original Latin text is in Petrarch's *Epyst.* II, 8 to Niccolò d'Alife, vv. 5-6: 'Morte sua viduae septem concorditer artes | et musae flevere novem'.

4. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 87.

5. For example, Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 61 and Maurizio Bettini, 'Francesco Petrarca sulle arti figurative', in Salvatore Settis, ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 1 (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), pp. 255-56. Baxendall and Bettini have noted that in his *De remediis utriusque Fortunae* (*Remedies for Fortune, Fair and Foul*, c.1354-66) Petrarch anticipated both Lorenzo Ghiberti and Giorgio Vasari in affirming that painting and sculpture both originated in *disegno*, probably inspired by similar remarks by Pliny. Yet the theoretical implications of this acknowledgment apparently did not influence Petrarch's theory of the arts. See *Rem.* I 41, 9: '…unus, ut diximus, fons artium (graphidem dico)'. (English translation in Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, p. 56: '[painting and sculpture] sprang both from one fountayne, to wit, the art of drawing'). I have used Giulia Perucchi's recent critical edition. See Giulia Perucchi (ed.), *Petrarca e le arti figurative: De remediis utriusque Fortune, I 37-42*, (Florence: Le Lettere, 2014).

6. See in particular Maria Monica Donato, *Gli eroi romani tra storia ed exemplum. I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini famosi*, in Salvatore Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), pp. 97-152; Donato, 'I signori, le immagini e la città. Per lo studio dell'immagine monumentale dei signori di Verona e di Padova', in Andrea Castagnetti and Gian Maria Varanini (eds), *Il Veneto nel Medioevo: le signorie trecentesche* (Verona: Banca popolare di Verona, 1995), pp. 387-406; Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri. Gli artisti di Petrarca: per una rilettura', in Carlo Arturo Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: immagine e racconto*, (Milan: Electa, 2003), pp. 433-55; Donato, 'Minietur ligeturque… per magistrum Benedictum. Un nome per il miniatore milanese del Petrarca', in Klaus Bergdolt and Giorgio Bonsanti (eds), *Opere e giorni: Studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001),

pp. 189-200. On the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua, see at least Theodor Mommsen, 'Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium', *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 95-116. Standard references on Petrarch's approach and sensitivity to the figurative arts are Gianfranco Contini,'Petrarca e le arti figurative', in Aldo S. Bernardo (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca Citizen of the World* (Padua: Antenore, 1980), pp. 115-31; Maurizio Bettini, 'Francesco Petrarca sulle arti figurative', pp. 221-67; and Marcello Ciccuto, *Figure di Petrarca. Giotto, Simone Martini, Franco Bolognese* (Naples: Federico & Ardia, 1991). Most recently, see 'Introduzione', in Perucchi, *Petrarca e le arti figurative*, pp. 23-83, with a full bibliography. More sources are provided in subsequent notes.

7. Petrarch notoriously called modern sculptors 'artists of minor renown' and considered modern sculpture inferior to that of Antiquity and to modern painting. He expressed this most eloquently in *Fam.* V 17 of 1342-1343 to Guido Sette, 6: 'Atque ut a veteribus ad nova, ab externis ad nostra transgrediar, duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos: Iottum, florentinum civem, cuius inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem senensem; novi et *sculptores* aliquot, sed *minoris fame – eo* enim *in genere impar prorsus est nostra etas*'. The dismissal of modern sculpture on the part of Trecento humanists in general has been noted yet scarcely investigated. Peter Seiler ('Petrarcas kritische Distanz zur skulpturalen Bildniskunst seiner Zeit', in Renate L. Colella et al. (eds), *Pratum Romanum* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), pp. 299-324) and others have suggested that their disapproval of modern sculpture was primarily moral. While this is certainly accurate, I have suggested elsewhere that the discontent of Petrarch and Trecento writers with modern sculpture reached beyond moral considerations into social, aesthetic and technical grounds. See Luca Palozzi, *Commentators on Medieval Italian Sculpture from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century: Hard to Make, Difficult to Talk About*, Forthcoming 2017, especially Chapter 1, 'Fourteenth-Century Humanists and the Difficult Beginnings of Critical Writing on Italian Sculpture'.

8. Andrea Bolland has asked a similar question with a specific focus on painting workshops in Trecento Padua, concluding that 'there was meaningful exchange between the Latinate culture of early humanism and the vernacular culture of the early Renaissance workshop'. See Andrea Bolland, 'Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua: Cennini, Vergerio and Petrarch on Imitation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 49: 3 (1996): p. 472.

9. See, for instance, the essays collected in Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013). A standard reference here is Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For a rich collection of primary sources, see Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

10. Among recent contributions, see in particular Dominic Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle* (Bern: Lang, 2014). See also Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del papa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994); Jacques Le Goff and Nicolas Truong, *Une histoire du corps au Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Levi, 2003).

11. Among recent contributions on Duecento and Trecento portraiture, see Enrico Castelnuovo, 'Proper quid imagines feciei faciunt: Aspetti del ritratto pittorico nel Trecento', in Renzo Zorzi (ed.), *Le metamorfosi del ritratto* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), pp. 33-50; Julian Gardner, 'Stone Saints: Commemoration and Likeness in Thirteenth-Century Italy, France and Spain', *Gesta* 46/2 (2007-8): pp. 121-34; Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Stephen Perkinson, 'Likeness', *Studies in Iconology* 33 (2012): pp. 15-28; Dominic Olariu, 'Thomas Aquinas' Definition of the Imago Dei and the Development of Lifelike Portraiture', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 17/2 (2013): pp. 2-14. See also Laura Jacobus, 'A Matter of Life and Death: Facial Casting and the Origins of Facsimile Portraiture in the Renaissance' (paper presented at the Conference of the Renaissance Society of America, Cambridge, April 8, 2005); Laura Jacobus, 'Enrico Scrovegni and the Mask of Death!' (paper presented at The Andrew Ladis Trecento Conference, University of Georgia, November 11-13, 2010); Laura Jacobus, 'The Truth, the Half-Truth, and Something Like the Truth: Likeness and Verism in Trecento Portraiture' (paper presented at the Murray Seminar on Medieval and Renaissance Art, London, November 27, 2014). For a later period, see Joanna Woods Marsden, 'Ritratto al naturale: Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraits', *Art Journal* 46 (1987): pp. 209-16; Israëls Machtelt, 'Absence and Resemblance: Early Images of Bernardino da Siena and the Issue of Portraiture (with a new proposal for Sassetta)', *I Tatti Studies* 11 (2007): pp. 77-114. Further bibliography is provided in the notes below.

12. See Ronald G. Witt, 'Introduction', in Francesco Petrarca, *On Religious Leisure* (trans.) Susan S. Schearer (New York: Italica Press, 2002). I have used Giuseppe Rotondi's edition of the original Latin text. See Francesco Petrarca, *Il De otio religioso*, Giuseppe Rotondi (ed.), (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958). For a new critical edition of *De otio religioso*, as well as a study of its different versions, see Francesco Petrarca, *De otio religioso*, Giulio Goletti (ed.), (Florence: Le Lettere, 2006).

13. Petrarca, *On Religious Leisure*, p. 97 (emphasis mine). Original Latin in *De otio religioso*, p. 61: 'Homo vero cum mortuus fuerit, nudatus atque consumptus, ubi est, queso?'

14. Petrarca, *On Religious Leisure*, p. 98. Original Latin in *De otio religioso*, p. 62. The whole passage reads as follows: 'Ubi nunc est Bonifatius VIII Romanus Pontifex, verus populorum et regum atque, ut dicitur, orbis stupor, quem nisi fallor vestrum aliqui viderunt, ubi successores eius, quos proculdubio vidimus, Iohannes, Benedictus et Clementes duo, ubi Romanorum imperator Henricus, ubi Philippus rex Francorum Pulchri cognomen ex re nactus, quem cum formosissimis filiis patrique simillimis, qui eidem ex ordine

successerunt, tam immatura mors rapuit, ut omnium non tam vita videatur fuisse, quam somnium? Ubi Philippus alter regis huius pater, eo filio fortunatior, quod illum tumulus habet, hunc carcer? Ubi Hispanie rex, Saracenorum modo terror et fidei clipeus, occiduis obiectus insultibus? Ubi denique Galliarum decus et Italie ornamentum siculus rex Robertus, sub cuius temporali regimine eterno regi servientes quam suaviter quievistis insecute laborum indicant procelle?'

15. On Arnolfo di Cambio's tomb of Pope Boniface VIII (reigned 1294–1303) and Pietro d'Oderisio's tomb of Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–68), see Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the later Middle-Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 68–69, 107–09. For the latter monument, see also Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme*, pp. 196–209. On the tomb of Pope Benedict XI (r. 1303–4) in San Domenico, Perugia, formerly preserved in the church of Santo Stefano al Castellare, see Antje Middeldorf Kosegarten, *Die Domfassade in Orvieto: Studien zur Architektur und Skulptur, 1290–1330* (Munich, Dt. Kunstverlag, 1996), pp. 93–101. On Tino di Camaino's tomb of Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg († 1313), see Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture, c.1250–c.1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 104–09. See also Francis Ames-Lewis, *Tuscan Marble Carving, 1250–1350: Sculpture and Civic Pride* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 195–202. On Pacio and Giovanni Bertini's tomb of Robert of Anjou in Naples (r. 1309–43), see Brendan Cassidy, *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture in Italy, c.1240–1400* (London: Harvey Miller, 2007), pp. 68–85. Further bibliography on this monument is cited in subsequent notes.

16. English translation mine, mostly dependant on that in Petrarca, *On Religious Leisure*, pp. 98–99 (emphasis mine). However, I have translated 'epygrammata' with 'inscriptions' and used 'epitaphs' to translate the Latin 'tituli'. Original Latin in *De otio religioso*, p. 62. The whole passage reads as follows: 'Querite vero de istis ubi habitant. Ostendentur vobis exigua sepulcra exornata ingeniis artificum, forte etiam gemmis auroque micantia, ut est ambitiosa non modo vita hominum, sed mors. Vivent in pario lapide imagines defunctorum secundum illud principis poete: "Vivos ducent de marmore vultus"; sed ipsi, queso, ubi sunt? Epygrammata quoque magnifica et tituli altisoni sed inanes, quos qui legis obstupeas; sed subsiste, obsecro, dum limen extreme domus panditur nova subeunt spectacula, novus stupor: heu quam vel cinis exiguus vel ingens copia seu verminum seu serpentium! O inopinata mutatio, o multum discolor rerum frons!' A similarly moralising description of both ancient and modern tombs is found in Boncompagno da Signa's (c.1170–c.1240) *De consuetudinibus sepelientium*, 8 ('De tumulorum ornamentis'). For the original Latin text, see Haude Morvan, 'Il De consuetudinibus sepelientium di Boncompagno da Signa: La tematica funeraria in un testo del Duecento tra esempio morale, interessi antropologici, archeologici e artistici,' *Opera Nomina Historiae* 7 (2012): 58–59. However, significantly, Boncompagno did not mention lifelike effigies in his text.

17. *Purgatorio* XI, vv. 91–99.

18. RVF, 77–78. For an interpretation of this literary episode and its many implications, which clearly pertain as much to the sphere of cultural history as to that of art history, see Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', in particular pp. 449–50, with bibliography. See also Federica Pich, *I poeti davanti al ritratto. Da Petrarca a Marino* (Lucca: Fazzi, 2010), pp. 54–65.

19. Fourteenth-century scholars would have been familiar with Latin orator Quintilian's comparison of the novelty and difficulty (*difficultas*) of Myron's *Discobolus* (fifth century B.C.) to figurative diction in rhetoric, rather than the musicality and ease of poetry, in his *Institutio Oratoria* [*Institutes of Oratory*, c. 95 A.D.]. See David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 91–92.

20. See Luca Palozzi, *Tra Roma e l'Adriatico: Scultura monumentale e relazioni artistiche nella Marca d'Ancona alla fine del Medioevo* (PhD diss., Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 2012), Chapter 4, 'Pandolfo II Malatesta, la fama e la fortuna del sepolcro preumanistico', especially pp. 125–33. See also Roberto Weiss, *Il primo secolo dell'Umanesimo. Studi e testi* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1949), pp. 69–102.

21. See *Rem.*, I 41, 4–5: 'Accedunt he [the sculptures] quidem ad naturam propius quam picture: ille enim videntur tantum, he autem et tanguntur integrumque ac solidum eoque perennius corpus habent'.

22. RVF, 104, 2–4: 'Però mi dice il cor ch'io in carte scriva / cosa onde 'l vostro nome in pregio saglia; / che 'n nulla parte sì saldo s'intaglia / per far di marmo una persona viva' (But my heart tells me to celebrate your name in writing, for images carved 'into paper' portray a living person more durably than those carved into marble). See also the passage from Petrarch's *De remediis* quoted in the previous note.

23. For a focus on France, see Mailan S. Doquang, 'Status and the Soul: Commemoration and Intercession in the Rayonnant Chapels of Northern France in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Brenner, Cohen and Franklin-Brown (eds), *Memory and Commemoration*, pp. 93–118.

24. For Petrarch's use in both his letters (e.g. *Fam.* IX, 2 of 1351 to Niccolò da Lucca) and his published work (e.g. *Africa*) of the Ciceronian concept that friendship is based on a mutual love of virtue, see Alexander Lee, *Petrarch and St. Augustine: Classical Scholarship, Christian Theology, and the Origins of the Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), especially Chapter 5 'The Holy Passion of Friendship'. See also Hannah Baader, *Das Selbst im Anderen: Sprachen der Freundschaft und die Kunst des Portraits 1370–1520* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015), specifically Chapter 1.1, 'Die Sprache der Freundschaft und ihre Zeichen'.

25. For an overview, see Gilberto Pizzamiglio, 'Gli epigrammi inediti del Petrarca in un codice del Correr', in

Giorgio Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1976), pp. 93-100; Augusto Campana, 'Epigrafi metriche del Petrarca', *Quaderni Petrarcheschi*, 9-10/2 (1996): pp. 437-42. See also Donato, 'I signori, le immagini e la città', p. 451, footnote 75. Scholars have dismissed the traditional attribution of a fourteenth-century epitaph of Dante–inc. 'Hic iacet eloquii moles facunda latini'–to Petrarch. See, for example, Angelo Piacentini, 'Hic claudor Dantes: Per il testo e la fortuna degli epitaffi di Dante', in Marco Petoletti (ed.), *Dante e la sua eredità a Ravenna nel Trecento*, (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2015), especially p. 55, with bibliography.

26. See note 3.

27. The text of the epitaph can be read in the margins of Petrarch's cover letter. See Petrarch's *Fam.* XI, 3 to Giovanni Aghinolfi.

28. The original Latin text is in Petrarch's *Var.* 10 to Benintendi Ravagnani. For reasons that are difficult to determine, but possibly due to its contents, Petrarch's epitaph was not used in this case either. See Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, vol. 1 (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), p. 190. For Petrarch's ties to Dandolo, see Fritz Saxl, 'Petrarch in Venice', in Fritz Saxl, *Lectures* (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 139-49; and Lino Lazzarini, 'Francesco Petrarca e il primo umanesimo a Venezia', in Vittore Branca (ed.), *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (Venice: Sansoni, 1963), pp. 63-92.

29. Petrarch's epitaph was requested by Lombardo della Seta in 1370 and can still be read on Manno Donati's tomb in one of the cloisters of the Basilica del Santo in Padua. On the texts of the epitaph and Lombardo's letter to Petrarch, see Ernst H. Wilkins, 'Petrarch and Manno Donati', *Speculum* 35/3 (1960): pp. 381-92. See also Benjamin G. Kohl, ad vocem 'Donati, Manno', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 41 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 47-9. As noted by Wilkins (p. 390): 'the tablet bears [only] the first twelve of the fifteen Petrarchan hexameters … without any change in wording'. Some sources record that Manno died that same year after leading the Florentines against Bernabò Visconti at Reggio Emilia. Others, however, attest that he was still alive in 1374. Kohl suggests that in 1370 Manno might have been mistakenly presumed dead following an apoplectic shock. The same thing happened to Petrarch in Ferrara that same year.

30. The original Latin text is in Petrarch's *Fam.* IV, 10, to Tommaso's brother, Pellegrino. Tommaso was buried in the church of Monte Carmelo in Messina and Petrarch's epitaph was carved onto his sarcophagus. Tommaso's sarcophagus was reused twice as such to host the mortal remains of fifteenth-century humanist Costantino Lascaris (†1501), followed by those of painter Polidoro da Caravaggio (†1543). The friars subsequently reused this sarcophagus as a water basin in their refectory, and it was eventually destroyed. See Enrico Pispisa, ad vocem 'Tommaso Caloiro', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973), pp. 796-97.

31. See Armando Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), pp. 68-69.

32. See Pizzamiglio, 'Gli epigrammi inediti', pp. 97-99. Petrarch's tomb was commissioned upon the poet's death by his son-in-law, Franceschino da Brossano. On this monument, including the attraction it held for scholars and travellers who visited Arquà, see Joseph Burney Trapp, 'Petrarchan Places: An Essay in the Iconography of Commemoration', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006): pp. 17-33.

33. Some others might have survived in either form and still await discovery. The calibre of such individuals and the number of occurrences attest to the importance of Petrarch's work as an author of rhyming Latin epitaphs, and his texts immediately set a standard in their field. While some, including that of Andrea Dandolo, never made it into marble, most were widely circulated. For example, we know that in the 1360s the influential professor of grammar and rhetoric Pietro da Moglio copied the epitaphs of Jacopo II da Carrara and Tommaso Calorio straight from Petrarch's originals in Padua. We also know from the notebooks of Pietro's pupils that he commented on both of these texts in Bologna in the early 1370s. Petrarch's epitaphs sometimes even found their way back into marble after having been copied from the stone onto paper. For example, the epitaph of Jacopo II inspired hexameters composed by Pietro Da Moglio, a true admirer of Petrarch, for his own tomb, now lost. And the unknown scholar who in 1385 composed the epitaph inscribed into the tomb of jurist Giovanni da Legnano in the church of San Domenico, also in Bologna, had no doubt read Petrarch's own epitaph at Arquà, either *in loco* or *in carte*. See Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Giovanni del Virgilio, Pietro da Moglio, Francesco da Fiano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 7 (1964): pp. 290-01; Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*, vol. 1, pp. 214-15.

34. See Campana, 'Epigrafi metriche del Petrarca': p. 439. In both cases Petrarch politely declined, citing reasons of poor health. However, in the latter case he also added that Checcho di Meletto Rossi da Forlì had already written a text of which he approved ('quidquid ille scribit, ego approbo'). See Petrarch's *Disp.* 63 to Pandolfo Malatesta cited above.

35. See previous note.

36. Petrarch's *Sine nomine*, 6, condemning the deplorable state of Avignon at the time. English translation in Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (eds), *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 457, note 14: 'I shall write, truth will dictate, the whole human race will bear witness; Posterity, you be the judge, unless you are deaf to our ills because of your own!'.

37. We know that Petrarch carefully studied ancient inscriptions from both a stylistic and a philosophical standpoint. For example, it has been suggested that he partly

modelled his epitaph for Tommaso Calorio upon an ancient one he had read in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome in 1337. See Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 3 (Rome: ex officina libraria pontificia, 1857-88), p. 315; Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, vol. 2 (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), p. 64; Pizzamiglio, 'Gli epigrammi inediti del Petrarca', pp. 96-97.

38. Petrarch's epitaph of Jacopo da Carrara is a good example of this. See *Fam.* XI, 3. Indeed, our poet refers to Jacopo as 'the Father, security and hope of his homeland' (v. 2: 'pater patriae, spesque salusque'), while also stressing the latter's amiability (v. 11: 'Nullus amicitias coluit dulcedine tanta'). In a similar vein, Petrarch eulogises Andrea Dandolo's love of Justice, eloquence and intelligence (*Var.* 10, Petrarch's epitaph, v. 2); and celebrates Robert of Anjou's association with the liberal arts (*Epyst.* II, 8 to Niccolò d'Alife, in particular the verses from Petrarch's epitaph quoted above in the main text).

39. *Rem.* I 41, 31-34. See Armando Petrucci, *Writing the Death: Death and Writing Strategies in the Western Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1998), p. 91.

40. In 1355, jurist Pietro Piccolo da Monforte requested that his epitaph for a son of the King of Sicily Philip II of Anjou undergo our poet's scrutiny before being perpetuated in marble, see Marco Vattaso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), p. 33.

41. For this and that which follows on Franceschino da Brossano's tomb slab, see Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca*, pp. 68-9.

42. Petrarch's *Sen.* X 4, 33: 'Omnem tamen mee fragilitatis historiam ut noris, bustum ego marmoreum illi infantulo apud Ticini urbem bix sex elegis inscriptum literisque aureis exaratum statui'. Davide Tolomelli of the Musei Civici del Castello Visconteo, Pavia, kindly agreed to research the accession files of Franceschino's tomb slab in the museum's archives, confirming that the work has not undergone conservation since entering the museum in 1896. Previous to that, the slab had been in the collection of marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro (1754-1835) in Pavia. Petrarch's decision to have Franceschino's inscription gilded appears to contradict his bitter criticism of using gems and gold in churches, as expressed in the passage from *De otio religioso* quoted above, in some of his letters (e.g. *Fam.* VI 1; *Fam.* XX 1) and in *Rem.* I 42. On this, see Perucchi, *Petrarca e le arti figurative*, pp. 60-61. In his letter to Albanzani Petrarch concedes that tombs are a vain kind of tribute; yet he also tells Donato (and us) that this specific tomb – so carefully carved and gilded – was of some solace to him.

43. For example, scholars have attributed a beautiful landscape—it bears the caption 'Transalpina solitudo mea iocundissima' ('My most delightful transalpine solitude')—that features in Petrarch's own copy of Pliny now in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 6802, fol. 143v) to either the poet himself or Giovanni Boccaccio. For the full bibliographical references on, and a new iconographical interpretation of, this drawing, see Perucchi, *Petrarca e le arti figurative*, pp. 71-83.

44. For a focus on Milan, see the fourteenth-century epigraphs reproduced in Vincenzo Forcella (ed.), *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano*, 12 vols (Milan: Tipografia Bortolotti di Giuseppe Prato editrice, 1889-93).

45. For an analysis of the technical aspects of the Pavia epigraph, see Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca*, p. 69.

46. Abbreviations are also found in Franceschino's date of death, carved at the bottom of his tombstone.

47. See note 30.

48. Petrarch's *Var.* 10 (English translation mine).

49. Original Latin in Petrarch's *Epyst.* II, 8. The whole passage reads as follows (emphasis mine): 'Si breve, da veniam; quod si, te iudice, forsan / Augustum verbosa prement epigrammata marmor, / deme supervacuum, me permittente, *tuoque / temperet arbitrio titulum mensura sepulchri*'. '*Mensura*' was commonly used to indicate size or physical dimensions (e.g. a measure of land). See Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols, vol. 4 (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1954), p. 345; Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill 2002), p. 875. However, Petrarch would also use this word more loosely in this and other passages to identify non-material, intangible qualities. See, for example Petrarch's *Invectives*, edited and translated by David Marsh (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), Book 2, 'Against a Physician', p. 56: '*Mensura vestra, fatui, cunta metimini*' ['Fools, you measure everything by your own measure'].

50. See Vinni Lucherini, 'Le tombe angioine nel presbiterio di Santa Chiara a Napoli e la politica funeraria di Roberto d'Angiò', in Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (ed.), *Medievo: i committenti* (Milan: Electa, 2013), pp. 477-504. On the Bertini brothers, see Giulietta Chelazzi Dini, *Pacio e Giovanni Bertini da Firenze e la bottega napoletana di Tino di Camaino* (Prato: Martini, 1996).

51. See Lucherini, 'Le tombe angioine', p. 501, footnote 46. As pointed out by Lucherini, the contract for Robert's tomb was already alluded to in a now-lost Angevin document of February 24, 1343, see Archivio di Stato, Naples (hereafter ASN), Registri Angioini, 1343 F. n. 333, fol. 8. The original document perished during the fire that caused the destruction of the Angevine registers—at that time temporarily stored in San Paolo Bel Sito, near Nola—in September 1943. For a transcription, see Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di un codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'archivio di Stato di Napoli*, vol. 2 (Naples: R. Rinaldi e G. Sellitto, 1879), p. 19.

52. However, Cassidy (*Politics*, p. 73) has argued that the iconography of the tomb 'may conceivably have been established either in detail or in outline by the King himself before he died'.

53. For his visit to Naples, see Petrarch's *Fam.* V, 3. I will investigate this rather crucial connection with the sculptors in greater detail in the next section of this paper.

54. For this and Petrarch's tie to King Robert of Anjou in general, see Sara Sturm-Maddox, 'Altissima verba: The Laureate Poet and the King of Naples', *Viator* 43:1 (2012): pp. 263-88.

55. For a synthesis, see Émile-G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), pp. 282-86. Lieve Watteeuw and Jan van der Stock (eds), *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed: Naples 1340* (Paris: Peeters, 2010).

56. English translation mine. Original Latin text in David L. D'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching Before 1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 107: 'Omnibus liberalibus artibus fuit sufficienter edoctus, et theologus magnus'. See also Darleen Pryds, *The King Embodies the World: Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 37-8.

57. See Damian Dombrowski, 'Cernite - Vision und Person am Grabmal Roberts des Weisen in S. Chiara zu Neapel', in Joachim Poeschke, Britta Kusch and Thomas Weigel (eds), *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus* (Münster: Rhema, 2002), pp. 35-60. If so, we should also conclude that Niccolò D'Alife was driven by the very same concern for readability that Petrarch would later show in his commission of Franceschino's tomb in Pavia.

58. On the meaning of 'cernite' in this inscription, see Dombrowski, 'Cernite', p. 51: 'Das Thronbildnis Roberts ist das Ebenbild seines innersten Wesens, das nun, nach seinem Tod, unverhüllt zum Vorschein kommt. Darin ist der Grund zu sehen, warum die Aufforderung nicht etwa mit videte (oder notate) anhebt, sondern mit cernite: Nicht die Sinneswahrnehmung ist gemeint, sondern ein geistiges Erkennen'.

59. English translation from Nicholas Bock, 'A Kingdom in Stone: Angevin Sculpture in Naples', in Watteeuw and Van der Stock, *The Anjou Bible*, p. 102.

60. As well as on the three other monumental figures of King Robert featured on the tomb: his enthroned figure carved in high-relief on the front of the sarcophagus; his kneeling figure presented by St Francis to the *Virgin and Child* in the attic; and above all, Robert's *gisant* in the funerary chamber.

61. Work supervision was carried out by Jacobo de Pactis, Andrea de Gismondo and Guglielmo de Randacio. Niccolò d'Alife also played an important role, as we have mentioned.

62. See Donato, 'I signori, le immagini e la città', pp. 402-5; see below, note 67.

63. *Fam.* XI, 3, Petrarch's epitaph, v. 3: 'Quisquis ad hoc saxum convertis lumina lector …' ; *Fam.* XI, 3, v. 11: 'Nullus amicitias coluit dulcedine tanta'.

64. Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, (Bari: Laterza, 2004), pp. 224-31.

65. Petrarch's *Fam.* XI, 3 (English translation mine). The entire passage reads as follows: 'Intempestiva hora diei erat, obseratisque templi foribus et meridiantibus edituis, vix admissus, iussis expectare comitibus, accessi solus ad tumulum sedique iuxta et non responsuris ossibus multa dixi. Illic ergo pro tempore brevissimam moram trahens, non sine lacrimis sedecim elegos dictavi, ardore magis animi quam studio aut ratione artis adiutus, tradidique expectantibus amicis vix ad exitum perductos, atque abii hortatus ut si nichil aut illis aut michi interim melius occurrisset, ex his siquid placeret, eligerent arbitratu suo incidendum marmori, *ad quod poliendum insignis nunc artificum desudat industria'*. For an interpretation of this passage I am indebted to Donato (note 6). For the tombs of Jacopo II and Ubertino da Carrara, see Zuleika Murat, 'Le arche di Ubertino e Jacopo II da Carrara nel percorso artistico di Andriolo de' Santi', *Predella* 33 (2013): pp. 185-200, with bibliography. For a transcription of the contract for Jacopo da Carrara's tomb, see Gerolamo Biscaro, 'Le tombe di Ubertino e Iacopo da Carrara', *L'Arte* 2 (1899), p. 97, doc. 1.

66. On the Carrarese Chapel, see Zuleika Murat, 'Il Paradiso dei Carraresi. Propaganda politica e magnificenza dinastica nelle pitture di Guariento a Sant'Agostino', in Serena Romano and Denise Zaru (eds), *Arte di Corte in Italia del Nord. Programmi, modelli, artisti (1330-1402 ca.)* (Rome: Viella, 2013), pp. 97-121. Traces of both paint and gold leaf are still visible on the monument today.

67. It is noteworthy that Petrarch's viewing of Jacopo da Carrara's tomb was echoed in the opening verse of the epitaph.

68. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, passim.

69. In Petrarch's words, the bronze *Horses* on the façade of St Mark's in Venice paw the ground with impatience; while a classicising tenth-century stucco relief of St Ambrose in Milan breathes and appears to speak. See *Sen.* IV 3 and *Fam.* XVI 11, respectively. For an overview, see Marco Ariani, ad vocem 'Petrarca, Francesco', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. 9 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), pp. 335-43; and Perucchi, *Petrarca e le arti figurative*, pp. 25-26, 30-31. Among recent contributions on the topic, see also Alessandro Roffi, 'Imago loquens e imago eloquens nel De remediis petrarchesco', *Camenae* 10 (2012): 1-13.

70. Nicholas Mann, 'Petrarch and Portraits', in Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: British Museum Press,

1998), pp. 15-21; Giovanni Mardersteig, 'I ritratti del Petrarca e dei suoi amici di Padova', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 17 (1974): pp. 251-80. See also the bibliography quoted above, note 11.

71. See above, note 16.

72. See above, note 15.

73. See in particular Angiola Maria Romanini, 'Ipotesi ricostruttive per i monumenti sepolcrali di Arnolfo di Cambio. Nuovi dati sui monumenti De Braye e Annibaldi e sul sacello di Bonifacio VIII', in Jörg Garms and Angiola Maria Romanini (eds), *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 107-28.

74. ASN, Registri Angioni 1343 A, f. 69, quoted in Gaudenzio Dell'Aja, *Il restauro della basilica di Santa Chiara in Napoli*, (Naples: Giannini, 1992), p. 196, footnote 5. The original document is now lost. For a seventeenth-century transcription, see ASN, Carlo de Lellis, *Notamenta ex registris Caroli II, Roberti et Caroli ducis Calabrie*, vol. III, p. 416. Vinni Lucherini has noted that this was customary in Angevin Naples. See Lucherini, 'Le tombe angioine', pp. 478, 484. The document of 1332-33 recording a payment to Tino di Camaino for his tomb of Charles of Calabria also records that the sculptor had been commissioned to produce 'a smaller tomb, where the aforementioned duke rests at present'. See ASN, Registri Angioini 1335-1336 C, f. 31, quoted in Dell'Aja, *Il restauro*, p. 208, footnote 14 (translation mine).

75. ASN, Registri Angioini 1343 A, fol. 69. See Lucherini, 'Le tombe angioine', p. 484.

76. See Aldo De Rinaldis, 'La tomba primitiva di Roberto d'Angiò', *Belvedere* 6 (1924): pp. 92-6. See also Mario Gaglione, *Nuovi studi sulla basilica di Santa Chiara a Napoli* (Naples: Arte Tipografica,1996), p. 15.

77. As suggested by Cassidy, *Politics*, p. 68.

78. Aeneid VI, 847-48: 'Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus'.

79. Gerard L. Cohen, 'Latin voltus/vultus = Face, Expression (on Face)', *Latomus* 38 (1979): pp. 337-44; Maurizio Bettini, 'Guardarsi in faccia a Roma: Le parole dell'apparenza fisica nella cultura latina', in Bettini, *Le orecchie di Hermes: Studi di antropologia e letterature classiche* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), pp. 313-56. See also Monika Otter, 'Vultus adest (The face helps)', in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 151-72.

80. Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', pp. 433-55; Donato, 'Minietur ligeturque… per magistrum Benedictum,' pp. 189-200.

81. As mentioned earlier, it has been suggested that Petrarch was responsible for adapting the subject matter of some of his works to monumental contexts, namely fresco cycles, which would imply a certain familiarity with the painters.

82. See Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', pp. 446-47, 455. See also, among others, John Gregory, 'Simone Martini's Frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgil: Sources and Meaning', *Australian Journal of Art* 2 (1980): pp. 33-40; Marco Collareta, 'La Miniatura di Simone Martini per il Petrarca Descritta da Sabba di Castiglione', in S*critti in Ricordo di Giovanni Previtali*, *Prospettiva* 53-56:1 (1989): pp. 334-37. Cicutto, *Figure di Petrarca*, pp. 79-109.

83. Mantua Virgilium qui talia carmina finxit / Sena tulit Symonem digito qui talia pinxit (Mantua bore Virgil, who fashioned such things in poetry / Siena bore Simone, who painted such things with his own hand). Original Latin text and English translation in Annabel M. Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), p. 20.

84. As Donato pointed out, we can see fingerprints on the initial letters of Petrarch's verses. See Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', p. 433, fig. 2.

85. Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', pp. 446-47, 455.

86. See above, note 7.

87. Palozzi, *Commentators on Medieval Italian Sculpture*, especially Chapter 1, 'Fourteenth-Century Humanists and the Difficult Beginnings of Critical Writing on Italian Sculpture'. Scholars have noticed this idiosyncrasy, albeit incidentally. See, for instance, Giuliano Tanturli, 'Le biografie d'artisti prima del Vasari', in *Il Vasari storiografo e artista* (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1975), pp. 276-77; Bettini, 'Francesco Petrarca sulle arti figurative', p. 254; Donato, 'Veteres e novi, externi e nostri', pp. 440, 443; Marco Collareta, 'La fama degli artisti', in Max Seidel (ed.), *Storia delle Arti in Toscana*, vol. 2, *Il Trecento*, (Florence: Edifir, 2004), pp. 76-77.

88. See above, note 7.

89. The same is true of Ubertino da Carrara's tomb, also executed by Andriolo De' Santi and his collaborators around the same years as the former. See the bibliography quoted in note 66. Because of editorial constraints I must limit my discussion to Jacopo da Carrara's tomb.

90. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 93.

91. Considering Jacopo II da Carrara suffered a sudden and violent death at the hands of one of his illegitimate sons, the latter case is more likely. Andriolo's effigy of Jacopo II da Carrara can be usefully compared to that painted

by Guariento on the outside of the Carrarese Chapel in Sant'Agostino. See Murat, 'Il Paradiso dei Carraresi', pp. 97-121.

92. Antonino Maresca, 'La tomba di Roberto d'Angiò in Napoli', *Archivio storico dell'arte* 1 (1888): pp. 307-8. See also Emile Bertaux, 'Magistri Johannes et Pacius de Florentia Marmorarii fratres', *Napoli nobilissima* 4 (1895): p. 137; De Rinaldis, 'La tomba primitiva': pp. 92-6. Both carved effigies of Robert can be usefully compared to the surviving portraits of the King (e.g. that painted by Simone Martini in his *St. Louis crowning Robert of Anjou*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte).

93. De Rinaldis, 'La tomba primitiva': pp. 92-6.

94. The painter François D'Orleans was paid for having 'made and molded the *face*' of his image of King Charles VI of France 'and for having molded [the King's] *hands*… and *feet*.' For the text of the document, see Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, p. 141.

95. *Rem.* I 41, 20-22.

96. Laura Jacobus, 'The Tomb of Enrico Scrovegni in the Arena Chapel, Padua', *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012): pp. 403-9, especially p. 407 footnote 24. See also Jacobus, 'A Matter of Life and Death'; Jacobus, 'Enrico Scrovegni and the Mask of Death!'; Jacobus, 'The Truth, the Half-Truth, and Something Like the Truth'.

97. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook* (trans.) Daniel V. Thompson, jr., (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), pp. 124-27. I have not yet consulted the new English translation of Cennini's book. See *Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte: A new English translation and commentary with Italian transcription* (trans.) Lara Broecke (London: Archetype Publications, 2015).

98. Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme*, pp. 252-55. The first documented death mask to have come down to us is that of Bernardino degli Albizzeschi (St Bernardino da Siena, †1444), preserved in the convent of San Bernardino, L'Aquila. See Machtelt, 'Absence and Resemblance', pp. 112-14, fig. 1, and passim, with bibliography.

99. Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme*, pp. 229-80.

100. Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme*, pp. 113-79.

101. See Ronald G. Musto, 'Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans', in Julius Kirschner and Suzanne F. Wemple (eds), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), p. 190.

102. Maria Loh, 'Renaissance Faciality', in *Mal'Occhio: Looking Awry at the Renaissance*, Special issue of *Oxford Art Journal* 32/3 (2009): pp. 341-63.

103. See note 66.

104. See note 70.

105. The poet, in his own words, is moved to tears as he composes the epitaph for his friend Jacopo ('non sine lacrimis sedecim elegos dictavi'). The contemplation of his friend's tomb made Petrarch temporarily oblivious of the fact that, as he wrote to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in a letter of 1336, one must not mourn the absent or dead friend, 'for however great the distance between places separates us from the conversation of friends, by the same degree do we shatter the misfortune of absence with assiduous recollection'. The enactment of memory and the practice of commemoration thus fulfil complementary functions. See *Fam.* II, 6: 'Quantum enim locorum intervallis ab amicorum conversatione disiungimur, tantum absentie detrimentum assidua commemoratione discutimus'. English translation in Lee, *Petrarch and St. Augustine*, p. 243.

CHAPTER 6

STONE AND BONE: THE CORPSE, THE EFFIGY AND THE VIEWER IN LATE-MEDIEVAL TOMB SCULPTURE

JESSICA BARKER

6.1
Carthusian Miscellany, northern England (c.1460-70). British Library Additional MS 37049, fol. 32v.

In the opening of the fifteenth-century poem, *A Disputation Between the Body and the Worms*, the anonymous narrator enters a church during a 'season of great mortality'.[1] Kneeling in prayer before a devotional image, his attention wanders to a nearby tomb. The extended description that follows leaves the reader in no doubt that this was a magnificent monument, newly made and painted, emblazoned with numerous coats of arms, and embellished with a gilt-copper epitaph. The poem pays particular attention to the effigy, a 'woman's figure, fresh and fine', depicted in fashionable attire with long, golden hair:

Bysyde me I sawe a towmbe or sepulture	Beside me I saw a tomb or sepulchre
Ful freschly forgyd depycte and depynte	That seemed to be freshly adorned and raised–
Compassed and made be newe coniecture	Just newly-made, by my conjecture–
Of sondre armes þer many a prynte	With sundry arms thereon emblazed.
þe Epytaf to loke was I not faynte	Upon the epitaph I boldly gazed.
In gylte copyr with goldly schewyng þan	Gilt gold on copper gleamed each line,
With a fresche fygure fyne of a woman	With a woman's figure, fresh and fine.
Wele atyred in þe moste newe gyse	She was well attired in the newest array
With long lokkes of þis disceyfyng… [2]	Her long locks had a golden gleam…

Encountering this effigy is a transformative experience for the narrator, who falls into a deep slumber ('As I slept I was taken in such a way/ I was rapt from myself into a dream').[3] During this dream he is confronted by a macabre vision of the lady's corpse arguing with the worms that are devouring her flesh, setting up a debate about pride, mortality and decay that constitutes the remainder of the poem.[4]

The only surviving copy of the *Disputation* is found in British Library Additional MS 37049, a miscellany of devotional writings and images most likely produced for a Carthusian community in northern England in c.1460–70.[5] The poem is prefaced by a three-quarter-page illumination depicting a female effigy lying atop a tomb chest embellished with colourful heraldic shields and blind arcading (fig. 6.1). The effigy of the lady is 'well attired' in a purple fur-lined mantle and red *surcote ouverte* with ermine trim, her head resting on a pillow with large tassels. Departing from the 'long locks' described in the poem, the artist instead emphasised the woman's status by depicting her in a crown and fashionable butterfly headdress. The monument itself hovers uncertainly in space, the tomb chest tilted upwards to reveal a shallow grave containing the lady's nude, almost skeletal cadaver. The corpse draws the fabric of its shroud across its groin in an attempt to preserve its modesty while the remains of its flesh are devoured by the dark outlines of insects, lizards and worms. A near-identical illumination on folio 87r of the same manuscript depicts the effigy of an emperor lying atop a tomb chest emblazoned with coats of arms, the monument tilted aside to reveal his decaying corpse assailed by vermin.[6]

Both these miniatures were reproduced in Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*. Panofsky claimed that the illuminations 'optically, though not technically, correspond to two

6.2
Monument to John Fitzalan (c.1435-45). Alabaster and limestone, 252.5 x 113 x 121.5 cm, Arundel, Fitzalan Chapel.

"double decker tombs"'.[7] Double-decker or 'transi' tombs—fashionable among certain sections of the courtly and ecclesiastical elites in England and France during the fifteenth century—contrast an idealised figure of the deceased lying atop the monument with a sculpture of their decaying corpse enclosed within the tomb chest (fig. 6.2).[8] The illuminations from BL Additional 37049 are comparable to transi tombs in their juxtaposition of worldly glory and fleshy decay, a contrast highlighted by the verse epitaph immediately below the tomb of the lady:

Take hede un to my fygure here abowne	Take heed of my figure above
And se how sumtyme I was fresche and gay	And see how I used to be fresh and gay
Now turned to wormes mete and corrupcoun	Now I am turned into worms' meat and corruption
Bot fowle erthe and stynkyng slyme and clay.[9]	Both foul earth and stinking slime and clay

Panofsky's analysis of these images has proved influential. Since the publication of his lectures in 1964, the miniatures have been compared to transi tombs in numerous articles and books.[10] Francis Wormald claimed that the illustrations were 'reflected in and may have been inspired by' double-decker transi tombs, while Kathleen Cohen argued that the *Disputation* was 'of importance in the history of the transi images [sic]' as it 'was illustrated with a picture of a double tomb'.[11]

Yet (as Panofsky hints) the monuments depicted in BL Additional MS 37049 are not transi tombs.[12] Both miniatures show an effigy atop a closed tomb chest with heraldic decoration, clearly separate from the shallow grave containing the corpse (fig. 6.1). In the *Disputation*, the narrator '*sawe*' the effigy of the woman but only encounters her

verminous corpse while dreaming '*in a slomer*'.[13] Whereas transi tombs are characterised by the juxtaposition of visible effigy and visible cadaver, the poem contrasts a seen effigy with an unseen, imagined corpse. This important distinction allows us to consider the poem and miniatures with respect to the broader relationship between the sculpted body (the effigy) and the natural body (the corpse). This aspect of funerary monuments received scant attention in *Tomb Sculpture*. Panofsky briefly considered the treatment of the corpse in Egyptian and early Christian societies, but progressively abandoned this line of enquiry as he moved into the Middle Ages and Renaissance, emphasising the formal and aesthetic development of tomb sculpture over its function as a burial marker.[14] Few studies of funerary monuments have addressed Panofsky's lacuna. A notable exception is Paul Binski's *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, in which the author characterised the relationship between effigy and corpse as one of erasure and obliteration, claiming that the effigy functioned as 'a simulacrum, a substitute, but one which not only replaced but powerfully erased the thing, the natural body, whose form it suggests'.[15] Taking the opposite stance, Charlotte Stanford's article on the commemorative programmes of Bishop Simon de Bucy (†1304) and Cardinal Michel du Bec (†1318) in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris argues that the full representational capacity of an effigy could not be realised without the close proximity of the corpse of the deceased. Stanford concluded that 'a cenotaph…even one with images, did not have the same power as a tomb containing an actual body'.[16]

Although rarely connected to tomb studies, another branch of scholarship offers different ways of thinking about the relationship between the sculpted and the natural body. In their work on body-part reliquaries (shaped to resemble disembodied arms, heads and feet), Caroline Walker Bynum, Paula Gerson and Cynthia Hahn highlighted the impact of the unseen 'inside' of these objects on the viewer's perception of the seen 'outside'.[17] Their work shows a particular interest in the 'slippage of meaning and importance between contained and container'.[18] Like body-part reliquaries, tombs both represent and conceal the human body.[19] Indeed, it is striking that the same language of interiority and exteriority used by Bynum, Gerson and Hahn was employed by the fourteenth-century preacher John Bromyard in his description of a tomb, which contrasted the beautiful polished and painted '*exterius*' to its '*interius*' filled with the stench of the rotting corpse.[20] The description of an imaginative encounter with the corpse triggered by the physical sight of an effigy in the *Disputation* (the 'container' prompting a vision of the 'contained') suggests potential similarities in the medieval viewer's experience of reliquaries and funerary monuments. This is not to deny the important distinctions between reliquaries and tombs—most notably the materials and size of the object, its display and function, and the sacred status of the body within—but rather to suggest that an increased sensitivity to the relationship between sculpted and natural bodies could provide new insights into the reception of tomb sculpture in the Middle Ages.

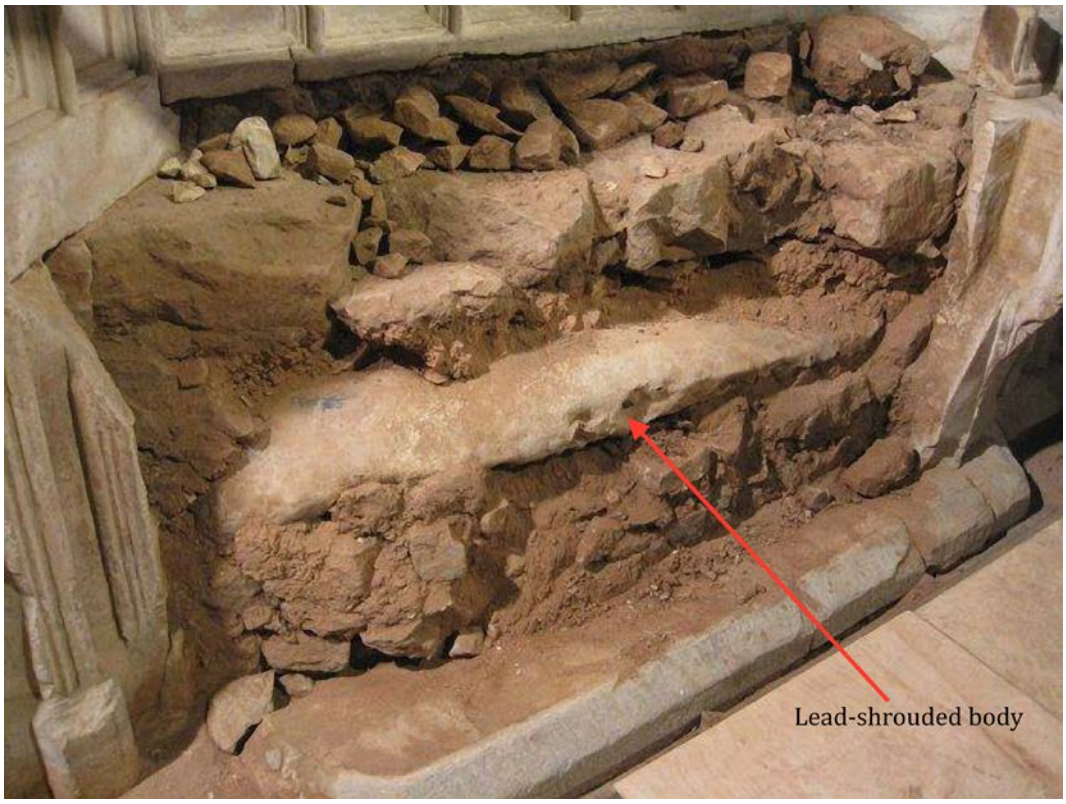
This chapter examines the relationship between corpse and effigy in late-medieval tomb sculpture, with particular focus on the ways in which this interaction may have

affected the viewer's experience of the monument. Within the constraints of this chapter, it will only be possible to trace the contours of this large topic and to suggest avenues for further enquiry. I will first address two issues fundamental to understanding the interactions between the natural and the sculpted body: their material relationship (the location of the corpse in relation to the effigy and the issue of whether medieval viewers understood the tomb chest as a 'container' for a body), and their temporal relationship (focusing particularly on cases where there was a significant lapse of time between the construction of the effigy and interment of the corpse). The final section draws these two themes together in an analysis of the transi tomb of John Fitzalan, seventh earl of Arundel (†1435), considering the interment, exhumation, evisceration, ransom, movement and reburial of the Earl's corpse and its significance for the reception of his monument. The question at the heart of this chapter is one prompted by the *Disputation*: how did an awareness of the presence (or absence) of a corpse affect the medieval viewer's perception of the effigy?

TOMB CHEST: PLINTH OR COFFIN?

In his description of the formal development of the medieval tomb, Panofsky argued that their resemblance to ancient sarcophagi—combining a three-dimensional effigy and house-shaped platform—was purely accidental, the result of a process he termed 'pseudomorphosis'.[21] Whereas the shape of sarcophagi was ultimately derived from their function as a container for the body, Panofsky claimed that medieval tomb chests (or '*tumba*') were conceived as plinths for displaying the effigy, their design resulting from 'the spontaneous expansion of a figure originally flat and flush with the pavement, and its subsequent elevation'.[22] Panofsky was correct in drawing attention to the distinctions between classical and medieval monuments. Although their appearance can be similar, the construction is different: sarcophagi were made from a single block of stone hollowed out to receive a body (with a separate lid), while tomb chests were typically assembled from several thin panels of stone, the centre filled with rubble to support the effigy above.[23] In the case of medieval tombs, it is usually assumed that the corpse of the deceased was buried in a vault below or near their monument, as depicted by the miniatures in BL Additional MS 37049 (fig. 6.1). This arrangement is described in a contract for an alabaster tomb chest at Bisham Abbey (Berkshire), dated 1421. The mason Robert Broun is instructed to make a '*fosse*' (grave or pit) for two bodies, complete with stone arches to support the monument above:

> And the said Robert shall make a grave in the ground, the footing and the sides of set stone, with arches of stone to support the said tomb. And the said grave shall be nine foot long, four and a half foot wide and five foot deep, for placing and interring therein two bodies when the need shall arise, without damage or harm from the same tomb.[24]



6.3
Monument to Blanche Mortimer (c.1347) at Much Marcle (Herefordshire), with tomb chest opened to reveal rubble infill and lead-shrouded body.

While the Bisham monument no longer survives, a comparable construction was discovered during excavations at the collegiate church in Arundel on 16 November 1857.[25] A hollow piece of masonry was uncovered directly below the monument to John Fitzalan, seventh earl of Arundel, arched at the top and forming a chamber around 2 ft (61 cm) high, 2 ft wide and the same length as a tomb, containing a much-decayed coffin with the skeleton of a man.[26]

However, closer investigation reveals that Panofsky's dichotomy between classical containers and medieval plinths is too straightforward. Excavations have revealed that medieval tomb chests could act as receptacles for the body of the deceased. During conservation work on the monument to Blanche Mortimer (†1347) at Much Marcle (Herefordshire) in 2012-14, a lead-shrouded body was discovered within the tomb chest, resting above the floor of the church on a rough shelf of rubble and earth (fig. 6.3).[27] This modern discovery accords with the records of earlier excavations, mostly carried out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In an article of 1880, the antiquarian Arthur Stanley described how the monument to Henry III (made c.1280-90) in the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey was discovered to contain an oak coffin covered with cloth of gold, its lid approximately 1 ft (30.5 cm) below the marble bed supporting the gilt-bronze effigy.[28] The tomb of Edward I (†1307), also located in the Confessor's Chapel, was opened in 1774 to reveal a Purbeck marble coffin, which was raised on a bed of rubble so that the lid of the coffin was touching the underside of the marble slab covering the tomb chest.[29] Henry Peet, writing in 1890, referred to the opening of the tomb of Sir Humphrey de Littlebury (†1339) in Holbeach (Norfolk) 'some years ago', insisting that the knight 'was not buried beneath the floor of the church, but within this tomb, and his bones still repose beneath his effigy'.[30] In at least one instance, both types of burial—outside and inside the tomb chest—were associated with the same monument. On the removal of a portion of the marble pavement at the west end of the monument to Henry IV (†1413) and Joan of Navarre (†1437) at Canterbury Cathedral on 21 August 1832, a wooden coffin belonging to the King was discovered below the floor projecting beyond the tomb chest to the west, while the lead-shrouded body of the Queen was found above Henry's coffin, positioned further to the east and entirely enclosed within the monument.[31] Although I have concentrated on evidence from England,

6.4
The Bohun Psalter and Hours, Essex (c.1360-73 and 1380s). British Library Egerton MS 3277, fol. 145v.

further examples can be found across Europe, such as the tomb of Frederick III (†1493) in St Stephansdom, Vienna (Austria), which recent endoscopic investigations have revealed to house the body of the Emperor inside its Salzburg-marble tomb chest.[32]

Since relatively few openings of medieval tomb monuments have been recorded, it is difficult to assess whether these examples are exceptional or represent a wider trend for burial within the tomb chest.[33] Another way of approaching the relationship between monument and burial is to consider the depiction of the tomb chest in medieval art.[34] The idea of the tomb chest as container for a corpse is conveyed in an historiated initial depicting the Resurrection of Christ from the Bohun Psalter and Hours, made in the third quarter of the fourteenth century at Pleshy Castle, Essex.[35] When the illuminator came to depict three vignettes of the dead rising from their tombs in the margins of the initial, he represented a closed stone monument with a scroll appearing from a gap in the lid to indicate the presence of a corpse, as well as an open tomb chest with a wooden coffin emerging from within (fig. 6.4).[36] The open chest is juxtaposed with the empty tomb of Christ in the *Noli Me Tangere* scene in the main body of the initial, the two monuments aligned in such a way as to resemble a single tomb. Although the Gospel accounts describe Christ being interred in a rock-hewn tomb, medieval artists often depicted His body in a stone chest, its design imitating contemporary high-status memorials.[37] The status of the tomb chest as a receptacle for a body would have been continually reinforced by images of the Deposition, Man of Sorrows, and Resurrection, which show Christ being placed inside, standing within and stepping out of a tomb chest respectively. One notable example is an initial from the Hungerford Hours showing the Resurrected Christ seated upon a partially-open stone chest, its sides featuring an arcade of deeply-recessed niches with blind panels comparable to those found on the near-contemporary Purbeck and Painswick limestone tomb chest of Edward II at Gloucester Cathedral (fig. 6.5).[38] These artistic depictions should not necessarily be treated as documents of actual burial practice, nor should we assume that medieval viewers would draw a straightforward connection between the tomb of Christ and monuments to the ordinary dead. Nevertheless, this iconographic tradition points

6.5
A leaf from the Hungerford Hours, eastern England (1330-40). British Library Additional MS 62106, fol. 1.

to the wider visual context within which funerary monuments were located during the Middle Ages. Images of the tomb of Christ would have been routinely juxtaposed with funerary monuments within the space of the church: for example, a 1506 inventory for the collegiate church at Arundel (a mausoleum for the Fitzalan earls) records a 'sepulcre' cloth embroidered with the image of a closed tomb on one piece, and the Resurrection on another.[39] The cumulative effect of these commonplace images would have influenced how medieval viewers understood the actual tomb chests they encountered in churches, emphasising their function as a potential 'container', irrespective of how frequently bodies were interred in this way.

MONUMENTS, BURIALS AND TIME

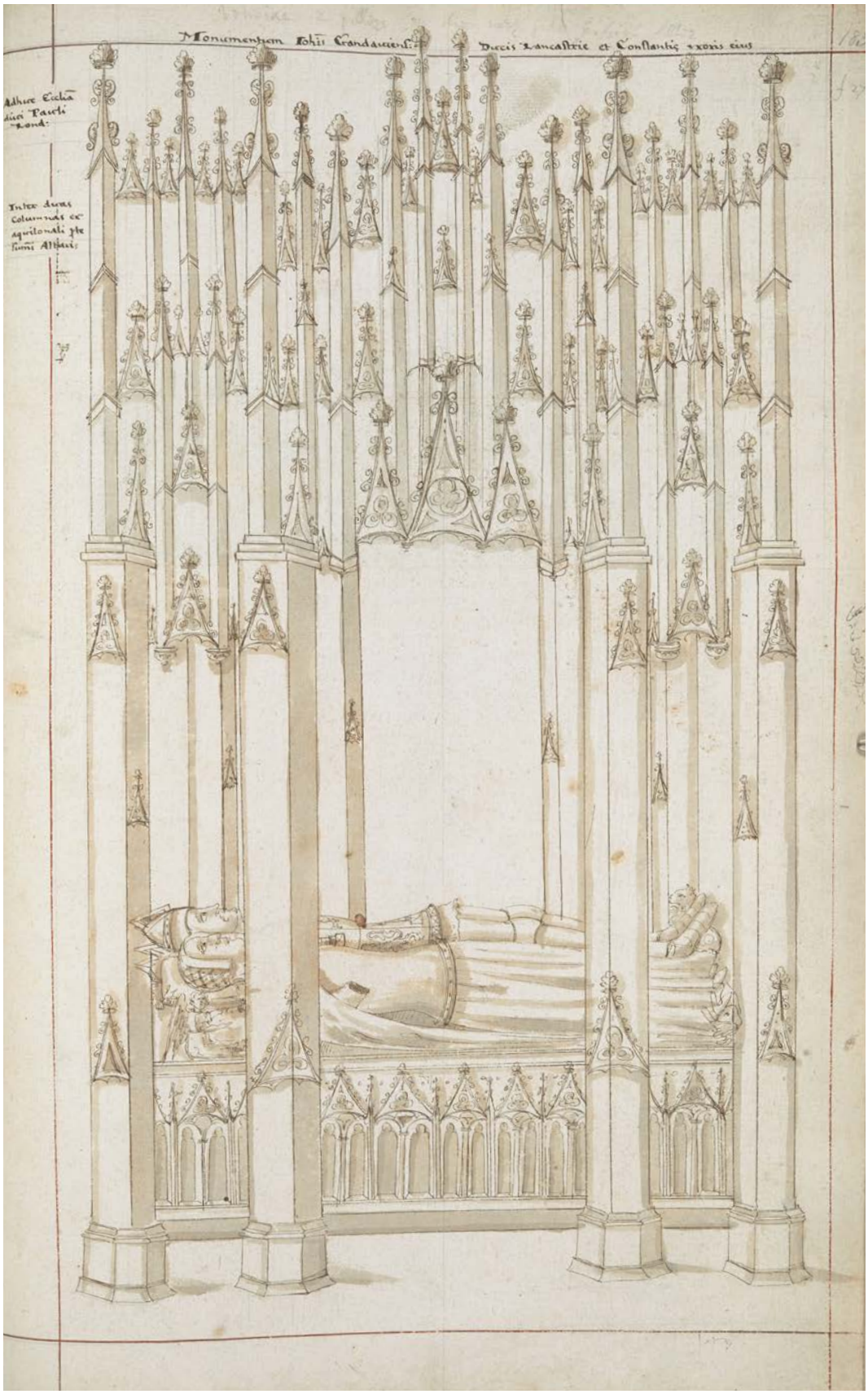
The material relationship between effigy and corpse was linked to the temporal relationship between monument and burial. If the monument were erected after the death of the commemorated it would have been fairly straightforward to build the tomb chest around their coffin, whereas memorials made in their lifetime would need to have been disassembled at a later date if the corpse were to be interred in this way. The evidence of contracts and wills suggests that standard practice in the Middle Ages was for a monument to be erected as soon as possible after burial.[40] Many testators asked for their tomb to be made within one year, thus ensuring a material focus for the re-enactment of the burial service that would have taken place on the first anniversary of their death.[41] The spiritual advantages of producing a monument as quickly as possible led a handful of testators to insist on an even tighter deadline: for example, Niccolò Acciado of Florence requested in his first will of 1338 that his monument be made within two months,[42] while in 1558 Thomas Salter, a London chantry priest, asked for his brass to be laid in the church of St Magnus Martyr, London Bridge, before the one month anniversary of his death.[43]

Yet there were also a minority of cases in which many years, or even decades, separated the burial of the body and making of its monument. One of the best-documented examples

is the tomb of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (†1399) and his first wife Blanche (†1368) in Old St Paul's, London.[44] A series of entries in Gaunt's register reveal that the Duke commissioned his own monument: the first payment to agents and craftsmen was recorded on 18 June 1374 (for the acquisition and transport of six wagon-loads of alabaster from the Tutbury quarries) and the last in March 1380 (for painting the tomb chest, canopy, and all the images contained within).[45] Although the tomb itself was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666, antiquarian descriptions and drawings reveal that it originally stood on the north side of the choir next to the high altar, a location of great prominence and prestige.[46] The Duke and Duchess were represented by two alabaster effigies lying atop a tomb chest decorated with an arcade of paired trefoil niches, the whole ensemble surmounted by a freestone canopy with numerous pinnacles and tabernacles for devotional statues (fig. 6.6).[47] In the nineteen years between the completion of his tomb and his death, Gaunt encountered the effigies of himself and his wife many times. The Duke would almost certainly have attended the anniversary observances for Blanche at Old St Paul's in the years when he was in England: he spent significant, albeit declining, sums on the celebrations throughout his lifetime (£38 18s 0d in 1371, £37 9s 8¾d in 1372, £45 4s 10½d in 1374, £27 14s 8d in 1377, £19 19s 6d in 1380 and £10 in 1392 and 1394).[48] Gaunt also visited the cathedral in 1381, attending a special mass to mark his reconciliation with the citizens of London during which the mayor and aldermen of the city joined him in prayers for Blanche's soul.[49] The Duke again demonstrated his allegiance to Old St Paul's—and Blanche—on 13 December 1389, when his ceremonial welcome at Westminster Abbey after three years overseas was immediately followed by more private observances at the cathedral.[50] These visits to Old St Paul's reveal an ongoing relationship between patron and sculpture. Gaunt was able to contemplate both his own effigy and the site where his body would eventually be laid to rest, an act of viewing which collapsed the boundaries between the Duke's life, death and afterlife. Others participating in the ceremonies would have been confronted with the sight of Gaunt's living body juxtaposed with his alabaster effigy; in the words of Paul Binski, the Duke would have 'emerged eerily as his own revenant'.[51]

After standing in Old St Paul's for almost two decades, the function of the monument shifted following Gaunt's death on 3 February 1399. The tomb now marked the burial of the Duke as well as the Duchess: in his will, dated 3 February 1398,[52] Gaunt specifically requested to be interred 'near the high altar… beside my beloved former consort Blanche [who is] buried there'.[53] This change was marked by Gaunt's lavish funeral, during which twenty-five large candles surrounded the body of the Duke, the hearse standing overnight before the high altar in close proximity to his monument.[54] The Duke's will includes the striking stipulation that his body was to remain unburied for forty days after his death:

> And wherever I die I will and devise that after my passing my body remain above ground uninterred for forty days, and I charge my executors that within those forty days no interment [Lincoln MS: embalming] of my body shall be done nor feigned, privately nor publicly.[55]



6.6
William Sedgwick, ink-and-wash drawing of the monument to John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster (June 1641). British Library Additional MS 71474, fol. 183.

A copy of the will held at Lincoln substitutes the second reference to *'enterrement'* (interment) for *'enceresment'* (embalming), thus introducing the macabre possibility that Gaunt wanted his corpse to be in an advanced state of decomposition by the time it reached the choir of Old St Paul's.[56] A similar emphasis on bodily decay is found in the verses inscribed on the tomb of the Duke's brother, Edward the Black Prince (†1376), in which his rotting corpse addresses the viewer: 'Deep in the ground I lie/ My great beauty is all gone/ My flesh is all wasted away'.[57] Although the stipulations in Gaunt's will are unusual, one parallel can be found in the treatment of the corpse of Isabel, Duchess of Clarence (†1476) at Tewkesbury Abbey in Gloucestershire.[58] A monastic chronicle describes how Isabel's body, having been brought to Tewkesbury on 4 January 1477, remained in the middle of the abbey choir for thirty-five days, during which period daily prayers were said for the Duchess' soul.[59] Although her body would not have been exposed to view (the chronicle states it was *'subtus le herse'*, under the hearse),[60] it would not have gone unnoticed by the monks, who needed only to look to another monument in the middle of choir, the cadaver effigy of Isabella's grandmother, Isabel Countess of Warwick (†1439), for a vivid depiction of the decomposition of the Duchess' concealed corpse.[61] The congregation at Old St Paul's would have been larger and more varied than the primarily monastic audience at Tewkesbury; indeed, in his will Gaunt urged his executors to invite his friends and relatives to the obsequies in order that they might pray for his soul.[62] For those in attendance, the sight of Gaunt's hearse ablaze with candles in the centre of the choir, accompanied by the scent of incense and the sung prayers of the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass, must have left a powerful impression, re-shaping their perception of his alabaster effigy in the bay directly to the north.

The presence of the Duke's corpse allowed a familiar monument to take on new resonances. This shift in perception is described by the chronicler Jean Creton in a remarkable passage from his account of the usurpation of Richard II (written 1399-1402).[63] Creton records Henry IV's first visit to Old St Paul's after returning from exile to seize the throne of England.[64] He describes how Henry approached the high altar to pray and afterwards passed by the monument to his parents, Gaunt and Blanche. The sight of the tomb, which Creton terms *'une très riche sépulture'* (a very rich monument), provoked an emotional response from the soon-to-be King: 'there he wept very much, for he had never seen it [the monument] since his father had been laid there'.[65] Regardless of whether Creton (a member of Richard II's entourage) witnessed this encounter or it was intended as an embellishment to his account, it offers an intriguing insight into how the knowledge of a recent death may have altered the way in which contemporaries perceived tomb monuments. The passage makes it clear that Henry's tearful reaction was prompted by an act of seeing (indicated by the verb *veue*), yet there would have been almost no visible sign that the tomb now marked Gaunt's burial, save for the Duke's funeral achievements hanging on the north side of the column next to the monument and his date of death added to the

inscription.[66] Henry's exile in France had also prevented him from attending his father's funeral obsequies, meaning he had not witnessed Gaunt's hearse standing in the choir of Old St Paul's.[67] Creton's account thus seems to be describing an imaginative connection between effigy and corpse similar to that in the *Disputation*: Henry IV saw his parents' monument with the knowledge that it was now associated with Gaunt's burial, thus prompting a new, emotional response to the tomb.

Whereas Gaunt commissioned his tomb twenty-five years before his death, his daughter waited nineteen years for the burial of her body to be marked by a monument. The tomb of Philippa of Lancaster (†1415) and her husband, King João I of Portugal (†1433), situated in their own funerary chapel within João's monastic foundation of Batalha (Portugal), was complete by 14 August 1434.[68] It is first mentioned in a will made by João on 4 October 1426, in which the King asks to be buried at Batalha with his late wife Philippa, their bodies 'lying together in that monument, made as I have ordered'.[69] Much like the testament of his father-in-law, João's will is notable for the fact that it provides more instructions on the treatment of his corpse than the design of his effigy; the King even details how the bones of himself and his wife should be placed in separate coffins but within the same tomb.[70] The surviving monument comprises two richly-carved effigies of the King and Queen lying atop a massive limestone tomb chest (measuring 334 cm in length, 170 cm wide, and c.198 cm high), supported by eight lions (fig. 6.7).[71] At eye-level the view of the monument is dominated by lengthy Latin inscriptions, carved and painted in ornate letters on each long side of the tomb chest, João's epitaph below his effigy and Philippa's below hers. The epitaphs are remarkable for their meticulous description of the fate of João and Philippa's bodies after death, detailing Philippa's initial burial in the monk's choir of Odivelas monastery in Coimbra on 19 July 1415, the subsequent exhumation of her body on 9 October 1416, its procession and reburial in the choir of Batalha on 15 October 1416,[72] the interment of João beside his queen on 30 November 1433, and the final exhumation of the royal couple and their reburial in João's funerary chapel on 14 August 1434.[73] This extended account of burials, exhumations and reburials (even listing those present at the funeral processions) encourages the reader-viewer to imagine the bodies of the King and Queen as they gaze upon their tomb, a prompt for the same mental juxtaposition of corpse and effigy implied by Creton in his account of Henry IV's reaction to the tomb of his parents. There was, however, a significant difference between the presentation of the corpse at Batalha and Old St Paul's. Whereas the instructions in Gaunt's will emphasise his bodily decay, Philippa's epitaph denies any decomposition of her corpse, claiming that on its exhumation in 1416 the Queen's body was discovered to be '*integrum… et suaviter odoriferum*' (intact and sweet smelling).[74] When considered against the contrasting presentation of their natural bodies, the sculpted bodies at Batalha and Old St Paul's each take on a different significance. The alabaster effigy of Gaunt acts as a counterpoint to the corruption of his flesh (in much the same way as the monument in the *Disputation*), whereas Philippa's idealised effigy reinforces the idea of her continuing bodily perfection after death.

6.7
Monument to João I and Philippa of Lancaster (complete 1434). Limestone, 334 x 170 x c.198 cm, Monastery of Batalha, Founder's Chapel.

Although it was standard practice in the Middle Ages for the making of the effigy and the burial of the corpse to have been as closely synchronised as possible, the monuments at Old St Paul's and Batalha did not fit this pattern. The memorial to John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster stood in the choir of Old St Paul's for almost two decades before the Duke's demise. His extravagant funeral marked a shift in the function of a familiar tomb, a new relationship between sculpted and natural bodies that prompted Henry IV's emotional response to the monument upon his return to London on 1 September 1399. At Batalha, the long delay between Philippa's death and the erection of her tomb was detailed in her epitaph, a chronicle of the Queen's corpse inscribed on the tomb chest directly below her effigy. This temporal disjunction between effigy and corpse was far from unique: a significant number of medieval memorials were made either many years before the patron's demise (such as the transi tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, who died in 1446 but whose monument was complete by 1426),[75] or a long time afterwards (for instance, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick died in 1439, his monument was ready to receive his body by 1450, but his remains were not reinterred until 1475).[76] The chronology could be more complex for monuments marking multiple burials: for example, in 1440 the bodies of John Beaufort (†1410) and Thomas, Duke of Clarence (†1421) were relocated from their graves in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral to a newly-built monument in the Holland Chapel featuring effigies of the two noblemen alongside their wife Margaret Holland (†1439).[77] Thus the significance of the effigy was changeable, bound to its relationship with the body it represented. The transformation from cenotaph to tomb (or the addition of new bodies to an existing grave) may not have left any visible marks on the monument itself, but this change in function would have been impressed on observers through the burial rites and commemorated thereafter by anniversaries and masses for the deceased.

THE TRANSI TOMB OF JOHN FITZALAN

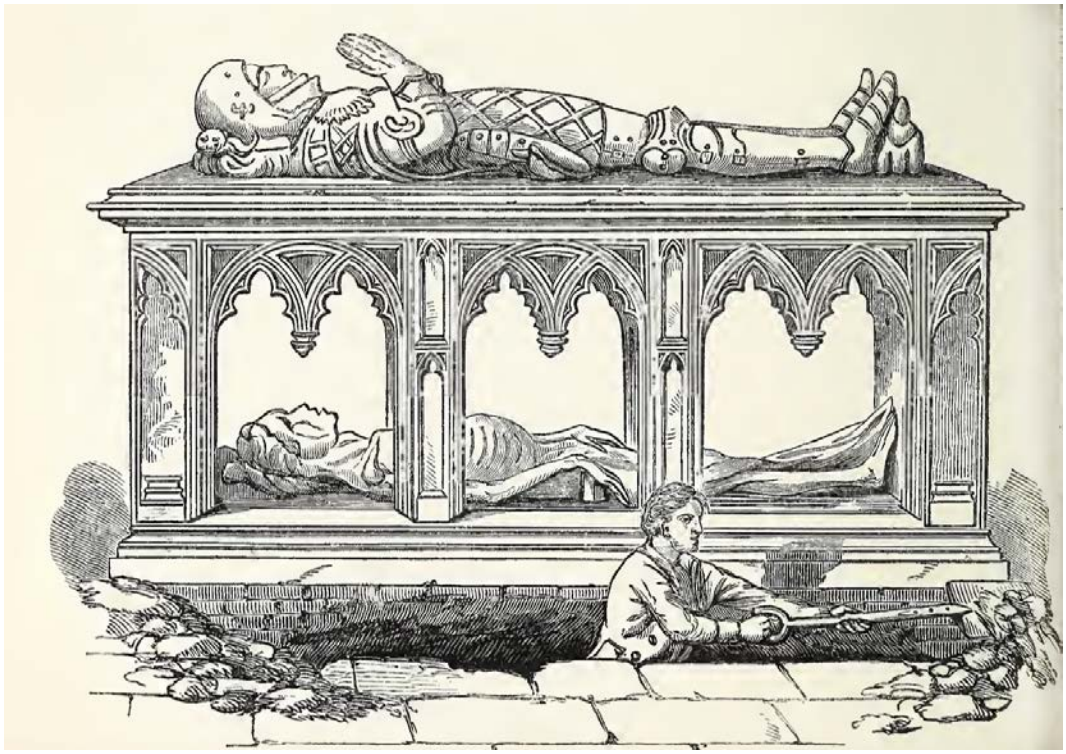
Transi tombs introduce a new layer of complexity to the relationship between natural and sculpted bodies by adding a carved cadaver, a visual intermediary between the effigy and the corpse. A noteworthy example is the 'double-decker' memorial to John Fitzalan,

seventh Earl of Arundel, in the former collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Arundel (Sussex) (fig. 6.2). Although one of only two English transi tombs illustrated in *Tomb Sculpture*, it is barely mentioned by Panofsky in the accompanying text.[78] The most detailed treatment of the tomb to date is the catalogue entry and discussion in Pamela King's 1987 doctoral thesis on 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb'.[79] However, the monument has never been considered in connection to the remarkable story of the Earl's corpse, meaning the potential significance of this bodily context for the medieval reception of the tomb has been overlooked.

John Fitzalan is remembered principally for his prominent role in defending Henry VI's French interests, holding a series of regional commands in northern France during the 1430s.[80] Fitzalan's promising military career was cut short in 1434 when he was shot in the foot while leading an attack on the fortress of Gerberoy and taken as a prisoner to Beauvais. The French chronicler Thomas Basin claimed that the Earl, distraught at being defeated by such feeble opposition, arrogantly refused medication to help his wound.[81] His leg was eventually amputated and he died on 12 June 1435, aged only twenty-seven.[82] The chronicles of Jean de Wavrin and Enguerrand de Monstrelet both record Fitzalan's burial in the Église des Cordeliers at Beauvais.[83] However, a later document reveals that the Earl's body did not remain in France forever. The will of Fulk Eyton (†1454), a Shropshire esquire, includes an intriguing passage describing the recovery, ransoming and repatriation of the Earl's corpse:

> Also I woll that my lord of Arundell, that now is, aggre and compoune with you, my seide Executos, for the bons of my lord John his brother, that I browght oute of France; for the which cariage of bons, and oute of the Frenchemennys handes delyveraunce, he oweth me a m. marc and iiii c., and after myn Executours byn compouned with, I woll that the bons ben buried in the Collage of Arundell after his entent; and so I to be praide fore in the Collage of Arundell and Almeshouse perpetually.[84]

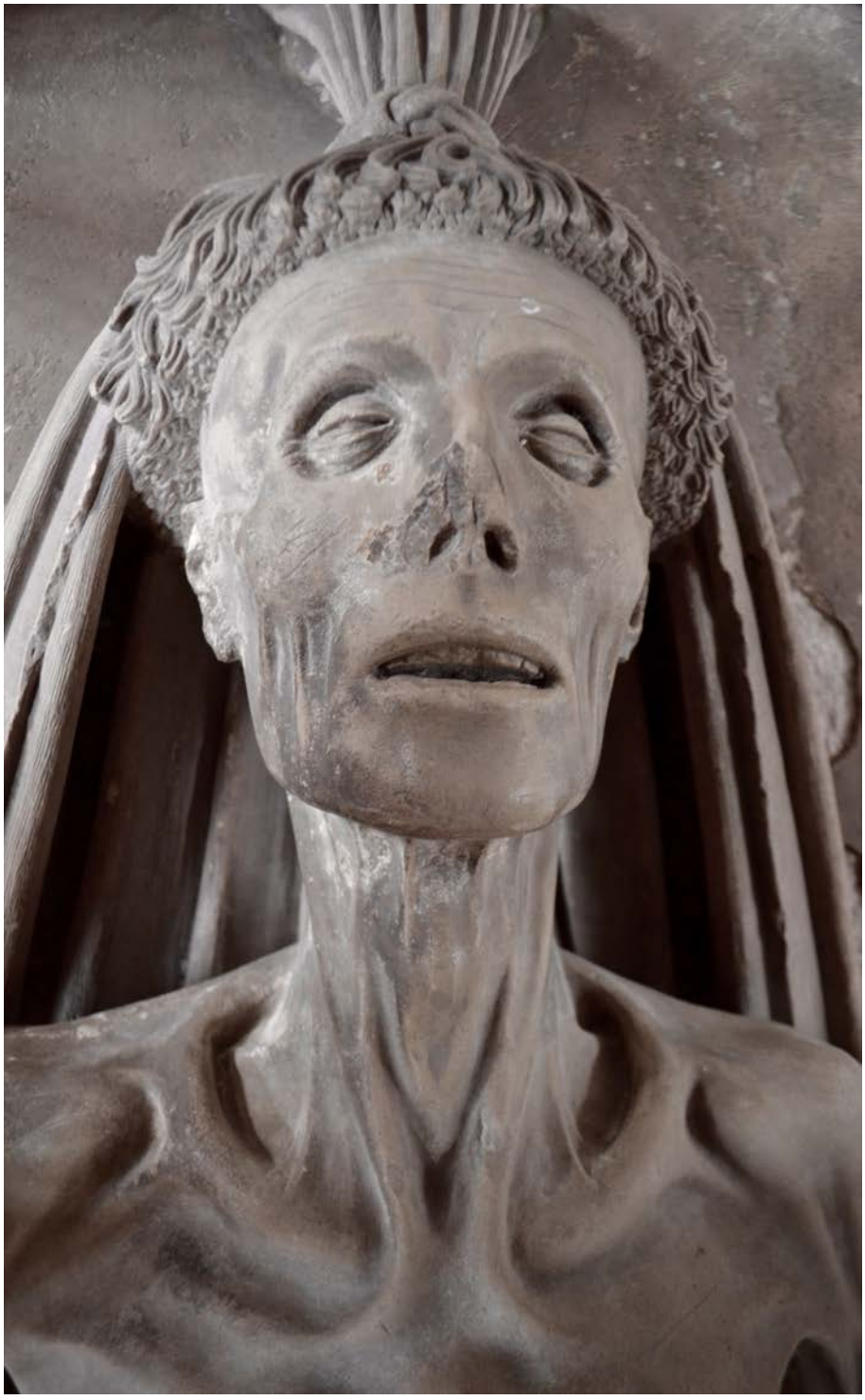
Since Fulk Eyton's will was written on 8 February 1451, and the French chroniclers insist that John Fitzalan was originally buried at Beauvais, the Earl's bones must have been retrieved many years after his demise, most likely on Eyton's final departure from France in 1450.[85] The repatriation of the Earl's corpse was probably initiated and financed by his brother and heir, William Fitzalan (†1487), the 'lord of Arundell' to whom Eyton refers in his will. Fulk Eyton was an obvious choice of agent to be entrusted with such a delicate task: he was an experienced soldier who served under John Fitzalan in the French campaigns, held the office of constable of Owestry Castle in the Welsh marches by Fitzalan's grant in 1434, and had spent the years after the Earl's death fighting in Normandy.[86] The wording of the will indicates that the extraordinarily high sum which William Fitzalan owed Eyton (1,400 marks or approximately £933) was to cover both his travel



6.8
Engraving of excavations below the monument to John Fitzalan, c.1860. Sussex Archaeological Collections 12, p. 238.

expenses ('cariage of bons') and a ransom paid to the French to retrieve the body ('oute of the Frenchemennys handes delyveraunce').[87] Although there are no other recorded examples of ransoming a corpse, the legal principle that ransoms still applied after the death of the prisoner—as long as his demise had not been caused by his captors—had been established in a case brought by the brother of William, lord of Chateauvillian (†1439) to the Parliament of Paris.[88] When considered against the fact that a living earl was unlikely to be ransomed for less than £5,000 during the Hundred Years War, the price for John Fitzalan's corpse appears more reasonable.[89] Nevertheless, £933 still vastly exceeds the amount that would have been spent on the Earl's tomb (contracts dating from 1419 and 1421 for two alabaster effigies and a tomb chest of alabaster and 'other stone' commemorating an earl and countess at Bisham Abbey reveal that the entire ensemble cost only £51 13s 4d), perhaps suggesting the relative importance of corpse and monument to John Fitzalan's family.[90] Although there are no surviving documents recording a payment made by William Fitzalan to Fulk Eyton's executors, the presence of a male skeleton over 6 ft (182.8 cm) tall in the vault beneath the Earl's tomb—the absence of one leg confirming its identity as John Fitzalan—indicates that an agreement was reached and the Earl's bones eventually brought to Arundel for burial (fig. 6.8).[91]

The travails of Fitzalan's corpse provide a new perspective from which to consider his monument. The tomb of John Fitzalan stands the easternmost bay between the choir and Lady Chapel of the collegiate church in Arundel, the same location that the Earl designated for his burial in his will of 1430 (fig. 6.2).[92] An effigy lies atop the tomb chest in full plate armour, wearing a Lancastrian collar of SS, his head supported by two angels and his feet resting on a horse, the badge of the Fitzalan family (fig. 6.9).[93] A series of holes in his helmet for attaching a coronet, as well as traces of polychromy on the angels' wings and heraldic arms on his tabard, attest to the sumptuousness of the monument's original decoration. The sculpted cadaver is revealed through eight large openings in the tomb chest, each formed of paired trefoil arches and a pendant.[94] Carved from limestone in contrast to the alabaster effigy and tomb chest, this emaciated figure is depicted with skin stretched taut over bones and sinews, its ribs jutting out from its chest. Despite its macabre appearance, the stone cadaver is also depicted as curiously alive: the corpse draws the material of its shroud over its groin, its eyes and mouth partially open, creating the impression that,



6.9
John Fitzalan's effigy (c.1435-45). Alabaster, length 186 cm, Arundel Fitzalan Chapel.

6.10
John Fitzalan's cadaver effigy (c.1435-45). Limestone, length 181 cm, Arundel, Fitzalan Chapel.

like the corpse in the *Disputation*, it might speak to the viewer at any moment (figs 6.1 and 6.10). This dynamism is enhanced by the extremely high quality of the carving and meticulous attention to anatomical detail, making it arguably the finest example of a sculpted cadaver from fifteenth-century England.[95]

No records survive relating to the patronage or making of the tomb. Given the Earl's onerous military duties, his absence in France from the age of twenty-two and death in enemy custody, it is unlikely that John Fitzalan ordered the memorial in his own lifetime.[96] John Fitzalan's wife died only a year after her husband, followed shortly by their young son Humphrey, thus leaving the Earl's brother, William Fitzalan (who paid for the repatriation of the corpse) the most likely patron for the monument.[97] As noted by Jon Bayliss, Mark Duffy, and Nigel Saul, the design of the alabaster effigy is closely related to those commemorating John Beaufort and Thomas, Duke of Clarence on the Holland monument at Canterbury Cathedral: the faces of the effigies have the same wide-set eyes and high cheekbones, while their armour is almost identical, even down to details such as the two folds of the tabard draped over their shoulders and the fastenings for the leg harnesses.[98] Such close parallels with the Canterbury effigies, which were installed in the Holland Chapel before November 1440, suggest that the tomb of John Fitzalan was made in the late 1430s or early 1440s, prior to the Earl's brother retrieving his bones from Fulk Eyton in 1454.[99]

If the monument were originally erected as a cenotaph, Fitzalan's carved cadaver takes on an additional resonance. In her account of the decision to erect a transi tomb to the Earl, Pamela King stressed the importance of John Fitzalan's connections to other patrons of cadaver monuments, including Isabel Countess of Warwick, John's cousin through the Despencer line, whose lost effigy at Tewksbury Abbey is discussed above.[100] Patronal networks certainly played a crucial role in determining the design, materials, location and even scale of funerary monuments, as demonstrated by a number of recent studies.[101] However, the influence of aristocratic commemorative fashions must also be weighed against the particularities of individual contexts. In the case of the monument to John Fitzalan, it is possible that the incorporation of a sculpted corpse held a particular attraction for the Earl's relatives due to the loss of his body abroad. In commissioning a transi tomb for his brother, William Fitzalan may have intended the cadaver to act as a substitute for the actual corpse of the Earl, as well as a sign of his commitment to rescue his brother's bones from France. It is notable that the vault under the foundation wall is integral to the construction of the monument, indicating that the tomb was erected in the expectation—or hope—of receiving the body of the Earl.[102] The recovery of John Fitzalan's corpse in 1454 and its return to Arundel for burial would thus have transformed the function and significance of his monument, a shift marked by the ceremonies accompanying the reinterment of his bones. The liturgical rite for reburying a body in late-medieval England was recently discovered by Alexandra Buckle, preserved in a late seventeenth-century copy of a lost late-fifteenth century manuscript.[103] This rite stipulates that the bones of the

deceased, placed in a container, were to be sprinkled, censed, covered and carried into the choir.[104] At this point the bones could either rest in the choir until after the Requiem Mass the following day, or else the reburial could proceed immediately.[105] The next section of the ceremony took place at the monument itself, with the bones processed to the tomb and a prayer unique to the reburial liturgy recited as they arrived:

> Omnipotent and eternal God, creator and redeemer of souls, who through the prophecy of Ezechiel is worthy to bind together truly dry bones with sinews, to cover them with skin and flesh, and to put into them the breath of life, we supplicants pray to you for the soul of our dear [N] whose bones we now place in the grave…[106]

To those participating in or observing the ceremony at Arundel, John Fitzalan's monument would have appeared as a visual affirmation of the promise of bodily restoration described in this prayer, the Earl's 'dry bones' awaiting reburial transformed progressively into the skin and flesh-covered limestone cadaver and the perfected, 'living' alabaster effigy (fig. 6.2). Shortly after opening the grave another prayer was said which must have had particular resonance for Fitzalan's relatives, describing how the bones of the patriarch Joseph were brought out of the foreign land of Egypt to be buried among his descendants in Canaan (based on the Old Testament passages Genesis 50.25, Exodus 13.19 and Joshua 24.32).[107] The service continued with further prayers, Psalms, and antiphons. In a final act of consecration, the tomb was sprinkled with holy water, marking the monument's transition from a cenotaph to a container for the body of the deceased, and thus the site of its corporeal resurrection at the Last Judgement.[108]

Considering the transi tomb of John Fitzalan in tandem with his corpse offers a new perspective from which to interpret the patronage, function, and significance of the monument. Fitzalan's sculpted cadaver can be understood in part as a response to the unusual fate of his actual corpse. Indeed, the importance of the Earl's body to his family is suggested by the startlingly large sum that William Fitzalan paid Fulk Eyton to ransom and repatriate his brother's bones. Like the tomb of John of Gaunt at Old St Paul's, the function of the sculpture shifted from cenotaph to container, a transformation marked by elaborate liturgical rites that drew attention to the theological connections between corpse (dead body) and effigy (resurrected body). These ceremonies were likely witnessed by a large audience: accounts from the reburial of Richard, Duke of York in 1476 record ceremonies lasting several days with huge quantities of food and wine consumed.[109] This is not to deny the generic significance of the carved cadaver as a *memento mori* and prompt to prayer, nor the importance of patronal networks in motivating the choice of a transi tomb.[110] Rather, a richer understanding of the cadaver's reception must also take into account its additional layers of resonance for informed viewers, those who were aware of the circumstances of John Fitzalan's death and witness to the rites of his reburial. An important component of

this group was the thirteen college priests at Arundel, who would have spent many hours in the choir in close proximity to the Earl's monument.[111] Indeed, a 1506 inventory of Arundel college attests to the strength of institutional memory in linking objects to past rituals: among many dozens of items, the document records two red altar cloths of gold, one of which was 'browte in to ye place with the bonys of lady dame Beatrice late countess of Arundell', a ceremony which took place almost sixty years earlier.[112] For these informed viewers the sight of the Earl's sculpted cadaver and the memory of his 'dry bones' in the choir may have prompted the imagined opening of his tomb to visualise the contents of the vault below, much like the vision recounted in the *Disputation*.

CONCLUSION: SIGHT AND IMAGINATION

The effigy gave the corpse an enduring, tangible presence, while the corpse within (or below) the monument allowed the effigy to represent the deceased with greater potency. This chapter suggests that medieval viewers understood funerary monuments – like reliquaries – as containers, whose unseen interior provided an essential context for interpreting their seen exterior.[113] In 'The Work of Art and Its Beholder', Wolfgang Kemp identified the 'blank' as one of the five key forms of address which artworks present to the viewer. Kemp argued that works of art contain fundamental elements that are deliberately invisible or indeterminate in order to stimulate the imagination of the viewer to complete the image. In the case of a tomb, the corpse can be understood as this essential, unseen 'blank'.[114] Viewing an effigy would have prompted an imaginative association with the corpse (alluded to in the *Disputation*, John Bromyard's sermon and Creton's chronicle), a connection that was encouraged through the coffin-like shape of the tomb chest, inscriptions describing the corpse of the deceased, as well as liturgical rites that emphasised bodily corruption. When considered in this context, transi tombs do not represent a radical departure from the norms of tomb sculpture, but can instead be seen as an artistic realisation of a pre-existing juxtaposition, a contrast between effigy and corpse, stone and bone that occurred in funerary rites as well as the imaginations of medieval viewers.[115]

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1. 'In þe ceson of huge mortalite… In a holy day afore me I sawe a kyrk/ Wher to go I dressed my bedes to wirk'. 'A Disputation Between the Body and the Worms', edited by Jenny R. Rytting in 'A Disputacioun betwyx þe Body and Wormes: A Translation', *Comitatus* 31 (2000): p. 220, lines 1-7 [transcription], p. 226, lines 1-7 [translation]. Rytting follows the transcription of the Middle English verses published by Karl Brunner in his 'Mittelenglische Todesgedichte', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 167 (1935): pp. 30-35.

2. 'Disputation', p. 220, lines 15-22, pp. 226-27, lines 15-22.

3. 'In a slomer I slept taken I was in syche wyse/Rapt and rauesched fro my selfe beynge'. 'Disputation', p. 220, lines 24-25, p. 227, lines 24-25.

4. For a discussion of the poem as a whole, see Takami Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 158-67.

5. Marlene V. Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049', *Viator* 33 (2002): p. 310; Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, vol. 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), p. 193.

6. Hennessy, 'Royal Dead', pp. 315-16. For the text accompanying this miniature, see Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 243.

7. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), p. 65, fig. 266 a, b.

8. For transi tombs see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 139-52; Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Pamela King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in Fifteenth Century England', 2 vols (PhD diss., University of York, 1987); Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 63-66.

9. The text is transcribed in Hennessy, 'Royal Dead', p. 313. The translation is my own.

10. See, for example, Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 144; Marjorie M. Malvern, 'An Earnest "monyscyon" and "Þinge delectabyll" Realised Verbally and Visually in "A Disputacion Betwyx Þe Body and Wormes," A Middle English Poem Inspired by Tomb Art and Northern Spirituality', *Viator* 13 (1982): p. 419.

11. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, p. 29; Francis Wormald, 'Some Popular Miniatures and Their Rich Relations', in Joseph Hoster and Peter Bloch (eds), *Miscellanea pro arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 284–85.

12. This distinction has also been noted, but its implications not fully addressed, in King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol. 1, pp. 173-74; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 163-64; Sophie Oosterwijk, '"Food for Worms – Food for Thought": the Appearance and Interpretation of the 'Verminous Cadaver' in Britain and Europe', *Church Monuments* 20 (2005): p. 76 n. 58.

13. 'Disputation', p. 220, lines 15, 24.

14. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 10-14 (Egyptian), 46-47 (Christian).

15. Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 149.

16. Charlotte Stanford, 'The Body at the Funeral: Imagery and Commemoration at Notre Dame', *Art Bulletin* 89/4 (2007): p. 668.

17. Cynthia Hahn, 'Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries', *Gesta* 36 (1997): pp. 20, 28.

18. See Caroline W. Bynum and Paula Gerson, 'Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages', *Gesta* 36 (1997): pp. 4, 6. See also Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400 – circa 1204* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), pp. 6-8.

19. This is a parallel made by Binski (albeit to argue the opposite point), who compared the medieval tomb to the 'limb-shaped precious reliquary', which 'erased the reality of the shriveled body-part it enclosed, and instead sanctified those body parts as signs'. Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 149.

20. 'Quia sicut lapis ille exterius politus, pulcher, & pictus, interius plena est foetoribus… .' John Bromyard, *Summa Praedicantium*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1586), p. 461.

21. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 52-53. For Panofsky's use of the term 'pseudomorphosis', see Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, 'Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism', *Art Bulletin* 87/3 (2005): p. 412.

22. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 24, 53.

23. Jane Crease, '"Not Commonly Reputed or Taken for a Saincte": The Output of a Northern Workshop in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), p. 137. See also Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *The*

Medieval Monuments at Harewood (Wakefield: Wakefield Historical Publications, 1983), pp. 62-66.

24. 'Et le dit Robert ferra la fosse en la terre la foute & les costes de pere sette ove les arches de pere pur suys metre la dite tumbe. Et serra la dite fosse de longure noef pees & de lacure quatre pees demi et en profund v pees pur dedeins mettre & enceveller deux corps quant mestier serra saunz bruyser ou empeirement de mesme la tumbe.' 'Contract for a tomb chest at Bisham Abbey, 1421', TNA: PRO CP 40/729 m. 287d. Transcribed and translated in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, '"Cest Endenture Fait Parentre": English Tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century', in Badham and Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry*, pp. 229-31.

25. M. A. Tierney, 'Discovery of the Remains of John, 17th Earl of Arundel', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 12 (1860), p. 238.

26. For this and subsequent examples, I have given measurements in the same imperial units as they were reported in the antiquarian sources.

27. Sally Badham, '"What Lies Beneath": A Discovery at Much Marcle (Herefordshire)', *Newsletter of the Church Monuments Society* 29/2 (2014): pp. 16-18.

28. Arthur P. Stanley, 'On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II and Henry III', *Archaeologia* 45 (1880): pp. 318-21. See also Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), pp. 74-79.

29. Joseph Ayloffe, 'An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it Appeared on the Opening of his Tomb in 1774', *Archaeologia* 3 (1775): p. 380. See also Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, 96-99.

30. Henry Peet, *Notes on Holbeach Church* (Holbeach, 1890), p. 24. See also Julian Luxford, 'The Tomb of Sir Humphrey de Littlebury at All Saints, Holbeach', in John McNeill (ed.), *King's Lynn and the Fens. Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 31 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2008), pp. 152, 164, 168 nn. 21, 23. Luxford suggests the opening of the tomb occurred in c.1870, when the incumbent of the church paid for the monument to be reoriented.

31. J. H. Spry, 'A Brief Account of the Examination of the Tomb of King Henry IV in the Cathedral of Canterbury', *Archaeologia* 26 (1835): pp. 440-45.

32. Thanks to Georg Erlach for providing this information. For an account of the tomb, see Stefan Roller (ed.), *Niclaus Gerhaert: Der Bildhauer des Späten Mittelalters*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus Skulpturen Sammlung, 2012), pp. 220-24.

33. It is likely that many more excavations, especially those undertaken in earlier centuries, have gone unrecorded. My initial survey has revealed 10 excavation accounts related to surviving English medieval tombs, including (in addition to those mentioned above) the monument to Hugh III Despenser and Elizabeth Montacute at Tewkesbury Abbey, the monument of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia at Westminster Abbey, an anonymous late thirteenth-century tomb chest at Westminster Abbey, and the tomb of King John at Worcester Cathedral. With only two exceptions (the Arundel and Tewkesbury monuments), all record the presence of a body inside the tomb chest.

34. One interesting example is found in an early fifteenth-century breviary belonging to the Dauphin of France, Louis de Guyenne, which includes a miniature showing a male ecclesiastic seated upon a tomb chest, its lid raised to reveal a pale, newly-deceased corpse lying within (Châteauroux, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 2, fol. 395v).

35. Lucy F. Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter and Hours of the Bohun Family* (London: The British Library, 2014), pp. 3, 92.

36. According to Sandler, the tombs in the miniature commemorate Edmund Fitzalan (†1326). The inscriptions associated with the tombs are selected verses from Psalm 5. See Sandler, *Illuminators and Patrons*, pp. 144, 190-91.

37. Matthew 27.59-60, Mark 15.46, Luke 23.53. Luxford compares the design of tomb chests with niched sides to manuscript miniatures of the tomb of Christ in 'Tomb of Sir Humphrey de Littlebury', pp. 158, 160 fig. 16.

38. For the tomb of Edward II, see Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 82-88; see also fig. 8.3 in this volume. Another close example is the tomb of Robert de Vere, fifth Earl of Oxford (†1296) in Bures (Suffolk). The main difference between the illumination and the sculptures is that the tomb chests on the Bures and Gloucester monuments alternate deep with shallow niches.

39. 'Item. A sepulcre of dyverse peces of the same sewte, of the whiche oon pece is enbrowdid with a close tombe and an other with the resurrection'. 'Inventory of the Books, Plate and Other Goods in the Collegiate Church, 14 June 1505', Arundel Castle Archives, CA60. Although the archive catalogue at Arundel lists the date of the inventory as 1505, the document itself records the date as 1506. A 1517 copy of the same inventory is published in William St John Hope, 'On an Inventory of the Goods of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Arundel', *Archaeologia* 61 (1909): pp. 61-96.

40. Badham and Oosterwijk, 'English Tomb Contracts', pp. 191-92; Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 111-12.

41. Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 112.

42. Badham and Oosterwijk, 'English Tomb Contracts', pp. 191-92.

43. J. Roger Greenwood, 'The Will of Thomas Salter of London, 1558', *Norfolk Archaeology* 38/3 (1983): p. 284; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 112.

44. Oliver Harris, '"Une tresriche sepulture." The Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster in Old St Paul's Cathedral, London', *Church Monuments* 25 (2010): pp. 7-35.

45. Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', pp. 9-10.

46. Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', p. 12.

47. Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', pp. 13-16.

48. N. B. Lewis, 'The Anniversary Service for Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, 12th September, 1374', *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 21 (1937): p. 178.

49. V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333-1381* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927), p. 156. See also Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', p. 10.

50. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (ed. and trans.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 408-09. See also Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', p. 10.

51. Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 144. Binski uses this phrase to describe the experience of witnessing Archbishop Henry Chichele contemplate his own transi tomb at Canterbury Cathedral.

52. In the will the date is recorded as 'le tierz jour de Feverer l'an du grace mil trois centz quatre vintz dis et eyt'. However, J. B. Post points out that the notarial subscription indicates that the date was actually 3 February 1399. J. B. Post, 'The Obsequies of John of Gaunt', *Guildhall Studies in London History* 5 (1981): p. 2.

53. 'En primes je devise ma alme a Dieu, et a sa tre douce mere Sainte Marie a la joi du ciel, et mon corps a estre ensevelez en l'esglise Cathedrale de Saint Poal de Londres, pres de l'autier principals de mesme l'esglise, juxte ma treschere jadis compaigne Blanche illocques enterree.' *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills From the Registry at York*, vol. 1 (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1836), p. 224. See also Post, 'Obsequies', p. 2.

54. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, pp. 224-25; Post, 'Obsequies', p. 4. The Duke stipulated that these candles were to be arranged in symbolic numbers: 10 for the broken commandments, 7 for the neglected works of charity and the 7 deadly sins, 5 for the wounds of Christ and the 5 abused senses, and 3 for the Trinity.

55. '…et en quel lieu que jeo moerge jeo vueille et devise que apres mon trespassement mon corps demoerge desur la terre nemy enterrez pour quarante jours, et donne en charge a mes executours que dedens yceulx quarante jours nulle enterrement [Lincoln text: encerement] de mon corps soit fait ni feynez priviment n'en apert'. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 225. Translation from Post, 'Obsequies', p. 2.

56. Post points out that the Lincoln will removes the awkward repetition of the York version and argues that the same motivations which led Gaunt to request his body remain uninterred would also have led him to demand that it was unembalmed. Post, 'Obsequies', pp. 2-3.

57. 'Profond en la terre gys/ Ma grande beaute est tout alee/ Ma char est toute gastee.' The Black Prince specifically requested this epitaph in his will. Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, p. 144; Diana B. Tyson, 'The Epitaph of Edward the Black Prince', *Medium Aevum* 46 (1977): pp. 98-104.

58. Another close parallel is the will of Joan Beauchamp, Baroness Bergavenny (†1435), which stipulates that 'my body be kept unburyed in þe place where it happeneth me to dye unto the tyme my maigne be clethed in blak, my hers, my chare and other convenable purviaunce made and þanne to be caried unto þe place of my buryeng'. Quoted in King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol. 1, p. 229.

59. 'The Founder's Book of Tewkesbury Abbey', in William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, rev. edn, vol. 2 (London, 1819), p. 64. See also Julian Luxford, 'The Founder's Book', in Richard K. Morris and Ron Shoesmith (eds), *Tewkesbury Abbey. History, Art, Architecture* (Logaston, Heref.: Logaston Press, 2003), p. 60.

60. 'Founder's Book', p. 64.

61. The cadaver tomb has not survived, but is described in Isabel's will. *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London*, ed. Fredrick J. Furnivall (London, 1882), pp. 116-17. See also Phillip Lindley, 'The Later Medieval Monuments and Chantry Chapels', in Morris and Shoesmith, *Tewkesbury Abbey*, p. 176; Julian Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300–1540: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 173.

62. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 225. See also Post, 'Obsequies', p. 4.

63. J. J. N. Palmer, 'Creton, Jean (*fl.* 1386-1420)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50197.

64. A. L. Brown and Henry Summerson, 'Henry IV [*known* as Henry Bolingbroke] (1367-1413)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12951.

65. 'Après retorna par le tumbel de son père, qui est assez près dudit autel. Et sachiez que c'est une très riche sépulture. Là ploura-il moult fort, car il ne l'avoit veue depuis que son père y avoit esté mis.' Jean Creton, 'Histoire du roy d'Angleterre Richard', in J. A. C. Buchon (ed.), *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, vol. 14 (Paris: Verdière,

1826), p. 418. For a translation see John Webb, 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second', *Archaeologia* 20 (1824): p. 181.

66. See Harris, 'Tomb and Chantry of John of Gaunt', pp. 17-18, 20-21.

67. Brown and Summerson, 'Henry IV'.

68. The tomb must have been complete by the time of the reburial of the King and Queen, recorded in the inscription on the monument as taking place on 14 August 1434. For Batalha, see José da Silva and Pedro Redol, *The Monastery of Batalha* (London: Scala, 2007).

69. 'Item mandamos que noso corpo se lamçe no Moesteiro de Samta Maria da Vitoria, que nos mandamos fazer com a rrainha dona Felipa, mynha molher, a que Deus acreçente em sua glorya, em que ella jaaz….jaçamos ambos em huum moymento, asy como o nos mandamos fazer.' Saul A. Gomes, *Fontes Históricas e Artísticas do Mosteiro e da Vila da Batalha: séculos XIV a XVII*, vol. 1, *1388-1450* (Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 2002), doc. 50, pp. 134-35.

70. Gomes, *Fontes Históricas*, doc. 50, p. 135.

71. The original height of the tomb chest would have been around 20 cm less. The level of the floor was lowered by the removal in the nineteenth century of a platform which elevated the central octagon of the Founder's Chapel above the surrounding ambulatory. Begoña F. Torras, 'Brotherly Love and Filial Obedience: The Commemorative Programme of the Avis Princes at Santa Maria de Vitória, Batalha' (Master's thesis, University of Lisbon, 2014), pp. 18, 28.

72. The Queen's first burial at Batalha is marked by a (much-damaged) Latin verse epitaph set into the west wall of the south transept. Saul A. Gomes and António M. Rebelo, 'O Primeiro Epitáfio Latino de D. Filipa de Lencastre no Mosteiro de Batalha', *Leira-Fátima, Órgão Oficial da Diocese* 46 (2008): pp. 177-92.

73. The inscriptions are transcribed in James Murphy, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha* (London, 1795), pp. 56-57.

74. A close parallel is found in a lost epitaph to Anne of Bohemia (recorded by a Bohemian traveller in c.1402-13 hanging next to the Queen's gilt copper-alloy effigy in Westminster Abbey), which claimed that 'nec putret ymbribus et sua vermibus est caro rosa' (her flesh is rosy, nor does it rot with rains or worms). See Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 21, 23-26, 130, 138.

75. Christopher Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 476 n. 116.

76. Alexandra Buckle, '"Entumbid right Princely": The Re-Interment of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and a Lost Rite', in Hannes Kleinecke and Christian Steer (eds), *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 400-02.

77. Jessica Barker, 'Monuments and Marriage in Late-Medieval England' (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute, University of London, 2015), pp. 211-15.

78. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 64, fig. 262.

79. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol. 1, pp. 80-81, 225-37.

80. Anne Curry, 'Fitzalan, John (VI), seventh earl of Arundel (1408-1435)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/953.

81. Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII* (ed. and trans.) Charles Samaran, vol. 1 (Paris: [n. pub.], 1933), book 3, chapter 4, pp. 211-12. See also Curry, 'Fitzalan, John'.

82. Curry, 'Fitzalan, John'.

83. Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, 1400-1444*, (ed.) L. Douët-d'Arcq, vol. 5 (Paris: Mme ve J. Renouard, 1861), chapter 172, p. 123; Jean de Wavrin, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne*, (ed.) William Hardy and Edward Hardy, vol. 5 (London: [n. pub.], 1884), book 5, chapter 17, p. 65.

84. 'Will of Fulk Eyton 12 December 1454', TNA PROB 11/4/21.

85. Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 219, 397.

86. Fulk is recorded as part of Fitzalan's personal retinue in the field in 1433; the Earl was his field commander in 1434 ('Normandy Garrison Database', s.v. 'Eyton', accessed 28 May 2015, http://www.medievalsoldier.org/search.php). See also Barker, *Conquest*, p. 219; A. J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453*, 2nd edn (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2005), p. 79.

87. 3 marks were worth £2, a fixed rate in late-medieval England. Rémy Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. xii.

88. André Bossuat, 'Les Prisonniers de Guerre au XVe Siècle: La Rançon de Guillaume, Seigneur de Chateauvillain", *Annales de Bourgogne* 23 (1951): pp. 18, 20-21; Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 157-59, 179-80.

89. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*, p. 130.

90. The Bisham effigies and canopy cost 43 marks (approximately £29) and the tomb chest £22 13s. 4d. Badham and Oosterwijk, 'English Tomb Contracts', pp. 224–25, 229–30.

91. Tierney, 'Discovery', pp. 237–38.

92. E. F. Jacob (ed.), *The Register of Henry Chichele, 1414–43*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), p. 541.

93. Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), part 2, p. 117.

94. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol. 1, p. 80.

95. For photographs of all surviving medieval carved cadavers in England, see the website by Christina Welch, accessed 31 August 2015, https://eccm37.wordpress.com/.

96. Curry, 'Fitzalan, John'. Curry suggests that the Earl may have returned to England briefly in 1434, but his duties in gathering troops for an expeditionary army to France make it unlikely that he would have also had time to commission his tomb.

97. Curry, 'Fitzalan, John'. See also 'Inquisition post mortem for Maud Lovell, wife of the late John Fitzalan', TNA C 139/79/60; 'Inquisition post mortem for Humphrey Fitzalan, son and heir of the late John Fitzalan', TNA C 139/88/50.

98. See Jon Bayliss, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments* 16 (2001): p. 29; Barker, 'Monuments and Marriage', pp. 192–93; Mark Duffy, 'St Michael's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral: A Lancastrian Mausoleum', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 123 (2003): p. 320; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 68. The same workshop was also responsible for the monument to Reginald Cobham (†1446) and his wife at Lingfield (Surrey), but the design of the knightly effigy is not as similar as those at Arundel and Canterbury.

99. The *terminus ante quem* for the Holland monument is provided by an entry in the Parliament Rolls for November 1440, which records that Margaret Holland's executors had already spent the 1000 marks which the Duchess set aside in her will 'to be dispendid abowte here terement and sepulture'. Christopher Given-Wilson et al. (eds), *The Parliamentary Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504 (PROME)*, digital version (The National Archives, 2005), PRO SC8/27/1320.

100. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol.1, pp. 225–37.

101. See, for example, chapter 9 by Ann Adams in this volume, and also Saul, *English Church Monuments*, 102–04 and passim; Susie Nash, *André Beauneveu. "No Equal in Any Land"- Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), p. 62; Kim Woods, *Cut in Alabaster: Traditions of Alabaster Sculpture in Western Europe 1330–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

102. King, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb', vol. 1, p. 237; Tierney, 'Discovery', pp. 237–38.

103. The title of the document is 'The Order of Service & Observance for the removal of the body of the foresaid late earl'. Although it specifically relates to the reburial of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (†1439), the text actually details a general rite, with a capital 'N' used to indicate where the name/s of the reburied could be inserted. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', p. 399.

104. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', p. 409.

105. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', p. 410.

106. 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, animarum conditor et redemptor, qui per Ezechielis vaticinium ossa vehementer arida nervis compingere, pelle et carnibus superinduere, ac in ea spiraculum vitæ intromittere dignatus es: te supplices deprecamur pro anima in cari nostri N [nomine], cuius ossa iam denuo tradimus sepultura…' The prayer is based on a passage in Ezekiel 37. 1–4. The Ezekiel prayer and the one mentioning the translation of Joseph's bones are the two main features of the reburial rite that differ from the standard funeral service. Alexandra Buckle, March 27 2015, 'A Unique Prayer for King Richard III', *How to Rebury a King*, accessed 28 May 2015, http://howtoreburyaking.com.

107. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', p. 410.

108. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', pp. 410–11.

109. Buckle, 'Entumbid Rite Princely', pp. 413–14; Ann F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Introduction', in Ann F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with P. W. Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21–30 July 1476* (Haywards Heath: Richard III Society, 1996), pp. 1–11.

110. For literature on transi tombs, see note 8 above.

111. St John Hope, 'Inventory', p. 63.

112. 'Inventory of the Books, Plate and Other Goods in the Collegiate Church, 14 June 1505', Arundel Castle Archives, CA60. See also St John Hope, 'Inventory', p. 91.

113. Bynum and Gerson, 'Body-Part Reliquaries', p. 4; Hahn, 'Voices of the Saints', p. 20; Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, p. 8.

114. Wolfgang Kemp, 'The Work of Art and Its Beholder: Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception', in Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (eds), *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 187–88.

115. Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 149.

CHAPTER 7

COMPETING FOR *DEXTRA CORNU MAGNUM ALTARIS*: FUNERARY MONUMENTS AND LITURGICAL SEATING IN ENGLISH CHURCHES

JAMES ALEXANDER CAMERON

7.1
Effigy of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, before 1302, probably 1290s. Purbeck marble, Worcester Cathedral.

Erwin Panofsky's historical survey of the human perception of death through the morphosis of tomb sculpture includes an enormous amount of images in relation to its relatively short text. The intensely chronological arrangement of the plates, along with their monochrome presentation, is rather like walking through a museum of casts. The images of the monuments are presented for undistracted study of their iconography, often isolated

from their original spatial context and architectural location. It must be assumed that Panofsky had not seen the vast majority of his examples in person, owing to the late stage in his career when the lecture series was conceived, their diverse and often remote locations, and also because of his established practice of working from reproductions.[1] Nevertheless, neglect of the context of tomb monuments within the edifices that housed them when considering their meaning and significance is a serious omission throughout much of *Tomb Sculpture*. Panofsky acknowledges that the conversion from paganism to Christianity caused a significant change in cultural attitudes to the dead body, and that it began to be buried inside or in the vicinity of buildings housing religious ritual, which had never been the case before.[2] Although Panofsky pays this matter little attention from then on, it is an extremely important point. Whereas pre-Christian funerary sculpture was essentially free in what choices could be made in its scale and form, in the Middle Ages it had to co-exist with the liturgical life of the church: a situation that influenced decisions regarding its appearance. It has been noted that a gradual intrusion of individual commemoration into the domain of the sacred took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and was a phenomenon that met with resistance from custodians of the buildings, and proved controversial among commentators of the time.[3] This chapter will focus on monuments in the liturgical heart of the church building—the sanctuary of the high altar—and the conflict and compromise with the essential furniture of its ceremony revealed either in historical records or in the very fabric of the tombs themselves. A famous complaint by the Primate of England at the turn of the fourteenth century against a fellow prelate's tomb will act as the point of departure.

On 10 January 1302, Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent a letter from the archiepiscopal palace in Mayfield (Sussex) to the prior and sacrist of Worcester Cathedral following a recent metropolitan visitation.[4] It concerned the apparently new arrangement by the Cathedral's high altar of the tomb of the revered John of Countances (†1198) and the monument of the incumbent bishop Godfrey Giffard (†26 January 1302) (fig. 7.1).[5] Giffard's monument is described by Winchelsey as a lofty and sumptuous structure of carved stone, with pinnacles carved above in the manner of a tabernacle ('quisbusdam pinnaculis ad modum tabernaculi superius fabricatis alta et sumptuosa structura lapidum excisorum'), a rare medieval description of a work of microarchitecture, albeit in a context of disapproval rather than admiring ekphrasis.[6] He judged the impact that they had on the liturgical furniture of the altar to be unacceptable:

> *… locum occupat ubi pro sacerdote et aliis ministris ipsius altaris in missarum celebracione deberent juxta morem aliarum ecclesiarum sedilia preparari ac lumen sufficens eidem altari a locus oportunis inferri, impeditur per hoc nichilominus indecenter.*
>
> …[the two tombs] occupy the place where according to the custom of other churches seats should be prepared for the priest and other ministers of the altar at the celebration of the Mass and improperly prevent sufficient light from falling from the natural quarter upon the altar.

7.2
Prince Arthur's Chantry, south side (c.1502-15), with fragments of tomb of Bishop Giffard and the tomb of a lady (Matilda d'Evereux?), from south-east transept, Worcester Cathedral.

The Archbishop instructed that John of Countances be removed to his former position (we are not told where that was), and that, again, '*sedilia*' should be set up.[7] He closes his letter with the startling demand that Giffard's own tomb be completely disassembled (*totaliter demoliri*) within eight days. There is no record of precisely when the letter arrived at Worcester, but it must have been at the most inappropriate of times, since Bishop Giffard died twelve days after its date of composition. The Prior gave his reply on 12 February to say that he wished to postpone the removal of the tomb to avoid public scandal.[8]

It is not clear what ultimately happened to Giffard's tomb because of the installation of Prince Arthur's cage chantry on the south side of the altar after 1502.[9] This Tudor structure has clearly been designed to incorporate some earlier material in a crypt-like section on the side facing the choir transept, which almost certainly includes sections of Bishop Giffard's tomb (fig. 7.2). In the western section is a recumbent effigy of a bishop under a horizontal gable with a cinquefoil arch. It is most probable that this represents Bishop Giffard, although the use of Purbeck marble and details of his costume have been suggested as rather archaic even for the 1290s.[10] Winchelsey commanded that the tomb monument of Giffard 'shall be removed from that spot and placed lower down; and be erected with sufficient honour, at some distance, but near that spot, on its south side, where it may be more plainly seen by those who pass by'.[11] This would be entirely consistent with the effigy's location on the floor of the eastern south transept, rather than the elevated pavement of the sanctuary.[12] In the shorter eastern section of the chantry's 'crypt' is a female effigy of very similar style, who is likely to be Giffard's sister Matilda d'Evereux, who was recorded in the Cathedral annals as being interred next to the place of her episcopal brother.[13] These two effigies are also related by reliefs underneath them, partly obscured by the mullions of the Tudor structure, which may be the original two sides of the Bishop's tomb chest, particularly as that under the lady has been truncated by one quatrefoil to fit her shorter length.[14] The iconography within the quatrefoils of these panels is problematic, but it would seem to be a programme focused around the resurrection of the body through

7.3
Tomb of Bishop William Louth, south side (c.1298). Stone, Ely Cathedral.

the wounds of Christ and devotion to the saints.[15] These fragments hint at the high quality of Giffard's destroyed tomb, and the importance that it must have had in the design history of English episcopal monuments.[16]

Giffard's controversial canopy '*ad modum tabernaculi*' is entirely lost. Either it was destroyed as soon as he was moved down from the sanctuary pavement by metropolitan decree; or if it was relocated, survived until the sixteenth century until being cleared away for the Tudor Prince's new burial chapel, perhaps prompted by structural problems in its new location.[17] There are no precise parallels for the lost canopy from monuments directly related to the surviving tomb chest panels and effigy, but counterparts could be

7.4
Prince Arthur's Chantry, north side with built-in four-seat sedilia (c.1502–15), from high altar sanctuary, Worcester Cathedral.

suggested in the multiple Rayonnant pierced gables over the earlier monument to Bishop Aquablanca (†1268) in the north transept of Hereford Cathedral, or the 'ciborium tombs' of the Kentish-Westminster masons from around the turn of the fourteenth century, such as Bishop Louth's tomb at Ely (fig. 7.3).[18] Despite its ostentation, the enormous Tudor chantry appears to have remembered the complaint of two centuries before, as it prudently has four individual seats projecting on the altar side, which, while simple, are unique in the corpus of sedilia (fig. 7.4).[19]

Winchesley's use of the word '*sedilia*' is potentially deceptive to a modern reader, as now the word is used ubiquitously to refer to the seats for the priest, deacon and subdeacon celebrating a high Mass, commonly found in the form of three deep niches set in the walls of parish church chancels, surmounted by arches and separated by shafts.[20] However, the particular use of the Latin plural noun '*sedilia*' for these seats was only coined in the 1790s, subsequently achieving ubiquity in the Victorian era.[21] Instead, as the current author has demonstrated, '*sedilia*' was used in the Middle Ages to refer to simple, undemarcated bench-like seats.[22] Winchelsey was not asking for ornate sculpted stone niches on the scale of the Giffard tomb canopy, but instead may have envisioned a purely functional piece of liturgical furniture: perhaps no more than a plank of wood with a plinth at each end.[23] His use of '*preparari*' recalls the phrase '*sedibus ad hoc paratis*' ('seats that have been prepared') which is used in the Sarum Rite and other liturgies to refer to the officiating clergy's seats when they are first encountered in the rubrics for the High Mass.[24]

Winchelsey's complaint came at a time when stone sedilia had begun to rise in prominence as a genre: from a purely functional solution for seating the clergy in parish churches, to a desirable object often of some sophistication. The first sedilia with gables over the arches—giving them an appearance akin to statue niches or shrine microarchitecture—appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century.[25] Two notable examples are in the chantry chapels at Boyton (Wiltshire) and Bitton (Gloucestershire), founded respectively by the above Bishop Giffard of Worcester in 1279 and Bishop Bitton of Exeter in 1299.[26] This suggests that prelates were now becoming aware of sedilia as a site of display, and wished to install them in their churches. However, one of the common attributes of cathedral architecture is the incorporation of aisles around the presbytery and high altar, which obviates the practical form of mural sedilia.[27] There is surprisingly little evidence for sedilia in great churches: of the sixteen surviving original diocesan cathedrals, only Exeter, Rochester and Durham have authentic medieval sedilia of any prominence at the

7.5
Sedilia of high altar (c.1307). Wood with polychromy, Westminster Abbey.

high altar, and these are not coeval with the original builds but fourteenth-century additions.[28] What is clear is that Worcester Cathedral's high altar, in the east end extended and remodelled beginning 1224, did not have permanent sedilia at the time of Winchelsey's visitation.[29]

Tombs were also greatly increasing in both size and number in the presbyteries of churches, most noticeably in England at Westminster Abbey, in which Henry III's veneration of Edward the Confessor and his choice for burial beside him eventually led to its establishment as the English royal mausoleum.[30] It is where the earliest sedilia in an aisled church can be found, usually dated to c.1307: thirty-eight years after the high altar was consecrated in 1269 (fig. 7.5). Significantly for this investigation, they suggest a compromise with a pre-existing tomb niche constructed underneath. The sedilia consist of a large oak canopy of four gables supported by a lateral plank between the two piers of the sanctuary arcade.[31] Their architectural style is consistent with the other furnishings and tombs made for the Abbey in the 1290s and early 1300s, and the extremely fine images of kings and largely obliterated ecclesiastics which are painted behind the four seats are also suggestive of a date in the first decade of the fourteenth century.[32] The precise date of 1307 marks when the Saxon king Sebert was recorded as being translated into a new tomb in the Abbey church, to which the new sedilia appear to be connected. The medieval chronicles state only that Sebert was reinterred by the high altar, that his right arm was incorrupt,

7.6
Tomb niche (originally constructed c.1245-64) underneath sedilia, view from south ambulatory, Westminster Abbey.

and that he was honoured as the founder of the church.[33] The two kings painted behind the seats lend strength to the assumption that Sebert is in the niche facing the ambulatory directly underneath the sedilia, which has been called 'Sebert's tomb' since the seventeenth century, especially since there are no competing suggestions for his burial place (fig. 7.6).[34] The association of this niche with the royal imagery on the front of the sedilia increases when the original appearance of the ensemble is considered. The back wall of this tomb niche is filled with blind tracery of Perpendicular motifs which suggests that it was added to the niche much later—at the same time as Henry V's reredos and chantry—and that therefore before then the arch beneath the sedilia was open to the sanctuary side.[35] The front of the sedilia was first represented in 1775, when a member of the Society of Antiquaries (almost certainly the young William Blake) made a fine coloured and gilded drawing, which was engraved by Basire for publication in *Vetusta Monumentua*.[36] This shows the floor level in front of the sedilia much lower than it is now, with wooden panelling covering the area now buried under the pavement. The sanctuary floor in the medieval Abbey can be seen in the sixteenth-century Islip Roll to be straight-through without the current step before the bay of the sedilia and Crouchback Tomb.[37] Therefore the sedilia must have been so high above the original pavement as to be unusable, unless there was some sort of wooden staircase over the niche. However, the ensemble would have accentuated a connection between the painted figures of the wooden canopy and the tomb.

The reason for this impractical situation is because the tomb niche and sedilia were evidently not designed at the same time, and the niche only subsequently appropriated for King Sebert. Paintings of a spiked wheel—an attribute of St Catherine—and the head of a young queen survive at each end of the niche.[38] This suggests that it originally held either Henry III's Princess Katherine (†1257), the funeral of whom cost the enormous amount of

£51 12s 4d; or Edward I's daughter of the same name (†1264), who had burial expenses of £40, including two gold cloths decorated with Catherine wheels.[39] As royal infants were often relocated as competition for space around St Edward's shrine became heated, therefore Katherine—whichever Katherine it may have been—must have been ejected for the more revered founder king, her paintings covered, and at the same time then-fashionable sedilia installed above the tomb. Therefore, in the context of the episode five years earlier at Worcester, the Westminster sedilia may have been an experiment in installing such furniture in a great church beginning to be crowded by tombs, and their cheaper material and compromised position owed to the fact that such prominent sedilia were then a novelty in the great church.[40]

It was only further into the fourteenth century that great churches with ambulatories began to render the officiating clergy's seats in stone, with tabernacle-like canopies such as those that Winchelsey described upon the Giffard tomb, often associated with the new phenomenon of large stone altar reredoses. Shortly after Westminster came the sedilia at Exeter: the earliest extant freestanding stone sedilia set in an arcade (fig. 7.7).[41] Like Westminster, they were not part of the original campaign of the presbytery, the east portion of which was completed by c.1301-2.[42] They were added as an east-west return of the now-demolished enormous high altar screen-type reredos, documented 1316-28 in the fabric rolls under the tenure of Bishop Walter Stapledon, whose tomb survives opposite the sedilia across the sanctuary.[43] The semi-transparent and exceedingly lofty form of the sedilia is unlike any other before them: three seats with polygonal backs painted with fictive draperies, with brass columns supporting a magnificent set of stone canopies. These sedilia are much restored, owing a great amount of their fabric to the George Gilbert Scott restoration of the 1870s, but are reliable as evidence as to their original appearance.[44] The tall canopies were observed to contain 'plugs' for figures at the base of the triangular niches in 1874, and replacements were installed in the early twentieth century.[45] The identity of these lost figures, however, appears not to have simply carried on the programme of the altar screen with a generic display of saints.[46] Instead there is a notable similarity to the paintings at Westminster Abbey: secular royalty and an ecclesiastic. The identity of the three modern statues which occupy the three canopies today comes from a tradition first recorded in 1635 which says that the sedilia were formerly the seats of Bishop Leofric, Edward the Confessor, and his queen, Egytha.[47] This ultimately refers to the account that Leofric was installed at the new cathedral at Exeter after the see moved from Crediton, in a ceremony attended by the king and queen in 1050.[48] The sedilia are mentioned three times in the Dean and Chapter record books between 1638-39, which record an 'ancient monument contiguous to the altar' set up in memory of these three individuals.[49] For this memory to survive, it seems likely that these three statues were spared the iconoclasm that must have been wrought on the connected screen-reredos during the Reformation.[50] An account by Bruno Ryves in 1646, which stated that the puritans 'pluck down and deface the statue of an ancient queen, the wife of Edward the Confessor, mistaking it for the statue of

7.7
Sedilia of high altar (c.1316-28). Stone, Exeter Cathedral.

the blessed Virgin Mary', suggests that they may have been destroyed in the more reckless destruction of the Civil War.[51]

An important feature of the Exeter sedilia that has not been noticed is the uncommon emphasis that they have on lions, and how that this may be intended to make them a retrospective founder memorial like the Westminster sedilia. In addition to the drapery painting behind the seats in which lions hold the edges of the fabric in their mouths, lions appear as sculpted bases to the brass columns, and also consistently as stops to the initial arches of the canopies, looking down on a viewer before the sedilia. Lions are, of course, common iconography on thrones, being part of the Biblical imagery of the throne of Solomon.[52] Yet sedilia generally eschew throne-like iconography and features of wooden furniture for the purely architectural appearance of sheltering arcades and tabernacles, and subsequently lions are not typical iconography for sedilia.[53] Therefore the Exeter lions are plausibly a punning reference to Bishop Leofric, much as the multitude of owls in Bishop Oldham's (†1519) chapel in the same cathedral, which represent the first half of his surname in a similar way.[54] The tradition that the Exeter sedilia commemorated Bishop Leofric is strengthened by the parallel that it would form with the sedilia and tomb niche at Westminster Abbey. The resting place of Leofric's body, transferred from the Saxon to the Norman Cathedral in 1133, is not known.[55] The north wall of the south choir aisle under the sedilia is blank, except for a modern door to the sanctuary and late-eighteenth-century and later wall monuments, so it is certainly possible that some sort of monument was originally placed here when the choir was built, much as Westminster. However, unlike the crowded royal mausoleum, when the Exeter altar screen was erected the sedilia articulated the existing identity of the tomb underneath rather than reappropriating it.

A similar arrangement can be seen at Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire), where a set of gabled three-seat stone sedilia were built as part of the renovations to the Romanesque choir under the Despenser family. The back of the Tewkesbury sedilia form a tomb niche most likely interring the infamous Hugh the younger Despenser (†1326), facing into the ambulatory as at Westminster. That this solution for accommodating both liturgical furniture and a tomb in an esteemed position was seemingly emulated strengthens the concept that the English Crown's royal mausoleum was a model for the bourgeois Despensers.[56] However, unlike the niche open to both sides at Westminster, it is very difficult to perceive the relationship between the sedilia and the tomb simultaneously when present in the architectural space of either sanctuary or ambulatory. This suggests that there was no particular desire on the part of patrons to associate sedilia with their tombs, and that the above associations were down purely to competition for a particular spot, and conceived with a spirit of compromise. It is extremely rare to find such combinations of tomb and sedilia in parish churches. The sedilia at Wingfield (Suffolk), of the unusual form of three stone armchairs, are unique for their integration into the north side of the tomb chest with the effigies of Michael and Katherine de la Pole which dates c.1415 (fig. 7.8).[57] The sedilia, however, seem not to have been original to the chest, but added when the tomb was moved

7.8
Tomb of Michael and Katherine de la Pole, c.1415, set in arcade bay of 1460s with added sedilia. Collegiate parish church of Wingfield, Suffolk.

and the arcades were carried forward to embrace the sanctuary in the 1460s, which would have destroyed any mural sedilia in the originally unaisled sanctuary.[58] This modification discourages the assumption that the patrons envisioned a deliberate combination of their tomb with the sedilia, and implies again, that sedilia and tomb needed to be in the same spot, and thus a compromise achieved.[59] This is unlike the situation on the north side of

7.9
Tomb of Katherine Swynford (†1403, canopy probably late 17th century), truncating screenwork of c.1296 probably incorporating sedilia. Lincoln Cathedral.

the chancel with the Easter Sepulchre, where from the mid-fifteenth century many flat-topped tombs were placed with the explicit testamentary bequest that the wooden chest for the ritual entombment of the Host and cross on Good Friday be placed on top of it for the duration of the Paschal liturgy.[60] This may have developed due to a similar competition for space on the opposite side of the chancel, but here resolving into a more mutually beneficial solution, especially due to the desirability of the association of a real tomb with the symbolic tomb of Christ Himself.

In the later period, many mural sedilia must have been totally destroyed by the arcades of chantry chapels fully embracing the chancel such as at Wingfield. In great churches too, there is an indication that Archbishop Winchelsey's protection of the site of the sedilia from funerary monuments was no longer widely practised. In the set of stone screens added around the sanctuaries of Lincoln and Canterbury in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries respectively, later tombs now truncate sections of the stonework that may have formed sedilia of sorts. At Lincoln the choir was enclosed by screening associated with the tomb of the founding bishop Remigius and the Tomb of Christ/Sacrament Shrine in c.1296.[61] There is a small projecting ledge on the south side, surmounted by diapering and blind tracery with two flanking shafts cut short by a classical cornice added in the late sixteenth century (fig. 7.9). It has been suggested that this is one seat of the sedilia.[62] If so, the three further seats were obliterated by the chantry to Katherine Swynford, wife to John of Gaunt (†1403).[63] At Canterbury Cathedral, it is similarly often assumed that part of the high altar sedilia survive next to the tomb of John Stratford (†1348).[64] Initially, we can see that before the tenure of Winchelsey, prelates kept their tombs away from the high altar enclosure, instead preferring positions relating to St Thomas Becket and side chapels. The first extant monument to an archbishop is Hubert Walter (†1205), who is sited in an outer window embrasure near to Becket's shrine.[65] His successor Stephen Langton's (†1228) modest tomb is in the now much-remodelled chapel of St Michael off the south transept, and impressive canopied wall tomb of John Pecham (†1292) is in the north transept in the vicinity of Thomas' martyrdom.[66] Winchelsey's (†1313) own tomb was unfortunately all but destroyed at the Reformation, but he cannot be accused of hypocrisy as it occupied the centre of the south wall of the south-east transept.[67] Simon Meopham's (†1333) manages to fulfil a practical value in forming a screen across the entrance to the south-eastern chapel of the ambulatory.[68] Therefore the positioning of Stratford's tomb at the liturgical

centre of the Cathedral was a decision that could not have been taken lightly.[69] Stratford's tomb, although boasting exquisite canopy-work above, has a surprisingly diminutive effigy which means that the monument only occupies the western half of the first south bay after the eastern crossing of the choir. The eastern half of the bay still contains part of Prior Eastry's stone screening, documented as installed around the choir and sanctuary in 1304-05.[70] It would therefore appear Stratford's monument was made smaller than one might expect in order to occupy this position while still preserving this part of the Eastry enclosure, which may have possessed a special function. What distinguishes this part from the other (much more heavily restored) sections of screening between the rest of the sanctuary piers is that it features elaborate stellate diapering of intersecting ogees—the pattern of which is practically identical with the fictive painted fabric behind the priest's seat in the Exeter sedilia—and two small canopies poking above the cornice.[71] However, on close inspection there is no clear evidence that this screen incorporated a projecting seat.[72] The sedilia could also have been sited in the next bay to the east, which houses the tomb of Simon Sudbury (†1381). Sudbury's tomb—now a flat slab under a canopy, but originally with a gilt-metal effigy—shows no such humility with regard to size: unlike Stratford's tomb it occupies the whole length of the bay, obliterating the screening the bay must have previously held.[73]

Therefore, after the initial controversy between the Metropolitan bishop and Worcester Cathedral acting in favour of liturgical furniture, it appears that the decline in the popularity of stone sedilia and the increasing emphasis on personal commemoration in the later Middle Ages meant that it was the liturgical furniture that lost out in the ensuing competition for space at the high altar.[74] After the Reformation, the area around the high altar was increasingly used for the burial of gentry who had become lay rectors, and subsequently many sedilia were entirely obscured or destroyed by funerary monuments erected on the south side of the altar.[75] Sometimes, such as at the parish church of Warkton (Northamptonshire), the whole chancel itself became a mausoleum, entirely purged of its former status as a venue of living ritual and ceremony. It would not be until the Oxford Movement in the Victorian era that the space of the chancel was widely reclaimed for the liturgy, and many sedilia discovered from underneath such works of personal commemoration. The form and scale of church monuments has therefore been demonstrated to be influenced not just by the beliefs regarding death held by the patrons that they commemorated, but that it was also governed by the attitudes regarding the architectural spaces of the consecrated buildings in which they desired to be interred. Panofsky's observation that Christian burials are fundamentally tied to sacred space is a reminder for the art historian that the context of tomb sculpture in architectural and liturgical space is essential in understanding its morphology.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Susie Nash, 'Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character, 1953', in Richard Shone and John-Paul Stonard (eds), *The Books That Shaped Art History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), pp. 94-95.

2. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964), pp. 45-47.

3. Andrew Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 143–78.

4. The letter was copied both into the Canterbury bishop's register; Rose Graham, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 762; and the Worcester Liber Albus; James Maurice Wilson, *The Worcester Liber Albus: Glimpses of Life in a Great Benedictine Monastery in the Fourteenth Century* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), pp. 21–23. Full translation of the episode and consequences for the shrine of St Oswald can be found in Ute Engel, *Worcester Cathedral: An Architectural History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), pp. 202–26. Also Christopher Guy and John Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb: An Archaeological Analysis', in Steven J. Gunn and Linda Monckton (eds), *Arthur Tudor, Prince Of Wales: Life, Death & Commemoration* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 102.

5. The monument is implied as existing in Giffard's will of 1301, as he instructs that his interment should be in 'the tomb which is situated near the high altar, on the right'. J. M. Hall, 'The Will of Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1301', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 20 (1895-97): pp. 144–45. For Giffard's life, see Susan J. Davies, 'Giffard, Godfrey (1235?–1302)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10649.

6. Christopher Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 451–52; David Park, 'The Giffard Monument', in Philip Barker and Christopher Guy (eds), *Archaeology at Worcester Cathedral. Report of the Sixth Annual Symposium* (Worcester: Worcester Cathedral, 1996), pp. 20-21; Julian Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1450: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 80.

7. 'corpusque predicti sancti in locum pristinum restitui et predicta sedilia preparari'. For further suggestion that the saint's location was not Winchelsey's primary concern; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), p. 70.

8. Wilson, *The Worcester Liber albus*, p. 23.

9. The construction of the chantry is entirely undocumented. Its altar was dedicated in 1516; Mark Duffy, 'Arthur's Tomb and its Context', in Gunn and Monckton, *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, p. 80.

10. Christopher Guy and Catherine Brain, 'Medieval Ecclesiastical Effigies in Worcester Cathedral – Part 1', in Christopher Guy (ed.), *Archaeology at Worcester Cathedral. Report of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium* (Worcester: Worcester Cathedral, 2006), pp. 17-23. I would like to thank Chris Guy for sharing this article with me.

11. 'ipsum monumentum cum ejus structura hujusmodi ordinamus ab edem loco fore inferius deponendum, et ex pate australi prope eundem loco in ymo satis honorifice statuendum, ubi eciam a transeuntibus manifestius poterit contemplari'; Graham, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, vol. 1, p. 762.

12. Linda Monckton, 'Regional Architecture or National Monument? The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', in Gunn and Monckton, *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, p. 118.

13. 'juxta locum ubi episcopus frater'. Engel, *Worcester Cathedral*, p. 202, n. 8; Guy and Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb', pp. 107–10. Matilda d'Evereux seems to be otherwise undocumented as an individual.

14. David Park has compared the quatrefoil design to the monument of Joan de Vere (†1292) in Chichester Cathedral; Park, 'The Giffard Monument', pp. 20-21.

15. While it is possible to suggest some Apostolic identities for these figures, as well as John the Evangelist with his eagle and John the Baptist, an overall programme is difficult to deduce, as many of the figures appear to hold large swords. The two most intriguing figures on each panel are those gesturing to a vescia-shaped wound on their chest, one youthful, and one bearded. This would parallel with Christ Showing His Wounds on a number of other tombs, e.g.; James Alexander Cameron, 'The Harington Tomb in Cartmel Priory' (Masters diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2011), pp. 40–41; however the precise iconography of the chest wound deserves further investigation.

16. For the importance of the episcopal monument in tomb design, see Nicholas Rogers, 'English Episcopal Monuments', in John Coales (ed.), *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style, And Workshops, 1270-1350* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987), pp. 8–68.

17. The lower levels of the Tudor cage chantry are hypothesised to be the original canopy of Giffard's tomb, heightened with the middle frieze of heraldry in Guy and Hunter, 'Prince Arthur's Chapel and Tomb', p. 107. However this is countered by Monckton, who accounts the appearance of fourteenth-century motifs on the Tudor chantry superstructure as part of a late medieval trend for revivalism, in this case the mason's close knowledge of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century monuments in the West Country associated with the Beauchamp family;

Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', pp. 131–34.

18. Loveday Lewes Gee, '"Ciborium" tombs in England 1290-1330', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1979): pp. 29–41; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 113–120; Phillip Lindley, 'The Tomb of Bishop William de Luda: An Architectural Model at Ely Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 73 (1984): pp. 75–87.

19. Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', p. 119. These seats are visible in a view of the choir in 1823; Gerald Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries: Restoration and Change from 1530 to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 173.

20. James Alexander Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England' (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2015). Before this PhD, sedilia were largely overlooked features, and their formal development not adequately assessed. Earlier overviews include Francis Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches* (London: H. Milford, 1916), pp. 176–203; John Charles Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London: Methuen and co., 1908), pp. 67–74; Carol Davidson Cragoe (as Carol Foote Davidson), 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125- c.1250' (PhD diss., Birkbeck College, University of London, 1999), pp. 166–74 and Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Interior of the Medieval Village Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 148–53.

21. James Alexander Cameron, '"Sedilia in choro sunt fracta": The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168 (2015): pp. 112-13.

22. Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 115-17.

23. Items documented as *cathedrae* in church inventories may have served as the sedilia, but their form is unclear. In greater churches elaborate chairs, resembling the Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey, may have been used.; Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 118-22.

24. Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the MSS* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1901), p. 66. See also Cameron, 'The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', pp. 113-15.

25. James Alexander Cameron, 'From Hole-In-The-Wall to Heavenly Mansions: The Microarchitectural Development of Sedilia in Thirteenth-Century England', *Microarchitecture et figure du bâti: l'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière* (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2017), forthcoming.

26. John McNeill, 'A Prehistory of the Chantry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164 (2011): pp. 18–19.

27. A freestanding high altar is considered a defining element of a great church in Harry Batsford and Charles Fry, *The Greater English Church of the Middle Ages* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1940), p. 46.

28. Including the six abbeys raised to cathedrals by Henry VIII; Gloucester, Westminster and Chester also have fourteenth-century high altar sedilia. A full account of all great church sedilia can be found in Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England', pp. 135–53.

29. Barrie Singleton, 'The Remodelling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the Earlier Part of the Thirteenth Century', in Glenys Popper (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1978), pp. 105–15.

30. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, pp. 90–120.

31. Lucy Wrapson, 'The Materials and Techniques of the c.1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia', in Jilleen Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History: Studies in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Unn Plahter* (London: Archetype Publications, 2006), pp. 114–36.

32. Paul Binski, '"A Sign of Victory": The Coronation Chair, Its Manufacture, Setting and Symbolism', in Richard Welander, David John Breeze, and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), pp. 210–11; Warwick Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone: History, Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), p. 79.

33. Walsingham only says 'in novam basilicam'; Henry Thomas Riley (ed.), *Thomæ Walsingham, quondam monachi S. Albani, historia Anglicana* (London: Longman, 1863), p. 114. Flete adds '*juxta altare quod sanctus Petri dedicaverat*'; Joseph Armitage Robinson (ed.), *The History of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), p. 45.

34. Henry Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia, or, an historical account of the original, increase, and present state of St. Peter's, or, the Abbey Church of Westminster* (London, 1682), p. 35. Binski relates the honouring of an ancient founder king in this position with the Dagobert monument at Saint-Denis; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 123. However there are a significant amount of founders' tombs on the north side of the sanctuary, see especially Veronica Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered', in T. A. Heslop and Veronica Sekules (eds), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1986), pp. 118–31.

35. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 124. The top of the relieving arch of the tomb is still visible on the sanctuary side.

36. Joseph Ayloffe, 'An Account of Some Ancient Monuments in Westminster Abbey', *Vetusta Monumenta* 2 (1789), pp. 1–15 (separate pagination). Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 117–18 suggests that the mullions between the seats in this image may be partly original.

37. William Henry St John Hope, *The Obituary Roll of John Islip* (Westminster: Society of Antiquaries, 1906).

38. George Gilbert Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (Oxford: J. Henry and J. Parker, 1863), p. 165; Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, 2009), p. 310. Currently the painting is in a very poor state, with the head and much of the soffit covered by a protective layer of paper.

39. Joan Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 16 (1953): pp. 26–27; Sally Badham, 'Whose Body? Monuments Displaced from St Edward the Confessor's Chapel, Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160/1 (2007): pp. 130–34. There is also a strong tradition of the burial of Katherine in the south ambulatory, but this could be attributed to the presence of the moved Cosmati monument in the outer wall, which is within sight of the sedilia niche; Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, 'The Tomb Monument of Katherine, Daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence (1253–7)', *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012): p. 173.

40. Although Binski hypothesises that the wooden construction of the sedilia was to render them moveable for important events such as coronations; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 141, this has been shown to be untenable due to the tin-relief over structural dowels; Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 131–32. It is also possible that the material may be due to a rush to get the sanctuary ready for Edward II's coronation on 25 February 1308; Wrapson, 'The Westminster Abbey Sedilia', pp. 121, 131. The hierarchy of material finds parallel in the Coronation Chair, which is documented as originally intended to be bronze; Binski, 'A Sign of Victory', pp. 208–09.

41. Veronica Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', in Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 1985 (Leeds: W.S. Maney, 1991), p. 172; Veronica Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', in Michael Swanton (ed.), *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration* (Exeter: Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 1991), p. 115.

42. Virginia Jansen, 'The Design and Building of the Eastern Arm of Exeter Cathedral c.1270-1310: A Qualified Study', in Kelly, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, p. 43. The western choir went up in 1309-10, and the east portion was then remodelled with a triforium in 1318 when the altar screen was being erected; Jansen, 'The Eastern Arm of Exeter Cathedral', pp. 46–49.

43. Percy Morris, 'Exeter Cathedral: A Conjectural Restoration of the Fourteenth-Century Altar-Screen pt. I', *Antiquaries Journal* 23 (1943): p. 131.

44. They were engraved by James Basire and John Carter for the Society of Antiquaries, *Some account of the cathedral church of Exeter: Illustrative of the plans, elevations, and sections, of that building* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1797), p. 22, plate X, and underwent a shortening of the canopies by Kendall around 1820; Herbert E. Bishop and Edith K. Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1922), p. 57, criticised for the replacing of the original ornament with 'something like cabbages for finials' in *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* 1 (1843): p. 179. Scott restored the canopies to their original height with some 1,400 new pieces of stone; Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', p. 173; Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', p. 115; Morris, 'Exeter Altar Screen pt. 1', pp. 137–38.

45. William Cotton and Henry Woollcombe, *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1877), part 2, pp. 8–9; Bishop and Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*, p. 58.

46. Although its construction is well-documented, we know very little of the imagery of the screen. All that can be gleaned from the fabric rolls is that there were figures made of Saints Peter, Paul and the Virgin, and probably an Annunciation scene; Sekules, 'Early 14th-Century Liturgical Furnishings', p. 115.

47. Richard Pearse Chope, *Early Tours in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter: Augustus M Kelley, 1918), p. 89; Richard Gough, *Sepulchral monuments in Great Britain applied to illustrate the history of families, manners, habits, and arts from the Norman conquest to the seventeenth century: with introductory observations* (London, 1786), p. 60; Samuel Denne, 'Remarks on the Stalls near the Communion Table in Maidstone Church, with an Enquiry into the Place of Burial of Archbishop Courtney', *Archaeologia* 10 (1789): pp. 266–67.

48. John Thurmer, 'The Cathedral Constitution', in Swanton, *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, p. 13; Vyvyan Hope, L. J. Lloyd, and Audrey M Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral: A Short History and Description* (Exeter: Exeter Cathedral, 1988), pp. 5–6.

49. Cotton and Woollcombe, *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records*, part 2, p. 8; Bishop and Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*, p. 61.

50. Morris, 'Exeter Altar Screen pt. 1', pp. 123–24.

51. George Oliver, *The History of the City of Exeter* (Exeter: William Roberts, 1821), p. 123.

52. 1 Kings 10:19; Francis Wormald, 'The Throne of Solomon and Saint Edward's Chair', *Walpole Society* 31 (1942-43): pp. 109–12.

53. Some examples appear on the beheaded armrests of the fourteenth-century drop-sill sedilia in Earl Stonham and Gazeley (both Suffolk), which are unusual for their armchair-like appearance. A pair of happy and sad lions appears among the characterful spandrel faces of the more traditional mural three-niche sedilia at Cossington (Leicestershire).

54. Bridget Cherry, 'Some Cathedral Tombs', in Swanton, *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, p. 162.

55. Philip Freeman, *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1888), p. 57; John Hellins, 'The Alleged Tomb of Bishop Leofric in Exeter Cathedral', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 19 (1887): pp. 675–78; Hope, Lloyd, and Erskine, *Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 99–100.

56. The sedilia and the recess are dated to the resumption of work on the choir in the early 1330s, after work had come to a halt in the 1320s with the downfall of the Despensers; Richard K. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey: The Despenser Mausoleum', *Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society Transactions* 93 (1975): pp. 149–50.

57. John A. A. Goodall, *God's House At Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 55, 57; Monckton, 'The Architecture of Prince Arthur's Chantry Chapel', p. 120.

58. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, pp. 57–62.

59. The Markham Chantry (c.1508) to the right of the choir of Newark, complete by 1498, is clearly designed to respect the pre-existing sedilia, also of stone armchair form and likely preserved from an earlier building; Cameron, 'Sedilia in Medieval England', p. 69; Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *Nottinghamshire* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 184.

60. Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1987), pp. 39–41. Sheingorn says such wills are 'widespread', indeed there are a number found in her catalogue. Sometimes the desired association of their grave with the wooden furniture of the Paschal liturgy is clear in the documents and through the surviving tomb's flat-topped appearance; Faversham (Kent), p.179; Raynham (Kent), p. 245, Newark (Nottinghamshire), p. 287 and Hamsey (Sussex), p. 332, although more often the tomb does survive e.g.: p. 171, p. 181, p. 190, p. 227, p. 234, p. 287. For more on flat-topped tombs see chapter 9 by Ann Adams in this volume.

61. The date comes from a comparison with the cloister arcading, which is documented as under construction in 1296; Sekules, 'Development of the Sacrament Shrine', p. 118.

62. Nikolaus Pevsner, John Harris, Nicholas Antram, *Lincolnshire* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 473.

63. John Hooper Harvey, *Catherine Swynford's Chantry* (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral, 1971).

64. Anthony Reader-Moore, 'The Liturgical Chancel of Canterbury Cathedral. An Essay in Antiquarian Research', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 73 (1979): pp. 30–31, followed by Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 468.

65. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 454–58

66. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 458–59, 459–64.

67. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 464.

68. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 465–68.

69. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', p. 468.

70. Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 142–43.

71. For the relation of the stellate diaper work to the oeuvre of Michael of Canterbury; Christopher Wilson, 'Gothic Metamorphosed: The Choir of St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol and the Renewal of European Architecture around 1300', in Jon Cannon and Beth Williamson (eds), *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: An Enigma Explored* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), p. 107.

72. Also for consideration is that Stratford's tomb was leaving space for the altar of St Dunstan, which was somewhere on the south side of the high altar, flanking it along with that of St Alphege on the north side. Reader-Moore, 'The Liturgical Chancel of Canterbury Cathedral', p. 30.

73. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', pp. 471–72.

74. Sedilia from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century make up only about 15% of the English corpus. Just over half of English sedilia date from the period of the Decorated Style (c.1290s to the third quarter of the fourteenth century). Mural south-side sedilia are extremely rare before 1200, and unknown before the twelfth century.

75. For instance, Sir Robert Brett (†1624) in West Malling (Kent); the rector Peter Boundy (†1730) in Edmondthorpe (Leicestershire); and William Windham (†1810) in Felbrigg (Norfolk).

PART THREE

MONUMENTS AND MATERIALS

CHAPTER 8

PANOFSKY: MATERIALS AND CONDITION

KIM WOODS

8.1
Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, Tomb of Philip the Bold (1384–1410). Italian marble, Dinant marble and alabaster, 243 x 254 x 360 cm (gisant 208cm), Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Panofsky's metanarrative of tomb sculpture is a remarkable book and one that repays repeated reference. Time and new perspectives have revealed that it also has its problems. This short section introduction will identify two of these problems, not at all to denigrate Panofsky's great achievements but to highlight some of the methods or approaches that need to be attended to in the continuing narrative of tomb sculpture and to see what happens if we do.

Panofsky paid little attention to materials, almost as if it was unimportant to a client, or to history, what a tomb was actually made of. This is a viewpoint that one suspects Panofsky would, if confronted, immediately have disowned. Nevertheless, materials are almost entirely absent from his book. In his day the discipline of art history was predicated on the study of black and white photographs which arguably served an analysis of form and iconography better than they did materials or surfaces. The material-orientated work of Michael Baxandall was still decades in the future, and as Baxandall showed, materials also have their own distinctive history and properties that need to be understood.[1]

In ignoring materials, Panofsky also passed over one of the principal stories of late-medieval tomb sculpture which, even more puzzlingly, lay within one of the canonical heartlands that preoccupied him, France. The French royal family first established in northern Europe what was to become the standard formula of a white marble or alabaster effigy with a contrasting black marble (or more accurately black polished limestone) tomb slab.

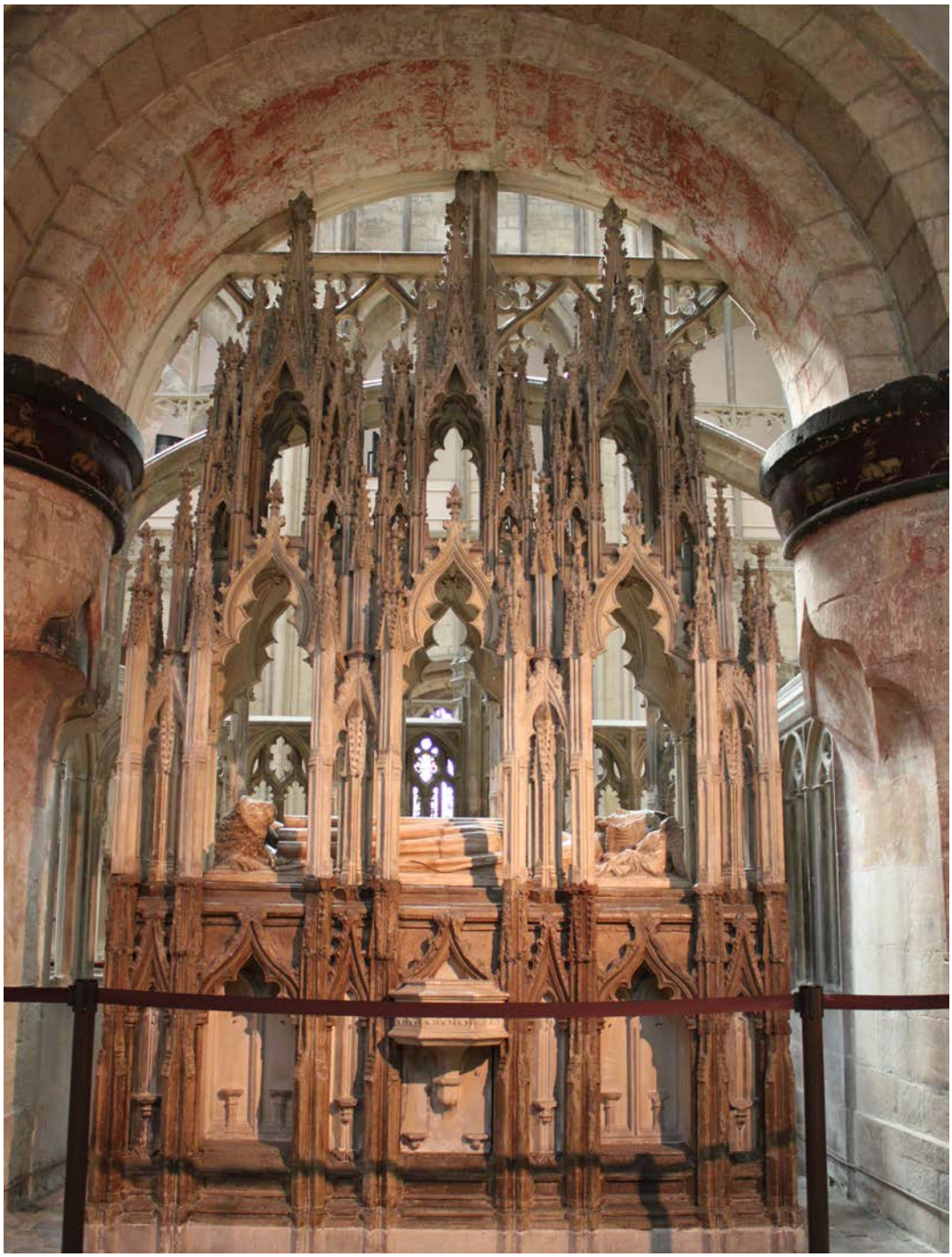
8.2
Jehan Lome de Tournai, Tomb of Charles the Noble, King of Navarre (†1425) and Eleanor of Castile. Alabaster and black marble, Spain, Pamplona Cathedral.

Although most of the French royal tombs were dismantled in the French Revolution leaving only the effigies, other sources testify to their original ensembles in which, crucially, the black tomb top was typical.[2] The first of these black and white tombs was made for the royal mausoleum of Saint-Denis: the 1275 tomb of Isabella of Aragon, who died in Italy in 1271, and that of her husband Philip III the Bold (died 1285; tomb begun before 1299 and finished 1307).[3] Philip's is known to have been begun by Jean d'Arras and completed under the supervision of Pierre de Chelles, architect of Notre Dame. This new combination of materials superseded to a great extent the stone or metal used in earlier French effigies.

We know from an early chronicle that Philip III's tomb was highlighted with gold and azure, the most expensive materials.[4] This polychromy was important but seems to have been used very sparingly, complementing rather than masking the central contrast between black tomb top and white marble effigy. The polychromy has long vanished from the Saint-Denis tombs, but the head and shoulders from the destroyed tomb of Marie of France (†1341) from Saint-Denis might give an indication of its original extent.[5] Jean de Liège left this work unfinished on his death in 1381, and his inventory indicated that it was yet to be painted.[6] There is evidence of colour or gilding on the hair and a mark left by a crown or circlet, probably of gilded metal, around the head. Panofsky said as little about polychromy as he said about materials, but both were essential in the new aesthetic in French royal tombs.

French-style tombs of minimally polychromed white alabaster and black marble were produced in territories that were dynastically, culturally, and occasionally geographically close to France. The most famous is probably the tomb of Philip the Bold, who was brother to Charles V of France but also the new and powerful ruler of the Duchy and County of Burgundy and also of the County of Flanders (fig. 8.1).[7] This tomb is differentiated from its French royal counterparts through distinctive design features, notably the celebrated funerary cortege. Crucially, however, it still subscribes to the French formula of a white marble effigy and black 'marble' tomb top, though here combined with alabaster mourners. Although marble was the conventional white lustrous material for French royal effigies, alabaster looked much the same and was interchangeable with marble both within and beyond France. In northern Europe outside France, alabaster tended to be the preferred choice.

The House of Navarre was originally French and Charles the Noble (reg. 1387-1425) was a key elderly statesman in French politics of the early fifteenth century. He commissioned a minimally polychromed black and white tomb for himself and his wife Eleanor of Castile for Pamplona Cathedral, made 1413-19 by a French sculptor: Jehan Lome of Tournai (fig. 8.2).[8] Although often compared with the Dijon tomb of Philip the Bold, it is quite clear that it was the French royal tombs of Saint-Denis that served as the models for the Pamplona tomb, in particular André Beauneveu's tomb of Charles V commissioned



8.3
Tomb of King Edward II (†1327). Alabaster, limestone and Purbeck marble, Gloucester Cathedral.

in 1364.[9] The alabaster, Purbeck marble and stone tomb of Edward II in what is now Gloucester Cathedral (fig. 8.3) constituted a distinctively competitive English version of the French formula.[10] The probable patron, Edward III of England, was half French but by the 1330s when his father's tomb was probably made was fast becoming a bitter rival of France. Here the alabaster effigy and black tomb top recall French models but the elaborate stone canopy was arguably more ambitious and elaborate than anything in France at the time.

Alabaster was also the material of choice for the star-shaped tomb of Juan II and his wife Isabella of Portugal made during the 1480s for the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores in Burgos, Spain (fig. 8.4).[11] This is one of the most spectacularly intricate and original tombs ever made and its extraordinary intricacy and lustre is down to the material—alabaster—which may be carved in fine detail and which was left unpolychromed at Miraflores.[12] Arguably some of the most innovative late Gothic tomb sculpture was produced

8.4
Gil de Siloe, Tomb of Juan II, King of Castile (†1454) and Isabella of Portugal. Alabaster, Burgos, Charterhouse of Miraflores.

in the Iberian peninsula, which for Panofsky was definitely peripheral. The focus in *Tomb Sculpture* is very much on Italy, with sustained reference to France and Germany and only fleeting acknowledgement of England and the Iberian peninsula. The Miraflores tomb gets a one line footnote on page seventy-five in the section on the virtues, acknowledging that personifications of the cardinal and theological virtues surround the tomb chest. If we delve a little deeper into virtues tombs in Spain we find that there were several of them in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and that they were used deliberately and perhaps even competitively as a means of shoring up the reputation of individuals, or dynasties, with frankly dubious claims to fame. After her disputed succession, there is a logic to Isabella's lavish monument to her father, a legitimate king, but there may be another reason for the virtues iconography. Despite his crusading success in Granada, John II had a negative reputation as a poor king, partly the result of his dependence on his favourite Alvaro de Luna. It may have been precisely John's poor reputation and the magnitude of Isabella's task in rehabilitating his image and that of the Castilian monarchy, that helps to account for the lavish and dense iconography rather than conventional religious motivations.[13]

Another inherent problem with a study of high level development is that tombs were made over a long period and were tampered with and amended over time, so issues of condition and conservation are essential in any analysis. Object-centred investigation and grand narratives are a long way apart in terms of methodology and outlook, but it is when the two are brought together that something emerges that is more solid than ideas. The devil can be in the detail, which at its most exciting can change everything and can also cause some embarrassment. The tomb of Philibert of Savoy at the church of Brou is relatively well known.[14] It had a long history but was eventually commissioned from Conrad Meit in 1526. The ten 'vertus' around the tomb chest had been overseen by Loys van Boghem and were already in place by 1522. In fact the terminology of the documents is misleading, for the figures as finally completed represent not virtues but sibyls who prophesied the life of Christ, and hence introduce the theme of salvation. Although ostensibly

in perfect condition, these statues have in fact been extensively repaired.[15] Several of the heads are not original including that of the sibyl that Panofsky selected for reproduction, and which has been reproduced ever since: the sibyl of Agrippa. This minor embarrassment relates to a relatively famous and much-studied monument, and it is extraordinary that this fairly major restoration only emerged relatively recently through the work of Magali Briat-Philippe. Close attention to the materials of monuments will undoubtedly yield more such insights.

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1. Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1980); for an analysis of alabaster as a material of sculpture and more detail on the examples here see Kim W. Woods, *Cut in Alabaster: Traditions of Alabaster Sculpture in Western Europe 1330-1530* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016).

2. For drawings of the French royal tombs see Jean Adhémar, 'Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières, dessins d'archéologie du XVII[e] siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84/2 (1974): 1-192 and 88/2 (1976): 1-128.

3. Alain Erlande Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII siècle* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975), pp. 168-99 (cat. 99) and 171-72 (cat. 100).

4. Erlande Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 172, n. 13.

5. Illustrated in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 126-27, fig. 118. See also http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/467705.

6. Alexandre Vidier, 'Un tombier liègeois à Paris au XIV siècle 1382-1383', *Mémoirs de la société de l'histoire de Paris* 30 (1903): 281-308 (p. 298); *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI*, exh. cat. (Paris: Louvre, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), cat.16, pp. 57-58.

7. For the most recent historical and material analysis see Françoise Baron, Sophie Jugie, Benoît Lafay, *Les tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris and Dijon: Somogy Editions d'Art, 2009).

8. For Lome see R. Stephen Janke, *J. Lomé y la escultura gótica posterior en Navarra* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1977). See also Woods, *Cut in Alabaster*, chapter 5.

9. For Beauneveu tombs see Susie Nash, *André Beauneveu: "no equal in any land" – artist to the court of France and Flanders* (London: Paul Holberton publishing, 2007), docs 5-8.

10. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, exh. cat. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987), pp. 416-17, cat. 497. See also Woods, *Cut in Alabaster*, chapter 5.

11. In 1956, Franco's Spain was politically on the periphery of Europe and this, together with the Italocentric nature of art history at the time, probably explain its status as a margin rather than a centre in the narrative of tombs.

12. For the best recent account see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'Los sepulcros reales de la Cartuja de Miraflores', in *La Cartuja de Miraflores, 1: Los Sepulchros* (Madrid: Cuadernos de Restauración de Iberdrola XIII, 2007), pp. 15-73. See also Woods, *Cut in Alabaster*, chapter 3.

13. For a contrary view see Felipe Pereda, 'El cuerpo muerto del rey Juan II, Gil de Siloé y la imaginación escatologica. Observaciones sobre el lenguaje de la escultura en la alta Edad Moderna', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 13 (2001): 53-85.

14. The most recent comprehensive account of Margaret of Austria's project at Brou is Markus Hörsch, *Architektur unter Margarethe von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlände 1507-1530* (Brussels: AWLSK, 1994); see also Woods, *Cut in Alabaster*, chapter 5.

15. See Magali Briat-Philippe, 'L'évolution de la statuaire de Brou', in *Brou, un monument européan à l'aube de la renaissance* (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 2006), pp. 192-99.

CHAPTER 9

REVEALED/CONCEALED: MONUMENTAL BRASSES ON TOMB CHESTS – JOHN I, DUKE OF CLEVES, AND CATHERINE OF BOURBON, DUCHESS OF GUELDERS

ANN ADAMS

9.1
Willem Loemans (?), Tomb of John I, Duke of Cleves, and Elizabeth of Nevers (c.1483). Copper-alloy, engraved plate 219 x 118 cm; each panel 86 x 38 cm, Cleves, St Mary of the Assumption.

Two fifteenth-century tombs in the churches of St Mary of the Assumption, Cleves and St Stephen, Nijmegen combine form and materials in a way that challenges customary perceptions of aristocratic commemoration. These tombs consist of monumental brasses covering the top and sides of a tomb chest and commemorate, respectively, John I, Duke of Cleves (1419-81), with his wife, Elizabeth of Nevers (c.1439-83), and Catherine of Bourbon, Duchess of Guelders (1440-69) (figs 9.1 and 9.2).[1] Erwin Panofsky, in *Tomb Sculpture*, placed the emphasis on sculpted effigies and, amongst 446 illustrations, included only one monumental brass, that of the hand-holding Sir Edward Cerne (†1395) and his wife, Elyne, in St James' church, Draycot Cerne (Wiltshire), which was used to illustrate the contradiction between a recumbent position and the depiction of marital oath taking.[2] Like the majority of surviving monumental brasses, the Cerne brass lies level with the

9.2
Willem Loemans, Tomb of Catherine of Bourbon (c.1492). Copper-alloy, engraved plate 202 x 82 cm; panels 68 x 28.5/29.5 cm, Nijmegen, St Stephen.

floor. Monumental floor brasses and tomb chests were depicted by Panofsky as two distinct genres of memorial, evolving as alternative responses to the risk of tripping posed by the development into high relief of tomb slabs.[3] This portrayal of separate paths was reinforced by antiquarians who rubbed brasses and then published the illustrations devoid of context. The existence of a sub-group of monumental brasses set on tomb chests was thus obscured, leaving unasked and unanswered the questions of who chose them, why and how frequently. This chapter will start the exploration. Evidence from the Continent alone is limited, due to the destruction wreaked over the centuries by iconoclasm, war and revolution.[4] Additional evidence, however, can be found in England where extant examples of monumental brasses are more abundant,[5] a comparison justified by close links (marital, political and trade) between England and the Continent in the fifteenth century and supported by the transmission of ideas and techniques demonstrated in other media.[6] This chapter will place the case study of the tombs in Cleves and Nijmegen in the context of themes identified through the English experience.

THE ENGLISH EXPERIENCE

Completion of a comprehensive database of brasses on tomb chests is work in progress but there is no doubt that a tomb chest combined with a monumental brass represented a minority choice for the English nobility. From a total of some 7,000 monumental brasses in the British Isles listed by Mill Stephenson, 304 created between 1300 and 1700 were defined as 'altar tombs', of which 91 fell into the fifteenth century (Appendix A).[7] What follows comprises preliminary findings and ideas.

The normative choice of a monument for the nobility, as demonstrated by extant remains and antiquarian drawings, was a tomb chest with three-dimensional effigies of alabaster, polychromed stone or copper alloy. This clearly proclaimed status through the expense of production and the physical space it occupied. The sides of a tomb chest allowed for the display of heraldry or religious imagery whilst, as Nigel Saul has noted, the principal advantage of a tomb chest was that it raised the effigy up, making it the centre of attention.[8] This 'principal advantage' does not apply to an engraved effigy on the top of a tomb chest which is not visible at a distance.

A minority of the nobility chose engraved brasses rather than sculpted effigies. Monumental brasses, laid level with the floor or mural, possessed a number of intrinsic advantages: good visibility of the engraved effigies; intricate decorative effects, difficult or impossible to sculpt in the round;[9] economical use of church space; a range of sizes and costs. These advantages proved particularly compelling to ecclesiastics, merchants and aspiring nobility.[10] However, in seeking a comparative context for the brasses in Cleves and Nijmegen, it is the 'high nobility' that is relevant and, for this category, Malcolm Norris identified only four extant brasses and one indent up to the end of the fifteenth century: Elizabeth, Countess of Atholl (Ashford, Kent); Eleanor de Bohun (Westminster Abbey); Thomas Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick, and his wife, Margaret Ferrers (Warwick); Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, and wife (Little Easton, Essex); and an indent to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and his Duchess (Pleshey, Essex).[11] In addition, there is the lost brass of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (Westminster Abbey),[12] and, of slightly lesser status, the extant brass of Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell (†1455/6), Treasurer of England for Henry VI (Tattershall, Lincolnshire).[13]

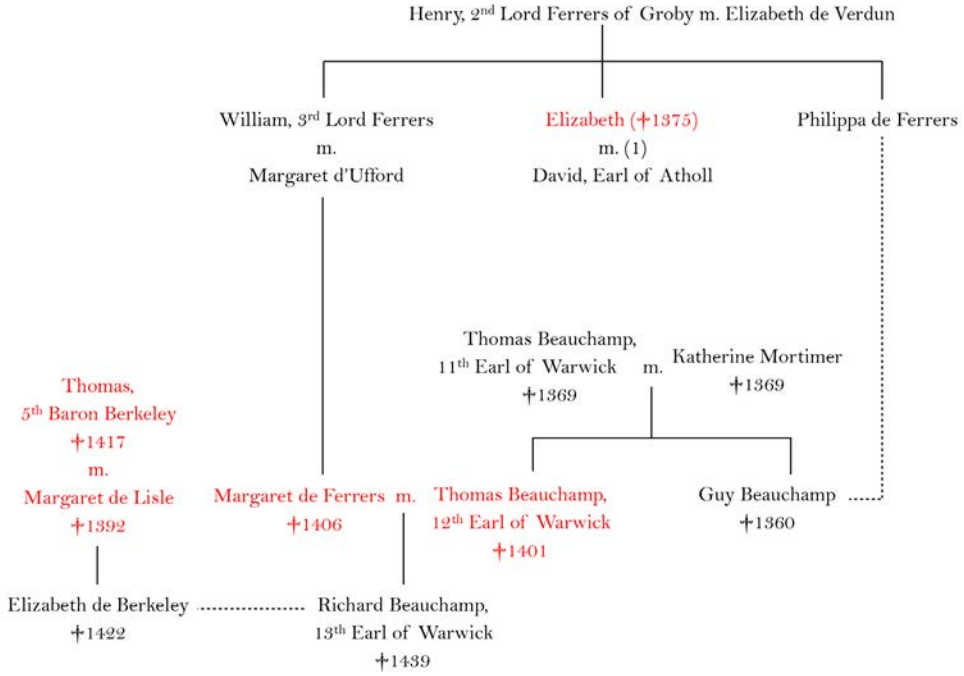
The choice of a monumental brass coupled with a tomb chest is more difficult to explain than either a tomb chest or a floor/mural brass, with the combination appearing to diminish the advantages of each: a tomb chest took up valuable space in the church whilst making engraved effigies very difficult to see. Although cost was a principal driver in increasing the popularity of brasses in the fifteenth century, it can be dismissed fairly quickly as a factor in the choice of a monumental brass on a tomb chest. The overall cost of a monument was affected by a number of factors, in particular availability and processing of raw materials, manufacture and transport. A brass on a tomb chest (depending on the size and quality of the brass) may have been cheaper than copper-alloy effigies but not necessarily cheaper than stone effigies, particularly once transport costs were included. The high nobility did not choose small, poor quality brasses. Cost has been suggested as a factor in the case of the monument to Thomas Beauchamp (†1401) and Margaret de Ferrers in St Mary's, Warwick, but this does not appear to be substantiated by the visual evidence.[14] The brass is large, originally possessed an elaborate architectural superstructure and has pouncing of a rich diaper which Malcolm Norris has compared to the pointillé work on the effigies of King Richard II and Anne of Bohemia.[15]

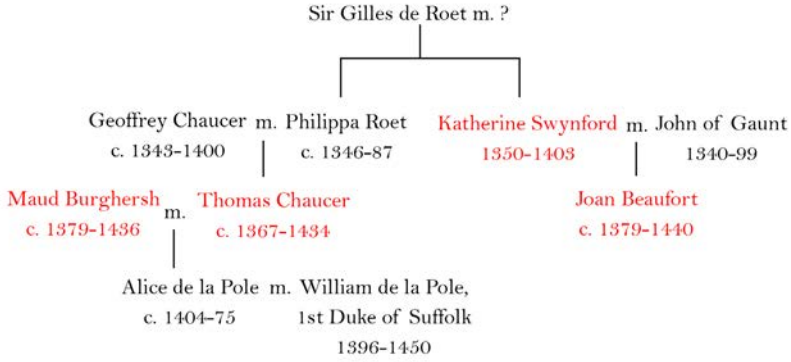
If cost was not the motivation for the high nobility, then perhaps functionality was the attraction. Most notably, a tomb chest with a flat top could support the temporary wooden Easter Sepulchre required for the Easter liturgy, thereby symbolically 'presencing' the individual within not just the church space but also its rituals.[16] Tomb location, however, suggests that this was also not a principal factor for the high nobility. Tombs intended to house the Easter Sepulchre, as indicated in wills and by the iconography of surviving tombs, were placed near or against the north wall of the chancel whereas the tombs of the high nobility tended to occupy more prominent positions, often in the centre of the choir.[17] Flat tops also preserved greater visibility than sculpted effigies and could be used instead of a screen to divide space between a side chapel and the chancel.[18] Visibility appears to have been a significant factor in the case of Thomas, 1st Baron Camoys (†1421), and Elizabeth Mortimer (†1417) in St George's church, Trotton (Sussex), whose tomb is inset in the altar steps providing closer than normal proximity to the altar. The priest in his privileged position could view their engraved effigies and also, above the rood screen (no longer extant), the image of Christ in Judgement on the west wall.[19] A trade-off between a prominent location and preservation of a line of sight is also a probable reason for the choice of a brass rather than sculpted effigies for the tomb, now in the nave but probably originally in the chancel, of Sir William Vernon (†1467) and his wife Margaret in St Bartholomew's church, Tong (Shropshire). A further element to this trade-off may have been the need not to overshadow two existing tombs—William's parents, Sir Richard Vernon (†1451) and Benedicta de Ludlow, and Sir Fulke Pembrugge (†1409) and Dame Isabel (†1446), foundress of the church—each with alabaster effigies, set either side of the entrance to the chancel.[20]

FAMILY NETWORKS AND PATRONAL CHOICE

In addition to the functional benefits discussed above, a further consideration, explored in a number of contexts, is that materials, form and iconography can be used to signal allegiance to a family or a dynasty.[21] A definitive conclusion that brasses on tomb chests fit within this model will require more exhaustive examination of commemorative practice within relevant kinship groups, but there are provisional indications that this may prove a productive approach. Two examples are a group of tombs connected to the Beauchamp family and a group associated with the Chaucer family (figs 9.3 and 9.4).

The Beauchamp kinship group includes two brasses on tomb chests, as well as a monumental brass. Thomas Beauchamp and Margaret de Ferrers, the parents of Richard Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick, were commemorated by a brass on a tomb chest in St Mary's, Warwick.[22] Richard Beauchamp married Elizabeth Berkeley, whose parents, Thomas, 5th Baron Berkeley, and Margaret de Lisle were commemorated by a brass on a tomb chest in St Mary the Virgin, Wotton-under-Edge (Gloucestershire).[23] Richard's mother, Margaret de Ferrers, was the niece of Elizabeth, Countess of Atholl, who was





9.3
Selective family tree of the Beauchamps / Berkeleys (distribution of brasses is indicated in red).

9.4
Selective family tree of the Roets / Chaucers (distribution of brasses is indicated in red).

commemorated by a brass (which may originally have been on a tomb chest) at Ashford (Kent). Ties between the Beauchamp and Ferrers families were close as the Countess of Atholl's sister, Philippa de Ferrers, married Guy de Beauchamp, son of Thomas Beauchamp, 11th Earl. Close family ties alone, of course, are not sufficient to prove a causal connection between the monuments. The dates and patrons of the Warwick and Wotton-under-Edge tombs are not documented and hence recourse must be made to the evidence provided by the monuments themselves and the historical context. The first death in the sequence was that of Elizabeth Berkeley's mother in 1392 and it has been presumed that the patron of the brass was her husband, Thomas, Lord Berkeley.[24] He, however, went to France after his wife's death, implying that he may have buried her but not necessarily had time to commission a monument.[25] Unfortunately any inscription formerly on the monument is lost and was not recorded. A monumental brass was not characteristic of Berkeley family tradition, with earlier and later members of the family being commemorated by relief effigies.[26] If 'Anonymous' is not assumed to be a man, then other possibilities come into play.[27] Elizabeth Berkeley married Richard Beauchamp before 5 October 1397 but the agreement was made in 1392.[28] Elizabeth was heir-general to the Berkeley estates but the castle, manor, and hundred of Berkeley and certain other manors had been entailed to the male line by her great-grandfather in 1349. From 1392, the Beauchamps had an interest

in establishing as strong a claim as possible to the Berkeley estates. A plausible sequence is that Margaret Ferrers, with her (future, depending on timing) daughter-in-law, may have commissioned the Wotton-under-Edge brass and then one for her husband and herself; a number of stylistic similarities, particularly in respect of the male effigy, suggest they came from the same workshop.[29] On both brasses, the female is shown in the dexter position of honour. Inspiration may have come from the brass of Margaret Ferrer's aunt, the Countess of Atholl; the design of a tomb chest with brasses and a canopy would have matched the status but contrasted with the alabaster effigies with joined hands, already in St Mary's, Warwick, of Margaret's parents-in-law, Thomas Beauchamp and Katherine Mortimer. The format of a brass on a tomb chest established a distinctive visual tie between the Beauchamps and the Berkeleys and this may have increased in significance with the inheritance dispute with Elizabeth's cousin, James Berkeley, that commenced after her father's death.[30] Once the format was established, it appears that it was copied by at least one Beauchamp retainer, Thomas Cruwe (†1418), whose tomb chest with brass effigies of himself and his wife, Juliana (†1411), in St Milburga's, Wixford (Warwickshire), included the coat of arms of the Earl of Warwick.[31] Thomas' stepson and heir, Sir William Clopton (†1419), was commemorated in the church of St Swithin, Quinton (Gloucestershire), with a stone effigy but William's wife, Joan Clopton (†1430), a co-executor of Thomas' will, had a tomb chest with her effigy in brass.[32]

The second group appears to stem from the monument to Katherine Swynford (†1403), mistress and subsequently third wife of John of Gaunt, who was buried in Lincoln Cathedral in a tomb chest with her engraved brass effigy under a canopy and coats of arms on the side of the tomb chest.[33] Her daughter, Joan Beaufort (†1440), chose the same format.[34] Katherine's sister, Philippa Roet, married Geoffrey Chaucer whose son, Thomas Chaucer (†1434), and his wife, Maud Burghersh (†1436), are commemorated by engraved brass effigies on a tomb chest in the chapel of St John the Baptist at St Mary's, Ewelme (Oxfordshire).[35] The format and material of the tomb, which references the Roet connection, is enhanced by the heraldry on the tomb chest which focuses on the illustrious connections of Philippa Roet, Maud Burghersh and Alice's husbands, Thomas Montagu and William de la Pole.[36]

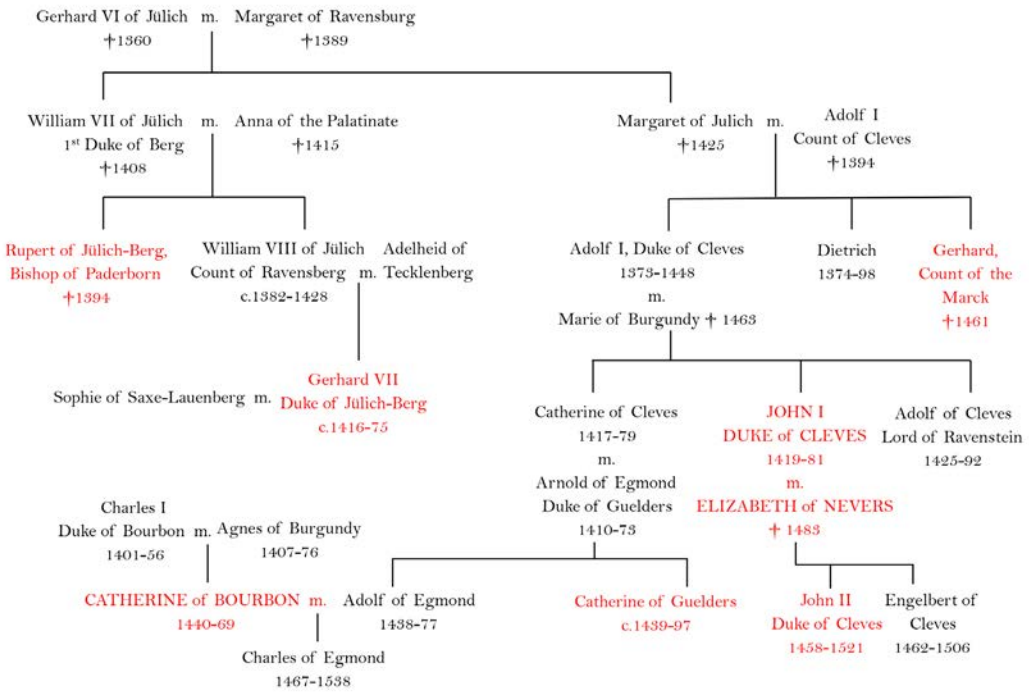
A narrower range of motives seems to be applicable to the high nobility and, with the choice of a tomb chest almost a necessity to reflect status, the question is why engraved rather than sculpted effigies were chosen. It is difficult to be conclusive without examining each tomb in its own spatial, familial and historical context, but the needs of a specific location (visibility and existing monuments) and the ability of form and material to create visual associations appear to have been important. Unlike the tombs to be discussed in Cleves and Nijmegen, in England the brasses were inset so that the stone of the tomb chest remained visible. On both sides of the Continent the sides of the tomb chest invariably displayed heraldry, creating visible identity despite the relative invisibility of an engraved effigy.

9.5
Tomb of Friedrich I the Warlike (†1428). Copper-alloy, cover plate with half-relief 228.5 x 114 cm, Meissen Cathedral, Fürstenkapelle.

THE LOW COUNTRIES AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE: A CASE STUDY

John, Duke of Cleves, and Catherine of Bourbon, Duchess of Guelders, were each commemorated by a large tomb chest with the tomb slab and sides fully covered by copper-alloy plates. Brasses were far from unusual on the Continent and, as in England, were used to commemorate a wide range of social classes.[37] There are examples for the nobility of monumental floor brasses and low relief copper-alloy tombs—Frederik I the Warlike, Margrave of Meissen and Elector of Saxony (†1428), was commemorated in the *Fürstenkapelle*, Meissen, by a relief tomb whilst his successors were commemorated by monumental brasses—but there does not appear to be an exact parallel to the Cleves and Nijmegen tombs (fig. 9.5).[38] An early fifteenth-century monument in Nousiainen, Finland, which was donated by Bishop Tavast as a cenotaph and shrine to St. Henry of Nousianen, shares the format, although H.K. Cameron suggested that the side panels may have been executed at a different time from the top plate.[39] The format was clearly exceptional, if not unique.[40]

Duke John and Catherine of Bourbon were first cousins, their mothers being sisters of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. Catherine's sister, Isabella of Bourbon, married Charles, Count of Charolais, the son of Philip the Good whilst Catherine herself married Adolf of Egmond, the son of John's sister, Catherine of Cleves (fig. 9.6). The duchies of Cleves and Guelders were closely connected socially and politically with the Burgundian state;[41] this connection was strengthened by election to membership of Philip the Good's prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece of John (in 1451), his brother, Adolf, Lord of Ravenstein (in 1456), and his nephew, Adolf of Egmond (in 1461).[42]

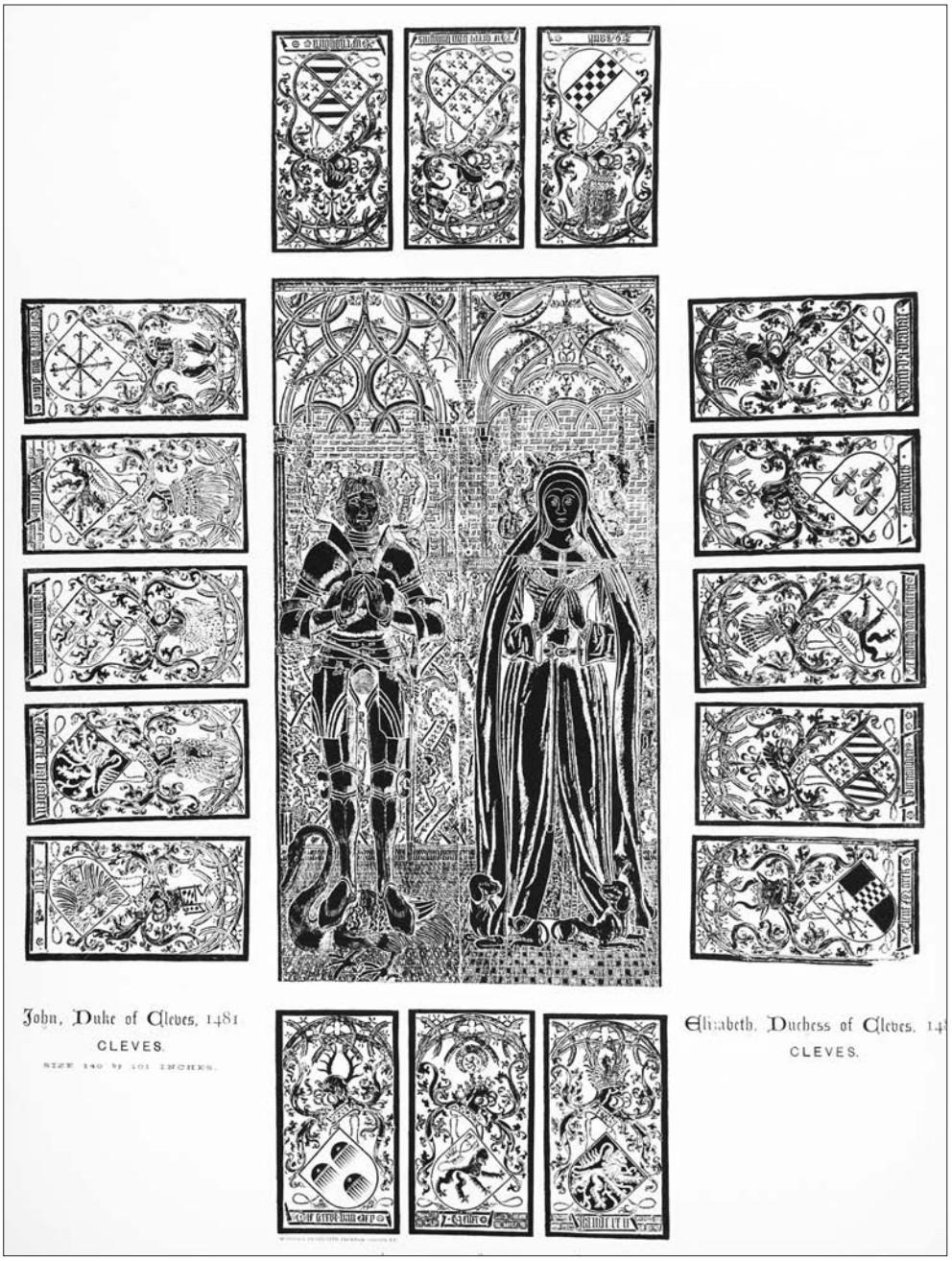


9.6
Selective family tree of Cleves / Guelders (distribution of brasses is indicated in red).

THE TOMB OF JOHN I, DUKE OF CLEVES, AND ELIZABETH OF NEVERS

The tomb of John I and his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married in April 1455, still exists in the collegiate church of St Mary of the Assumption in the family seat of Cleves (fig. 9.1).[43] The brasses survived the near total destruction of the church during World War II and were reinstated on a new tomb chest. On the tomb slab, which is comprised of six separate brass plates, are engraved effigies of a knight, in the dexter position of honour, and a lady.[44] The Duke is shown bare-headed, in plate armour with a sword by his side.[45] The Duchess is dressed in a surcoat which opens towards the base to reveal an embroidered underskirt; over the robe is a long mantle which is fastened across the front with two clasps. She is wearing an elaborate and heavy necklace, from which falls a pendant of a Virgin and Child framed by her two hands. The Duke and Duchess are both shown praying, with their hands touching at the finger tips. Each rests their head on a pillow. Instead of the lion which is conventional for men, John I rests his feet on a swan, a reference to the legend that the dukes of Cleves are descended from the Swan Knight.[46] Elizabeth's feet are not visible but two lap dogs, heads turned towards each other, lie at the hem of her robe. The brass plates are intricately engraved: above the figures are canopies formed of swirling loops, below this is a pattern that simulates first brickwork, then rich textiles, finishing with a tiled paving. The patterns align precisely between the plates which makes it the more surprising that one break cuts through Elizabeth's mouth. There is no inscription around the tomb to provide, as is customary, the names and date of death. Whilst the tomb chest was replaced after World War II, the absence of an inscription is not due to war damage as shown by a brass rubbing made by an English antiquarian, William F. Creeny, in September 1884 (fig. 9.7).

The engraved effigies of the Duke and Duchess are not visible from a distance and, indeed, are not easy to see even when standing close to the tomb. Instead, what is most visible to the human eye are the sixteen copper-alloy panels (each 68 cm x 38 cm) around the tomb, five on each long side and three at each end. Each panel bears a shield with crest, mantling, canopy and inscription, all of which are raised slightly above the surface rather than being engraved. Of the sixteen shields, eight tilt to the dexter and eight sinister, and



9.7
Rubbing of the Brasses from the tomb of John I, Duke of Cleves, and Elizabeth of Nevers, from William F. Creeny, *A book of facsimiles of monumental brasses on the continent of Europe*, Norwich, 1884.

	Flanderen FLANDERS	*Die Gref vā flādēn* COUNT OF FLANDERS	*Behem* BOHEMIA	
Htoch vā brabant DUKE OF BRABANT	Head of Duke and Duchess			*Die greyf van [Gey/Oey?]* COUNT OF [RETHEL?]
Geller GUELDERS				*Htoch vā brabāt* DUKE OF BRABANT
Buyrgondien BURGUNDY				*Die greyf van Stampus* COUNT OF ETAMPES
Die hartoch vā den berge DUKE OF BERG				*Brije* BRIEG
Marck MARCK				*Franckrigck* FRANCE
	Cleve-Marck CLEVE-MARCK	*Die hetzych van Cleve* DUKE OF CLEVES	*burgondien* BURGUNDY	

9.8
Diagram of the current order of the shields on the tomb of John I, Duke of Cleves, and Elizabeth of Nevers.

the design of each set of eight is similar but not identical. The back of the brasses is not visible so it is not possible to be conclusive, but they may have been created through sand-casting using two moulds with the differentiating details added through repoussé and chasing.[47] The order of the panels today differs from Creeny's rubbing—the monument, which was originally in the choir of the collegiate church, was moved several times[48]—and it is probable that the order Creeny saw was not the original, as indicated by the placement of the Duke's own shield of Cleves-Marck (by the feet of the Duchess) and the random tilt of the shields.[49] The post-war restoration has adopted a pattern of alternating shields.[50]

The question of which ancestor each shield was intended to represent is problematic. Although the design of the charge remains clear, the colour has largely disappeared (the polychromy was already faded when Creeny rubbed the brasses) and only seven of the shields provide a title in conjunction with the name of the territory. Three coats of arms are represented twice: Brabant, Burgundy and Flanders. If the ancestors cannot be identified with complete certainty (the most probable ancestors are shown in Appendix B), it is clear that the shields do not represent simply the eight great-grandparents of each of the Duke and Duchess. The tomb appears to be a blend between a Germanic ancestral type (hierarchical lineage) and the 'tombs of kinship' in which, as Anne McGee Morganstern has demonstrated, the choice of relatives could be selective but was invariably deliberate.[51] The shields for France and Bohemia trace their shared descent—via John's mother and Elizabeth's father—to John the Good, King of France (their great-great grandfather), and his wife, Bonne of Luxembourg. There are more males than females, and more of the Duke's relatives than Elizabeth's. This might imply that the patron, who is not documented, was more likely to be John I than Elizabeth. An imbalance towards the paternal ancestry, however, does not necessarily indicate a male patron. The same applied to the tomb of John II of Avesnes (†1304) and his wife, Philippa of Luxembourg (†1311), in Valenciennes, where only four of the thirty escutcheons belonged to Philippa's family, despite the probability that Philippa was involved in the design of the tomb.[52] Although the terminus ante quem of the tomb is 1512, a visual clue implies that Elizabeth should not be discounted as the patron.[53] The Duke is portrayed with closed eyes, whilst those of Elizabeth are open, which may suggest that it was commissioned after John's death in 1481 but before Elizabeth's in 1483.[54] In addition, whilst only two shields—Étampes and Rethel[55]—appear to relate solely to Elizabeth, they serve to focus attention on her father, John of Burgundy, Count of Étampes, Nevers, Rethel and Eu. It is possible that one of the shields for the Duke of Brabant was also intended to refer to her father who claimed the title.[56] John of Burgundy, like John of Cleves, had been elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece but, unlike his son-in-law, had achieved some notoriety by being expelled by Charles the Bold in 1468 on charges of treason and sorcery.[57] John of Cleves is not shown wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece on his effigy and it is conceivable that this omission is a further indication that the patron was Elizabeth, and that she did not want the collar to act as a prompt to recall her father's expulsion. The visual symbolism of the Order of the Golden

Fleece was strong: during the 1468 chapter the panel with John of Burgundy's coat of arms was ceremonially removed and replaced by one with gold letters on black, detailing the reasons for his expulsion.[58] Orders were given that at the Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon, the spiritual home of the Order, his arms should be removed from the choir and transferred to the nave, with a similar explanatory notice being attached.[59] In addition, his arms were to be removed from the choir of the church of Saint-Bertin in Saint Omer where the 1461 chapter had been held.[60]

If Elizabeth commissioned the tomb, possibly in conjunction with her two sons, John II, Duke of Cleves, and Engelbert, then the choice of ancestors may be interpreted as documenting the inheritance of her sons' titles.[61] The inheritance of the Duchy of Cleves by the eldest son was clear-cut—and the ancestors on the Duke's side bear more resemblance to an ancestral model—but the title to the counties of Nevers and Rethel was contested. The open conflict took place primarily after John of Burgundy's death in 1491, with recourse to the king and the parliament in Paris, and was finally resolved only in 1505 by a double marriage.[62] The question, therefore, is whether there was any intimation of this contested succession by 1481. Elizabeth of Nevers, after the premature death of her brother in 1452, became sole heiress to her father's lands and titles.[63] Her son Engelbert was raised by John of Burgundy from the age of six as his successor. This changed after the death of his first wife Jacqueline d'Ailly in 1475, his remarriage to Paule de Brosse, and the birth of Charlotte of Burgundy. In his will dated 23 May 1479 he bequeathed to Elizabeth the duchies of Brabant (effectively in the hands of Philip the Good), Lothier and Limbourg; Charlotte would inherit all his territories within the kingdom of France; Engelbert was given only a claim against Mary of Burgundy in respect of the county of Étampes.[64] In 1479 Paule de Brosse died and John married for the third time, which appears to have strengthened the estrangement from Engelbert. Thus, preceding the death of John of Cleves, there was the start of the conflict between Engelbert and Charlotte of Burgundy and the incentive to strengthen Elizabeth's and her son's claims to her father's territories.

THE TOMB OF CATHERINE OF BOURBON

Catherine of Bourbon, John's cousin, was buried in the crypt in St Stephen's church, Nijmegen (fig. 9.2).[65] Details of her burial and tomb and the excavation of her sepulchre are provided by two entries in the chronicle of Nijmegen, the 1790 *Annales Noviomagi*:

> 1469: It was destined that this year, the illustrious princess Catherine de Bourbon, daughter of Charles of Valois, Duke of Bourbon, who lived in marriage with Adolf, Duke of Guelders, died in Nijmegen on 22 May, and was buried in the main church of the city. The tomb may be seen in the middle of the choir, decorated with the images of her ancestors, and with the insignia of Guelders and Bourbon positioned on both sides: above her engraved copper-alloy effigy.[66]

> 1739: When the tomb of Catherine of Bourbon, wife of Adolf, Duke of Guelders, in the choir of the main church, was opened this year, inside could be read: *In the year of Our Lord 1469, on the 22nd day of May died illustrious [Anna] Catherine of Bourbon, Duchess of Guelders and Julich and Countess of Zutphen , whose holy soul may rest in peace. Amen.*[67]

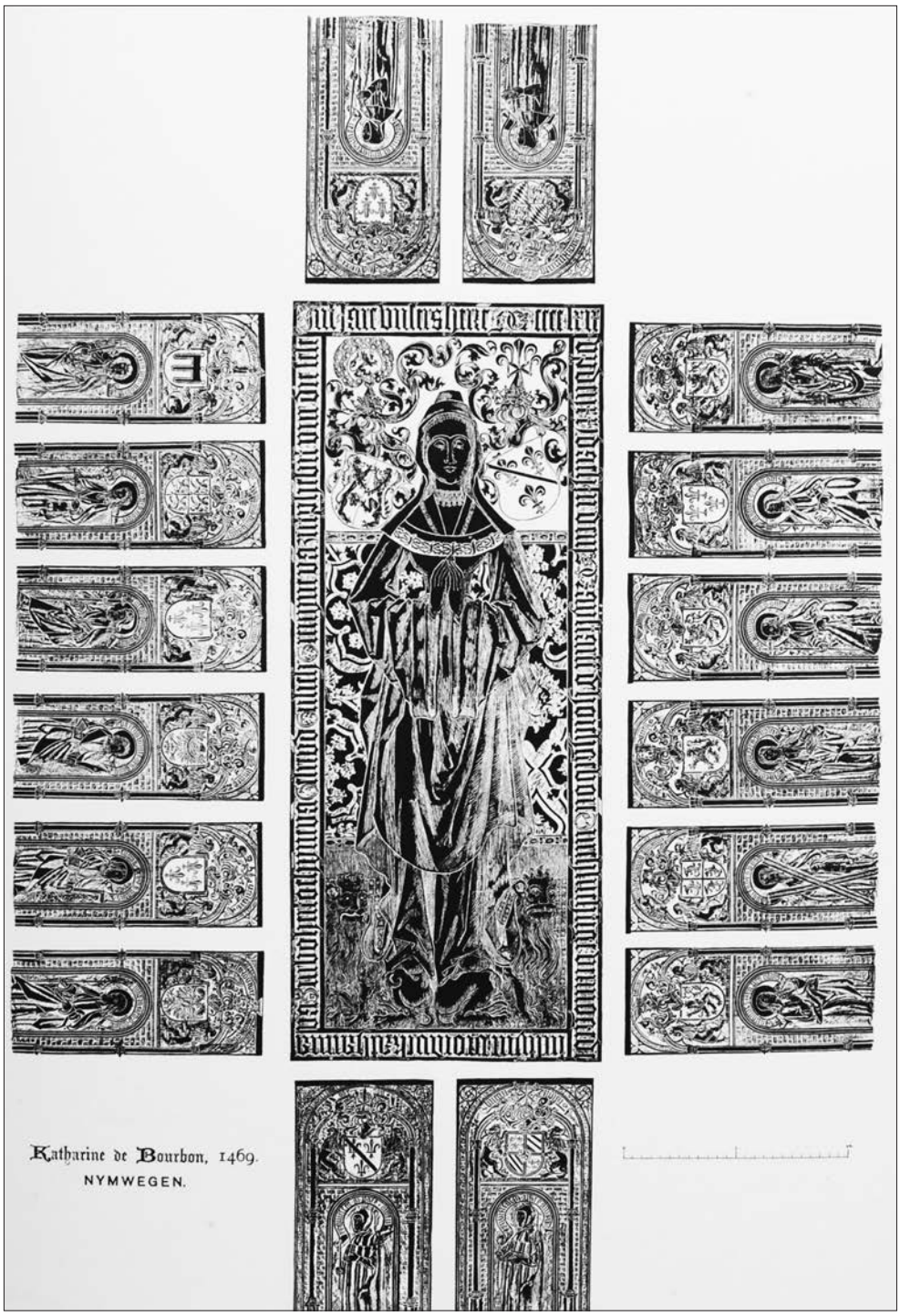
Her tomb, unlike that for the Duke of Cleves, is still in the choir; originally positioned directly above the grave in the crypt it was moved slightly westward during the restoration of 1948-65.[68] Catherine was also commemorated by a tomb chest with the tomb slab entirely covered by a brass plate, and sixteen brasses with identifying inscriptions around the sides, but there are differences in the iconography.[69] There are six apostles on each long side and two *pleurants* at each end, above each of which are shields with lion supporters, crests and mantling. The apostles hold the prayer 'Ora pro nobis' (Pray for us) and the *pleurants* 'Requiescat in pace' (Rest in peace).[70] The physical proximity of the apostles to the shields explicitly related Catherine and her ancestors to their intercessors.[71] Heraldic assertion was thus blended with the hope of salvation. Catherine's tomb was also rubbed by Creeny (fig. 9.9).[72]

The shields celebrate Catherine's distinguished lineage. She could trace her ancestry twice to John the Good, King of France (her great-great grandfather), and twice to John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia (her great-great-great grandfather), via her maternal and paternal sides. Two additional shields with helms and mantling, of Guelders (dexter) and Bourbon (sinister), lay either side of the duchess' head. Whereas dogs are the funerary convention for females, Catherine's feet rested on two lions, referencing the two lions on the Guelders' coat of arms. A vernacular inscription ran along all sides of the cover plate:

> In the year of Our Lord 1469, on the 21st day in May, died the high-born, illustrious, wealthy princess, the lady Catherina of Bourbon, duchess of Guelders and Gulik, countess of Zutphen; pray for the soul.[73]

Unusually for a raised tomb the inscription faces inwards, as was customary for floor brasses. Inscriptions on a raised tomb were usually set in chamfer round the sides, reading outwards so that the inscription could be read even though the design on the tomb top might not be seen.[74]

The most likely patron is not Catherine's husband Adolf of Egmond, Duke of Guelders, but her son, Charles of Egmond (1467-1538), who succeeded to Guelders and Zutphen in 1492.[75] Charles was probably also responsible for commissioning a brass in St Mary Magdalene, Geldern, to commemorate his aunt, Catherine of Guelders, who had acted as Regent of Guelders after the death of Catherine of Cleves (Catherine of Bourbon's mother-in-law) in 1479.[76] Catherine of Guelders' brass is now on the east wall of the northern



9.9
Rubbing of the Brasses from the tomb of Catherine of Bourbon, from William F. Creeny, *A book of facsimiles of monumental brasses on the continent of Europe*, Norwich, 1884.

	Berri BERRI	*beiereen hinnegauv un hollant* BAVARIA	
kaiser lodevic hertoch beiern EMPEROR LOUIS, DUKE OF BAVARIA – ST. MATTHEW	Head of Duchess		bemen BOHEMIA – ST SIMON
valois VALOIS – ST THOMAS			*francrijck* FRANCE – ST MATTHEW
brige BRIEG – ST BARTHOLOMEW			*vlandern* FLANDERS – ST PHILIP
Franckrick FRANCE - ST JAMES			*armejack* ARMAGNAC – ST JAMES THE LESS
brabant ind limburg BRABANT & LIMBURG – ST PAUL			*forest ind delphinaet davergne* FOREST – ST ANDREW
auvergne AUVERGNE – ST. PETER			*bemen* BOHEMIA – ST JOHN
	borbon BOURBON	*burgundien* BURGUNDY	

9.10
Diagram of the current order of the shields on the tomb of Catherine of Bourbon.

9.11
Willem Loemans (?), Mural brass of Catherine of Guelders. Copper-alloy, 157 x 70 cm, Geldern, St. Mary Magdalene.

lateral choir in St Mary Magdalen, Geldern (fig. 9.11). The truncated dogs at her feet, together with the absence of any form of border inscription or canopy suggest that the brass has been mutilated.[77] There is thus no visual clue as to whether it may originally also have been on a tomb chest.

9.12
Comparison of the brasses at Cleves, Nijmegen and Geldern.

WHY WAS THIS FORMAT CHOSEN?

The presumption must be that the choice of the specific format of a tomb chest with an engraved brass was rational and meaningful. Cost, for the ducal families of Cleves and Guelders, may be dismissed and the themes of familial association and dynastic allegiance, as seen in the English experience, appear more promising. The duchy of Cleves owed allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor and, unlike the duchy of Guelders which came under the control of Burgundy when Arnold of Egmond died in 1473, remained independent.[78]

In terms of familial association, there is no clear-cut pattern. The other two surviving tombs of the Counts of Cleves in St Mary the Assumption—Arnold of Cleve (†1142) and Ida of Brabant (†1163) and Adolf I (†1394) and Margaret of Julich-Berg (†1425)—were of sandstone.[79] Some family members were commemorated by brasses albeit, from the surviving evidence, not on tomb chests. These comprised: Rupert of Jülich-Berg, Bishop of Paderborn (†1394), in Paderborn cathedral;[80] Gerhard of the Marck (†1461), formerly in the church of St Agnes in Hamm;[81] and Gerhard, Duke of Julich and Berg and Count of Ravensberg (†1475), in Altenberg Abbey (fig. 9.6).[82] John I's brass bears some similarities to that of his uncle, Gerhard of the Marck, from whom he inherited the title of Count of the Marck. The background, although the patterns are not the same, has the same combination of canopy, simulated brickwork, textiles, and tiled floor.

The choice of material alone does not betray dynastic allegiance. Copper-alloy was associated with the Holy Roman Empire—Birunguccio in his *Pirotechnia* of 1540 named Cologne as a major centre for the preparation of brass, while the contract for the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, specified latten from Cologne—and also, given the industry at Dinant and Namur, with the Burgundian state.[83] The choice of copper-alloy cast effigies, however, would have raised associations with recent commissions by the Burgundian ducal house and Burgundian nobility.[84] Indeed, a copper-alloy cast effigy on a tomb chest was to be the choice of John of Cleve's younger brother, Adolf of Ravenstein, whose second wife, Anne of Burgundy, was an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good.[85] It is thus unlikely to be a coincidence that, despite close social and political connections with the Burgundian Netherlands, the brasses of John of Cleves and Catherine of Bourbon are not Flemish. Scholars have attributed the brasses to the copper engraver, Willem Loemans of Cologne.[86] The evidence for Catherine of Bourbon's tomb is based on a 1512 payment to Leomans' widow,[87] whilst that for John I is based on a stylistic comparison with the brass of his son, John II (†1521), and his wife, Mathilde of Hesse (†1505).[88] A pattern by Loemans for a tomb and brasses to John II was preserved in the Staatsarchiv in Düsseldorf until the Second World War.[89] Stylistic similarity, coupled with the probable common patronage of Charles of Egmond, suggests that Loemans was also responsible for the tomb of Catherine of Guelders (fig. 9.12).[90]

In choosing a brass but not a copper-alloy effigy, and by a craftsman from Cologne, there appears to have been a deliberate attempt to differentiate Cleves from the Burgundian state. The association with the Holy Roman Empire, however, was not made as strong as it could have been. Whilst the practice of the ducal house of Saxony at Meissen, although geographically distant, would have been known through contact with Albert, Duke of Saxony,[91] the tombs at Cleves and Nijmegen did not copy the raised low relief cast effigy of Frederik I the Warlike, nor the floor brasses of his successors.[92] An engraved brass on a tomb chest proclaimed high status through the space it occupied, was unlike any monument to the nobility in the Burgundian Netherlands and yet was not overly Germanic. This ambiguity was advantageous in the context of the inheritance of John II and Engelbert; the former would owe allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor whilst the latter claimed the territories within France that had been possessed by his grandfather, John of Burgundy, and needed to diminish the extent to which he was perceived as Germanic.[93]

It seems plausible that Charles of Egmond should have been aware of the tomb in Cleves and then used the same format and craftsman for the tombs in Nijmegen and Geldern. The intent may have differed and with his mother's monument the presence of the apostles and the mourners combine visually with the shields to blend a concern for Catherine's soul with affirmation of her status.

CONCLUSION

The examples discussed in England and the Continent indicate that a monumental brass on a tomb chest represented a deliberate patronal choice with significant implications for the appearance and function of the tomb. Although a minority choice for aristocratic commemoration, the existence of this subset challenges Malcolm Norris' statement that 'Brasses must be classed as a subordinate type of memorial to the sculptured tomb'.[94] Many undoubtedly were—they could be smaller and cheaper—yet the brasses in Cleves and Nijmegen were clearly not in this category. The effigies were visible to God, whilst the polychromed shields on the sides would have been highly visible, in their original state, to an audience versed in reading them. Heraldry rather than likeness was the stamp of identity and that identity was itself a construct of lineage and territorial possession (or, in the case of the Beauchamps and Engelbert of Cleves, territorial claims). By sourcing their memorials from within the Holy Roman Empire, two duchies that were geographically near and, in the case of Guelders, recently opposing Burgundian control, could distance themselves visually from the cast copper-alloy effigies that were being used at the time by the high nobility in the Burgundian Netherlands.

APPENDIX A

Distribution by County (pre-1974 re-organisation) of Tomb Chests with Brasses

County	1200-1299	1300-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-99	1600-99	Totals
Bedfordshire	0	1	1	1	8	4	15
Berkshire	0	0	0	1	8	2	11
Buckinghamshire	0	0	1	2	8	3	14
Cambridgeshire	1	0	0	1	4	0	6
Cheshire	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Cornwall	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Cumberland	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Derbyshire	0	0	0	7	6	0	13
Devon	0	0	0	1	3	1	5
Dorset	0	0	0	1	7	1	9
Durham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Essex	0	0	5	6	12	0	23
Gloucestershire	0	1	1	1	4	0	7
Hampshire	0	0	0	3	5	0	8
Herefordshire	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Hertfordshire	0	1	1	5	8	1	16
Huntingdonshire	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Isle of Wight	0	1	0	0	0	3	4
Kent	0	1	2	7	12	3	25
Lancashire	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Leicestershire	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Lincolnshire	0	2	2	1	3	0	8
Middlesex	0	2	2	4	9	0	17
Monmouthshire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norfolk	0	2	1	1	3	0	7
Northamptonshire	0	1	1	4	9	2	17
Northumberland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nottinghamshire	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
Oxfordshire	0	2	2	2	11	0	17
Rutland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shropshire	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Somerset	0	0	3	0	3	1	7
Staffordshire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suffolk	0	1	1	2	4	1	9
Surrey	0	1	1	4	5	2	13
Sussex	0	1	3	1	12	0	17
Warwickshire	0	0	2	0	5	0	7
Westmorland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wiltshire	0	0	0	1	2	4	7
Worcestershire	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Yorkshire	0	1	0	0	3	1	5
Totals	2	19	32	59	163	31	306

Source: Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (first printed 1926; Ralph Griffin appendix first printed 1938, 1964)

APPENDIX B

The Tomb of John 1, Duke of Cleves (J), and Elizabeth of Nevers (E)
(probable ancestors represented by the shields)

		16.	15.	14.		
		FLANDERS Margaret of Flanders (†1405). GG of J & E. Wife of 3.	COUNT OF FLANDERS Louis de Mâle (†1384). GGG of J&E. Husband of Margaret of Brabant.	BOHEMIA Bonne of Luxembourg (†1349) GGG of J&E. Wife of 9.		
1.	DUKE OF BRABANT John of Burgundy (†1491)?	Head of Duke and Duchess W S N E			COUNT OF [RETHEL?] John of Burgundy (†1491). F of E. Husband of Jacqueline d'Ailly.	13.
2.	GUELDERS Margaret of Guelders (†1333). GGG of J. Wife of 7.				DUKE OF BRABANT John III, Duke of Brabant (†1355). GGGG of J&E. Husband of Marie d'Evreux.	12.
3.	BURGUNDY Philip the Bold (†1404). GG of J&E. Husband of 16.				COUNT OF ÉTAMPES John of Burgundy (†1491). F of E. Husband of Jacqueline d'Ailly.	11.
4.	DUKE OF BERG Gerhard VI of Julich, Count of Berg and Ravensberg (†1360). GG of J. Husband of Margaret of Ravensberg.				BRIEG Margaret of Brieg (†1386). GG of J. Wife of Albert, Duke of Bavaria.	10.
5.	MARCK Adolph II of the Marck (†1347). GG of J.				FRANCE John the Good, King of France (†1364). GGG of J&E. Husband of 14.	9.
		CLEVE-MARCK John I; or Adolf I, Duke of Cleves (†1448), F of J; or, Adolf I of Cleve-Marck (†1394), G of J.	DUKE OF CLEVES Dietrich VIII (†1346). GGG of John. Husband of 2.	BURGUNDY John the Fearless (†1419)?* GG of J. Husband of Margaret of Bavaria.		
		6.	7.	8.		

Abbreviations: F = Father; G = grandmother/father; GG = great-grandmother/father; GGG = great-great-grandmother/father; GGGG = great-great-great-grandmother/father

*The shield is of Philip the Bold but the same could have been used, for simplicity, to denote his son, John the Fearless.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

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1. The term 'brass' will be used in this chapter to signify engraved metal plates and 'copper alloy' for cast effigies. It is hard to distinguish by appearance between 'brass' (mainly copper-zinc) and 'bronze' (mainly copper-tin). Medieval alloy composition and terminology could vary significantly. See Claude Blair and John Blair, 'Copper Alloys' in John Blair and Nigel Ramsay (eds), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 81-106. Technical research has shown that objects previously described as 'bronze' are alloys of copper-zinc-tin-lead. See Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, ' "Monumentum aere perennius"? Precious-metal effigial tomb monuments in Europe 1080-1430', *Church Monuments* 30 (2015): pp. 9-10, 93.

2. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), p. 55 and fig. 212. For the iconography of hand-holding see Jessica Barker, *Monuments and Marriage in Late Medieval England: Origins, Function and Reception of Double Tombs* (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2015), Ch. 2.

3. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 53.

4. H.K. Cameron, *A List of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1970), pp. viii-ix: the number of brasses remaining on the Continent is less than 5% of the total listed by Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (Headley Bros: London, 1964); also Malcolm Norris, *The Craft* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1978), pp. 48-49 for distribution and losses of brasses in Europe. Many lost monuments are known only through drawings, especially the Roger de Gaignières collection. See Jean Adhémar, with Gertrude Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVII siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84 (July-Sept. 1974): pp. 1-192; 88 (July-Aug., Sept. 1976): pp. 1-128; 90 (July-Aug. 1977): pp. 1-76; and Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Dessins inédits de tombes médiévales bourguignonnes de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 108 (Oct-Nov. 1986): pp. 97-122, 141-82.

5. Numerical analysis of lost brasses from parish churches in the counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Oxford, Surrey and Sussex suggests that surviving brasses between 1400-1500 represent c.50% of the original production. See Jerome Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976), p. 118.

6. For the influence of the Hanseatic league, see Paul Cockerham, 'Hanseatic Merchant Memorials: Individual Monuments or Collective "Memoria"?', in Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (eds), *The Medieval Merchant*, Proceedings of the 2012 Harlaxton Symposium (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 392-413. Prints were used to transmit designs, for example engravings by Master E.S. served as a model for illuminators, metalworkers and woodcutters. Alan Shestack, *Master E.S . Five Hundredth Anniversary Exhibition*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1967), passim.

7. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses*; Norris, *The Craft*, pp. 44-45. An analysis based on the Mill Stephenson list and supplemented by others found subsequently produced a total of 7,616 surviving brasses, of which the 15th century accounted for 1,647. Mill Stephenson identified 91 fifteenth-century brasses on tomb chests (including 16 which were no longer on tomb chests and one which was on a modern brick chest). The term 'altar tomb' was used to designate a brass on a tomb chest; it was often, but not invariably, situated in front of an altar.

8. Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 155.

9. Barker, *Monuments and Marriage*, pp. 66-67. The gesture of hand-holding on brasses and incised slabs pre-dated high-relief monuments by some eighty years due to the difficulty of sculpting this gesture in the round.

10. Norris, *The Craft*, pp. 52-57 for social distribution of brasses; Saul, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 110-11 for fall in the price of brasses as a result of purchase by a wider social class and the production of stock figures.

11. Norris, *The Craft*, p. 54.

12. Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud: History Press, 2011), p. 157.

13. Sally Badham, *The Monumental Brasses of the Collegiate Church of Holy Trinity, Tattershall* (Tattershall: Tattershall PCC, 2004), pp. 9-10.

14. Anthony Tuck, 'Beauchamp, Thomas, twelfth earl of Warwick (1337/9–1401)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org:10.1093/ref:odnb/1841. Warwick was restored to his lands and honours, with the exception of Gower, after the overthrow of Richard II in 1399. The inventories of his goods, made at the time of his forfeiture in 1397, and his will, drawn up in April 1400, suggest that he may have been in financial difficulties as a result of his loss of Gower and the forfeiture of his estates. In his will he ordered his executors to sell his goods and chattels, apart from those that were the subject of specific legacies, and his bequest of gold and silver objects to St Mary's Church, Warwick, was subject to the redemption of the mortgage on them.

15. The monument, originally in the south transept, was destroyed in a fire in 1694 apart from the brass, which is now mounted on the wall by the entrance to the Beauchamp chapel. William B. Stephens (ed.), *The Victoria His-*

tory of the County of Warwick, vol. 8 (London: Oxford University Press,1969), p. 259. The tomb chest and canopy is illustrated in William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London: Thomas Warren, 1656), p. 324; the extant brass and lost tomb chest are illustrated in Norris, *The Craft*, figs 163-65.

16. For tombs used as Easter sepulchres see: Christopher Herbert, *English Easter Sepulchres: The History of an Idea* (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2007); Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1987) and Veronica Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered' in T. A. Heslop and Veronica A. Sekules (eds), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral* (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 1986), pp. 118-31. For the development of the Easter rite: Neil C. Brooks, 'The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy; With Special Reference to the Liturgic Drama', *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 7/2 (1921): pp. 140-248; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). For 'presencing' see Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), esp. pp. 158-65.

17. Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 27, 40-42, 179.

18. Roffey, *Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife*, p. 136, has pointed out that, whilst the majority of chapels were divided off by screens, the top levels of many screens were open, allowing visibility of the elevation of the host.

19. For details of the brass see Tobias Capwell, 'The 15th Century Brass at Trotton: A Hero of Agincourt as Armoured Icon', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society* 129 (June 2015): pp. 570-72. For biographical information on the Camoys family and the wall-paintings, see Nigel Saul, 'Chivalry and Art: The Camoys Family and the Wall Paintings in Trotton Church', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, edited by Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 97-111. For location and visibility see Barker, *Monuments and Marriage*, p. 88.

20. For the current location and description of the tombs see Robert Jeffery, *St Bartholomew's Church, Tong, Shropshire* (Much Wenlock: RJL Smith & Associates, 2002; reprinted 2014).

21. Sally Badham has explored the use of specific designs and workshops amongst kinship groups. Sally Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* (hereafter *TMBS*) 17/5 (2007): pp. 423-52. Matthew Ward has argued that the depiction of Lancastrian and Yorkist livery collars on military effigies represented the perpetuation of the collective identity of the deceased and his kin. Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity in Fifteenth-Century England* (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2013). Kim Woods has identified two periods in which alabaster effigies appear to have been used to define cultural identity: in the circle around Edward III, such as Archbishop Stratford in Canterbury Cathedral, following the precedent of the alabaster effigy of Philippa of Hainault (†1369) at Westminster Abbey and, later, in asserting allegiance to the Lancastrian regime, such as Ralph Green (†1417) following his father's execution. Kim Woods, 'Alabaster at Canterbury' (paper presented at the symposium *Monuments of Power*, Canterbury, 5-7 September 2014).

22. See note 15 above.

23. Christine Carpenter, 'Beauchamp, Richard, thirteenth earl of Warwick (1382–1439)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org:10.1093/ref:odnb/1838. Jennifer C. Ward, 'Berkeley, Elizabeth, countess of Warwick (*c.*1386–1422)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org:10.1093/ref:odnb/56573. For the Berkeley tomb see Nigel Saul, 'MBS Monument of the Month, June 2006', accessed Nov. 1, 2015, http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page127.html; Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, vol. 2 (London: Phillips & Page, 1977), fig. 78; and Thomas and George Hollis, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, part 4 (London: J.B. Nichols & Son, 1841), pl. 10.

24. Saul, 'MBS Monument of the Month, June 2006'.

25. Cecil. T. Davis, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1899), p. 7.

26. Saul, 'MBS Monument of the Month, June 2006'.

27. Therese Martin, 'Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History' in Therese Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 1-33.

28. Ward, 'Berkeley, Elizabeth'.

29. A third brass which is similar is that to Sir Morys Russell (†1416) and his wife, Isabel Childrey, at St Peter's, Dyrham, Gloucestershire. The Berkeley and Dyham brasses have been attributed to the London B workshop. William Lack, Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 2005), pp. 188, 468. On stylistic grounds, Norris suggested that Thomas Beauchamp may have commissioned the royal craftsmen, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, who were employed to make the royal effigies of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in 1394, a time when Beauchamp was rebuilding the collegiate church of St Mary (Norris, *Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 56.)

30. Alexandra Sinclair, 'The Great Berkeley Law-Suit Revisited 1417-39', *Southern History* 9 (1987): pp. 34-50. For examples of tombs in legal disputes see Julian M. Luxford, 'English Medieval Tombs as Forensic Evidence', *Church Monuments* 24 (2009): pp. 7-25.

31. I am grateful to Paul Cockerham for drawing my attention to this tomb and to Bryan Knight for access to the church. Thomas Cruwe served as attorney to Countess Margaret and afterwards as chief steward and a member of the Council of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. See L.F. Salzman (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Warwick*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 190-92; Philip B. Chatwin, 'Wixford Church, Warwickshire: Its Brass and Painted Glass, *Birmingham Archaeological Society, Transactions for 1931* (Oxford, 1933): pp. 48-56. In St Mary's, Warwick, earlier Beauchamp retainers had copied the hand-holding motif from the monument to Thomas Beauchamp and Katherine Mortimer (Barker, *Monuments and Marriage*, p. 71).

32. J. Maclean, 'Notes on a Monumental Effigy and a "Brass" in the Church of Quinton, Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 13 (1888-89): pp. 162-72. Norris, *Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 88.

33. The patron was probably Henry Beaufort, eldest son of Katherine and John of Gaunt, consecrated bishop of Lincoln in 1398 and of Winchester in 1404.

34. Joan Beaufort's will expressed the desire to be buried alongside her mother and asked for her mother's burial place to be enlarged and enclosed, if the dean and chapter were agreeable. Anthony Tuck, 'Beaufort, Joan, countess of Westmorland (1379?–1440)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/53026.

35. For the Chaucer tomb see: John A.A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 169-75 and figs 73-74; E.A. Greening Lamborn,'The Arms on the Chaucer Tomb at Ewelme', *Oxoniensia* 5 (1940): pp. 78-93.

36. John Goodall has argued that the Chaucer tomb was moved to the newly-completed St John's chapel c.1438 when a new heraldic display was added (Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 175.)

37. William F. Creeny, *A book of facsimiles of monumental brasses on the continent of Europe* (Norwich: A.H. Goose, 1884); Cameron, *Brasses on the Continent*; for brasses in Bruges, including those to merchants, see Valentin Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578* (Bruges: Raaklijn, 1976).

38. For the Mesissen brasses, see Matthias Donath, *Die Grabmonumente im Dom zu Meissen* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2004); Sven Hauschkte, *Die Grabdenkmaler der Nürnberger Vischer-Werkstatt (1453-1544)* (Fulda: M.Imhof, 2006). I am grateful to Paul Custerson and Geoff Nuttall for sharing their photographs of Meissen.

39. The Nousiainen tomb is illustrated in Jerome Bertram, *Icon and Epigraphy*, 2 vols ([n.p.] Lulu.com, 2015), figs 163, 286a-c, 398; *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, introduced by M.W. Norris (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), Plates 164a-c; Norris, *Memorials*, vol. 1, pp. 41-2. H.K. Cameron, 'The 14th-Century School of Flemish Brasses,' *TMBS* 11 (1970): pp. 50-81, esp. p. 63.

40. Cameron identified a further brass on an altar tomb, that of Cardinal Frederick Jagiello (†1503) in the cathedral in Kraków, Poland, but there is no indication that the sides also had brasses (Cameron, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 90.). The Jagiello brass is illustrated in Norris, *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 140.

41. Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 110, 236-37. Gerard Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy, the Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

42. Raphaël de Smedt, *Les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle. Notices bio-bibliographiques publiées sous la direction de Raphaël de Smedt* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), entries by Paul de Win for John I, Duke of Cleves, pp. 109-12, and Adolf of Ravenstein, pp. 131-34; by Michel van Gent for Adolf of Egmond, pp. 139-41. For the Order of the Golden Fleece, see D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), Ch. 13.

43. For this tomb see: Creeny, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 71; Hans P. Hilger, *Kreis Kleve*, Die Denkmaler des Rheinlandes 4 (Dusseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1967), pp. 64-71; Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 125; Cameron, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 56; Hans P. Hilger, 'Grabdenkmaler der Häuser Jülich, Kleve, Berg, Mark und Ravensberg' in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg*, exh. cat. Städtische Museum Haus Koekkoek Kleve and Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf (Kleve: Boss-Verlag, 1984), pp. 181-208; Guido de Werd, *Stiftskirche St Mariae Himmelfahrt in Kleve* (Berlin & Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012). Robert Scholten, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Cleve* (Kleve: Fr Boss Wwe, 1905), pp. 167-70, attributed the tomb to John II but this is inconsistent with the heraldry.

44. The brass measures 219 cm x 118 cm and consists of six pieces (the panel with the Duke is 56 cm wide and that of the Duchess is 62 cm). Author's measurements taken 14 April 2014 (my thanks to Richard Maaßen for opening the chapel). The production of sheets from ingots was by hammering, producing rectangular pieces with a maximum dimension of about 30 in (76 cm) (Cameron 'Metals', pp. 111-114).

45. The armour shows details of buckles, rivets and arming points (Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 125).

46. For detail of the legend see A.R. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959): pp. 127-38. The motif of the swan is repeated on the tombs

of Count Arnold of Cleve (†1142), Count Adolf I of Cleve (†1394) and Gerhard of the Marck (†1461).

47. European cast iron firebacks from the second half of the fifteenth century indicate that sand-casting, which in its simplest form was an open mould used to make flat objects decorated on one side only, was in use well before it was recorded in Biringuccio's *Pirotechnia* (1540). See Blair, 'Copper Alloys', p. 87. For the techniques of repoussé and chasing, see Nancy Mēgan Corwin, *Chasing and Repoussé: Methods Ancient and Modern* (London: A & C Black, 2010).

48. Hilger, *Kreis Kleve*, pp. 69-70. The monument was transferred in 1805 to the south side of the choir and moved to the former Michael chapel between 1914 and 1917.

49. Creeny stated that plates were loose, such that a passing cart made them rattle, so they may have fallen off and been replaced in the incorrect position (Creeny, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 71).

50. An alternating pattern may well represent the original aesthetic. A possible alternative, as used for blasons at the chapters of the Order of the Golden Fleece, may have been that the crests faced the altar. For an example of a crest being turned to face the altar, see Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Chapitres de la Toison d'Or au XV^{e} siècle. Souvenirs de quelques ensembles héraldiques peint dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons' in Pierre Cockshaw and Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (eds), *L'ordre de la Toison d'Or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 224.

51. I am most grateful to Steen Clemmensen for sharing his knowledge of ancestral tombs. For the use of selective ancestry see Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p.17, e.g. the tomb of Thibaud III, Count of Champagne (†1201) emphasised the nobility of the house of Champagne by including four kings to whom they were related.

52. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, pp. 59-60; see chapter 10 by Sanne Frequin in this volume.

53. The terminus ante quem is based on a payment to the presumed craftsman's widow. See note 87.

54. This differentiation is rare but other examples include Eleanor of Acquitaine at Fontevrault (her open eyes are consistent with reading the book she is holding) and the widow of Geraduc de Gothem, W.F. Creeny *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe* (London: A.H. Goose, 1891), p. 44.

55. The inscription on this shield is not easy to read and has been transcribed both as 'Die Greyf van Gey' (Creeny, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 71) a description which does not correspond to either an ancestor or one of the ducal territories, and as 'Die greyf van Oey', interpreted as 'Ailly' (Hilger, 'Grabdenkmaler der Häuser Jülich, Kleve', p. 189; illustrated Hilger, *Kreis Kleve*, fig. 209). Raoul d'Ailly was Elisabeth of Never's maternal grandfather, but the shield on the Cleves tomb bears no resemblance to his shield which appears in the d'Ailly Hours, for which see Susie Nash, 'A Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript and an Unknown Painting by Robert Campin', *The Burlington Magazine* 137/1108 (1995): pp. 428-37, fig.4. I am most grateful to Steen Clemmensen for advising that it is almost certain that the arms are an unusual variant of Rethel: Gules 3 rake heads Or (2:1) with an unusual crest of 2 antlers and, furthermore, for suggesting that the text may represent a misreading of 'C.Eu', one of the titles borne by Elizabeth's father, John II, Count of Étampes, Rethel and Eu.

56. The two sons of Anthony, Duke of Brabant (†1415) died without heirs. On the death in 1430 of the second son, Philip of St Pol, the question was whether the succession to Brabant should pass to the heir of John the Fearless (Philip the Good) or of Philip of Nevers (John of Burgundy). Although forced by Charles the Bold in March 1466 to sign a formal renunciation of his claim, John of Burgundy continued to use the title. See B. de Mandrot, 'Jean de Bourgogne, Duc de Brabant, Comte de Nevers, et le Procès de sa Succession', *Revue Historique* 93 (1907): p. 20.

57. de Smedt, *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, p. XXIX; Françoise de Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d'Or à l'Époque Bourguignonne (1430-1477)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), pp. 333-35.

58. Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 339-40; Sonja Dünnebeil, *Die Protokollbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies: Das Ordensfest 1468 in Brügge unter Herzog Karl dem Kühnen* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbeke, 2003), pp. 41-42, 83.

59. Pierre Quarré, *La Sainte Chapelle de Dijon: Siège de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Dijon: Musée de Dijon, Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne, 1962), pp. 40-41. The arms of deceased knights were removed from the choir to the nave and replaced by those of newly-elected knights. Dünnebeil, *Die Protokollbücher: Das Ordensfest 1468*, pp. 133-34.

60. Dünnebeil, *Die Protokollbücher: Das Ordensfest 1468*, p. 135.

61. Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 1, pp. 124-26. Norris considered that c.1490 was more likely than the date of death.

62. The double marriage was of Charles of Cleves and his younger brother Louis of Cleves (the sons of Engelbert of Cleves) to the two daughters of Charlotte of Burgundy (the daughter of John of Burgundy and Paule de Brosse) and Jean d'Albret, the brother of John of Burgundy's third wife, Françoise d'Albret. See: Marie-Therèse Caron, 'Jean de Bourgogne, comte d'Étampes' in de Smedt, p. 128; de Mandrot, 'Jean de Bourgogne', p. 42.

63. de Mandrot, 'Jean de Bourgogne', pp. 8-9.

64. de Mandrot, 'Jean de Bourgogne', p. 28.

65. For this tomb, see: *Medieval Memoria Online* ID 2324, http://memo.hum.uu.nl; Sophie Oosterwijk and Trudi Brink, 'A Son's Delayed Memorial to his Mother. The Tomb of Catherine of Bourbon, Duchess of Guelders (✝1469), Stevenskerk, Nijmegen, Netherlands', *CMS Monument of the Month*, *March 2014*, accessed Oct. 15, 2014, http://www.churchmonumentssociety.org/Monument of the Month Archive/2014-03.html; Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy*, p. 283. With the money Catherine bequeathed, St Stephen's became a collegiate church in 1475.

66. Johan de Betouw, *Annales Noviomagi, Oppidi Olim Batavorum Hodie Primariae Gelorum Civitatis* (Nijmegen, 1790), pp. 133-134: 'Anno 1469, Catharina Borbonia tumulata in Templo S. Stephani. Fatalem hunc annum habuit Princeps illustrissima Catharina Borbonia, Caroli Valesii Borbonii Ducis filia, quae ADOLPHO Gelriae Duci vixit in connubio, Noviomagi defuncta die XXII Maji, tumulataque in primario urbis templo, Conspicitur in Chori medio ejus Mausoleum, majorum imaginibus ornatum, adpositis utrimque Gelriae Borboniaeque insignibus: superne ejus effigiem aere sculptam exhibet.'

67. Betouw, *Annales Noviomagi*, p. 235. Anno 1739. 'Cum Mausoleum Catharinae Borboniae, Adolphi Gelriae Ducis conjugis, in choro primarii templi, hoc anno aperiretur, intus legebatur: Anno Domini 1469 die 22 Mensis Maji obit illustris Anna Catharina de Bourbon, Duxissa Gelriae et Juliae Comitissa que Zutphania, cujus anima sancta requiescat in pace. Amen.' My thanks to Oliver Norris for reviewing the translation. 'Anna' is a mis-transcription of *dña (domina)*; see D.J. Dekker, *Grafkelder van Catharina van Bourbon*, accessed March 31, 2014, http://www.djdekker.net/stevenskerk/int/grafkelder.html.

68. Oosterwijk and Brink, 'The Tomb of Catherine of Bourbon'.

69. The brass cover plate measures 202 cm x 82 cm. The plates on the long side vary marginally in width between 28.5 cm and 29.5 cm and are 68 cm high. Author's measurements 15 April 2014.

70. Apostles were a feature of ecclesiastical tombs e.g. the brass tomb by Peter Vischer the Elder of Archbishop Ernst of Saxony (✝1513), engraved c.1495, Magdeburg Cathedral, alternates apostles with coats of arms. Illustrated, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (New York and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1986), fig. 134.

71. On the eschatological significance of the proximity of armorials to sacred spaces and images, see Michael Michael, 'The Privilege of "Proximity": Towards a Re-definition of the Function of Armorials,' *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): pp. 55-75.

72. The current order of the panels on the south side differs from Creeny's rubbing. Each shield was rubbed as an independent piece and the perfect reversal suggests that an error may have occurred during the layout of the rubbing. The placement of the prestigious shield of the Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV, Catherine's great-great grandfather, at the dexter of her head supports the presumption that the current order is original. My thanks to Frances Rankin for arranging access to the original rubbing of John I at the V&A Archives.

73. 'Int Jaer unsers Heere[n] M CCCC LXIX / op den XXI dach In dem Maij starff d[ie] hoichgebore[n] Durchluchtige vermogede / fusty[n]ne vrouwe katharina / va[n] Burbo[n] hertochyn[n]e va[n] Gelre u[n]d Gulich Grevyn[n]e van zutphe[n] bit vur die sele.' This is in 'Middelnederlands' or 'Middle Dutch' consistent with the geographical area Nijmegen/Rhineland. The transcription and translation are from Oosterwijk and Brink, 'The Tomb of Catherine of Bourbon'. See also Creeny, *Brasses on the Continent*, p. 36.

74. Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 1, pp. 73-74.

75. Adolf may have arranged the burial of his wife, Catherine of Bourbon, but it is unlikely, given the political situation and his imprisonment in February 1471, that he would have been able to commission her monument. After the death of Charles the Bold at Nancy in January 1477, the estates of Guelders proclaimed Adolf as their legal sovereign. Appointed commander of the Flemish troops by Charles' heiress Mary of Burgundy he died in a skirmish against the French at Tournai. His orphaned children, Charles of Egmond and Phillipa remained at the Burgundian court (Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy*, p. 263).

76. Hans G. Dormagen, 'Katharina, Duchess of Guelders', *TMBS* 16/1 (1997): p. 50. In 1492 Charles of Egmond assigned to Catherine of Guelders the town and castle of Geldern.

77. Dormagen, 'Katharina, Duchess of Guelders', p. 48. The brass, which originally lay over the vault in the north aisle, comprises three plates and overall measures 157 cm x 70 cm.

78. Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 112-21, 240-41.

79. de Werd, *St Mariae Himmelfahrt* , pp. 41, 46, 50.

80. Norris, 'Schools of Brasses in Germany', pp. 39-40; Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 2, pl. 59; Reinhard Lamp, 'Rupert of Jülich-Berg, Bishop of Paderborn', *TMBS* 16/3 (1999): pp. 221-28.

81. Johan Belonje and Frank A. Greenhill, 'Some Brasses in Germany and the Low Countries (IV)', *TMBS* 10/2 (Dec. 1964): pp. 46-49; Cameron, *Brasses on the Continent*', p. 54; Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 1, pp. 123-24, 265; H.P. Hilger, 'Grabdenkmaler der Häuser Jülich, Kleve, Berg, Mark und Ravensberg', pp. 194-95.

82. Creeny, *Brasses on the Continent*, pp. 39-40; Cameron, *Brasses on the Continent'*, p. 43; Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 2, pl. 144.

83. See Fred H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments 1150-1550* (London: Batsford, 1921), pp. 30-31 for an abbreviated contract for the Beauchamp tomb. For Cologne and a discussion of the term 'latten' see Cameron, 'Metals', pp. 116-18. The other major centres for brasses in the Holy Roman Empire were Lübeck by the Baltic Sea and Nuremberg near the Maine and Danube. See Norris, *The Craft*, pp. 48-49.

84. Duchess Mary of Burgundy commissioned c.1477 a cast copper-alloy effigy for the tomb of her mother, Isabella of Bourbon (†1465), in the Abbey of St Michael, Antwerp, and one for her uncle, Jacques of Bourbon (†1468), in St. Donatian, Bruges. Louis de Gruuthuse (†1492), a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, commissioned during his lifetime copper-alloy effigies of himself and his wife Margaret van Borssele for the Church of Our Lady, Bruges. For a bibliography on Isabella's tomb see Lorne Campbell and Jan van der Stock, eds, *Rogier van der Weyden, 1400-1464, Master of Passions*, exh. cat. (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2009), cat. 17, pp. 303-307. See Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, for Jacques de Bourbon (cat. no. 288, pp. 278-282) and Louis de Gruuthuse (cat. no. 279, pp. 265-73).

85. Jacques le Roy, *Le Grand Theatre Sacré du Duché de Brabant* (La Haye, 1734), VI, p. 260.

86. Scholten, *Geschichte der Stadt Cleve*, p. 168. Scholten states that both the 'Copper Tomb' (i.e. John I) and the bronze plaque on the wall (i.e. John II) were made by the 'Copper engraver' Willem Loemans from Ürdingen, settled in Cologne. This is followed by Hilger, *Kreis Kleve*, p. 69 re John I.

87. Scholten, *Geschichte der Stadt Cleve*, p. 169.

88. Norris, *The Memorials*, vol. 2, pl. 202. Illustrated in de Werd, *St Mariae Himmelfahrt*, p. 54.

89. Norris, *The Memorials*, vol.1, p. 126.

90. Norris, 'Schools of Brasses in Germany', p. 49.

91. Albert, although he did not accept his election until 1491, was elected a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1478. Wim Blockmans, 'Albert, duc de Saxe, "le Courageux"' in de Smedt, *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 229-31.

92. See note 38 above for the Meissen monuments.

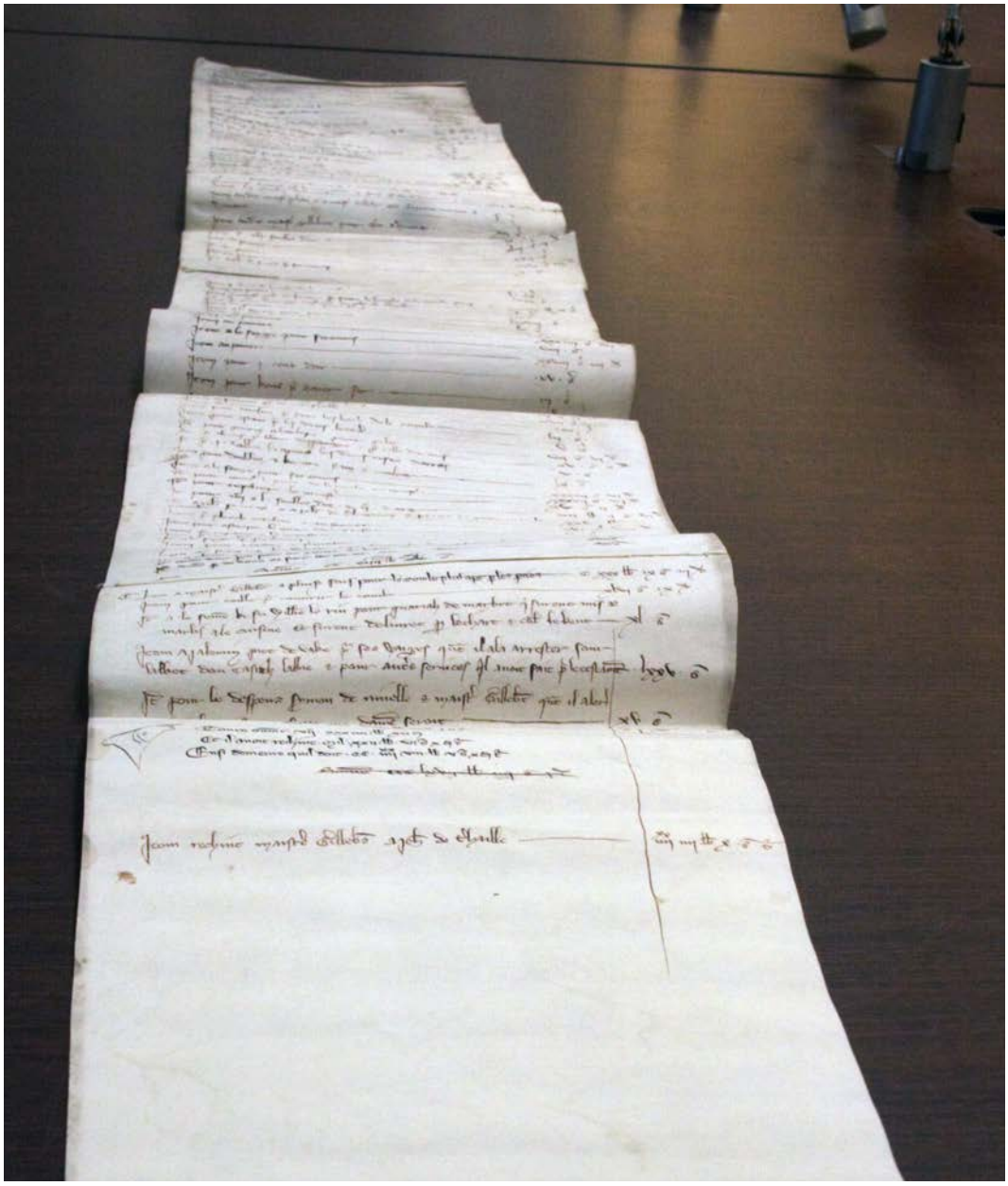
93. de Mandrot, 'Jean de Bourgogne', p. 36. In the disputed inheritance between Engelbert and Charlotte of Burgundy and her husband, Jean d'Albret, the lawyer of the latter argued that, above all, he was a good Frenchman.

94. Norris, *The Craft*, p. 23.

CHAPTER 10

VEILING AND UNVEILING: THE MATERIALITY OF THE TOMB OF JOHN I OF AVESNES AND PHILIPPA OF LUXEMBOURG IN THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH OF VALENCIENNES

SANNE FREQUIN



10.1
Account of Frankine for the executors of the testament of Philippine of Luxembourg (1313). Ink on parchment, 135 x 21.5 cm (top) up to 17.5 cm (bottom), Lille, Archives départementales du Nord. B 8220, envelope no. 151648 (1313).

Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*, first published in 1964, is a classic, still used nowadays by those working on tomb sculpture and sepulchral culture.[1] But a synthesis of almost 3000 years of tomb sculpture obviously also leaves scope for further investigation. Panofsky focuses on iconography in the classical sense of the word, the description and classification of the content of images; analysing sculptural details like pillows, closed or opened eyes, full or half figures. But these descriptions and analyses of sculpture read like a rather 'monochrome' story, since there are no remarks on technique, material (for example the type of stone) or polychromy.[2] Recent art historical research has, however, stressed the significance of the materiality of the tombs, including stone and polychromy.[3]

This chapter highlights the materiality of a monumental double tomb of the counts of Hainaut, that of John I of Avesnes (Count of Hainaut, †1304) and his wife, Philippa of Luxembourg (†1284), now non-extant, but originally in the Franciscan church in Valenciennes.[4] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the antiquarian Henri d'Outreman and his colleague Simon Le Boucq mentioned the tomb in their histories of Valenciennes.[5] Anne McGee Morganstern reconstructed—by using the two brief descriptions of the antiquarians—the iconography of the tomb and placed it the context of the Flanders succession conflict between John I of Avesnes and his stepfamily.[6] I will take the reconstruction of the tomb one step further by using two contemporary sources, accounts that were made up for the executors of the testament of Philippa of Luxembourg.[7] This reconstruction of the tomb of John I and Philippa will demonstrate that a focus on the materiality of the tomb can provide information about its original appearance and permits a hypothesis about its function and the performative character of the tomb.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY IMPRESSION

Henri d'Outreman (†1605) described the tomb in his history of Valenciennes. His chronicle addresses the antique beginnings of Valenciennes, up to the death of King Philip II of Spain (†1598). The description of the tomb of John I and Philippa is part of his chapter about pious foundations in Valenciennes. It is important to stress that it was not the objective of D'Outreman (as it was for chroniclers like Antoine de Succa) to describe the tomb's appearance.[8] His primary concern was the epitaphs that accompanied the tombs in the churches of Valenciennes. It is, however, possible to deduce some aspects relevant to the materiality of the tomb from his description. According to d'Outreman, the tomb was carved from marble. Two figures were placed atop the tomb. All four sides of the tomb's base were decorated with escutcheons (*forces armoires*) of family members of the deceased.

> The first tomb is situated in the middle of the choir behind the pulpit [*le pulpitre*]: it is made of two marble statues, who are John of Avesnes, second with that name Count of Hainaut, Holland etc. & Philipine of Lembourg his wife, with escutcheons on all sides: which I do not include in the description, because they are not the quarters of the deceased, but the arms of his father, mother, grandfather, brothers, uncles, nephews & next of kin.[9]

Simon Le Boucq (†1657) addressed the ecclesiastical history of Valenciennes in his 1650 publication. His description of the churches and other pious foundations in Valenciennes is more elaborate than that of Henri d'Outreman. According to Le Boucq, John I and Philippa's tomb was made of black marble on which were placed two effigies executed in white stone. The man was dressed in a *sayon* (a man's outer coat), which bore the coats of arms of Hainaut.[10] On his *escu* (escutcheon), the Hainaut coat of arms was represented. The dress of the female effigy bore the coats of arms of Luxembourg, Empire, and Bar. The coats of arms of close family members and relatives of the Count and Countess could be found on the four sides of the tomb:

> The first tomb is that of John of Avesnes, Count of Hainaut, Holland, etc., which is situated in the middle of the choir, and it used to be very magnificent, being made of black marble, with on it two statues of white marble, the man being armed with an outer coat [*sayon*] with the arms of Hainaut of four lions on his chest and below the belt in lozenges [the arms of] Hainaut and Empire: on his escutcheon were only the arms of Hainaut. The woman carried on her dress: Luxembourg, Empire and Bar.[11]

The genealogical program of the tomb displayed through the coats of arms on the tomb chest—as was described by Le Boucq—has been reconstructed by Anne McGee Morganstern. She linked this programme to the political context of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century.[12] Morganstern argues that the position of the grandmother of John I, the Countess of Flanders and Hainaut, Margaret of Constantinople (†1280), does not befit her status. According to Morganstern, the heraldically incorrect placement of Margaret can be considered a consequence of the dispute of John of Avesnes and his son John I of Avesnes with the family matriarch. As such, the tomb becomes a political statement in a period of political unrest. The political reading of this tomb is just one aspect of its function. The tomb has also functioned as a means for liturgical commemoration. To my knowledge there are no surviving sources relating to these liturgical rites. The reconstruction of the materials used and the original appearance of the tomb can provide more information about its use in commemorating the Count and Countess.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: STONE, POLYCHROMY AND GILDING

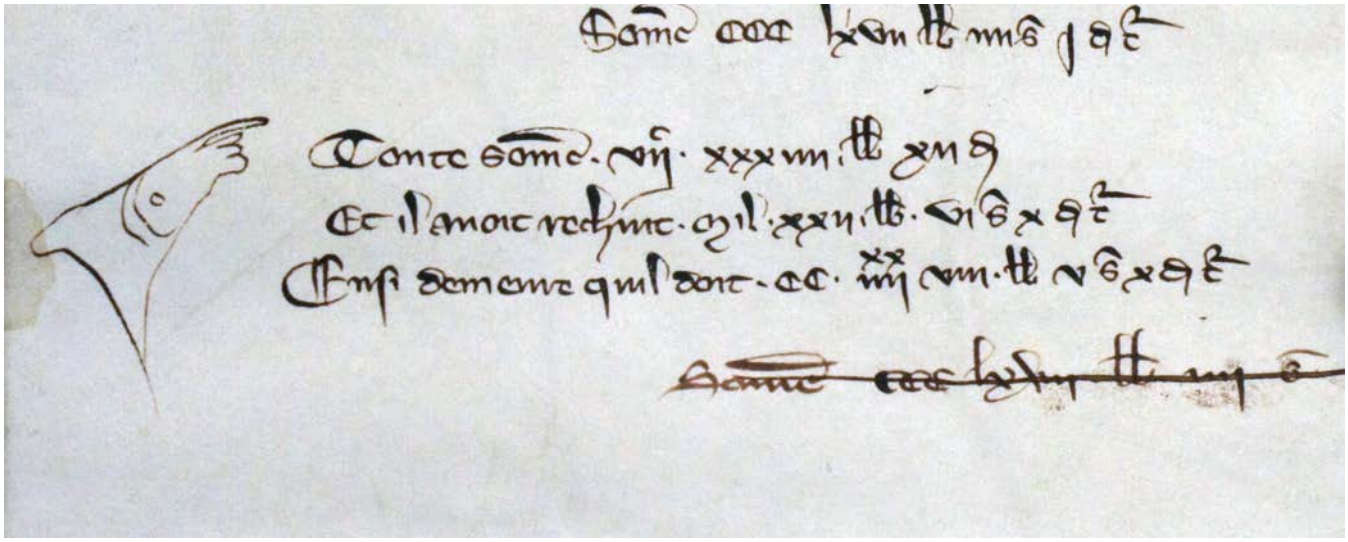
The only evidence concerning the materiality of the tomb in the aforementioned descriptions of Le Boucq and D'Outreman is the choice of black marble for the chest of the tomb, in combination with the white stone effigies of the Count and Countess. More information about the materials used and the fabrication process can, however, be found in two invoices dated 6 April 1311 and 6 September 1313. The 1311 account enumerates payments for jewels, cloth, gold and work on the tomb of John I and Philippa.[13] The 1313 account—

Structure of the 1313 account			
Income		Account	Amount
1	Receipts of Frankine	*Tout chou ke Frankine a rechuit des executeurs medame* All Frankine has received from the executors of the Countess	+ 1023 l. 6 s. 10 d.
Expenses		Account	Amount
2	Obsequies of the countess	*Rendage Frankine pour le testament* Account by Frankine for the testament	- 154 l. 23 d.
3	Tomb of the count and countess	*Che sont frait pour le tombe monseigneur et medame les quels dieux absoille* These are the costs for the tomb of the Count and Countess, God bless their souls	- 214 l. 12 s.
4	Six separate entries	No title, entries for cross and cloth	- 367 l. 4 s. 1 d.
Settlement		Account	Amount
	Subtotal costs	*Conte somme* Total sum	- 734 l. 12 s.
	Subtotal revenues	*Et il avoit rechuit* And he has received	+ 1023 l. 6 s. 10 d.
	Surplus	*Ensi demeure quil soit* What remains now	+ 288 l. 5 s. 10 d.

Table 1
Structure of 1313 account, Archive Lille B 8220 (envelope no. 151648).

drawn up by 'Frankine'—in which costs related to the decoration of the tomb are specified, is much more extensive and therefore deserves a more detailed description. It is a roll of parchment that is sewn together at two places with a total length of approximately 135 cm. The width of the document varies from 21.5 cm on top to 17.5 cm at the bottom (fig. 10.1).[14] It is in good condition, although there are some small areas of damage that make parts of the entries illegible. In the account two hands can be recognised. The first scribe is later corrected by a second one, in a different handwriting and using a darker color of ink. Sometimes information is added to specific items, items are crossed out and amounts are corrected by the second hand.

The account was transcribed by Chrétien Dehaisnes in the nineteenth century.[15] He noted in his transcription that Frankine had written the account for a Jehan de Biaufort, Jehan de Maubuege and Jehan, *recheveur* de Biaumont.[16] This dedication, however, cannot be found on the original 1313 document and probably originates from another account. The different parts of the account can, however, give a clue about the nature of the document (see Table 1). The first part of the document consists of the receipts of Frankine and shows the debts that were collected (Table 1, no. 1).[17] Bauduin d'Herypont, for example, has to pay 10 livres, that he still owed according to the last account ('Item a monsieur Bauduin de Herypont kil devoit desen darrain compte à 10 l.').[18] The next parts concern the expenses regarding the obsequies of the Countess (Table 1, no. 2) and specific costs for the tomb (Table 1, no. 3). Expenses for the obsequies are, for example, amounts for the golden cloth that was used in the service ('dras dor ki furent mis au service à 10 l.').[19] The entry of expenses specifically associated with the tomb consist of a total of sixty-seven entries for materials such as gold, pigments and various metals, and for specific tasks performed on the tomb. This part of the account will be discussed more thoroughly below. After the costs for the tomb there have been added six separate entries with payments to Gillebert and Simon de Nivelle (respectively the head-contractor and a Parisian goldsmith) for a cross in the church and payments for cloth which covered the tomb (Table 1, no. 4). The account ends with a total of receipts and expenditure ('*conte somme*' Table 1, Settlement) written by the second hand and marked with a little hand to point out its importance (fig. 10.2). The total of all payments mentioned above is 734 livres and 12 sous. The amount



10.2
Detail of fig. 10.1 showing the detail of receipts and expenditure.

Expenses for the tomb		
Stone		
S1	*Premiers a maistre Jehan le Roi pour II fois il ala a Dynant pour faire venir les espondes de le tombe.* First to master Jehan le Roi because he went to Dynant to transport the slab of the tomb.	17 l. 16 s. 6 d.
S2	*Item pour le piere de le tombe et pour amener le dite piere* *Et me sire li cuens en paia a iaulz encore a Mons 60 s.* For the stone of the tomb and for the transport of it. The Count has paid them in Mons already 60 s.	39 l. 19 s. + advance payment of 60 s.
S3	*Item a Gillain don marbiet de Mons a me dame li denoit* Item to Gillain, marbler from Mons, paid to him by Madame.	42 l.
S4	*Item pour pieres a barbier pour polir.* Item for grindstones for polishing.	7 s. 6 d.
Ironwork and Textiles		
I1	*Item pour venir le hughe de le tombe.* Item for the transport of the hughe of the tomb.	50 s.
I2	*Item a maistre Jehan de Siveri pour faire le hughe de le tombe sans 40 l. que il rechuit de Jehan de Trehaille.* Item to master Jehan de Siveri for making the hughe of the tomb, without the 40 l. he has already received of Jehan de Terhaille.	34 l. 10 s. + advance payment of 40 l.
I3	*Item a Jehan de Biallin pour le ferement de le hughe.* Item to Jehan de Biallin for the iron for the hughe.	16 l.
I4	*Item a Jehan Severin et a Jehan de Trahignies pour parfaire le pointure de le tombe.* Item to Jehan de Severin and Jehan the Trahignies for finishing the cutting/ stitching of the tomb.	25 l.
I5	*Item as Freres meneurs pour racater les dras dor ki furent mis au dit service* Item to the friars to buy golden cloth that is used during service.	10 l.
I6	*Item pour toille pour couvrir le tombe.* Item for cloth to cover the tomb.	46 s. 9 d.
Polychromy and gilding		
P1	*Item pour laithon pour faire lettres de le tombe.* Item for brass for the letters on the tomb.	52 s.
P2	*Item pour estain pour les dites lettres.* Item for tin for those letters.	5 s.
P3	*Item pour viernis, pour blanc d'Espaingne et pour oille de nois.* Item for varnish, blanc d'Espaigne and nut oil.	15 s. 10 d.

Table 2
Selection of entries from part three (costs for the tomb) of the 1313 account. Archive Lille B 8220 (envelope no. 151648).

that Frankine received from the executors of the testament is 1023 livres, 6 sous and 10 deniers. This left Frankine a surplus of 288 livres, 5 sous and 10 deniers. At the end of the account, an entry with a payment of 88 livres and 10 sous from Jehan de Trehaille to maistre Gillebert has been added. This document thus seems to be the final statement from Frankine, probably drawn up for the executors. An overview of costs made for the obsequies and the fabrication of the tomb is presented and compared with the advance Frankine received from the executors of Philippa's will.

Three crucial aspects regarding the materiality of the tomb of John I and Philippa stand out: the type of stone, the ironwork and the textiles used on the tomb. First to be addressed is the stone used for the tomb. D'Outreman describes the monument as a tomb of *marbre*.[20] In fact, he is referring to a black stone, *noir Belge*, quarried in Belgium. In the historical sources, this stone is quite commonly cited as a marble, with various terms applied interchangeably.[21] In the invoice, very specific entries have been recorded in relation to the stone for the tomb, making an identification of two types of stone possible. Masters Jehan le Roi and Gillebert ('contractors of the tomb') received payments for the stone. Notably, it appears that stone has been ordered in two different places. The tomb's *espondes* (tomb slab) was purchased in Dinant (Table 2, no. S1). and a second order of stone can be connected to Mons (Table 2, no. S2).[22] In the first part of the account a payment to Gillain, marbier of Mons, is mentioned (Table 2, no. S3). These specifications facilitate a rough estimate of the cost of the stone in Mons amounting to almost 85 livres. The payment for the stone in Mons was thus significantly higher (more than 60 l.) than the payment for the stone in Dinant (17 l. 16 s. 6 d.). The difference in price can probably be attributed to the volume of stone ordered. The volume of stone for the tomb slab (one plate) was significantly lower than the volume ordered for the chest of the tomb (four plates).[23]

The stone quarried in Dinant is composed of sludge and coral lime remnants. This dark limestone is very homogeneous and fine in structure. At Mons, or more specifically in the towns of Soignies and Ecaussinnes to the north of Mons, a different order of *noir Belge* is quarried. This stone is characterised by its white calcite discolorations.[24] The explanation for the use of two different kinds of stone may very well be aesthetic. The stone that could actually be seen was probably the finer more marble-like black stone from Dinant used for the slab. This Dinant stone was polished, as is indicated by an entry in the invoice for stones used for polishing (Table 2, no. S4) and used as the black, gleaming base for the effigies.[25] The chest of the tomb was made from black stone from Mons: a coarser stone to which polychromy, tin, gold and silver were applied. Here the dark grey-blue colour of the stone was probably considered less important and could not be seen at all. Masters Gillebert and Jehan, the craftsmen ordering the stone, thus were very specific about their choice of stone. Visibility could have been an argument for the selection of the stone. The visible black stone of the tomb slab was meant to shine like marble and served as a perfect backdrop for the *gisants* of white marble (probably once in whole or partly polychromed and gilded) and for the richly decorated tomb chest below.

Polychromy on the tomb must have faded over the years, causing d'Outreman to think of it as a black marble tomb, instead of a richly polychromed one. Two remaining tombs of the Avesnes family support this hypothesis. The first is a fragment of the tomb of a nephew of John I of Avesnes, also named John of Avesnes († 1279, son of Baldwin of Avesnes † 1289 and Félicitas of Coucy † 1307). He was buried in the Dominican church in Valenciennes. This fragment, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Valenciennes, is fully polychromed (fig. 10.3).[26] This polychromy once entirely concealed the black stone of the chest. The second tomb belongs to Guy of Avesnes, in Saint Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht (fig. 10.4). This tomb, which nowadays is known for its deep black colour, was once fully polychromed. Technical research, using a portable XRF scanner (Niton XL3t) has pointed out traces of lead (Pb) found all over the monument. Lead is a pigment that is found in lead-white, which is used as a subsoil for paint. It is probable that a white undercoat was applied to the entire tomb. Residues of copper (Cu), mercury (Hg) and gold (Au) were also detected. Considering the undercoat of lead-white and the various pigments found all over the tomb's surface, one can conclude that the tomb was once entirely painted.[27] This is corroborated by the sixteenth-century Utrecht antiquarian, Arnoud van Buchel (1565-1641), who wrote that in his time the polychromy on the monument of Guy was already very faded and barely legible. This was probably also the case for the tomb of John I and Philippa in the sixteenth century.[28] Their black tomb chest was once richly gilded with gold leaf, as is suggested by the expenses drawn up in the 1313 invoice. In total a quantity of 1,450 gold leaves was ordered. The average dimensions of a gold leaf are 8 x 8 cm.[29] A simple calculation (64 cm2 x 1,450 = 92,800 cm2) suggests the tomb was covered with no less than 9.28 m2 of gold leaf. There must have been numerous gilded details on the tomb. The metals brass and tin were used for letters applied to the tomb (Table 2, nos. P1, P2). Finally, there are also entries included for the primer (calcium carbonate, in the invoice referred to as *blanc d'espagne*); nut oil (in all likelihood walnut oil, as this was often used for white pigments);[30] colour (not further specified); and varnish (Table 2, no. P3).[31] The invoice unfortunately does not reveal if the tomb of John and Philippa had so-called *pleurants* or mourners on its chest.[32] Considering the other two examples already mentioned, it is highly likely that John and Philippa's tomb also contained mourners representing family members in stone, who would have been richly polychromed and who could be identified by their painted escutcheons.

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: IRON AND TEXTILES

The tomb of John I and Philippa did not consist entirely of polychromed and gilded black and white stone. The entry for the '*hughe*' indicates a structure that was placed on the tomb. I have found no satisfactory translation of the old French word *hughe* that can be directly related to tombs. The total amount that is paid for this *hughe* is substantial, especially when compared to the total costs for pigments, gold and other metals. A master

10.3
Fragment of the tomb of John of Avesnes (c.1250- c.1300). Polychromed Tournai marble, 98 x 60 x 26 cm, Musée de Valenciennes, inv. 90.17.A.

10.4
Tomb of Guy of Avesnes (c.1317). Tournai marble, Utrecht, Saint Martin's Cathedral.

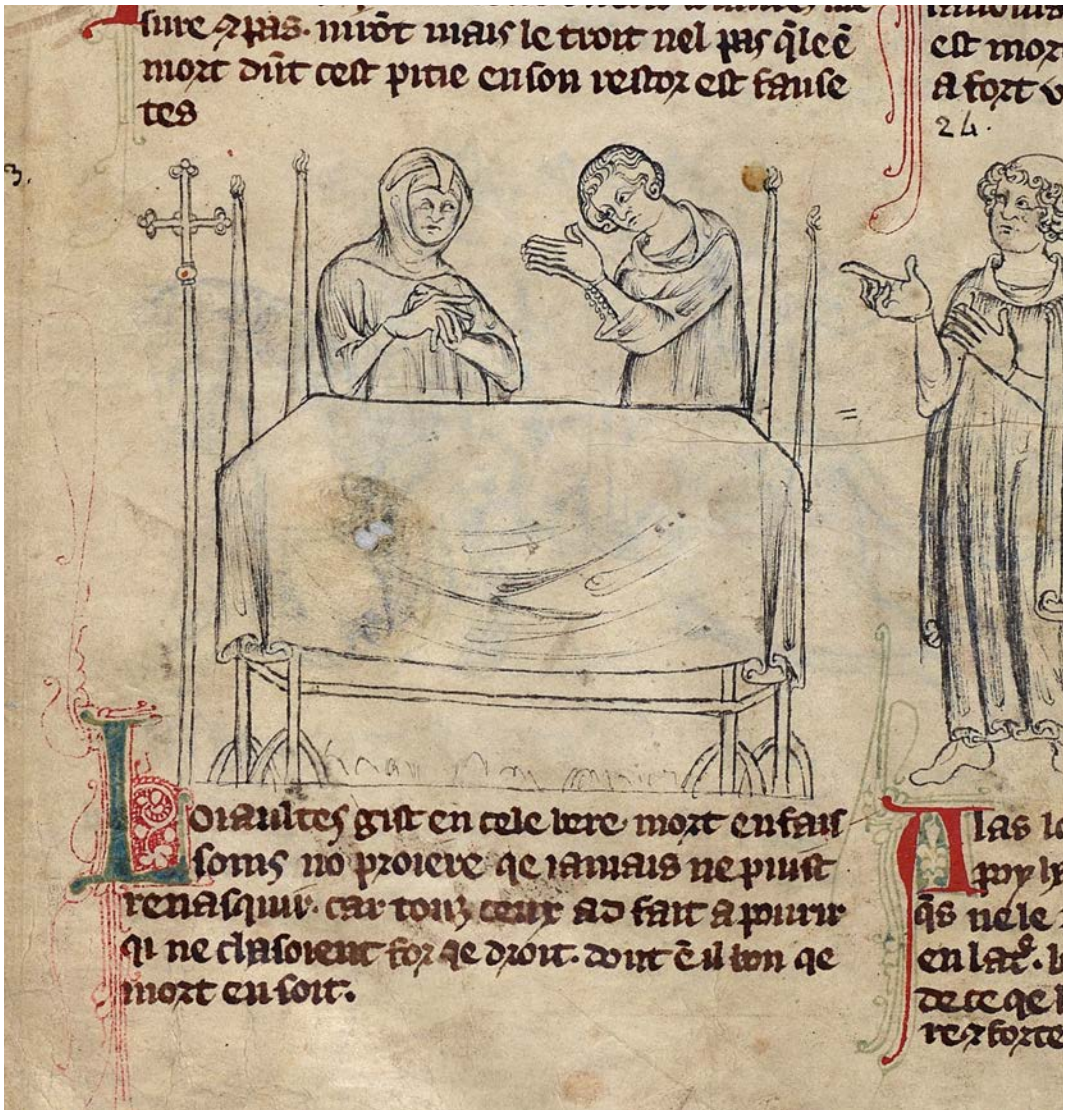
Jehan de Siveri (also called Jehan de Severin) received 74 livres and 10 sous (see Table 2, no. I2).[33] Jehan de Biallin received an additional 16 livres for the *hughe* (Table 2, no. I3).[34] 50 sous was paid for the transfer of the *hughe* (Table 2, no. I1). This makes a total amount of more than 90 livres paid by Frankine. For comparison, the total costs for pigments, gold and other metals (21 l.), and the payments to the painter (18 l. 10 d.) are both significantly lower.[35] Not only the high amount paid for the *hughe*, but also its probable function on the tomb justifies further analysis of this object.

The exact location of the *hughe* on the tomb can be deduced from the earlier account, written in 1311.[36] Robert le Cochon received a substantial sum (365 l. 15 d.) for, among other items, 'le hughe dont li tombe est couverte'.[37] Furthermore, from the entries in the 1313 account, we can deduce the various materials from which the *hughe* was made. The occupations of the men who received payments for the *hughe* are the key element in identifying these materials. Jehan de Biallin, who supplied the iron was probably a blacksmith. Although the role of Jehan de Severin is less clear, his profession can be deduced from other accounts of the Hainaut court. In an account of 1327-28, Jehan de Severin received an amount for a *kar* (cart) he had made for the Countess of Hainaut, Joan of Valois († 1342).[38] In a more detailed account of 1335-36, de Severin is mentioned under the rubric '*tapis et étoffés*' (fabric). He received money for different fabrics that he had bought for the cart.[39] Probably de Severin was responsible for furnishing the cart.[40] In an account that dates a year later, concerning the costs for the obsequies of William I, Count of Hainaut († 1337, also known as William III, Count of Holland), the following entries are added:

> 'Item, pour 61 onche de chendal inde delivret a Jehan Sevrin, pour faire le chiel dou travail, parmi in gros l'onche, valt 15 s. 3 de gros.
> Item , a li , pour II pieches de toille verde pour le dit chiel , 3 s. 4 d. de gros.[…]
> Ch'est chou c'on doit a Jehan Severin. Pour [pointure] le chiel dou travail et le travail aussi 25 l.[41]

From this we can conclude that de Severin worked with *chendal* (cendal, a fabric used for banners) and two pieces of green cloth and was responsible for the *chiel* for the obsequies of William I.[42] We can conclude from these entries that de Severin was a furnisher, whose task was to furnish the iron structure of the *hughe* of John and Philippa with cloth. In the case of de Severin, the '*pointure*' mentioned in the 1313 account (Table 2, no. I4) could refer to the French word *piqûre* (stitching), suggesting that de Severin not only bought the fabrics, but also sewed them into a fitting shape.[43] The combination of the specific *hughe* with cloth is affirmed by an entry in an account of the counts of Holland dated 1392. The payment mentions a *hughe* that is used to support cloth ('une huge quil acata pour mettre les lignes draps').[44]

What did this *hughe* look like? The word *hughe* does permit one to think of it as a cage, covering the tomb. In his 'Mirror of histories', the chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse (c.1395)



10.5
Miniature lamentations simulées sur Loyauté (c.1326). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français MS 571, fol. 148v, Valenciennes.

speaks of a lion being transported in a '*hughe de fier*,' suggesting that a *hughe* is indeed an iron cage.[45] The *hughe* could also be comparable with the *chapelle ardente*, known in Italy as the *castrum doloris* and in England as a hearse (from now on I will use the English term hearse). These structures were temporary (often wooden) baldachin-like structures placed over the body of the deceased in front of the altar. They provided the place where the celebrant could grant absolution to the deceased.[46] Medieval parishes often had their own hearse. For more elaborate funerals a special hearse was made, often donated to the church, after the service. Minou Schraven connects these structures, that were elaborately decorated with cloth, painted and dressed with cardboard heraldic devices to 'heraldic funerals', the thirteenth-century funerals of the aristocracy that developed into elaborate rituals of heraldic display. Besides their liturgical function, these hearses also functioned as a means to display the noble descent and alliances of the deceased.[47] In miniatures there are many examples of hearses. A simple structure, with two mourning figures standing behind it, is displayed in a Valenciennes manuscript dating from 1326 (fig. 10.5).[48] The structure consists of four legs and lifts the chest that is covered by a funeral pall.

There are several contemporary examples where a comparable iron or wooden structure is placed on or over a tomb, instead of over the body. In his study on the funerals and tombs of the French kings, Alain Erlande-Brandenburg remarks that the tomb of Louis VII (†1180, tomb of c.1200) in the Cistercian monastery of Barbeau was covered by two frames, one of wood and one of iron, which are mentioned in the *Vie de Louis VII*.[49] The tomb of Robert of Artois (†1250) provides a second example of placing a trellis on a tomb. A 1326 account suggests this trellis was made like the trellis on the (now non-extant)

10.6
Tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1442/3-1463/4). Copper alloy, Warwick, St Mary.

tomb of his mother, Blanche of Castille (†1252).[50] In England there are extant examples of hearses on tombs of later date. One of them is the well-known tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (†1439). It still has an iron hearse placed on top of it (fig. 10.6). Julian Munby connects the round shape of the permanent hearse on the tomb of Beauchamp to the funeral cart of the deceased count.[51] The question is whether the structures mentioned in the examples of Louis VII and Robert of Artois and the *hughe* on the tomb of John I and Philippa can be considered permanent versions of hearses, comparable to that of Beauchamp. Is a hearse a *hughe*?

It is possible, in my opinion, to consider the *hughe* on the tomb of John I and Philippa a hearse-like structure placed on, or over the tomb. By my knowledge this is the earliest example where a hearse on a tomb can be connected to cloth placed upon it. The tomb of John I and Philippa can thus be considered a reflection of the ritual of covering the body (and the chest) during liturgical commemorations. Their *hughe* refers to the liturgical function of the hearse, the indication of an important place, where the deceased receives absolution. But it is probably also a reflection of the earlier described heraldic function of the hearse, during the heraldic funerals of the aristocracy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Was a *hughe* a permanent or temporary structure? The entry referring to the *hughe* (‘*frait pour le tombe*’, see Table 1, no. 3) is not part of the payments for the obsequies of the Countess and thus does not suggest a temporary funeral function alone (Table 1, no. 2). It seems to be a permanent structure that was placed on the tomb. For circumstantial evidence for its placement, one can turn again to the tomb of John I’s brother, Guy of Avesnes, in Utrecht. Close examination of the cover plate of Guy’s tomb reveals that there

are holes in the corners of the plate (fig. 10.7). There is an iron ring in the plinth at the foot of the tomb. These holes and the ring may have functioned as anchoring points for a cage-like structure, perhaps also a *hughe*. A miniature of the tomb of Margareth II, Countess of Hainaut (†1356, buried in the Franciscan church in Valenciennes), wife of Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor (†1347), shows a simple iron structure placed on the tomb above the gisant (fig. 10.8).[52] This is a wall tomb, but one can easily imagine the same gable roof construction on the tomb of John I and Philippa. The similarity of the tomb of Guy with that of his brother and with the tomb of Mathilda of Hainaut suggests that the *hughe* of John I and Philippa was also permanently placed on their tomb slab. The importance of cloth (pointed out by the relatively high payments to de Severin) and thereby of covering the tomb suggests that it functioned in liturgical commemoration and thus can be connected to the ritual function of the hearse. An important remark to connect to this ritual is the fact that (part of) the tomb was not always visible for the audience. What does this mean for the performative character of the tomb?[53]

A LOST TOMB RECONSTRUCTED: MATERIAL AND PERFORMANCE

As pointed out earlier, no sources remain that can give any information about these rituals. As Annegret Laabs and Renate Kroos have justly stated, the liturgical *memoria* were of great importance for the tomb. The appearance of tombs was largely influenced by the rituals surrounding them. The reconstruction of the material used for this tomb thus reveals aspects of its liturgical use, the rituals performed in remembrance of the dead Count and Countess. Considering the placement of the *hughe* and the large amounts paid for the cloth on this structure, the veiling and unveiling of the tomb formed an important part in the tomb's liturgical function. Kroos states that during the remembrance services at a tomb, an exact repetition of the ritual performed at the funeral, including the 'stage-property' took place. She argues that the use of a funeral pall to cover the chest or the tomb can already be found in the eleventh century and its origins probably lie in the veneration of saints.[54] There seems to be a contrast between the use of such palls and the more elaborate hearse structures. Why invest in a tomb, made of a hard-to-carve durable stone, richly embellished with polychromy, gold and other precious metals and provided with a subtle political message, if it will be covered at its height of attention? According to Kroos the elaborate fabric, often adorned with coats of arms, and the candles burning around the tomb, were the perfect way to stand out and to catch someone's eye, which was difficult in churches filled with tombs.[55] Johannes Tripps, however, argues the other way around. In his opinion, the actual tombs were often only visible during their feast days. They were usually hidden in wooden or leather cabinets, that were opened (like an altarpiece) to show their magnificent content.[56] The medieval spectator would be able to catch a glimpse of the tomb only on important days. When looking at a miniature of the Codex Balduini, I think these two arguments can be corroborated. The miniature depicts the tomb of Heinrich

10.7
Detail of the tomb of Guy of Avesnes (c.1317). Hole in the cover plate and iron ring in the plinth, Utrecht, Saint Martin's Cathedral.

10.8
Hubert Cailleau, Miniature depicting the tomb of Margareth II of Hainaut (†1356) in the Franciscan church of Valenciennes. Watercolor, 20 x 30 cm. Bibliothèque Municipal de Douai, ms. 1183, vol. 2, fol. 119, Valenciennes.

VII in Pisa (c.1320) and its canopy with two angels opening curtains.[57] Gert Kreytenberg justly points out that this depiction of the monument has little to do with the actual tomb of Heinrich VII in Pisa.[58] Then what do we see? Can this be a reflection of a practice of veiling and unveiling a tomb effigy? Does not just the fact that a tomb is covered, but the actual performance of covering and uncovering it—the interaction with the monument—highlight the message of the material and the iconography? The importance of this kind of performative action has already been demonstrated for other media, for example statues and retables.[59]

To conclude, what does this investigation of materiality add to Panofsky's 'monochrome' story? A focus on the materiality of this tomb has provided information about its original appearance. The black and white tomb of John I and Philippa, described by D'Outreman and Le Boucq, appears to have been richly coloured and adorned with a structure that was placed upon it. This structure consisted of the iron cage covered with cloth, which played a role in the commemoration rituals that were inextricably connected to the tomb. The interaction between tomb and celebrant could be an explanation for the high payments to furnisher Jehan de Severin. It is possible that he did not just make a simple pall, but a more elaborate piece of cloth, fitting for such a repetitive performative action. Although evidence for such rituals is now lost, the reconstruction of the tomb has allowed a preliminary hypothesis of the interplay between visibility and material. The high amount paid for covering the tomb indicates that investigating materiality cannot be separated from the commemorative rituals connected to it. If no specific sources exist of these rituals, a tomb can serve as a means for reconstructing them.

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1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1964). Białostocki describes the book in his Art Bulletin review as a turning point for the discipline. Jan Białostocki, 'Book Review', *The Art Bulletin* 49/3 (1967): p. 261.

2. At the International Historical Congress (August 1928) in Oslo, Dutch scientist G.J. Hoogewerff was one of the first to stress the importance of the iconological method. G.J. Hoogewerff, 'L'iconologie et son importance pour l'étude systématique de l'art Chrétien, *Rivista d'Archeologia Christiana* 8 (1931): pp. 53–82. See for a thorough analysis of Hoogewerff and his work Anne-Maria van Egmond and Claudine Chavannes-Mazel (eds), *Medieval Art in the Northern Netherlands before Van Eyck. New Facts and Features* (Utrecht: Clavis, 2014).

3. See for example Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); David Park, 'The Polychromy of English Medieval Sculpture', in Stacy Boldrick, David Park and Paul Williamson (eds), *Wonder: Painted Sculpture from Medieval England*, exh. cat. (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2002), p. 30; and Sanne Frequin, 'A Voice from the Grave. The Tomb of Guy of Avesnes in Saint-Martin's Cathedral in Utrecht', in van Egmond and Chavannes-Mazel, *Medieval Art in the Northern Netherlands before Van Eyck*, pp. 160–71.

4. He is known as John II count of Holland and Zeeland and John I count of Hainaut. I will refer to him as John I in this paper. His father, John of Avesnes, died before he could claim his rights to the county of Hainaut. In this paper he will be referred to as John of Avesnes. The Franciscan church in Valenciennes is nowadays known as St.-Géry.

5. Henri d'Outreman, *Histoire de la ville et comte de Valentiennes* (Douai, 1639) and Simon Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville du comté de Valentienne* (Valenciennes : Prignet, 1844).

6. For the political turmoil in Flanders and Hainaut see D.E.H. de Boer and E.H.P Cordfunke, *1299: één graaf, drie graafschappen: de vereniging van Holland, Zeeland en Henegouwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000).

7. 1313 account: Lille, *Archives départementales du Nord*, B 8220 (envelope no. 151648), published in Chrétien C.A. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois & le Hainaut avant le XVe siecle* (Lille: Danel, 1886), pp. 196-98, accessed October 27, 2015, http://archive.org/details/documentsetextra01deha. 1311 account : Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 195-96.

8. Micheline Comblen-Sonkes and Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens, *Les Mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa: exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, [du 5 mars au 30 avril 1977]* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1977).

9. 'le premier tombeau est au milieu du choeur derriere le Pulpitre: qui est de marbre taillé à deux personnages, qui sont Jean d'Avesnes second du nom Comte de Hainau, Hollande etc. & Philipine de Lembourg sa femme, avec force armoiries de toute parts : lesquelles i'obmets à dessein, eu esgard que ce ne sont pas les cartiers du defunct, mais les armes de ses père, mere, grand père, freres, oncles, cousins & semblables.' D'Outreman, *Histoire*, p. 445.

10. Anne van Buren and Roger S. Wieck, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (New York; London: The Morgan Library & Museum; D. Giles Ltd., 2011), p. 316.

11. 'La première tombe est celle de Jean d'Avesnes, comte de Haynau, Hollande, etc., laquelle est au meillieu du choeur, et estoit du passé fort magnifcique, estant marbre noir, et pardessus deux personnages de pierre blanche, l'homme estant armé avecq ung sayon des armes de Haynau à quatre lions sur sa poitrine, et en desoubz de la ceinture estoient par lozengues Haynau et Empire ; sur son escu estoient seulement les armes de Haynau. La femme portoit sur sa robe : Lutzembourg, Empire et Bar…' Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, p. 113.

12. Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p. 59, fig. 28, appendix 3.

13. For the invoice, see note 7. Although helpful, the transcription of Dehaisnes is incomplete and there are several mistakes in it. For this paper the original document of the 1313 account was studied.

14. For the invoice, see note 7.

15. For Dehaisnes, see note 7.

16. The three Jehans are mentioned in an account of May 7, 1300. 'Chest li contes ke Frankrine fist a le monnoie le jeudi devalt le procession de Valenchiennes, en l'an mil IIIe et XIII par devant Jehan de Biaufort, Jehan de Maubuege, Jehan recheveur de Biaumont.' (Lille, *Chambre des Comptes 1301-1305*, Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 122). In an account of May 5, 1299 (Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 106) Jehan de Maubuege is called '*recheveur de Haynau*'. These three men were the *trésoriers* and executors of Philippa's testament. Valeria van Camp, *De Oorkonden en de Kanselarij van de Graven van Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland: Schriftelijke Communicatie tijdens een Personele Unie: Henegouwen, 1280-1345* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), p. 72.

17. Livres, sous and deniers in this paper and added tables are of Tours (*tournois*) except when specifically noted otherwise. One livre equals 20 sous and one sous equals 12 deniers.

18. I would like to thank my colleagues Yvonne Vermeijn, Frans Camphuijsen and Jelle Koopmans for their assistance in transcribing and translating the 1313 document. Any inadequacies can be attributed to the author.

19. Several corrections were made by the second writer. Four payments for a *'capelerie'*, a gift to the Carmelites (*'freres dou carme à 20 s.'*) and two gifts to specific persons have been crossed out. We can only guess the reason for these corrections. It is possible that these devotional gifts were placed in another (unknown) document, leaving only the 'practicalities' concerning the obsequies of the Countess in this part of the account.

20. D'Outreman, *Histoire*, p. 445.

21. See Ludovic Nys, *La Pierre de Tournai: son Exploitation et son Usage aux XIIIème, XIVème et XVème Siècles* (Tournai; Louvain-la-Neuve: Fabrique de l'Eglise cathédrale de Tournai; Université catholique de Louvain, 1993). For a thorough investigation of the English equivalent, the so-called 'Purbeck marble', see Sally Badham, 'An Interim Study of the Stones Used for the Slabs of English Monumental Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 13 (1985): pp. 475–83.

22. In the invoice, it appears that 'Mons 60 s.' was added later (the ink colour is darker, while for the next entry, the ink is again lighter. One explanation for this could be that, at the time the invoice was drawn up, the amount of the advance and/or its precise location was as yet to be traced.

23. The tomb chest of Guy of Avesnes is placed against the wall and constructed from two separate slabs.

24. See A. Slinger et al., *Natuursteen in Monumenten* (Zeist; Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1980).

25. Ludovic Nys pairs the polishing of the stone with the radiance of the marble. For this purpose he uses Philippa's invoice. The effigies were probably also (partially) polychromed. Nys, *Pierre*, p. 106.

26. Musée de Valenciennes, inv. 90.17.A. See for the fragment and a reconstruction of the tomb Vincent Maliet, *Histoire et archéologie du couvent des Dominicains de Valenciennes*, Cahiers Archéologiques de Valenciennes (Valenciennes: Musée de Valenciennes, 1995), pp. 68-72.

27. For the reconstruction of this tomb and the technical research see Frequin, 'Voice', p. 171.

28. 'Et in vicino oratorio, aliud levato in tumulo priori simili epitaphium, literis non insculptis, sed pictis colore iam fugiente. Fragilis certe in tanta aetate memoria, adeo ut nomen, nisi annales nos id docerent, iam interiisset. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo sexto, quarto cal. junii, obiit dominus ... Est autem Guidonis Avenionensis'. Utrecht Archive. *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, (nr. XXVII L 1) fol. 16v.

29. The 1313 invoice cites quantities of 400, 350 and 100 leaves in a 'book' of gold leaf. This deviates from the standard quantity at the Burgundian court of 300 leaves. Susie Nash, '"Pour couleurs et autres choses prise de lui…" the Supply, Acquisition, Cost and Employment of Painters' Materials at the Burgundian Court, c.1375-1419' in Jo Kirby, Susie Nash, and Joanna Cannon (eds). *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2010), p. 133.

30. Nash, *Materials*, note 136.

31. Nash, *Materials*, pp. 161-2.

32. Sanne Frequin, 'Pleurant or Priant – an Iconographical Motif in Medieval Sepulchral Art', in Michael Penman (ed.) *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 55–67.

33. The 1313 invoice states that the 40 l. that he had already received as an advance from Jehan de Trehaille is being deducted here.

34. He is also called Jehan Le Fevre, as is shown in a contemporary document. *'Jean Lefebvre dit de Bâillon'* can be translated Jean Lefevre [the blacksmith], called Jean de Baîllon. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord. 32 H 6 (Valenciennes, 14th century).

35. There is one other entry for de Siveri in the 1313 account. He receives with Jehan de Trahignies 25 l. 'pour parfaire le pointure de le tombe'. In the 1311 account he is paid 49 l. and has received an advance payment for 120 l. for 'avoir le dicte tombe pointre'. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 195.

36. Dehaisnes also offers a transcription of this account. Due to the shortcomings of the transcription that Dehaisnes has made of the 1313 account we have to be careful with interpreting the numbers in the transcription. For transcription see Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 195-6.

37. Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 195.

38. 'A Jehan Severin, prestet en rabat de ce que on li devra pour I kar qu'il faisoit a me dame, C florences ki valent a 27 s. 6 d. le pièce'. 1327-1328 *Compte des dépenses de la comtesse de Hainaut.* Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 274.

39. 'A Jehan Severin, pour payer a Laude Belonne pour cendaus et veluyaus pour le car me dame , 46 l. 10 s.' Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 304.

40. For the furnishing of carts see Julian Munby, 'From Carriage to Coach: What Happened?', in Robert Bork and

Andrea Kann (eds), *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 41–54. There is an extremely detailed description of the cart that brought Eleanor of Woodstock to her new husband, count Reynald of Guelders, in 1332. See E.W. Safford, 'An Account of the Expenses of Eleanor, Sister of Edward III, on the Occasion of Her Marriage to Reynald, Count of Guelders', *Archaeologia* 77 (1928): pp. 121–40.

41. *Compte des obsèques de Guillaume comte de Hainaut.* Dehaisnes, *Documents*, p. 309. Dehaisnes reads *'poindre le chiel'*. In my transcription of the 1313 document I read *'pointure'* instead of Dehaisnes' *'poindre'* at the payment to de Severin (table 2, no. I5). I have chosen to use the same term in this transcription.

42. This *chiel* was a hearse, placed above the body. Minou Schraven, 'Festive Funerals: Funeral Apparati in Early Modern Italy, Particularly in Rome' (PhD diss., Groningen University, 2006), p. 7.

43. Pointure, *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (ATILF CNRS; Université de Lorraine, 2012). Accessed on May 25, 2015, http://www.atilf.fr/dmf. See also Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers: Parl - Pol* (Briasson, 1765), p. 649.

44. This account is made up for William of Bavaria, at this time governor of Hainaut. He later becomes Count William IV of Hainaut (†1417). 'Item le 6e jour de march au Quesnoit payet a Stourme pour une huge quil acata pour mettre les lignes draps et pour 3 paires de wans[?] quil avoit paijet pour monsigneur une couronne de Haynain de 25 s. 6 d.' National Archive of the Netherlands, B 7937 fol. 51r. I would like to thank my colleague Anne-Maria van Egmond for pointing out this entry. She will deal extensively with the The Hague accounts of the counts of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut (1345-1425) in her forthcoming dissertation.

45. 'Chys lyons avoit longtemps devant esteit aporteis de Tharse en une hughe de fier, et avoit esteit presenteit al roy de Bealwier […]' Jean d'Outremeuse et al., *Ly myreur des histors: chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse* (Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1877), p. 190, note 6, accessed May 19, 2015 https://archive.org/details/MyreurDesHistors2.

46. Schraven, 'Funeral Apparati', p. 7.

47. Schraven, 'Funeral Apparati', p. 20, and Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 47-48.

48. BNF Français 571, fol. 148v, *Lamentations simulées sur Loyauté* c.1326, Valenciennes.

49. 'D'un chassis de bois ballustré en façon de coffre autour duquel estoient de petites lames de cuivre doré et ouvragé. Ce coffre estoit couvert d'un autre de fer élaboré et ravaillé à jour d'une manière assez délicate… Quelques-uns disent avoir vu des morceaux de verre coloré appliqués au bois en façon de pierreries[…]'. *Vie de Louis VII*, Bibl. Melun, MS 84, fol. 130 as cited in Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funerailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1975), p. 161.

50. 'De faire un treilloiz de fer sur la tombe feu Robert d'Artois, fiux de ladite dame, assise àus Frères Meneurs a Paris, d'autele façon, d'autele euvre et aussi bon et souffisant comme le treilleiz assis sur la tumbe madame Blanche d'Espaingne assise audit lieu […]'. Renate Kroos, 'Grabbräuche - Grabbilder', in Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (eds), *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (München: W. Fink, 1984), p. 340, cites Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pp. 223, 268.

51. Julian Munby, 'Richard Beauchamp's Funeral Car', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 155 (2003): pp. 278–87.

52. Bibliothèque Municipal de Douai, MS 1183, t 2, fol. 119.

53. In an unpublished lecture Johannes Tripps stated that these coverings of tombs were far more numerous than is often thought. Tripps connects the visibility of the tomb to the ceremonies in the service of the memoria of the deceased. He follows up on the earlier mentioned publication of Renate Kroos, about the depiction of funeral rituals on tombs. Johannes Tripps, 'Enlivening the Tomb: Sepulcher and Performance in Late-Medieval Burgundy and Beyond' (paper presented at 'The Mourners. Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy, 23 January–17 April 2011', Minneapolis Institute of Arts, January 23, 2011) and Kroos, 'Grabbräuche'.

54. Kroos, 'Grabbräuche', p. 299.

55. Kroos, 'Grabbräuche', p. 313.

56. Tripps, 'Enlivening'.

57. Kurt Bauch, *Das Mittelalterliche Grabbild Figürliche Grabmäler Des 11. Bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 73.

58. Gert Kreytenberg, 'Das Grabmal von Kaiser Heinrich VII in Pisa', *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 28/1 (1984): pp. 33–64.

59. See for example Elina Gertsman (ed.), *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

CHAPTER 11

'NOSTRE SÉPULTURE ET DERRENIÈRE MAISON': A RECONSIDERATION OF THE TOMB OF JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY, FOR THE SAINTE-CHAPELLE AT BOURGES, ITS INCEPTION, REVISION, AND RECONSTRUCTION

MATTHEW REEVES

11.1
Jean de Cambrai, Tomb effigy of Jean de Berry on black marble tomb-slab (c.1410, with c.1450 additions). Marble, effigy dimensions including the bear 205 x 65 x 35 cm. 'Height' of the duke alone 177 cm, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint Etienne.

As part of his wide-reaching 1964 study *Tomb Sculpture*, Erwin Panofsky attempted to reconstruct what he saw as a distinctive 'Northern' temperament, which shaped the fashions and conventions of medieval funerary sculpture in France and the Low Countries. He suggested that gothic tombs carved in these regions were both 'literal' and 'prospective', placing the identity and personage of the deceased 'in the center of a more or less complex narrative' concerning personal salvation.[1] His reading is particularly apt for our perception of the visual and spiritual agencies invested in the marble effigy of the Valois prince John, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), which is today preserved in a vandalised but remarkably intact state in the crypt of Bourges cathedral (figs 11.1-11.3). Berry's life and patronage are the subjects of extensive study, but curiously the artistic and patronal decisions that

informed the design of his tomb continue to be overlooked.[2] Indeed, Panofsky's own survey touched upon the tombs of the Duke's brothers, Charles V and Philip the Bold, as well as stylistically related sepulchral monuments made for the Bourbon dukes at Souvigny, but omitted any discussion of Berry's tomb, and his tendency towards creating what Georges Didi-Huberman has described as a 'deductive synthesis' leaves many of its key features, which are highly atypical in the context of French tomb statuary, unexplained.[3] The problem was implicit in the scope of Panofsky's lectures, which could not fully explore specific questions relating to the contexts, visibility and audience(s) of individual tombs, or their physical and material properties, including the role of applied and painted decoration (a stance also made emphatic through the 1964 publication's blanket use of black and white photography).[4] Nevertheless, Panofsky's succinct highlighting of what he saw as some of the paradoxes inherent to northern European funerary portraiture in the later Middle Ages have tremendous importance for the present study: the blending of a certain truth to nature with idealism is interpreted as an attempt to bridge the gap between the existence of the individual on earth and their existence in heaven; and the depiction of the deceased body is entwined with the suggestion of a simultaneous readiness for the afterlife—open eyes become symbolic of a prepared soul, rather than a miraculously awakened corpse.[5] Such notions will be considered here as having a crucial bearing on the Berry tomb, carved as we shall see, for a patron fully conversant with themes of life and death and highly receptive to the nuances of their visual and linguistic representation.

In studies undertaken since Panofsky, his charting of the rise of 'realism' and 'naturalism' in medieval tomb sculpture has been critically re-analysed, and they are now recognised as problematic and heavily-loaded terms with regards to late-medieval portraiture.[6] Naturalism will be discussed here as a device employed amongst others in a wider system of representation, and in combination with the realities of the Duke's ceremonial and commemorative wishes, to ratify the spiritual agencies of the tomb for a carefully defined contemporary audience. Looking more closely at its surviving fragments, and with particular focus on its effigy, carved under his patronage during the first period of the project, this chapter will address how Berry sought to craft in this most personal of commissions a highly complex, dualistic identity. Although hampered by its state of incompletion upon the death of its debt-ridden patron (to be finished by his grand-nephew over thirty years later), as well as its subsequent relocation, destruction, and dispersal, Berry's tomb will be re-presented as a carefully structured conduit for the Duke's spiritual, social, and cultural ambitions, and one of astonishing beauty and immediacy. This chapter will also touch upon the various reconstructions attempted after its relocation to Bourges cathedral and, with reference to other aspects of the Duke's commemorative patronage, will analyse the monument as part of personal, social and political performances, and consider how these changed with the completion of the project over the course of the fifteenth century.

Following page:

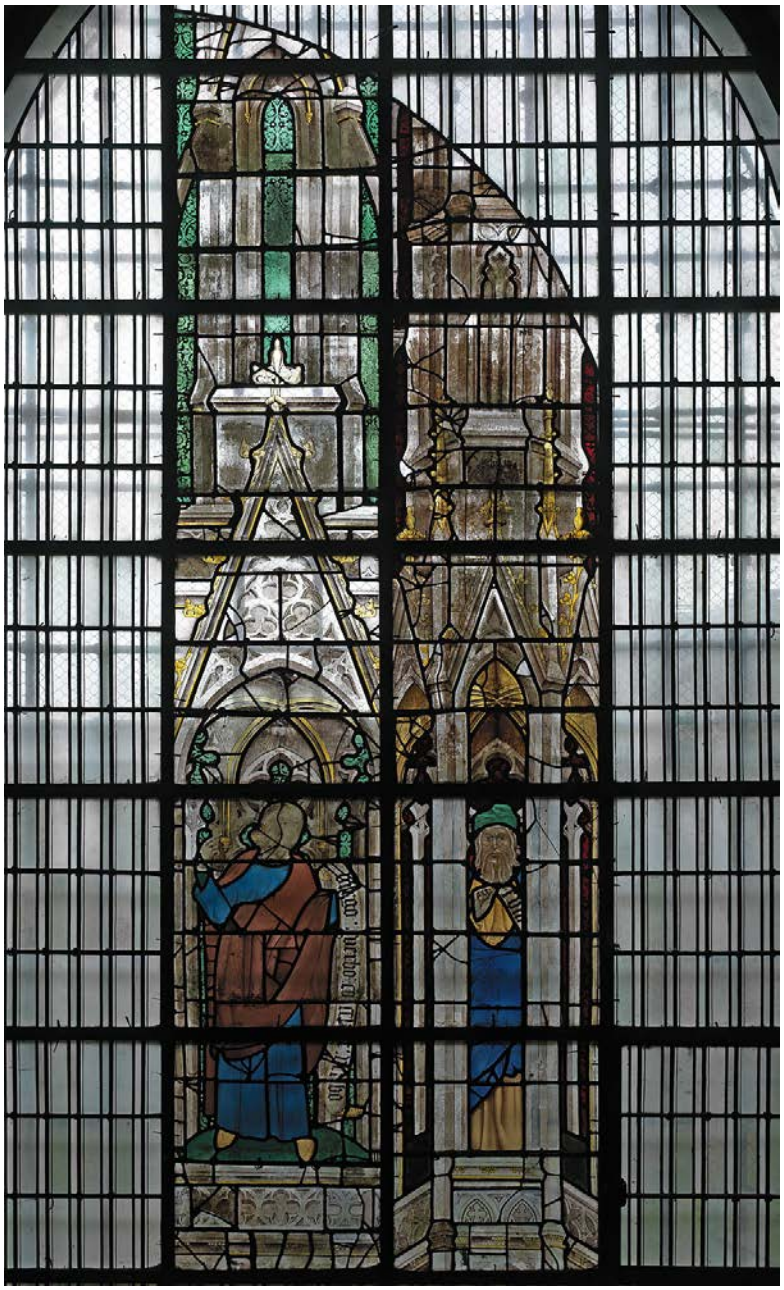
11.2
Jean de Cambrai,
Tomb effigy of Jean de Berry, detail.

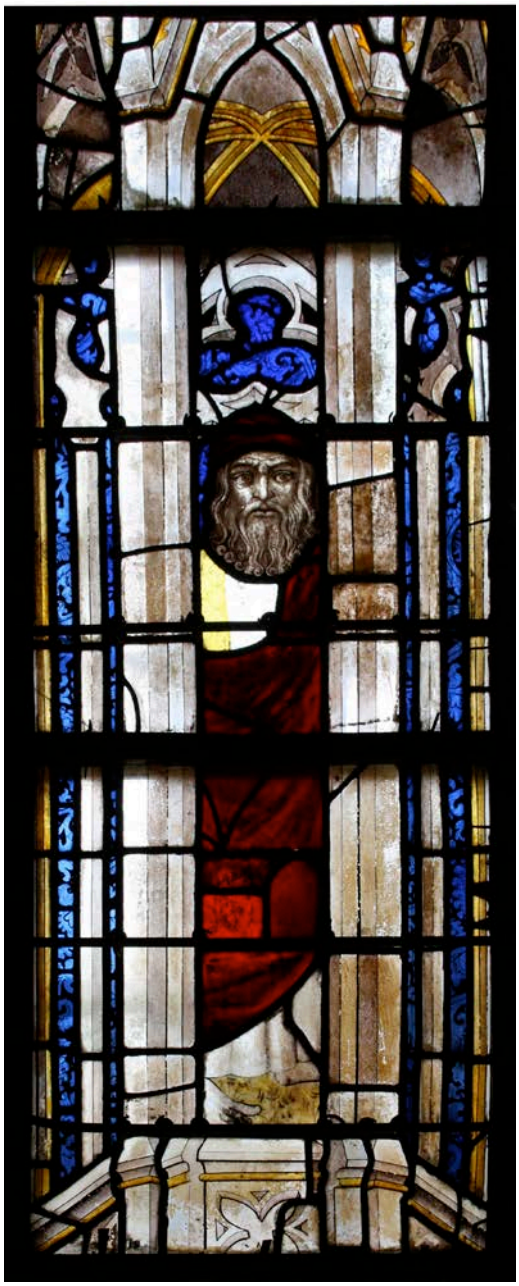
11.3
Jean de Cambrai
Tomb effigy of Jean de Berry, detail.

THE DUKE OF BERRY'S DEATH AND THE SEARCH FOR A SEPULCHRAL SITE

On the afternoon of 15 June 1416 John, Duke of Berry, aged 76, died in his Parisian chateau the Hôtel de Nesle.[7] That evening, in the presence of John's household and physicians, the master surgeon André Martin embalmed his corpse. Separating the entrails and heart from the body, he treated each with honey, mastic, spices, flour, and other preserving and perfuming agents, before the heart was taken to the royal mausoleum of Saint-Denis, and the entrails to the Duke's parish church of Saint-André-des-Arcs close to the Hôtel.[8] Shrouded in black serge and surrounded by candles, the body lay in the grande salle until the evening of 19 June, while 200 prayers were said for the Duke's soul. Then, accompanied by the Duke's staff, representatives of the four mendicant orders of Paris, the Archbishop of Bourges, and other notables dressed in black mourning robes, the body was transported to the nearby church of the Augustins. Following funerary convention reserved for the nobility, it was placed on a catafalque in the choir, within a coffin draped with fur-trimmed black cloth, and a double-weight pall of blue, red and gold, representing the arms of the Duke.[9] On Saturday 20 June, after 152 further prayers, Berry's coffin was carried on a lavishly-decorated hearse to the churches of Étampes, Toury, Chaumont-en-Sologne and Vierzon, and on to his chateau at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, before arriving at the cathedral of Saint Etienne in Bourges, 200 km south of Paris, on the evening of Saturday 27th. Mourning robes were distributed to the congregation and the cathedral hung with black cloth. The following morning, the coffin was taken to the Sainte-Chapelle, a private chapel adjoining Berry's palace in Bourges, and placed in the crypt in a lead sarcophagus inscribed with 'certain words for the perpetual memory' of the Duke.[10]

Although the finding of a sepulchral site had preoccupied the Duke at various points throughout his life and, unlike the more well-organised plans of his brother, Philip the Bold, for a mortuary chapel in the form of the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, the location of John of Berry's mausoleum remained unresolved until relatively late in his life, and his tomb was only begun a few years before his death, when the Duke was approaching his seventies.[11] Berry had established, and swiftly abandoned, plans for commemorative chapels referred to in the surviving accounts as 'sepultures', at the cathedrals of Bourges (1371-72) and Poitiers (1383), choices that would seem to have been heavily influenced by war with the English and the successful reclamation of Berry's apanage of Poitou in 1369.[12] After rejecting both of these building projects, and following the eventual movement of his power-base and court back to Bourges during the later 1380s, the Duke obtained papal dispensation in 1391 to erect a tomb in the choir of the city's cathedral, but his plans were cut short due to opposition from the chapter.[13] In August the following year Berry visited Pope Clement VII at Avignon, obtaining a second Bull to establish, adjoining his palace in Bourges, a large 'Sainte-Chapelle' following the architectural precedent set by Louis IX's famous reliquary chapel in Paris.[14] It was described as 'built' just five years after the granting





11.4
André Beauneveu, three standing figures (c.1395). Stained glass, Bourges, Cathedral.

of the Bull, and dedicated to the Holy Saviour. It comprised a single nave with five bays terminating in a three-sided apse, its interior measuring 21.5 m high, 37.6 m long, and 11.6 m wide. The windows in each of its thirteen bays were filled with vivid stained glass showing figures in architectural niches (fig. 11.4), sculpted statuary stood on each of its slender stonework piers, and from 1404 onwards Berry donated to its treasury over 300 objects, including several passion relics (a pre-requisite for the establishment of a Sainte-Chapelle) housed in rich metalwork reliquaries.[15] The chapel's role as a funerary foundation was also affirmed in a document dated to 1404; 'in which chapel we have ordered and elected our sepulchre and final home'.[16] The following year, a lavish and protracted foundation ceremony was held on 18 April, during which a community of forty-five ecclesiastics was installed to pray for the Duke's salvation in perpetuity, thereby confirming his official spiritual and financial investment in the site.[17]

THE TOMB: ITS DATING, CONDITION, AND CHARACTER

A number of factors have combined to obstruct our understanding of the appearance and meaning of Berry's tomb monument, intended to occupy a central position before the high altar within the Sainte-Chapelle's choir. Foremost amongst these, following a devastating hurricane in 1756, it was moved to the city's cathedral and its original home razed the following year. Encouraged by the iconoclastic zeal of the French Revolution, a general council met in 1793 and agreed to demolish and disperse much of what remained of the monument. We know from a single posthumous document of payment that Berry had given the task of carving his tomb to his master sculptor and *valet de chambre* Jean de Cambrai (c.1350–1438), although no documents have survived concerning either its commissioning, or the activities of its sculptor between 1403 and Cambrai's death in 1438.[18] The loss of any relevant records is particularly unfortunate considering the wealth of information that has been gleaned from his brother Philip the Bold's meticulously-documented tomb project for the Chartreuse de Champmol (now preserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).[19] It seems that, like Philip's tomb, John's was to function as a monument *en seul*, with no evidence surviving to suggest that effigies of either of his two wives formed part of the commission (although their portraits were incorporated onto other statuary elsewhere in the building).[20] And, as with Philip's, its remaining fragments can be grouped loosely alongside others from tombs of a similar format under a sub-genre, traced by Panofsky from the end of the twelfth century, of 'tombeaux de grande cérémonie', comprising a fully three-dimensional effigy lying atop a flat surface raised from the ground by a micro-architectural gallery, in which mourning figures (*pleurants*) stand, interact, or appear in states of arrested movement.[21] Although its precise appearance remains somewhat conjectural despite several reconstructive attempts, a single detailed written account, taken when the tomb was still intact in the eighteenth century, indicates that the effigy lay atop a black marble slab, with a total of forty *pleurants* arranged in arcaded circular niches around its base, each separated from the next by micro-architectural pilasters.[22] Mercifully, the effigy and its supporting slab have survived, along with a large traceried marble gable fragment, two alabaster arcature sections, twenty-nine *pleurants* (two of which have precipitated renewed study of the pleurant group since their appearance at auction in June 2016),[23] a curved-sided triangular alabaster plinth, presumed to have formed the supporting base of one of the *pleurants*, and a marble cluster of columns, all of which have traditionally been connected with the tomb on the basis of their form, material or provenance.[24] Additionally, a small, white marble fragment depicting three sleeping apostles will be considered below, although its connection to the tomb remains unconfirmed (fig. 11.5).[25]

An account of payment made by Charles VII to Jean de Cambrai's inheritors in 1449 for carving the Duke's effigy provides the sole surviving document of authorship and, following this evidence, five of the extant *pleurants* and certain micro-architectural fragments have been attributed to him on the basis of style and material; helpfully for us, Cambrai

11.5
Jean de Cambrai (attributed to), Sleeping Apostles (c.1410). Marble, 19 x 14 x 6 cm, Bourges, Musée du Berry, Inv. 1891.24.1.

seems to have used only high quality white marble, while the later components of the tomb were completed in alabaster.[26] Cambrai is first mentioned in surviving accounts in 1375-76, as 'Jean de Rouppi' working as a 'tailleur de Pierre franque' in Cambrai.[27] He entered the service of the Duke at some point before 1387, when he is named as 'Jean de Ruppy dit de Cambrai' and paid the relatively large sum of 15 francs per month (as heads of the sculpture workshop in Dijon Claus Sluter and Jean de Marville were both paid 16 francs a month), which suggests his role even at this early stage as a highly skilled 'ymagier' for the Duke.[28] In 1397 he became a 'valet-de-chambre', and by 1401-02 held the title of 'valet-de-chambre-imagier', perhaps gaining this last post upon the death of the Duke's other master sculptor, André Beauneveu.[29] Although conjectural, it is unlikely that Cambrai started work on the tomb project in earnest before the chapel's official foundation in 1405, as he was presumably occupied on the carving of the building's other lavish sculptural decoration.[30] Equally, Berry left substantial debts upon his death in 1416, and payments to

his artists seem to have frozen; Cambrai was not paid for his work by the Duke's executors, and it was only eleven years after the sculptor's death that his inheritors were remunerated.[31] Indeed, Cambrai seems to have finished only a small amount of the tomb's statuary, although he long outlived his patron, and between 1450 and 1457 two Flemish sculptors were engaged to complete the project at the behest of Berry's great-nephew King Charles VII.[32] In light of this, it is doubtful whether Cambrai would have continued to work in any substantial capacity without payment, and it seems most likely therefore that the surviving elements of the tomb attributable to him were thus carved after c.1405 and before the Duke's death in 1416, a reconstruction that would have important ramifications for its imagery, as will be discussed further below.

The single most important element amongst the tomb's extant fragments is its nearly complete life-size effigy or *gisant*, housed in the crypt of Bourges cathedral since its transferral in 1756 (figs 11.1-11.3). Carved by Cambrai from high-quality white marble and missing only its nose, sceptre, and polychromy, it represents Berry with open eyes, *au vif* in Panofsky's terms, and provides the modern viewer with the most intact sculpted portrait of the Duke.[33] He is shown at an advanced age, with a sagging jawline and a network of wrinkles incised across his forehead and around his deeply delineated eye sockets. On his head is a carved coronet with simulated cabochon and square-cut jewels, and he lies clothed in garments selectively picked out with inlaid ermine tail motifs of a polished black stone. A thick, pleated circular *mantelet* tightly encircling the neck, falls over his shoulders to the level of the elbows.[34] Beneath this, a full-length cloak with an ermine lining opens at the front, folding thickly at the effigy's sides in formalised waves. Visible below the cloak is a plain, unbelted ankle-length garment with wide sleeves, resembling a form of surplice looped over the head and flowing down over the body. Its lower hem is gathered in a series of creases converging under the arches of the Duke's softly clad feet, the lines of his toes individuated under fine (fabric?) shoes. An undergarment, visible only on the forearms of the effigy, is fitted at his wrists by single rows of closely carved buttons. The Duke's head and shoulders are supported on two cushions, and his arms are crossed right over left, high on the body, holding an inscribed scroll in his left hand and the damaged remains of a sceptre in his right (fig. 11.2). The scroll's rolled end is depressed by the implied weight of the hand above, while its narrow thong is tucked under the top cushion as though to keep it from rolling up. Carved from the same block of marble, an enchained bear lies at the figure's feet, a thick, studded muzzle meeting between the animal's closed eyes at a circular mount decorated with the arms of the Duke.

Comparison of the effigy's features with what remains of Berry's other painted and sculpted portraits suggests that it offers an apparently honest portrayal of an aging man skillfully rendered by a sculptor who (capitalising on his privileges as a *valet de chambre*) is likely to have had access to his sitter, at least in the preparatory stages of the work if not throughout its carving (figs 11.2 and 11.3).[35] The portrayal of the Duke may thus be interpreted, in the terms of an art-historical approach paraphrased by Jean Givens, as a stand-in

for the 'thing as seen'.[36] Indeed, at 177 cm tall, the figure's scale comes so close to a believable human size that it may conceivably have been intended to replicate the duke's actual height. Yet this apparent naturalism is by no means total; the effigy's hands do not appear to be those of a seventy-year-old man, but are instead smooth, elegant, and idealised, with long slender fingers delicately raised from the surrounding stone. In reality, their representation adheres closely to Cambrai's rather standardised treatment of figurative anatomy, as seen also on several of his *pleurant* figures, the Sleeping Apostles, and a Virgin and Child sculpture commissioned by Berry and donated to the church of the Magdalen, Marcoussis, between around 1400 and 1410.[37] Nevertheless, the drive for a naturalistic portrait may also be inferred from the vestiges of what is plausibly an original (and very fine) application of red pigment in the crevices of the coronet, the bear's mouth, and the effigy's hands, as well as remnants of gilding on the buttons of the sleeves, the coronet, and the bear's chain and muzzle.[38] All of these traces indicate that at some point in its history the tomb was selectively polychromed so that its adornments resembled real jewelled metalwork, and the visible areas of flesh (both animal and human) were animated by a warm hued 'skin'.[39] No written or visual records have survived to corroborate the originality of these details, but a similar gilding is also visible on several of Cambrai's *pleurants*, the nature and specificity of the application of which, used to delineate the lines of garments otherwise only minimally rendered in carved details, would suggest that it was conceived and overseen by Cambrai himself. The Marcoussis Virgin, considered another autograph work by his hand, uses gilding to provide a similar sense of contrast to its figures. Moreover, early-modern images recording the almost entirely destroyed effigy of Philip the Bold, and recent technical examination of the surviving *pleurants* from his tomb, indicate that the gilding of certain elements and the pigmentation of areas of flesh was an integral aspect of the Champmol effigy, investing it with heightened allusions to its implied liminal state between life and death, as well as to its ceremonial functions. If Berry seems to have sought a similar effect on his own tomb, the presence of cut, shaped, polished, and inset black stone ermine tail ornamentation in the effigy's garments—which would have been a comparatively more meticulous and time-consuming process than painting such details—also indicates that the material qualities of the stone and the interplay between painted and carved decoration viewed in tandem were a key aspect of its appearance and meaning for him.[40] The use of high quality white and black marbles, following a convention set by the late-thirteenth-century tomb of Isabelle of Aragon at the royal mausoleum of Saint-Denis, was itself invested with strong material and cultural symbolism, but what has so far been overlooked in the surrounding literature is the possibility that this decision was taken as much to reshape and tailor such symbolic potential to the Duke's needs, as for its virtuoso display of the sculptor's talent.[41] The cut and style of the effigy's skillfully inlaid garments in fact closely resembles those worn by the Duke in a lost miniature decorating the foundation charter of the Sainte-Chapelle, illustrated by the Limbourg brothers and

reproduced by a carefully copied nineteenth-century facsimile.[42] Berry is depicted seated under a cloth-of-gold baldachin, investing a kneeling canon with the black robes of his office. While the connection between the effigy and the chapel's foundation ceremony in 1405 must remain speculative without further visual or documentary evidence, the Duke's garments are subtly different in these representations to those worn in some of his other surviving portraits, and radically different to most. Instead of opening at his sides, as is most commonly shown in his painted portraits, his robe falls open at the front, as it does on the kneeling effigy of the Duke (now preserved in the cathedral) believed to have been positioned beside the Sainte-Chapelle's high altar, in direct visual contact with the tomb. Recent studies have shown how clothing and livery were important components in structuring princely identities, for Berry as well as for his brother Philip, suggesting that specific clothing could be invested with complex ceremonial inflections.[43] Indeed, later representations of the Duke often showed him wearing a band-like *escharpe* across his shoulder, a sign of his Armagnac loyalty.[44] The absence of such a potent political attribute may suggest that the Duke sought the effigy to present a somewhat apolitical portrait, aside from its very clear allusions to royal authority of course. But that the effigy might appear as it were, lying in state, wearing the same garments recorded on the miniature commemorating Berry's official investiture as the lay head of the Sainte-Chapelle's Order, would thus be entirely appropriate for a tailored image made to reside in the centre of the chapel's choir, and where it was to be surrounded by the canons installed to pray on behalf of his soul.

Quite unlike the conventions governing royal French tomb statuary is the positioning of the effigy's hands and arms, which are crossed right over left over the torso. They diverge from the more typical clasped hands of prayer visible on Philip the Bold's effigy at Champmol, as well as the raised forearms of Charles V's at Saint-Denis (carved by Cambrai's older colleague André Beauneveu between 1464 and 1468), which like many of its forebears at the royal mausoleum positions the monarch's limbs in a practical manner to hold the royal sceptre and *main de justice* in each hand.[45] Practical and stylistic considerations, such as the depth of available stone and the decisions of a sculptor whose other surviving works are structured by an adherence to unbroken lines and solid, blocky volumes, may of course have influenced the design. However, the effigy's hands require only marginally less material than would be needed to sculpt them clasped in prayer, and had Berry desired such a gesture, the depth of the chest (and the two pillows on which the effigy rests) could easily have been reduced to provide the necessary material. As such, the crossing of the arms across the torso implicates a considered patronal choice unique amongst royal French tomb statuary surviving from this period.[46] Although it is a very different gesture to one more overtly suggestive of prayer, Susie Nash has discussed its use in relation to Carthusian and Dominican devotional practice as having a comparable supplicatory function. It was, for example, one of five carefully structured modes of prayer

outlined in the Dominican prayer treatise *De modo orandi*, and can be found on one of the representations of St Dominic in the monastic cells of the novices at S. Marco in Florence.[47] Berry would have been well aware of its use within such contexts, not least through his brother Philip's concurrent projects at the Carthusian charterhouse at Champmol. The same gesture was enacted at moments during the Mass when a priest 'places his hands on his chest in the form of a cross in order to express the prayer and the desire to acquire the grace by the virtue and by the merits of the passion of Christ'.[48] It was worked into the celebration of the sacraments at the altar, closely followed by the Commemoration for the Dead, a fundamental aspect of the masses established at the chapel by the Duke, and in which he was named explicitly.[49] And it was also outlined in the Sacramentary texts of Missals, of which Berry donated five to the treasury of the Bourges Sainte-Chapelle from 1404.[50] It would of course have retained such symbolism even when Mass was not being enacted, but at crucial moments in the regular services held before the tomb, the priest's crossing of his own arms over his body would have signalled the dedication of the Mass on Berry's behalf, and repeatedly mirrored the form of the effigy, bestowing it by proxy with the celebration of Christ's sacrifice and the promise of salvation.

Visually, the gesture also provides an innovative way of anchoring the effigy's two handheld objects and framing the Duke's portrait. While the now lost sceptre was a conventional symbol of Berry's royal status (similar sceptres were incorporated onto Philip's and Charles V's respective effigies), the unfurled scroll held in the effigy's left hand is altogether more unusual. Instead of incorporating a dedicatory line recording the titles of the Duke (the intended placement of which is likely to have been on another part of the tomb), the scroll bears a poetic inscription in a high-grade *quadrata* script resembling the text in contemporary manuscripts, which reads;

> QUID SUBLIME GENUS QUID OPES QUID GLORIA PRESTENT
> PROSPICE - MOX ADERANT HEC MICHI - NUNC ABEUNT
>
> What lofty progeny, what riches, what glory were present before me
> See! Once I had these things. Now they are passing away [51]

Firstly, its use of Latin infers an educated audience, namely the Duke and the chapel's clerical congregation, the latter employing the language in their daily services.[52] The large size and unabbreviated nature of its letter forms also indicates a desire for visibility, perhaps from some distance. The nature of damage incurred on the edges of all the letters (in contrast to other areas of more well-preserved detailing elsewhere on the effigy), may suggest that their legibility was originally further enhanced by the insetting of another material, a practice common in tomb sculpture by at least the thirteenth century, and that this was later dug out for reuse.[53] The positioning of the scroll itself, on the dexter of the

Duke's face, would have found increased significance were the effigy installed in the chapel with its feet towards the altar (an unconfirmed orientation but one dictated, according to Panofsky, by the guidelines for lay burials in reference to the *Elevatio corporis* ritual performed during the funeral rites of the deceased).[54] In such an arrangement the inscription would have been visible from the Duke's private oratory, set against the south side of the chapel.[55] It would also have brought the effigy's gesture into a more visible line of sight with the officiating priests during Mass.

While the inscription's emphasis on mortality is clear and succinct, and its phrasing and orientation suggestive that its intended audience included the Duke himself, its authorship is unknown. It may have been developed from early Italian poetry, such as Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte* written shortly after 1348, in which similar ideas abound. Phrases of a markedly comparable structure also appear on the famous *Trionfo* fresco (painted c.1336-40) now in the Camposanto in Pisa and attributed to Buonamico Buffalmacco.[56] There, a legend held aloft by two putti near the image of death as an old woman with a scythe, reads:

> *Schermo di sapere o de richessa / Di nobilta et ancor di gentileça / Vaglian niente a'colpi di costei …*
>
> Shields of knowledge and richness / Nobility, and also gentleness / They are not able to parry her [death's] blows …[57]

The lines' rhythmic emphasis on repetitive phrasing—'di sapere o de richessa / Di nobilta'—and the uselessness of such attributes against the inevitability of death, certainly draw close parallels to Berry's scroll.[58] Moreover, the fresco's foregrounding of *memento mori* imagery provides themes with which the Duke is known to have engaged intimately. For example, in 1408 (at the same moment the Bourges tomb was being planned or had already begun) Berry erected a large sculptural relief depicting the *Three Living and Three Dead* (a poetic legend on the theme of death and repentance related to the *Triumph of Death* and popular during the fourteenth century amongst courtly circles) on the church portal of the Parisian cemetery of the Innocents.[59] Destroyed before 1785, the commission's arrangement and ornamentation can be gleaned only from early-modern written accounts, including *Le Theatre des Antiquitez de Paris*, a notebook compiled in 1612 by the amateur art historian Jacques du Breul.[60] He described it as a carved relief with the six stanzas that conventionally accompany the poem written on stone panels below its figures, and a dedicatory verse of twenty-two lines engraved along a cornice, which included the words:

> The powerful Jean, Duc de Berry … / … Understanding, through the course of his life, / That all creation must / By the law of nature / Die and decay … [erected this monument] … To show that every human body / However great his wealth or land / Cannot avoid dissolution / By Death our adversary. [61]

While the structure of the verse certainly differs from that of Berry's inscribed scroll, their poetic sentiment is undoubtedly connected. Moreover, several figures in manuscript representations of the *Dance of Death*, a tale that expanded upon the *Three Living* theme, and whose first appearance in western art was around Berry's relief in the cemetery of the Innocents (where it was painted beneath the charnel houses in 1424), were cited by Francis Douce in 1833 as being accompanied by the lines 'Quid sublime genus quid opes quid gloria prestant', and 'Quid mihi nunc aderant hec mihi nunc abeunt', phrases remarkably similar to those on Berry's scroll.[62] An even closer couplet was incorporated on the tomb of the cardinal and bishop of Cambrai, Pierre d'Ailly (✝1420), the destroyed epitaph of which read 'To what extent does the love of kings abide, what wealth, what glory lasts [...?] Recently I possessed these things, but now they are gone from me'.[63] The recurrence of similarly structured phrases in later literary reworkings of the *Dance of Death*, and on the d'Ailly and Berry tombs (made some 420 km apart) would suggest that these poetic *memento mori* were widely recognised in commemorative contexts. However, while Berry's tomb was not the first to have touched on such a theme, its juxtaposition of what I am considering an 'official' ducal portrait with the inscription's invitation to consider death and decay, make it an extraordinarily innovative dualistic image in the context of royal French funerary sculpture and its conventions in this period.

Crucially for the context of the Sainte-Chapelle, the inscription's emphasis on a changing tense, from past to present, '*Once* I had...', and '*Now* they are passing away', suggests a liminal space between life and death that would have given real urgency to the canons' responsibilities for continuous and perpetual prayer, ensuring the safe passage of the Duke's soul to heaven. This accords with the late-medieval belief that the soul's Particular Judgment was decided by God immediately following death.[64] It was at this crucial moment that the prayers of the Office for the Dead were performed. Hundreds of such prayers were recited in the first days after Berry's death, and in each of the churches at which his body was commemorated on its route to Bourges. That this process was to be extended in perpetuity, with the tomb acting as a central liturgical prop, is evinced by the Duke's request that the *Libera Me Domine*, a passage traditionally sung after the Office of the Dead and dominated by imagery of God's Judgment, was to be performed during regular processions, and that the most significant of these, held on anniversaries of his death, were to encircle his tomb.[65] Such processions, for the purpose and proliferation of which Berry gave large funds, would have echoed the character and solemnity of the cortege of cowled *pleurant* figures carved to encircle the base of the tomb.[66] These small-scale figures provided visual and symbolic company for the deceased, as has been explored in relation to other monuments from the period.[67] Depicted in states of mourning, they also served as a reminder of what was required from the chapel's religious congregation, to whom they would have been in full view during services. The monument's intended message was clear; mourn my death and pray for my soul in perpetuity as though my salvation were always in the balance. Our understanding of the interaction between the arcature structure

and the *pleurants* positioned within it must also be considered afresh in light of a recently rediscovered marble column fragment, acquired by the Musée du Berry in 2005 and attributed to Jean de Cambrai on the basis of material (marble).[68] This element, unknown to previous reconstructions, incorporates a prismatic base similar to the free–standing arcature elements famously employed on Philip the Bold's tomb, and is carved entirely in the round. The extent to which the *pleurants* were thus intended to appear as if moving through a cloistered, three-dimensional structure expanding into the wider space of the Sainte-Chapelle, might conceivably go beyond what has previously been surmised, drawing them and the chapel's congregation of canons into an even closer spatial and ceremonial connection.[69]

If original to the commission, a now lost grille of wrought iron mounted with heraldic escutcheons that is also known historically to have covered the monument, would have further enhanced the tomb's performative function, providing an armature over which pall cloths could at times be draped, and then removed, alternately shrouding and revealing the effigy, when the Office was performed.[70] The connection between the scroll's textual content and the Sainte-Chapelle's prescribed rituals was thus carefully considered, bringing the motifs and meanings of the monument into the performance of mass at every occasion possible, and providing, in Panofsky's words, a 'material substratum for subsequent magical animation' by its attendant liturgical rituals.[71]

VIGILANCE AND REPOSE: THE BEAR AND OTHER DEVICES

Berry's intimate involvement with the tomb's design and meaning is further highlighted by his sculptor's inclusion of personal ducal motifs. Particularly important in this respect is the enchained bear at the effigy's feet, an animal used extensively by the Duke from 1365 onwards as what Michel Pastoureau termed a 'para-heraldic' device; an emblem that did not bespeak his royal lineage in the manner of a coat of arms, but instead crafted a somewhat independent ducal persona in parallel to his Valois identity.[72] The bear provided an animal of sufficiently grand stature to replace the more conventional lion on personal commissions, objects, jewellery, works of art, clothing, textiles, and courtly liveries, especially since leonine imagery would become particularly associated with the dukes of Burgundy under Berry's rival John the Fearless.[73] Bears filled the stained glass of Berry's Sainte-Chapelle, decorate the borders and miniatures of many of his manuscripts, and a live specimen was even kept in the menagerie at his chateau of Mehun-sur-Yèvre northwest of Bourges (fig. 11.6). It seems also to have created potential for expansive linguistic diversion (Berry notably employed word games amongst his personal emblems), since the animal's French name *Ours* offers a play on the name of Saint Ursin, the first bishop of Bourges.[74] The choice of a bear for his tomb monument, over the more typical device of a lion or dog was nevertheless unprecedented, while its repose signals just as sharp a break from established norms, contradicting the role of such bestial mascots as the keen and

11.6
Pseudo-Jacquemart
Leaf from the Grandes Heures (1407-09). Illumination on vellum
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Latin 919, f. 98 r, detail.

watchful guardians of the deceased.[75] The sculpted lion incorporated at the feet of Philip the Bold's effigy, and the dogs occupying the same position on the tombs of Louis II de Bourbon (†1410) and Anne d'Auvergne (†1416) in the church of Souvigny, and formerly on those of Charles V (†1380) and Jeanne de Bourbon (†1378) all conform to this scheme, in direct contrast to Berry's own decision. As Panofsky notes, the apotropaic character of imagery placed at the head and feet of a tomb effigy as it developed in Christian settings can be related to the angels who protected the 'head and feet' of Christ as He lay in the tomb (John 20.12). How then can a sleeping bear be reconciled with such vigilant guardians of the dead? The fragment of white marble representing three sleeping apostles, apparently from an *Agony in the Garden* scene, finds increased significance in this context, and may help to explain this decision. Although its provenance before the nineteenth century is unknown, its style and material are consistent with the other sections of the tomb carved by Cambrai, and were it created for the tomb it would most likely have assumed a position behind a now lost architectural dais surrounding the effigy's head, in a manner similar to surviving Christological imagery on the Souvigny tombs mentioned above (monuments that have long been compared stylistically with Berry's).[76] The *Agony in the Garden* is a key biblical explication of Christ's struggle with His impending fate, and His final acceptance of death. Importantly, the role of the apostles in the garden is also fundamental to the character of this biblical passage. Their inability to stave off what Ludolph of Saxony described as the 'sleep of infidelity' led Christ to assert of them that: 'The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak' (Mark 13.38).[77] The emphasis placed on the metaphors of sleep and vigilance, and the struggle with, or resignation to death in this passage, are particularly apt in relation to tomb imagery. The desire to craft death not as the 'fell sergeant', but as 'the brother to Sleep' who in Panofsky's terms deprives princes of their rank 'but neither of their beauty nor their human dignity' is potently suggested.[78] Can we, then, read Berry's portrait—in combination with the effigy's inscribed scroll—as a manifestation of his readiness for, and reconciliation to, death, while by inference slipping simultaneously into an infinite sleep? This reading is given further import through the juxtaposing of repose (as shared by the bear and Christ's apostles) with the wakeful attention of the Duke's effigy. Certainly the notion that the contrasting states of the bear and the effigy are intertwined,

and were intended to be viewed in conjunction, is emphatic, not least through the sculptor's acute rendering of one of the animal's fore-claws, gently inserted between the folds of the Duke's garments.

REVISIONS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

In 1450, after a period of hiatus lasting over thirty years, Charles VII, King of France, ordered the completion of John of Berry's tomb. Two Flemish sculptors, Paul Mosselmann and Étienne Bobillet, finished the project in 1457, their contribution to the surviving fragments consisting of some sections of arcature and twenty-three *pleurants*.[79] Their work is documented by the King's receiver general, Estienne Petit,[80] and in the accounts of René of Anjou, who visited their Bourges workshop in 1453 and paid a gratuity of 110 'sols' to see 'certain work that they had done in alabaster for the tomb of the late Monseigneur de Berry', although we cannot be sure of the extent to which they revised or re-carved the original scheme.[81] The tomb was installed by 1461 in a position likely representative of Berry's own designs; it is described in that year by the visiting Florentine ambassador Francesco di Neri Cecci as 'the very fine tomb of the Duke set … in the choir'.[82] It is not surprising perhaps, in an age of political rhetoric evidenced through the great chronicles and writings of the fifteenth century, that Charles should order the completion of his ancestor's tomb, since it could be adopted for his own advancement. His decisive victory at the battle of Formigny in April 1450, as a result of which he regained control of Normandy from the English, informed the inclusion of the epithet 'Tresvictorieux' in a dedicatory line he had the sculptors inscribe along the tomb-slab's edges.[83] The same description runs along the top of Jean Fouquet's painted portrait of the King, which Beatrice de Chancel-Bardelot has proposed was hung near the tomb in a 'pendant' arrangement.[84] The pairing of a three-dimensional, sculpted effigy with a flat, painted portrait raises questions regarding the role of portraiture in the changing use of the chapel under Charles' patronage, not least since it heralds the re-shaping of the chapel as a foundation of dynastic potential; by the end of the fifteenth century portraits of the dukes of Burgundy were hung in the choir of the chapel at Champmol in close proximity to the tombs of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, for a similar reason.[85]

Charles' involvement in the completion of the Berry tomb can also be viewed in relation to a concurrent commission undertaken by his rival Philip the Good. Philip had ordered a triple tomb of bronze effigies to commemorate his Burgundian ancestors Louis of Mâle, Margaret of Brabant and Margaret of Flanders for the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre in Lille, the administrative centre of the duchy of Burgundy's northern territories.[86] He stood as a direct rival to Charles VII's sovereignty in an uneasy relationship between France and Burgundy following a transfer of power, trade, and political influence towards the latter, first established through the marriage of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders in 1369.[87] Philip the Good's contract with the metalworker Jacques de Gérines for the project, dated 1453, closely parallels the timing of Charles' own patronage at Bourges.[88] Furthermore, Philip had a bronze figure of himself positioned directly under the head of

11.7
Paul Gauchery, Reconstruction of the tomb of Jean de Berry (1890). Plaster, Bourges, Palace of Jacques Coeur.

Louis of Mâle in the centre of the western flank of the tomb, a position that would have situated him visually as the direct descendent of an entire branch of Burgundian nobility, on the part of the tomb most visible from the nave of the church.[89] While Philip can be seen to be consolidating his powerbase in the north, the loss of Charles' own power in Paris led him to shift his court to what became known as his 'kingdom of Bourges'.[90] It was to become the country's political and financial centre during this period, housing the king's *chambre des comptes* in the years of Burgundian power in the French capital. So although Charles was to be buried in Paris on his death in 1461, he seems to have appropriated Berry's tomb's completion and re-dedication for dynastic legitimation, simultaneously carving a new and engrained monarchical identity within the spiritual heart of the palatial complex. While it combined an economy of patronage with the visual efficacy of the Duke of Berry's completed effigy and, by the mid-fifteenth century, what seems to have been the increasingly public nature of the Sainte-Chapelle,[91] the project was likely to have been as much an anxiety-ridden *gorgoneion* for the King, as Panofsky might describe it, as it was a demonstration of any victorious political stature.[92]

Although compromised by its fragmentary state, interest in reconstructing the Berry tomb grew during the nineteenth century. Its intended appearance was first surmised by François Hazé in 1839. Now largely dismissed due to its distortion of the extant fragments, Hazé's reconstruction was revised in 1890 when the Bourges architect Paul Gauchery incorporated the surviving elements more faithfully into a compelling plaster reconstruction of the tomb, today housed in the Palace of Jacques Coeur (fig. 11.7). However, his model ignored the sleeping apostles fragment and any reconstruction of the architectural dais behind the effigy's head. Moreover, it unhappily combined the surviving alabaster niche fragment with a suspended and pierced architectural frieze above, taking the more intact Bourbon tombs at Souvigny as its points of reference. In reality, the true nature of the structure below the tomb-slab cannot be fully envisaged from the extant accounts or the fragments currently accessible.[93] Nevertheless, further study and technical analysis of the tomb's surviving pigments (sadly beyond the scope of this chapter) remain long overdue, not least since their authorship is an issue of considerable import for our understanding of Berry's patronage of painters, a subject that has occupied some of the foremost art historians to date.[94] Even with the almost total loss of its painted surface, it is hardly difficult to imagine the tomb's intended effect in relation to the Saint-Chapelle's wider decorative scheme, including its vast and vibrant stained glass windows, and the lavish

11.8
Etienne Bobillet and Paul de Mosselmann(?), Two pleurants possibly from the tomb of Jean de Berry (c.1450-7). Alabaster; height 39.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, Inv. NGL 002.00.

coloured fabrics, furnishings, and objects donated by the Duke both during and after its initial foundation (fig. 11.4).[95] Renewed discussion is also warranted concerning the known *pleurant* group, as two figures in alabaster, of the same proportions and style as those attributed to Bobillet and Mosselmann, have come to light in recent years, and await proper attention (fig. 11.8).[96]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to reassess the tomb monument of John of Berry, carved by his sculptor Jean de Cambrai between c.1405 and 1416 for the Duke's Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges. The ways in which the project, which nevertheless remained unfinished upon Berry's death and was hampered by financial and political issues, was intended to construct a highly specific and carefully tailored commemorative identity has been a primary focus. A consideration of what survives, and what information can be gleaned from primary and contemporary sources, has been balanced by the discussion of overarching concepts of commemoration and salvation. The apparent physiognomic honesty of the Duke's portrait, and the effigy's expression of a death spiritually acknowledged, were subtly combined with a considered juxtaposition of motifs, and a political and symbolic choice of materials (fig. 11.5).[97] Within a sculptural convention of tomb statuary, Berry's was a unique and highly personal commission. It incorporated naturalistic and idealised representation in unison, with nuanced and expansive references to his princely authority, as well as fundamental concerns towards his mortality, salvation, and posthumous remembrance within the heart of enacted rituals and the space of the Sainte-Chapelle. Through touching upon the current state of research around the Bourges tomb's surviving fragments, I have sought to amplify the need for renewed consideration and sustained scrutiny, and hope to have provided a fuller understanding of the consideration John of Berry gave to the site and meaning of his 'sépulture et derrenière maison'.

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1. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964), p. 59.

2. Central readings on Berry and his patronage are Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean De Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon, 1967); Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry; l'Art et le Pouvoir* (Paris: Fayard, 2000); Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot and Clemence Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges: une fondation disparue de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Bourges: Musée du Berry, 2004).

3. Georges Didi-Huberman, 'The Portrait, The Individual and the Singular; Remarks on the Legacy of Aby Warburg', in N. Mann and L. Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual; Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), p. 177. For Philip's tomb see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 62, figs 248-49; Charles V's tomb, p. 79, figs 350-51; for the Bourbon tombs at Souvigny, which also offer important parallels to the Berry monument, see p. 58, fig. 226.

4. These themes have been considered in more recent studies on the tomb of Jean de Berry, most recently in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*. Analysis of the tomb for Philip the Bold is discussed in Stephen Fliegel et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts; Cleveland: Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 223-34; and Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

5. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 54, 56, 59-60.

6. A recent discussion of the role of realism and naturalism in portraiture from Valois France, and one that has a strong bearing on my arguments here, is Stephen Perkinson's *The Likeness of the King; A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), especially pp. 18-24, 27-84; see also Jean Givens, *Observation and Image-Making in Gothic Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially p. 34. The symbolic potential of such themes is discussed in relation to other forms of patronal identity and identification by Michel Pastoureau, for which see in particular Pastoureau, 'L'effervescence emblématique et les origines héraldiques du portrait au XIVe siècle', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1985): pp. 108-15.

7. For the full details of the Duke's obsequies as described in this paragraph, see Françoise Lehoux, 'Mort et funerailles du duc de Berri (Juin 1416)', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 114 (1956): pp. 76-96.

8. See Lehoux, 'Mort et funerailles...', p. 80. Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassière corroborates that Jean's heart was 'porté en l'Eglise de S. Denis en France, & son Corps en la Ste Chapelle de Bourges, dans le Choeur de laquelle on voit encores aujourd'huy son Tombeau au dessous du grand Autel', see Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* (Bourges: Francois Toubeau, 1689).

9. For funeral rite conventions see Eleanor Townsend, *Death and Art; Europe 1200-1530* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), pp. 49-67. For Berry's funeral pall see Lehoux, 'Mort et funerailles...', p. 85.

10. 'Audit Jehan d'Orleans … pour une tablette de plomb en laquelle sont escriptes certaines paroles pour memoire perpetuel de feu mond. Sgr., laquelle fut mise sur son tombeau…' Accounts of Jean's obsequies cited in Lehoux, 'Mort et funerailles...', p. 89.

11. See Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai, sculpteur du duc Jean de Berry', *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 63 (1980): p. 145.

12. For the Bourges chapel see Paris, Archives nationales, MS KK 251, fol. 34, cited in Alfred de Champeaux and Paul Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art éxecutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry avec une étude biographique sur les artistes employés par ce prince* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1894), p. 20. See also Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai', p. 145. For the Poitiers chapel, see Paris, Archive nationales, MS K K 256 and 257, fol. 42 cited in Champeaux, and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, pp. 12, 34.

13. Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 262.

14. Jean-Yves Ribault, 'André Beauneveu et la Construction de la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges. Précisions chronologiques' in *Actes des journées internationales Claus Sluter, Dijon, September 1990* (Dijon: Association Claus Sluter, 1992), pp. 241-44; Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 28-33. In 1407 the installed members of the Sainte-Chapelle's collegiate foundation were granted exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Bourges; 'toutes les personnes attachées à la Sainte-Chapelle étaient exempts de la juridiction de l'archevêque de Bourges.' Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, p. 29.

15. In 1397 the Sainte-Chapelle is referred to as 'built'. For the chapel's chronology see Ribault, 'André Beauneveu', pp. 239-47; and for chronology and decoration see Nash, *André Beauneveu:'No Equal in Any Land' - Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), p. 146; and Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 102-04. The richness of the chapel's relics and their reliquaries is attested by Berry's inventories, which were published by Jules Joseph Guif-

frey, for which see *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry (1401-1416), publiés et annotés par J. Guiffrey*, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894-96). Their precious nature can also be extrapolated from the survival of a document outlining payment made to a Jehan Martin and two other carpenters in 1408 for the creation of several protective barriers put in place in the Sainte-Chapelle in order to ensure the safety and security of the relics, cited in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges* p. 32, n. 42.

16. 'en laquelle chapelle nous aions ordonné et esleu nostre sépulture et derrenière maison', extracted from a document from May 1404 recording the donation of objects to the chapel, cited in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 26, 32. See also Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai', p. 163, and Timothy B. Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 22.

17. Berry installed a college of forty-five ecclesiastics under the auspices of the Sainte-Chapelle, comprised of thirteen canons, thirteen chaplains, thirteen vicars and six clerics of the choir. The huge cost of retaining this community was to be covered by the channeling of rents and taxes into the Sainte-Chapelle's coffers, which in 1405 amounted to 3000 livres per year. See Louis Raynal, *Histoire du Berry*, vol. 2 (Bourges & Paris: Dumoulin, 1846), pp. 439, 444-45; and Auguste de Girardot, 'La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges; Sa Fondation, Sa Destruction', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 20 (Paris: Crapelet, 1850): pp. 9-11.

18. For the 1403 document see Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry*, pp. 1041-42. The only source with which to date the sculptor's death also comes from Thaumassière, who recorded his tombstone, now lost, in the church of the Cordeliers in Bourges; 'Cy devant git Jean de Rouppy dit de Cambrai jadix Valet de chambre de très haut et très puissant Prince Jean fils du Roys de France, premier duc de Berry, lequel de Cambray trepassa l'an de grace 1438…' (Here lies Jean de Rouppy, called de Cambrai the said *valet de chambre* of the very high and very powerful prince Jean son of Kings of France, first duke of Berry, the same de Cambrai passed in the year of grace 1438), transcribed in Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai', p. 154. The documents concerning the tomb perished in a fire in Paris in 1737, for which see Nash, *André Beauneveu*, p. 146.

19. For the Chapter's documents, see in particular 'comptes du chapitre de la Sainte-Chapelle' relating to the years 1415-19 in Bourges, Arch. Départementales du Cher; 8 G 1640 and 1641. Susie Nash has looked into the documentary records for Philip the Bold's commissions at Champmol in depth, for which see Nash, 'Pour couleurs et autres choses prise de lui...': The Supply, Acquisition, Cost and Employment of Painters' Materials at the Burgundian Court, c.1375-1419, in Jo Kirby, Susie Nash and Joanna Cannon (eds), *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700* (London: Archetype, 2010), pp. 97-182. For the organisation of the construction site at Champmol see Renate Prochno's and Sherry Lindquist's analyses in Fliegel et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, pp. 169-74; also pp. 175-237.

20. Berry's first wife, Jeanne d'Armagnac, died in 1388, well before the Duke's funerary plans had been finalised, and his second, Jeanne d'Auvergne, remarried after Berry's death and died in 1426; see Ferdinand Pelloille, 'Les deux mariages de Jean, duc de Berry', in *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry* (Bourges: Société d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry, 1966).

21. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, pp. 60-61.

22. Taken from the description of the tomb recorded by M. Trézaguet, a local engineer, before its transferral to the cathedral in 1756. For the full document see Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, pp. 42-44.

23. Of the twenty-eight *pleurants* whose survival is known at time of writing, nineteen reside in public collections: ten are held by the Musée du Berry in Bourges, two are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, two in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, two in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, one in the Musée Rodin, Paris, and two others on long term loan to the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh. The other nine figures are held in private collections or foundations; four at the château de la Verrerie, Cher, one in the fondation Custodia, Paris, and four formerly in the collection of Denys, Baron Cochin (†1922), sold respectively at Christie's Paris on 8th November 2013 and 15th June 2016. The whereabouts of a twenty-ninth figure, photographed by Paul Gauchery in 1921, is unknown to this author. For the last major discussions of the *pleurant* group see Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', pp. 141-57; *Chefs d'Oeuvre de l'Art Médiéval; Deux Pleurants Provenant du Tombeau de Jean de France (1340-1416), Duc de Berry* (Paris: Christie's, 8 November 2013); *Chefs d'Oeuvre de l'Art Médiéval; Les Deux Derniers Pleurants en Marbre Provenant du Tombeau de Jean de France (1340-1416), Duc de Berry* (Paris: Christie's, 15 June 2016). I owe my gratitude to Mme Véronique Schmitt for bringing the two *pleurants* in Edinburgh to my attention.

24. The newest addition to the known group of arcature fragments is the column cluster, acquired by the Musée du Berry on 25 April 2005 (Bourges, Musée du Berry, Inv. 2005.4.1); see Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai et sur le Soubassement du Tombeau de Jean de France, Duc de Berry' in Agnès Bos et al. (eds), *Materiam Superabat Opus; Hommage à Alain Erlande-Brandenburg* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006), p. 218.

25. Bourges, Musée du Berry, 1891.24.1. See note 76 below.

26. Since Pradel's analysis in 1957, it has been accepted on stylistic terms that the surviving elements in marble belong to the first period of work, undertaken around 1410, while those of alabaster belong to the latter, with the exception of the black marble tomb slab, which can-

not be securely ascribed to either programme of carving. See Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', pp. 141-57. See also Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai', pp. 212-19.

27. See Chanoine Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainault avant the XVieme siècle*, vol. 2 (Lille: L. Danel, 1886), p. 534.

28. For the rates of pay of sculptors and their assistants in the Burgundian court see Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 191-93.

29. Stephen Scher suggested that Cambrai had been given the title of *valet de chambre* following Beauneveu's death, although the significance read into the various titles held by both artists remains somewhat speculative; Scher, 'André Beauneveu and Claus Sluter', *Gesta* 7 (1968): pp. 6-7; see also Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, p. 38.

30. For the most recent breakdown of the chronology, as well as for comparisons between the tomb and other sculpture from the Sainte-Chapelle, indicating Cambrai's probable contribution to the chapel's statuary see Nash, *André Beauneveu*, pp. 147-54. See also Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 102-04. Although Nash discusses the head of a prophet found in the wall of a house in Bourges in 1954, and convincingly suggests Cambrai's authorship of another, intact prophet figure from the chapel (See Nash, *André Beauneveu*, p. 151, Prophet C), the close stylistic connection between these two works has not been fully explored, and it appears that they were executed by a single hand.

31. Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', p. 142.

32. On 9 September 1459 René of Anjou wrote that the two Flemish sculptors working on the monument had 'achevé le tombeau du duc de Berry', though he does not state where it is situated at that point. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes et memoriaux du roi René pour servir à l'histoire des arts au 15e siècle, publiés d'après les originaux des Archives nationales* (Paris : A. Picard, 1873), pp. 56-57, no. 170, cited in Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai', p. 158. For a breakdown of the tomb's chronology see Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, pp. 35-36. Payment for the tomb's completion was ordered on 27 March 1450 'auquel le Roy a fait marchander de parachever la sepultre de monseigneur le duc de Berry' ('for which the King has ordered the crafting and finishing of the tomb of the duke of Berry'). Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', p. 142. The order of payment from Estienne Petit to the two sculptors is cited in full in Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, p. 35.

33. A badly damaged fragment of another sculpted portrait of the Duke survives in the Musée du Berry, Bourges. It was taken from one of two kneeling statues of the Duke, both of which are housed in Bourges cathedral, the heads having been reconstructed in the nineteenth century. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg provides a compelling reconstruction of their role and placement as part of the Sainte-Chapelle, for which see Erlande-Brandenburg, 'Jean de Cambrai…', pp. 146-51. For further discussion of the concept of representation *au vif* see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 56 ff.

34. The *mantelet* was a short cloak worn by knights, as well as men of princely status. In his *Knight's Tale* from 1386, Chaucer describes the knight as having 'A mantelet upon his shulder hangynge'. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. Nevill Coghill (London: Penguin, 2003), lines 1305-06.

35. See Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, particularly Chapter 3, 'The Vocabulary of Likeness at the Late Fourteenth-Century French Court', pp. 135-88. See also T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages; Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), especially p. 81. Otto Cartellieri discusses the privileges of the *valet de chambre* and their right 'to approach [the] prince at any time'; see Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy; Studies in the History of Civilisation* (London: Kegan Paul, 1929), p. 25. For further discussion of the role of the *valet de chambre* see Sherry Lindquist, 'Accounting for the Status of Artists at the Chartreuse de Champmol', in *Gesta* 41/ 1 (2002): pp. 15-28; Lindquist, '"The Will of the Princely Patron" and Artists at the Burgundian Court', in S. J. Campbell (ed.), *Artists at Court; Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550* (Boston and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 46-56, esp. p. 50 and for a list of the *valets de chambre* working in sculpture at the Burgundian court see note 31, and for a focus on painters with this title see Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 114 ff. Warnke argues that sculptors rarely received such a title since their workshop and activities were necessarily out of court, but this seems to be a simplistic view when we consider that painters demanded just as dedicated a working space, and sculptors seem to have practiced in close proximity to their patrons at key points.

36. Givens, *Observation and Image-Making*, p. 34.

37. For a recent discussion of this statue see Nash, *André Beauneveu*, p. 93.

38. No pigment analysis has to date been carried out, although traces of a black pigment were identified by Beatrice de Chancel-Bardelot on the recently resurfaced cluster of columns. See Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai', p. 218.

39. No records survive for the painting of the figure, so it remains unknown whether its polychromy was conceived from the start or added at the request of Charles VII.

40. Françoise Baron, Sophie Jugie, and Benoît Lafay, *Les Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris and Dijon: Somogy, 2009), especially pp. 115-23.

41. Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 171-72.

42. Reproduced in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 41, 180, Cat. 1.

43. This is touched upon by Simona Slanička in *Krieg der Zeichen. Die visuelle Politik Johanns ohne Furcht und der armagnakisch-burgundische Bürgerkrieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), p. 325 ff.

44. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), p. 225.

45. For a discussion of Charles' tomb see Nash, *André Beauneveu*, and for Philip's, see Jugie, in Fliegel et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, pp. 223-34.

46. The gesture does inform a number of surviving Italian tomb sculptures, plaques and effigies, but they are specifically intended to show a body at rest in death, and not, as on the Berry tomb, a persona alert and in control of his functions. Indeed, the same positioning was also used on representations of already decaying corpses, such as on the tomb of Francis I de La Sierra (†1362) in La Sarraz (Vaud), Switzerland; see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 64, figs 257-58.

47. Nash, 'Claus Sluter's Well of Moses Reconsidered, Part III', *The Burlington Magazine* 150/1268 (2008): p. 733, fig. 12.

48. Dionysii Cartusiani: *Opera Omnia*, 35 (Tournai, 1898), p. 372, cited in Nash, 'Claus Sluter's Well of Moses Reconsidered, Part III', p. 732.

49. See Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 42-46. For early uses of the address for the dead see Joannis Bona, *Opera Omnia* (Verdussen, 1694), p. 385.

50. See items 176-181 in Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry (1401-1416)*, vol. 2, pp. 177-78.

51. This phrase has once been translated into French by Raynal, but has not been published in English as far as I am aware. See Raynal, *Histoire du Berry*, vol. 2, p. 515. 'Prestent' should perhaps be interpreted as 'praestent', although no abbreviation marks are included over this word as it appears on the tomb. I am grateful to Laurence Goodwin for her remarks on the inscription. Stylistically, the letters are consistent with the high level of finish afforded the rest of the effigy, as well as to letter forms preserved in surviving fragments of stained glass from the chapel, and on the open book of a kneeling effigy of the Duke believed to have been carved by Cambrai or his workshop, suggesting its contemporaneity to the first phase of the tomb project.

52. See the *livre des messes*, cited in full in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 42-46.

53. See the tomb of Hugues Libergier (†1263) for example, discussed in relation to the use of a 'paste' (or pitch) to make the engraved details legible in Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 53.

54. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 60.

55. The decision to build the oratory into the south side of the choir rather than the more spiritually efficacious north side seems to have been made on account of its privacy – located away from the public-facing side of the building – and ease of access from the palace adjoined to the south-west end of the chapel, as can be seen on the various surviving visual records of the chapel before its destruction, for which see Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*. Sightlines, and the considerations of visibility, were important aspects of many private chapels during the period, in relation to Philip the Bold's oratory at Champmol, Margaret of Austria's at Brou, and Louis of Gruuthuse's in the church of Our Lady in Bruges, for example. For further discussion of such sightlines and their encompassing of dynastic tomb groups see Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 262-63.

56. For the most recent discussion of the *Trionfo* fresco at Pisa see Lorenzo Carletti and Francesca Polacci, 'Transition between Life and Afterlife; Analyzing *The Triumph of Death* in the Camposanto of Pisa', *Signs and Society* 2/S1 (Supplement 2014): pp. S84-S120.

57. Transcribed from Carletti and Polacci, 'Transition between Life and Afterlife', p. S103.

58. The similarity between these phrases requires further research concerning the movement of motifs between Italy and France under Berry's patronage, sadly beyond the scope of this paper.

59. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 134-39.

60. Jacques du Breul describes the arrangement of the relief and its acompanying poem as follows; 'Plus sous une chacun desdites figures, est attachée dans le mur une grande Pierre remplie d'un nombre de vers François. Comme silesdites figures parloient ensemble & respondoient l'une a l'autre. Lesquels I'obmets, pour n'ennuyer le lecteur'; Du Breul, *Le Theatre des Antiquitez de Paris* (Paris: Societé des Imprimeurs, 1612), p. 834. For the *Three Living* legend's accompanying poem see Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 136.The destruction of the cemetery in the eighteenth century was the final moment of a gradual process. The steady ostracism of the dead from the city, and the redevelopment and gentrification of the cemetery's surrounding area, starting in the 1550s under Henri II, culminated in the church's demolition in 1785. Surviving drawings of the church's state of disrepair earlier in the century suggest that many of its artworks and decorations had been removed before this point, including the sculpted *Three Living and Three Dead*, and excavations of the cemetery site in 1973 produced nothing of Berry's monument. See

André Castelot, *The Tubulent City: Paris, 1783-1871* (Stratford: Ayer, 1962), p. 8.

61. 'Jean Duc de Berry trespuissant [... / ...] Par humain cours lors cognissant / Qu'il convient toute creature / Ainsi que la nature consent / Mourir, & tendre à pourriture / Fit tailler icy sa sepulture [... / ...] En paya par justes accordes / Pour monstrer que tout humain corps / Tant aye bien ou grande cité / Ne peut eviter les discords / De la mortelle adversité.' Transcribed from du Breul, *Le Theatre des Antiquitez*, pp. 834-35. I am sincerely grateful to Dr Jonathan Patrick for his help translating the lines of this poem.

62. Mischa von Perger translates these lines as 'What do a noble birth, wealth, and fame bestow on us?' and 'The things that now (*recte*: back then) were with me are now leaving me.' in *'The Dance of Death'*, accessed 1st January 2016, http://www.dodedans.com/Emargin11.htm. Over one hundred variations of the related theme of the Dance of Death are known to have been painted in French churches alone, while the painter Bernt Notke was commissioned to paint two important versions, one in Tallinn and the other in Lübeck, in the second half of the fifteenth century. For an exhaustive discussion of the Dance of Death in Northern Renaissance art, see Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). For earlier sources, see Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death: Exhibited in Elegant Engravings on Wood; with a Dissertation on Several Representations of that Subject but More Particularly on Those Ascribed to Macaber and Hans Holbein* (London: W. Pickering, 1833), p. 62.

63. 'Nam Quid amor regum, quid opes, quid Gloria durent. Hec aderant […?] nu[n]c michi. Nunc abeunt.' Translation by Kathleen Cohen; Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 15.

64. See Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: University Press, 1993), pp. 46-49. For its consideration in Italian contexts, see Virginia Brilliant, *Envisaging the Particular Judgement in Trecento Italy* (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2005).

65. '…est ordonné que chacun an en la fin de la messe dudit anniversaire sera faicte par le college une procession en la dicte chapelle entour la sepulture dudit seigneur fondeur et illec dit et chanté le respons et versés *De libera me Domine…*' ('…it is ordained that each year at the end of the Mass said on the anniversary [of the duke] will be made by the college a procession in the said chapel encircling the tomb of the said lord [and] founder and there will be said and sung the responses of the *Libera me Domine* verses…'). Full document transcribed in Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 42-46.

66. See Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges* , pp. 42-46, and especially p. 42.

67. See for example Jugie, *The Mourners*.

68. Musée du Berry, Inv. 2005.4.1. Height 21.5 cm, width at top 6.1 cm, width at base 7 cm. A description of this fragment has been written across one of its facets in a dark brown or faded black ink, dated 1793, which reads; 'Reste du vandalisme exercé sur le tombeau de Jean de France, duc de Berry, comte de Poitou, dans sa Ste Chapelle de Bourges. Il étoit mort à Paris en 1416. Le vaze d'agate qui contenoit son [c]oeur a été envoyé au muséum' 'The remains of the vandalism carried out on the tomb of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, Count of Poitou, in the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges. He had died in Paris in 1416. The agate vase, which contained his heart was sent to the museum.' For its attribution to Cambrai's hand see Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai', p. 215.

69. Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai', pp. 215-16.

70. This grille was first recorded in 1583. See Chancel-Bardelot, 'Réflexions sur Jean de Cambrai', p. 127. Boase has suggested that the hearse of gilded metal encircling the top of Richard Beauchamp's tomb in Saint Mary's Church, Warwick 'could be draped for the celebration of funeral masses'. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages*, p. 67. Hazé and Gauchery both suggest that Jean's grille may have had a similar ritual use; 'sur laquelle on étandait un poële, aux anniversaires commémoratifs de la mort du prince'; Paul Gauchery, 'Le Palais du duc Jean et la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges. Nouveaux documents sur leur état primitif, leur mutilation ou leur destruction' in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 39 (1921), p. 65 ; and François Hazé, *Notices Pittoresques sur les Antiquités et les Monumens du Berri* (Bourges and Paris: Bernard & Tessier, 1839), p. 51. See chapter 10 by Sanne Frequin in this volume.

71. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 27. See also Ottosen, *Latin Office of the Dead*, pp. 46-49

72. Pastoureau, 'L'effervescence emblématique', p. 109; Slanička, *Krieg der Zeichen*, p. 118.

73. A brief discussion of Berry's use of the bear device in diplomatic occasions, such as his 1395 visit to the pope in Avignon alongside the Duke of Orleans and Philip the Bold, as well as in domestic and courtly contexts, is included in Slanička, *Krieg der Zeichen*, pp. 117-19.

74. Following Michel Pastoureau, Chancel-Bardelot discusses the hypothesis that the emblem of the bear may have been developed while the young Duke was captive in England and that it offered a direct play on the name of his apanage 'Berry'; Chancel-Bardelot, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, p. 137 and note 24. Pastoureau in fact reiterates a similar statement to that made by Guiffrey, who also discussed the connection with saint Ursin; *Inventaires de Jean*

Duc de Berry, vol. 1, p. CXXX. Champeaux and Gauchery cited references in early histories of Berry's life to the Duke's amorous admiration for an English woman called Oursine, apparently cultivated during his early stay in England; Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'Art*, pp. 44-45. For further discussion of Jean's use of bears, and for issues (not entirely dealt with) surrounding his emblems, see Philippe Bon, *Les premiers "bleus" de france; les carreaux de faience au décor peint fabriqués pour le duc de Berry, 1384* (Mehun-sur- Yèvre: Groupe historique et archéologique de la région de Mehun-sur-Yèvre, 1992), pp. 50-56. See also the early efforts by Meiss, though he glosses over the tomb effigy and fails to include the coats of arms carved on the bear's muzzle in his chart recording the extant representations of the Duke's emblems; Meiss, *French Painting … the Patronage of the Duke*, pp. 95-98.

75. Two further instances of bears included at the feet of an effigy are known to me; on the tombs of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (gilt bronze, 1447-50), and Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (alabaster, 1589). Their effigies lie with a single bear at their feet because it was a heraldic symbol of Warwickshire.

76. See Françoise Perrot, *Espérance, le Mécénat Religieux des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Souvigny: Musée municipal, 2001). The Souvigny tombs have been attributed to Cambrai in past scholarship; see Gauchery, 'Le Palais du duc Jean et la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges', p. 66. For the verbal description of the marble dais, upon which, as well as the surviving dais fragment, all modern reconstructions have been based, see Trézaguet, in Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, p. 43. Gauchery first described the fragment; 'Le Palais du duc Jean et la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges', p. 65. It was acquired by the Musée du Berry in 1891 from Alphonse Charmeil.

77. Henry James Coleridge trans., *The Hours of the Passion taken from The Life of Christ by Ludolph the Saxon* (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), p. 56. The passage of the Agony in the Garden is discussed by Ludolph of Saxony at length, for which see pp. 30-56.

78. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 79.

79. For a breakdown of the tomb's chronology see Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, pp. 35-36.

80. Payment for the tomb's completion was ordered on the 27 March 1450 'auquel le Roy a fait marchander de parachever la sepultre de monseigneur le duc de Berry' ('for which the king has ordered the crafting and finishing of the tomb of the duke of Berry'). Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', p. 142. The order of payment from Estienne Petit to the two sculptors is cited in full in Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, p. 35.

81. 'A Estienne Bobillet et Paoul de Mosselemen ymaigiers ledit jour, CX solz a eulx donnez par ledit seigneur pour consideration de ce qu'il a visite certain ouvraige que ilz font dalbastre pour la sepulture de feu monseigneur de Berry.' Transcribed in Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art* , p. 36. See also Pradel, 'Nouveaux documents', pp. 142-43.

82. Francesco di Neri Cecci, a member of the Florentine embassy visiting Bourges in 1461, cited in Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 258.

83. Malcolm G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 26.

84. (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 9106). The painting was housed in the Sainte-Chapelle until 1757 before being removed to the cathedral, and was finally acquired by the Louvre in 1838; 'Un portrait du roi Charles VII, offert par lui à la sainte-chapelle dont il avait confirmé le privilèges, fut réservé pour le cabinet du roi au Louvre.' Champeaux and Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art*, p. 29. Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, p. 137.

85. Recent scholarship and bibliographic references for the portraits of the dukes and their positions in the chapel choir are provided in Fliegel et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, p. 199. The portraits seem to have been understood in direct relation to the tombs early in their history, as suggested by the Dijonnais historian Étienne Tabourot in 1587, who wrote that the portrait of Philip the Bold in particular was 'based on the marble statue, so carefully made, on the Carthusian tomb in Dijon.' See Fliegel et al., *Art from the Court of Burgundy* , p. 33.

86. After lengthy debate, the city and lands of Lille were retained by Philip the Bold during the reign of his nephew Charles VI, with an agreement signed on 16 January 1387. See Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold; The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 114-15.

87. Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 71-72.

88. Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries, and England*, (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 2000), p. 140.

89. For a reconstruction of the figures of Philip the Good and other members of the family around the base of the tomb at Lille, see Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, p. 146. The political motivations behind the choice of bronze, a distinctly Northern material, over marble, associated with the Valois, is discussed in Ann Adams, 'Funerary Monuments of Burgundian Duchesses; Location, Representation and Meaning' (MA diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2010), p. 18.

90. Vale, *Charles VII*, p. 26.

91. The written account of Francesco di Neri Cecci in 1461 suggests the Sainte-Chapelle was an important site, visited by an increasing section of society. The King's completion of the tomb may suggest that he intended to further increase the number of people visiting the structure, by then an integral part of his own kingdom's po-

litical centre, or that he was responding to an already expanded public. See Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 258.

92. Vale has argued that the inclusion of the epithet '*Tresvictorieux*' on his identifying imagery, and indeed on Berry's tomb, may have been as much 'a symptom of doubt and of insecurity' as a proclamation of triumph or authority. Vale, *Charles VII*, p. 4. Jean de Berry's diplomatic success has been addressed extensively in Lehoux, 'Mort et funerailles', pp. 76-96.

93. See also Chancel-Bardelot and Raynaud, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges*, pp. 204-05.

94. Millard Meiss' multi-volume survey is of course a key case in point. Helen Howard has highlighted the interrelated and highly complex employment of pigments and paint mediums on both polychromed sculpture and wall paintings in the period, for which see Howard, *Pigments of English Medieval Wall Painting* (London: Archetype, 2003), especially 'Relationship with Polychrome Sculpture and Panel Painting: Implications for Workshop Practice' pp. 206-08. See also Baron, Jugie, and Lafay, *Les Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 115-23.

95. For the various objects donated by Berry to the Sainte-Chapelle see M. Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Description d'après la teneur des Chartes du Tresor, en Reliquaires et Joyaux d'or ... donné p. Jean, Duc de Berry à la Sainte-Chapelle &c Bourges', in *Mémoires de la Commission historique du Cher* (Paris and Bourges: Dumoulin, 1857), pp. 1-128.

96. Height: 39.5 cm each. They were acquired by the descendants of Lord Lindsey from the Durlacher brothers, London, in 1920. They have recently come to light as a result of the exhibition 'A Poet in Paradise: Lord Lindsay and Christian Art', held at the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, for which see Aiden Weston-Lewis (ed.), *A Poet in Paradise: Lord Lindsay and Christian Art* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2000) pp. 124-25.

97. The idea of preparing oneself spiritually for death was to find popular dissemination through texts such as the *Ars Moriendi*, written at the time of Jean's death, as well as Jean Gerson's earlier *Opus Tipartitum*, c.1408, both of which built on earlier sources concerning good-living and good-dying, and fitted well with the established concept of Particular Judgment. See Gordon S. Wakefield, *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (London: John Knox, 1983), pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER 12

DECONSTRUCTING DONATELLO AND MICHELOZZO'S BRANCACCI TOMB

MARTHA DUNKELMAN

12.1
Donatello and Michelozzo, Tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci (c.1426-29). Marble, with gilding and polychromy, 1165 x 460 cm, Naples, San Angelo a Nilo.

The tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci in the church of Sant'Angelo a Nilo in Naples was commissioned from Donatello and Michelozzo in about 1426, probably by the cardinal himself, who would have known their work from visits to Florence (fig. 12.1). The Medici, who had an association with the Brancacci family, were involved in the project as well.

Despite its prestigious patrons and artists, however, the location of the Brancacci tomb in Naples, distant from the other works of Donatello and Michelozzo, means that it has been given less attention in modern scholarship than one might expect. The scanty documentation and seemingly insurmountable attribution and reconstruction problems, all discussed below, have undoubtedly also discouraged more recent analyses. While the tomb contains many intriguing elements, in its current state it is not representative of major trends in funerary monuments and thus was not an appropriate candidate for inclusion in Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*. Ronald Lightbown's 1980 analysis of the work remains the most thorough, along with Harriet Caplow's detailed study of 1977 and the significant material added by James Beck in 1987.[1] Most other in-depth studies predate these.[2] A fresh look at the monument, both as a whole and in its parts, is due. This chapter asserts that the work as we see it today is in fact a piecemeal affair. It is quite likely that neither its overall design nor some of its sculpture corresponds to the original conception of its patrons or its artists. By deconstructing its parts and comparing them to standard contemporary tomb practices, it is possible to pinpoint its anomalies and suggest a more likely construction as well as some of the ways in which it ended up in its present problematic state.

The sparse surviving documentation for the project indicates that Donatello and Michelozzo were at work on the tomb in 1427, the year of the cardinal's death, when it is mentioned in Michelozzo's *catasto* declaration.[3] The work was underway in Pisa, where the pair had set up a workshop, planning to ship the finished tomb to Naples by sea. By 1429, it appears that the tomb had been installed in Naples, without the presence of the two artists.[4] The existing documents reveal nothing about the process of installation, nor do they provide any exact information about the original design of the monument. It seems to have been placed at first behind the high altar of the church, which had been founded by the cardinal.[5] The church was enlarged in the sixteenth century and the tomb was moved to a side chapel, providing an opportunity for modifications in its design as well as for mistakes in its reinstallation. Further remodeling of the building took place in the eighteenth century, which may have been another occasion for making adjustments.[6]

The tomb as it appears today is a vertical wall tomb, approximately 9m (30ft) high and 4m (13ft) wide.[7] It takes the form of a shallow niche created by columns that support an arched opening. Within this framework three caryatid figures support a sarcophagus on which lies an effigy. Above the effigy, still within the niche, two figures hold back curtains. Still further up, under the arch, are figures of the Madonna and Child and two saints. This arched structure is topped by a mixed line arch pediment containing a figure of God the Father, with two putti at its outer corners. The 2007 restoration, published in 2009 and 2010, did not alter the overall format, although it revealed some of the original colour and gilding and concluded that the wings of the putti at the top and the large inscription in the centre are later additions.[8]

Most critics tacitly accept the construction of the tomb as it appears today, despite the lack of solid information about its original design and installation, as well as the absence

of its artists from the final arrangement of its parts and its later shifts within the building. Scholarly discussion has instead concentrated on the sources of the monument's architecture and the attribution of its parts. Most assume that Michelozzo was responsible for the architecture and thus the controversy centers on the two artists' responsibility for individual sculptural elements.[9] A few scholars have proposed antique sources for details of the tomb.[10] Several, without questioning the set up of the monument, have written at length about the possible Neapolitan origins of its features as opposed to Tuscan ones.[11]

Despite the fact that no one seems to question the authenticity of the arrangement of the tomb, many aspects of its overall composition are troubling. As will be outlined in the following pages, several features, including the famous relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin* that is universally attributed to Donatello, present disturbing variances from the norms of fifteenth-century Italian wall tomb design. Despite the beauty of many of the Brancacci monument's details, this seems to be a case where the whole has become less than the sum of its parts.

Some of the numerous anomalies that the tomb presents today, such as the partly opened doors on the projecting sides of the tomb, may be benignly attributed to the originality of the artists or the requests of the patron.[12] A few others may reflect the preferences of the artists, such as the mixed line arch at the top, which does not appear in other tombs, but can be found elsewhere in Michelozzo's *oeuvre*, notably on the façade of S. Agostino at Montepulciano. The artist's personal choice might also be proposed as a reason for including trumpeting putti on each side of the crowning arch. They, like the mixed line arch, have no exact counterparts elsewhere in funerary works, but may reflect Donatello's well-known predilection for classicising putti.[13]

Other features of the Brancacci tomb, however, are harder to explain. In the lower section of the tomb, for example, three caryatid figures, holding scrolls, support the sarcophagus. Many tombs include such caryatid figures, but the vast majority can be clearly identified, usually as Virtues, like those on the Coscia tomb on which Michelozzo and Donatello were probably still engaged at the time of their work on the Brancacci monument.[14] The Coscia figures are also placed below the sarcophagus, but they carry very distinct attributes and do not actively support the structure above them.[15] Although it is usually assumed that the three in Naples are also Virtues, it is disconcerting and atypical that they do not carry any identifying attributes.[16]

Above the troubling caryatids appear further irregularities. The recumbent cardinal lies directly on top of his coffin, without the standard intervening cloth or bier or pad to separate the length of his body from its container, a feature found universally in Tuscan and Neapolitan tombs. He is given the courtesy of a pillow under his head, but no further comfort.[17] Behind him two standing figures each reach an arm upwards towards folded drapery. While figures that open curtains to reveal the deceased are a prominent feature of Neapolitan and Tuscan tombs, the arrangement on the Brancacci monument is unusual in that the curtains drape over the architectural level above the effigy rather than covering

the effigy itself. Donatello and Michelozzo's Coscia tomb provides a unique earlier example of curtains that include the area above the effigy, and it is tempting to credit them with this arrangement as a deliberate choice. Unlike the Coscia monument, or any others known to this author, however, the Brancacci curtains are not long enough to cover the cardinal's body. In more standard examples, such as Nino Pisano's Tomb of Bishop Simone Saltarelli of 1342, located in Pisa where the artists were working, the curtains and the figures that pull them back are tightly enclosed around the recumbent figure.[18] It might be possible to argue that the Brancacci attendants are pulling the cloth upward and that therefore, when dropped, it would have been just long enough to cover the cardinal, but that would be, quite literally, a stretch.

In addition to the divergences from traditional tomb formats found in the caryatids and the curtain holders, the degree of finish varies greatly throughout the tomb. As can be clearly seen in a direct examination of the tomb, and as has also been described in great detail by Caplow, much of the surface, especially of the sculpture, is unfinished.[19] The back wall behind the caryatids, for example, is in a rough cut rather than finished stage and was probably intended to be faced with a more finely finished material, similar to the red marble set into the entablature above the curtains. Perhaps, as suggested by Lightbown, the panels intended for this location were damaged when the tomb was moved and never installed, but it is also possible, given the overall unfinished state of the work, that they were never even produced.[20]

Surprisingly, no consistent logic dictates which areas of the monument exhibit a higher state of finish. Variations occur, seemingly haphazardly, between and even within figures, and are immediately visible to the viewer in the church. The left caryatid is somewhat more highly finished than her sisters, for example, but the scroll she carries is barely sketched out. Work on the outer surface of the cardinal's pillow was apparently stopped in the middle, as evidenced by an easily discernable change in the tool marks. The visibility of parts in the tomb's current structure does not seem to have been a determining factor. As Caplow notes, the unseen right ear of the cardinal is more completely finished than the exposed left one.[21] These inconsistencies suggest that some parts of the tomb are not now in the positions that were originally intended for them. While it is not unusual for the surfaces of sculpture that would not be visible to be left unfinished, it is uncommon, if not unique, to find a monument with widely varying degrees of finish on the most visible parts, as in the Brancacci tomb.[22]

As noted above, the documents associated with the tomb do not provide an explanation for its many problematic features.[23] Lightbown makes a very good case that the intervening death of the cardinal and the money problems plaguing the Brancacci family at the time were the reasons for a premature ending of the work in Pisa and for what appears from its lack of finish and ill-fitting parts to be its rather hasty construction in Naples.[24] Clearly, the artists did not finish the tomb in their Pisan workshop before they sent its components off to Naples for assembly and installation. A sudden halt in the work and a

hurried shipment to Naples without taking time to finish the work can explain some of the anomalies that have been described. Even if some sections or surfaces were deliberately left to be finished when they arrived in Naples, this task was never carried out, perhaps because of lack of funds. It was also a very busy time for the two artists, who were simultaneously involved in a variety of other projects and may have been relieved to stop their activity on this one and send it on its way to Naples. They did not accompany it to oversee its installation, although they sent a representative.[25] The inconsistencies in finish noted above may be an indication not only that the work was not brought to a state of completion in Pisa, but also that there was still indecision about which parts would be visible. Even the much discussed blending of Tuscan and Neapolitan features in the architecture may reflect decisions made by the Neapolitan workmen who were employed to assemble the pieces that arrived, rather than thoughtful planning on the part of patron and artists.[26] Further unanticipated changes may have occurred during the above-mentioned shift of the work to a side chapel of the refurbished church in the sixteenth century. Since we cannot know what changes were made, the many theories that have been proposed about the regional origins of the tomb's design become problematic, as does any reliance on its present construction.

In addition to lowering costs by not paying for the final finishing of the work, it is here suggested that expenses were further reduced by recycling pieces of sculpture in the artists' possession that had not been used for various reasons and were therefore available. Given the financial pressures facing the Brancacci family at the time that the cardinal's tomb was installed, the artists may have saved money and effort for both themselves and the Brancacci family by a few ingenious substitutions. Sections of the tomb that had not been begun could have been filled in with material at hand. While there is no written evidence for this exact practice on the part of artists in the early Quattrocento, there are numerous instances of sculpture being repurposed. Examples abound in the movement of statues on and around the doorways of the cathedral of Florence.[27] The prophets on the adjacent Campanile, furthermore, were rearranged in 1464, probably to showcase the works of Donatello.[28] Donatello's *Judith* was moved several times from private to public venues as the politics of Florence changed.[29] And even though proof may be harder to pin down, it is reasonable to assume that artists themselves must have recycled their own works into new projects when the original purposes for the works fell away for one reason or another. Examples of this particular form of repurposing have been proposed for one of Nanni di Banco's *Quattro Coronati* and for the sarcophagus-like side of Donatello's north pulpit in San Lorenzo, which, it has been suggested, was originally to have been used for the burial of Cosimo de'Medici.[30]

The nature of the anomalies in the monument, described above, supports this hypothesis. The caryatids, as noted, have no attributes to identify them as the Virtues they are assumed to be. Perhaps they were not originally created to be Virtues, but were begun at some earlier moment for a different, abandoned project. This possibility is strengthened

12.2
Donatello and Michelozzo, Tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci, detail.

by that fact that each of them has a hole for a metal attachment on its back. There are no matching holes in the wall behind them, thus indicating that they were originally prepared for attachment to some other structure. The curtain pullers above the effigy, furthermore, are conceived more independently from the curtains they reach for than is the norm for parallel figures on other tombs. Their extended arms are quite obviously separately made pieces, rather awkwardly attached (fig. 12.2).[31] Perhaps this pair was also adopted from an unfinished project and given new arms and a new function. If shorter figures were originally planned for their position and were not executed when funds ran out, it would explain why these are too tall for their location, causing the drapery they hold to hover far above the body, unable to cover it.

Figure 12.3, on the following page, presents a possible reconstruction of how the parts of the tomb underneath the arch might have been configured initially, before money ran out. It is not intended to provide an exact design, but to eliminate some of the most unlikely features of the present arrangement. It removes the large inscription presently on the back wall above the effigy, since recent conservation has established that the plaque is a later addition.[32] The awkward curtain pullers have been removed and replaced by ones of more appropriate size, here using the corresponding figures from the 1444 Bruni tomb by Bernardo Rossellino to illustrate typical examples from a Quattrocento tomb.[33] Highlighted in red on the diagram, they are meant to suggest the size of figures that might originally have been conceived for this location, which was apparently filled, probably hastily and not entirely satisfactorily, with the taller, modified ones who are there now. In addition, in the reconstruction the effigy is shown lying on a more standard curtained platform, rather than stretched uncomfortably on the hard coffin top. The drapery inserted beneath him, colored green, is borrowed from the cloth beneath Cardinal Alençon's contemporary effigy in Rome.[34] The caryatids are now raised up on bases, as was often the case.[35] As a result, the central section of the tomb, including the sarcophagus and angels, is reduced in height. Both the proportions and the components of the monument are brought more in

12.3
Reconstruction of the Brancacci tomb.

12.4
Donatello, *Assumption*, detail of the Brancacci tomb (c.1426). Marble with gilding, 54 x 78 cm, Naples, Sant'Angelo a Nilo.

line with contemporary tomb designs. The curtains at last provide cover for the effigy of the cardinal. This reconstruction, it is hoped, more closely resembles the original plan for the monument, which, as proposed here, was modified when the project had to be brought to an abrupt finish, leaving some sections only roughly carved and incorporating items that were not originally planned for this location.

This chapter has not yet addressed the item that is perhaps the most out of place on the Brancacci tomb. This is, paradoxically, the one that is also the best known: the relief of the *Assumption* by Donatello that decorates the sarcophagus (fig. 12.4). This is the only part of the tomb that is universally attributed to Donatello, although a very good case can be made for assigning the effigy of the cardinal to him as well, based on the observations of the modern restorers as well as the arguments of Lightbown and Beck.[36] It is easy to be swept away by the sympathetic portrayal of the aged Queen of Heaven in the *Assumption* and to marvel at its delicate carving, as the angels swim through the clouds to raise their precious load. Mary's mandorla is not the normal solid structure of contemporary versions, but a kind of miraculous gathering of clouds into a thickened rim around her. It is penetrable, as shown by the occasional appearance of an angel's finger. The theme of the Assumption of the Virgin evokes a hope for resurrection after death that seems appropriate for a tomb. But, remarkably, no other Italian tomb known to this author includes an image of the Assumption of the Virgin.[37] On the tomb of Cardinal Alençon in Santa Maria in Trastevere, mentioned above, there is an image of the Virgin in Glory, which is often mistakenly called an Assumption, but, as noted by Kreytenberg, actually shows an enthroned Madonna appearing to the deceased. Most writers mention that the subject of the Assumption for Donatello's relief is unusual or even unique for a tomb.[38] Only Lightbown has ever tried to explain its unexpected presence. He notes Cardinal Brancacci's relationship with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, an institution that had a significant association to the Assumption.[39] The Brancacci tomb was made for a different

one of the Cardinal's venues, however, and there are few, if any, other examples of such a deliberate use of an atypical theme on a tomb to recall the deceased's association with a distant institution. Lightbown's connection seems an unlikely one.

In addition to its non-traditional subject matter, the *schiacciato* technique of the Brancacci *Assumption* gives it an appearance entirely unlike anything else on this tomb or on any other sarcophagus relief of the period. Its infinitely nuanced surface would have been almost impossible to read when the tomb was behind the altar, as originally conceived.[40] In both subject matter and technique, therefore, the *Assumption* is a misfit. As has been proposed above for some of the other components of the present tomb, it is hypothesised here that the relief was not originally designed for the Brancacci monument.

The issue is even further muddied by the fact that Donatello's formulation of the Assumption of the Virgin differs from the standard ways that the event is represented. The image was widely used to depict the Virgin's physical rise into heaven after her death, an elevation that took place because her body was too pure to be allowed to decompose. Except for Christ himself, she is the only one to whom this honour of bodily assumption was awarded. The event is not recorded in the Bible, but would have been familiar to viewers from the *Golden Legend*.[41] There were two important ways to represent the scene in the early fifteenth century in Italy. The traditional type usually shows the Virgin raised in the air in a mandorla of angels, seated or standing frontally, hands together in prayer. Familiar examples include the central panel of Taddeo di Bartolo's large altarpiece of 1394-1401 in Montepulciano. A second type, which became popular in the fifteenth century, especially in Tuscany, is the Madonna della Cintola, which shows the rising Madonna handing her girdle to the apostle Thomas, to prove to him that she was being taken bodily to heaven. The type would have been familiar to Donatello from many painted examples, and also from the prominent reliefs by Orcagna for Orsanmichele and Nanni di Banco on the Porta della Mandorla of the Cathedral.[42] In both formats, either an empty tomb or the awe-struck apostles are commonly present to indicate Mary's recent earthly demise and the miraculous nature of the event. Choirs of angels are also very frequently included. In Donatello's version, however, there is no empty tomb or any other indication of the Madonna's death on earth. If this is meant to be a Madonna della Cintola, St. Thomas is not present to receive the girdle, nor is there evidence of the girdle itself.

Even more startling than the absence of some standard Assumption elements from Donatello's relief are the features it contains that are entirely uncharacteristic of representations of the event. Most notably, the Virgin is shown in profile rather than sitting frontally. She sits, furthermore, on a humble stool, an uncharacteristic prop for this moment of her glory. These unusual aspects of Donatello's formulation actually recall other iconographical types. The Virgin's sideways position and bowed head, for example, virtually unknown in scenes of the Assumption, resemble the pose she usually takes in scenes of her Coronation, such as the one Donatello designed for a window in the cathedral of Florence.[43] The lack of a sarcophagus or of apostles who bear witness, on the other hand, bring this image

of Mary close to those that are properly labeled as the Madonna in Glory rather than the Assumption, such as the one on the Alençon tomb, or the fresco in Santa Croce in Florence attributed to the Master of Figline.[44]

The lines between these three iconographical types of the Assumption, the Coronation, and the Madonna in Glory are often blurry in Quattrocento art. Ghiberti's window for the Duomo in Florence, for example, combines the Assumption and the Coronation into one event, by showing Christ above Mary, holding a crown over her head as she rises, rather than placing the two next to each other. It is difficult to know exactly how to identify the scene presented on the Brancacci tomb today.[45] The commonly accepted title of the *Assumption* is probably the best choice, since she does seem to be rising in a mandorla lifted by angelic putti, but it is important to note the variations that are included, such as her sideways pose. In the end, the relief is a remarkably original creation. Donatello has humanised the Virgin by emphasising her age and humility, and at the same time he suggests several of the most significant moments in her story.

Fascinating and creative as this new iconographical mélange may be, nothing about the relief explains its presence on Cardinal Brancacci's tomb. Perhaps the only way to understand it is to postulate, as suggested above, that the relief is yet another part of the tomb that was originally intended for a different project but was never put to its original use. Perhaps the relief was designed to be combined with additional scenes that included some of the apparently missing iconographical features, such as the doubting St. Thomas or the awestruck apostles or even Christ with a crown in his hands. Donatello made several such series of reliefs during his lifetime, including the scenes of the life of St. Anthony for the Padua altar and the Passion reliefs for the pulpits in San Lorenzo. Other series were planned but are not known to have been completed.[46] Alternatively, several single narrative reliefs by his hand survive, for which the original purposes are unknown, including the *Ascension* in London and the *Feast of Herod* in Lille. Such reliefs may or may not have been intended as parts of larger projects. If the *Assumption* was languishing in the artist's shop after the cancellation or delay of another commission, it could have been seen as a option, ready at hand, to install on the Brancacci tomb when time and money ran out. As suggested above, a similar kind of re-purposing may have resulted in the use of curtain holders who did not quite fit correctly, and caryatid figures that were not originally designed to serve as Virtues.

There is no way to be certain about what original purpose of the *Assumption* may have been, but a few possibilities can be suggested. Documents exist that record payments made by the Medici to Donatello alone during the time he was in Pisa in partnership with Michelozzo.[47] These allow for the possibility that he was engaged on some other work for them that was never carried through. Or, the *Assumption* might reflect an early stage of the stalled commission for an indoor pulpit for the Duomo in Prato, which seems to have been planned at about the time that Donatello and Michelozzo were to start work on their outdoor pulpit for the same church, even though no actual work on an indoor pulpit is

12.5
View of Donatello's *Assumption* from below.

recorded until the 1430s.[48] This indoor pulpit was to replace one from the Trecento by Niccolo di Cecco del Mercia, parts of which still exist.[49] The new pulpit would certainly have included an Assumption of the Virgin, since Prato possessed the relic of the holy girdle. The relief now in Naples is the right size for such a work (53 x 79cm) and would have been more easily readable on a pulpit than it is on the Brancacci tomb. It was conceived to be read from below, as evidenced by the variation in the depth of its frame, which is deeper at the top than at the bottom and also by the greater sense of recession that is achieved when the relief is viewed from a low point (fig. 12.5). The carving on the left side of the relief contains greater variations in depth than the right, and the surface is recessed somewhat more on the left side, as can be seen at the bottom of the carved area where it meets the border. This suggests that the work was meant to be viewed slightly from the right, so that the eye hits the left side first. When seen from below and from the right, the figure of the Virgin acquires the greatest volume. The major problem with placing the *Assumption* on a pulpit in Prato is the lack of a girdle stretching from the Madonna's hand to St. Thomas', but perhaps that feature was included in another material, such as bronze or leather and reached across or down to a second relief. Unfortunately, the surface of the relief does not provide proof or disproof of such an attachment. This theory is certainly not perfect, but, like the reconstruction of the tomb presented earlier, is meant to emphasise that the tomb in its present state is probably far from the original design of the patron or the artists.

It is hoped that these observations will encourage viewers to examine the Brancacci tomb afresh and to realise that it is filled with mysterious problems, most of which will never find answers. It must reflect changes that occurred during the time its components were in production in Pisa, as well as when it was installed without the supervision of its major artists, and finally when it was moved and reinstalled once or twice in later centuries. The fact that it is still an imposing monument with strong links to two of the most important artists of the early fifteenth century is undoubtedly a tribute to the creativity with which unexpected financial shortfalls and modifications in the process were addressed when work in Pisa was forced to draw to a close. Although the cardinal ended up with a tomb that is unfinished and probably made of gerrymandered parts, let us hope that he was pleased with some of its individual features and can comfort himself with having provided a place for some otherwise homeless sculpture.

All references in *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the main text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Ronald W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo: An Artistic Partnership and its Patrons in the Early Renaissance* (London and Philadelphia: Harvey Miller, 1980), pp. 83-127; Harriet McNeal Caplow, *Michelozzo* (New York: Garland, 1977), pp. 142-209; James Beck, 'Donatello and the Brancacci Tomb in Naples', in Karl Ludwig Selig and Robert Somerville (eds), *Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York: Italica, 1987), pp. 125-40.

2. Earlier discussions include H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 89-92, with complete earlier bibliography; Valentino Martinelli 'La compagnia di Donatello e Michelozzo e la sepoltura del Brancacci a Napoli', *Commentari* 14 (1963): pp. 211-26; Ottavio Morisani, 'Il monumento Brancacci nell'ambiente napoletano del Quattrocento', in *Donatello e il suo tempo. Atti dell'VIII Convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1968), pp. 207-13; Raffaele Mormone, 'Donatello Michelozzo, e il monument Brancacci', *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte* 5 (1966):pp. 121-33. The relatively brief discussions in the two most important recent monographs on Donatello, John Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), pp. 118, 332 and Artur Rosenauer, *Donatello* (Milan: Electa, 1993), pp. 70-73 and 98-99, do not add to the information in the earlier publications, although Rosenauer includes an extensive bibliography.

3. The few documents, which include a mention of the monument in Michelozzo's tax document of 1427, as well as a series of payments, are transcribed and discussed by Caplow, *Michelozzo*, pp. 154-63, 644-60 and Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 52-128, who also includes a transcription of the Cardinal's will on pp. 293-7. Beck, 'Brancacci Tomb', publishes some additional payments which confirm a link between the Medici family and the commission.

4. Janson, *Sculpture of Donatello*, p. 90, n. 7.

5. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 89-91.

6. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 89-91.

7. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 91-92, as well as the author's own measurements.

8. Francesco Esposito, Claudio Falcucci, Diego Ferrara, Roberto Middione, 'Il monument funerario del cardinale Rinaldo Brancacci di Donatello nella chiesa di Sant'Angelo a Nilo. Osservazioni sulle tecniche di lavorazione e sulle cromie originali', in Daniela Rullo (ed.), *Lo stato dell'arte: Atti del VII Congresso Nazionale IGIIC* (Naples: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works: Gruppo Italiano, 2009), pp. 85-91; Daniela Rullo 'Donatello restaurato: il monument Brancacci nella chiesa di Sant'Angelo a Nilo a Napoli; storia e tecniche', *Kermes* 23 (2010): pp. 51-62.

9. Janson, *Sculpture of Donatello*, p. 90; Caplow, *Michelozzo*, p. 164; Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 83-105 passim. Beck, 'Brancacci Tomb', pp. 133-36, is the most generous to Donatello, giving him not only the *Assumption*, but also the central caryatid, the nude putti at the top of the monument, the effigy, and the tondo with God the Father.

10. For suggestions regarding antique sources, see, in addition to Lightbown and Caplow as listed in note 1: H. W. Janson, 'Donatello and the Antique', in *Donatello e il suo tempo*, pp. 77-96, republished in H. W. Janson, *Sixteen Studies* (New York: Abrams, 1974), pp. 249-88; John Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, pp. 119, 332.

11. Most authors emphasise the continuation of Neapolitan tomb traditions in the monument, noting in particular its elaborate and richly decorated architecture and the fact that it is a free standing structure supported by columns rather than attached to the wall. The tomb of Cardinal Francesco Carbone, c.1400, Duomo, Naples, illustrated in Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, fig. 103, provides one example among many. The arguments regarding Neapolitan and Tuscan sources for the tomb are too extensive and contradictory to reiterate here, but, contrary to the prevailing scholarly support for Neapolitan sources, it actually seems to this author most reasonable to attribute Neapolitan features to the assistants in Naples who put the tomb together or to the directives of the cardinal, rather than to a conscious attempt on the part of Michelozzo or Donatello to combine the two traditions. The artists themselves would have had little familiarity with Neapolitan funerary monuments. See Rosenauer, *Donatello*, pp. 98-99, with earlier bibliography; Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, p. 91; Martinelli, 'La compagnia', pp. 211-26; Caplow, *Michelozzo*, pp. 165-69; Amaldo Bruschi, 'Qualche considerazioni sul contributo di Michelozzo alla formazione del linguaggio architettonico rinascimentale', in Gabriele Morolli (ed.), *Michelozzo scultore e architetto*

1396-1472 (Florence: Centro Di, 1998), pp. 21-28; Antonio Natali, 'L'umanesimo di Michelozzo nel Pergamo di Prato', in Morolli, *Michelozzo scultore e architetto*, pp. 29-34; Ottavio Morisani, 'Il monumento Brancacci', pp. 207-13; Mormone, 'Donatello Michelozzo, e il monument Brancacci', pp. 121-33; Tanja Michalsky, 'The Local Eye: Formal and Social Distinctions in Late Quattrocento Neapolitan Tombs', *Art History* 31/4 (Sept 2008): pp. 484-504. The importance of Tuscan precedents is championed by Janson, *Sculpture of Donatello*, p. 90. Connections to sculpture that Michelozzo and Donatello would have seen in Pisa are suggested by Naoki Dan, *La tomba di Arrigo VII di Tino di Camaino e il Rinascimento* (Florence: Edizioni 'Pan Arte', 1983), p. 56.

12. Caplow, *Michelozzo*, fig. 71.

13. Examples of Donatello's putti include those designed for the baptismal font in Siena or the ones on the Cantoria from the cathedral of Florence, but others abound throughout his oeuvre.

14. The best recent discussion of the Coscia tomb can be found in Rosenauer, *Donatello*, pp. 96-97, with earlier bibliography. A particularly handsome photograph of the Coscia tomb may be found in Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, p. 76.

15. As pointed out by Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1964), p. 76, Virtues were an extremely popular choice for Italian Renaissance tombs.

16. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, p. 94, proposes, unconvincingly, that the lack of attributes is due to a desire to emphasise the load-bearing activity of the figures.

17. The present author's examination of hundreds of fourteenth and fifteenth century Tuscan and Neapolitan wall tombs has turned up no other examples of bodies laid directly on the coffin. Examples of bodies on various supports are legion, and include the large draped tables of Nino Pisano's Tomb of Bishop Simone Saltarelli in S. Caterina in Pisa of 1342 or Rossellino's Bruni tomb of 1444 in Santa Croce in Florence (see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, figs 336 and 317, respectively), or the more modest cloth under Tino di Camaino's effigy of Catherine of Austria in Santa Maria Maggiore, Naples, of 1323, illustrated in Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott (eds), *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713: New Approaches* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 63. While some exceptions may be found in floor slabs or in non-Italian tombs, there are none known to this author among the Tuscan or Neapolitan wall tombs that retain their original construction.

18. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 336.

19. Caplow, *Michelozzo*, pp. 184-86, 189-93, 198-99, 208-09.

20. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, p. 117.

21. Caplow, *Michelozzo*, p. 184.

22. It is possible to find examples of visibly unfinished works placed on public view, although the practice has not been carefully studied. See, for example, the feet of the small prophets from the cathedral of Florence, recently exhibited in New York, Timothy Verdon and Daniel Zolli (eds), *Sculpture in the Age of Donatello* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2015), pp. 132-35. Sometimes work continued after installation, as suggested by Vasari's anecdote about Donatello pretending to improve his St. Mark after receiving criticism, G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori* (eds) R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, vol. 3, part 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1966), p. 208. The presence of widely varied states of completion, as seen in the Brancacci tomb, however, is rare if not unique.

23. See note 3.

24. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 117-18.

25. Caplow, *Michelozzo*, pp. 160-62.

26. See note 6.

27. Donatello's marble David, now in the Bargello, is only one example, discussed in, among others, Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, pp. 40-46, 323-24, with additional bibliography.

28. Giovanni Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze: documenti sulla decorazione della chiesa e del campanile tratti dall'archivio dell'opera* (ed.) Margaret Haines (Florence: Edizioni Medicea, c.1988), n. 331.

29. Summarised in Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, p. 347.

30. Giulia Brunetti, 'Riadattamenti e spostamenti di statue fiorentine del primo Quattrocento', in *Donatello e il suo tempo*, pp. 277-82; Volker Herzner, 'Die Kanzeln Donatellos in San Lorenzo', *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 23 (1972): 101-64.

31. Esposito, 'Donatello restaurato', p. 55; Caplow, *Michelozzo*, p. 197, also notes the awkward positions of the arms.

32. Esposito, 'Donatello restaurato', p. 55. An observer of 1560 claimed not to have an seen an inscription at all: Caplow, *Michelozzo*, p. 162; Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 94-95. Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, p. 329, unlike other critics writing before the restoration, believed correctly that this inscription was not contemporary with the tomb. My thanks to my colleague Gilbert Jones for his assistance with the reconstruction diagram.

33. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 317.

34. Gert Kreytenberg, 'Die Bildhauer von Altarziborium und Grabmal des Kardinals Philippe d'Alençon in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome', *Arte Medievale* 1 (2002): pp. 91-126.

35. There are many examples of Virtues on tombs which are positioned on bases. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 392, for example, illustrates Tino di Camaino's tomb of Charles of Calabria in Sta. Chiara, Naples.

36. Esposito, 'Donatello restaurato', p. 53; Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, p. 121; Beck, 'Brancacci Tomb', pp. 135-36.

37. The most closely related scenes appearing on contemporary funerary monuments include images of the Resurrection of Christ, as seen on Tino di Camaino's tomb of Gastone della Torre of c.1318 in Santa Croce in Florence; the Assumption of Souls as seen on Andrea Pisano's tomb of Bishop Saltarelli in Pisa, already mentioned as Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, fig. 336; and the Dormition of the Virgin, on a few Venetian tombs, such as that of Francesco Dandolo in the Frari of 1329-39, illustrated in Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 109. All of these scenes are themselves relatively rare on tombs.

38. For example, Janson, *Sculpture of Donatello*, pp. 90-91; Rosenauer, *Donatello*, p. 118.

39. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, pp. 112-15. His explanation is accepted by Rosenauer, p. 118.

40. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, p. 89; Caplow, *Michelozzo*, p. 151.

41. Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, (trans.) William Granger Ryan, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 77-97.

42. Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 89-92.

43. Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, pp. 112-14.

44. On the iconography of the Virgin in Glory see Anneke de Vries, 'Mariotto di Nardo and Guido di Tommaso del Palagio: The Chapel of St. Jerome at San Michele Visdomini in Florence and the Triptych in Pesaro', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 50 (2006/2007): p. 13 and Julia Maria Lessanutti, 'The Madonna della Cintola in Italian Art before 1400' (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1996). On the fresco in Santa Croce see Luciano Bellosi, *Il Maestro di Figline, un pittore del Trecento: presentazione e catalogo delle opere in occasione della mostra didattica* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980).

45. Despite lengthy studies of individual works of art that illustrate these related themes, there are no broad studies of their typology in the Quattrocento, particularly in sculpture. Those studies of the iconography of the Assumption that have been carried out tend to emphasise painting over sculpture, such as Elaine G. Tulanowsky, 'The Iconography of the Assumption of the Virgin in Italian Paintings: 1480-1580' (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1986) or P.A. Dunford, 'Iconografia della Dormizione e dell'Assunzione della Vergine Maria nell'arte rinascimentale italiana', *Arte Cristiana* (1976): 284-98. Others concentrate on individual centres, such as Henk van Os, 'The Assumption in Sienese Painting', in his *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting* (London: Pindar, 1992), pp. 123-87; Judith B. Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 129-31; Lois Munemitsu Eliason, 'The Virgin's Sacred Belt and the Fifteenth-Century Commissions at Santo Stefano, Prato' (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2004). See also Mary Tuck Echols, 'The Coronation of the Virgin in Fifteenth-Century Italian Art' (PhD diss., University of Virginia: 1976) and Ilaria Ferretti, 'La Madonna della Cintola nell'arte Toscana: sviluppi di un tema iconografico', *Arte Cristiana* 90 (2002): 411-22.

46. These include reliefs for two chapels in the cathedral of Siena. Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello: Sculptor*, p. 289.

47. Beck, 'Brancacci tomb', pp. 126-27.

48. Claudio Cerretelli, 'La Pieve e la Cintole: le trasformazioni legate alla reliquia', in Aldo Capobianco (ed.), *La Sacra Cintola nel Duomo di Prato* (Prato: C. Martini, 1995), p. 103.

49. Giuseppe Marchini, *Il Duomo di Prato* (Milano: Curata dalla Electa editrice per conto della Cassa di risparmi e depositi di Prato, 1957), pp. 56-57.

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