Picturing Death
1200-1600

Edited by

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BRILL

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Introduction

Stephen Perkinson and Noa Turel

Examined retrospectively through the lens of traditional scholarly chronologies, the era of history spanning the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries seems to consist of distinct (and even hermetically sealed) cultural phases. The early portion of that period is identified by Art Historians as "Gothic," using a taxonomy having its roots in architectural history, but also deriving from the disparaging comments of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century observers with an axe to grind.[1] At the opposite end of that chronological spectrum, we find ourselves at the tail end of the period described as the "Renaissance," itself a term freighted with ideological baggage.[2] The definitions of these two periods are to a large extent antithetical; in many respects, the ability to offer up a definition of one of those periods presupposes the existence of the other. Indeed, in many such definitions, the other terms serve as a kind of negative counterexample: a benighted past that is best left behind by the forces of progress, or an unfortunate, oppressive modernity, sharp in tooth and claw, that uproots earlier folkways. Visual analysis seems to confirm the irreconcilable nature of these two periods, as even the most unsophisticated observer can quickly learn to spot the tell-tale evidence of Gothic abstraction or Renaissance naturalism.

And yet, there are nevertheless major cultural themes and interests that unite these seemingly diametrically opposed periods. One of the most conspicuous among these is the overarching interest in using visual media to conceptualize, describe, and delineate the postmortem fate of the individual. While cultural periods are by nature unruly creatures, and will never be so well-behaved as to align neatly with years marking the turn of the centuries, one can say that the era around 1200 marked a dramatic upsurge in works of art across the media

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1   For a recent synthetic overview of the connotations of "Gothic" as a term of periodization, see Reeve 2012.

2   Studies that investigate the ideological underpinnings of, and commitments inherent in, concepts of the "Renaissance" include: Bullen 1994, Howard 1999, Tollebeek 2001, Morowitz 2005, and Smith 2010. For the application of these issues to the particular artistic genre of portraiture, see Perkinson 2005.

that take as their foci themes associated with death, dying, and the afterlife. The era witnessed the dramatic flourishing of figural tomb monuments, often dazzling in scale and articulation, that were carved for members of the European elite and, as years progressed, an increasingly wide spectrum of society. These centuries also marked a considerable elaboration of the iconography of hell and the afterlife, as texts and images both sought to describe in ever more vivid detail the future that lay in store for sinful humans. By the same token, the image-makers of this period increasingly turned their attention to visualizing the process of death itself and examining it as a protracted event, as testified by the burgeoning depictions of the *Death of the Virgin* and, by the later years of the period, the proliferation of *Dance of Death* cycles.

From vivid imaginings of infernal punishments, to gruesome depictions of worm-infested corpses, to unsparingly detailed anatomical representations of the body dissected, Europe witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of depictions of death in all its dimensions during the period spanning from 1200 to 1600. These varied and novel efforts to visualize death cut across the period boundaries devised by art historians. As a result, these images have often fit uneasily within art historical narratives. This discomfiture is perhaps nowhere more noticeable than in the case of the category of imagery described as "the macabre." Perceived as cruel, irrational and alien, these shocking, often lurid images involving moldering corpses and skeletal remains have long been identified as instances of "late-medieval" art, most notably in the case of the great cultural historian Johann Huizinga. In his radiantly colorful—but problematic—account of European culture of the fifteenth century, gruesomely detailed tomb figures, wall paintings depicting the *Dance of Death*, and poetry that laments death as the inexorable passing of beauty all combine to tell the story of an era—the Middle Ages—that was itself in its death throes. As more recent scholars have recognized, the macabre imagery discussed by Huizinga spans a much longer period; evidently it targeted the anxieties and interests of individuals living from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, rather than bursting forth as the brief, final spasms of a doomed culture. And seen within that broader temporal horizon, macabre imagery appears not as an isolated anomaly, but as part of a much more extensive surge in picturing death in all its facets, including some of the most canonical Renaissance artworks. This volume seeks to reclaim the cultural coherence of the works that span these centuries, offering an array of original essays examining the various intersecting and interweaving threads that unite these objects and sites. The whole, we hope, sheds new light for the reader on one of the most riveting moments in European art history, leading to a reassessment of the very boundaries of periodization that have long obscured the connections here unearthed.

As a category of analysis, "picturing death" is broad, and any attempt to identify the causal forces that led to its various permutations in these centuries is likely to be simplistic. The conditions that prompt a keen human interest in death are always overdetermined, ranging from the transhistorical to highly historically specific. And we should not discount one of the most basic transhistorical forces at play: the anxiety driven by the impossibility of knowing for certain what, if anything, is to befall the individual human after his or her demise. In one of the most important late twentieth-century scholarly investigations of macabre imagery, Joseph Leo Koerner pointed to the ways in which fifteenth- and sixteenth-century imagery relentlessly probed the unbridgeable chasm that death marks between the known world and the mysterious one beyond.[3]

Indeed, the preface to the 1538 edition of Hans Holbein's "Dance of Death" series explicitly speaks of the series' arresting depictions of remarkably lively figures of Death apprehending the living in the midst of their daily activities as oblique ways of representing the otherwise un-representable. The author of the preface notes that theology accepts that one can "see and contemplate the invisible and uncreated God" by means of the sight of "things created and visible," and that therefore one can come to an understanding of mortality by means of "simulacra" of death (hence the slim volume's title: *Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort*, or *The Simulacra and Narrated Faces of Death*). Speaking directly to the role of the macabre in describing the inevitable fate of all humans, the author of the preface writes that the best way of representing death is by means of "the things that Death has subjected to an irrevocable passage, that is to say by the bodies in sepulchers, cadaverified and un-fleshed (*cadaverisez & descharnez*) beneath their monuments," and that by them "one can extract some simulacra of death."[4]

Because anxieties around death and dying are to a significant degree a historical constant, a project focused on "picturing death" could easily collapse under its own chronological weight. Such challenges confronted Erwin Panofsky's monumental (so to speak) book, *Tomb Sculpture*, which surveyed sepulchral markers from ancient Egypt through the Baroque period; Panofsky himself repeatedly spoke of the book abashedly as "superficial."[5] More recent cultural histories of death and dying have sought to address the potentially vast purview of their projects by curtailing Panofsky's chronological range to some extent, and by widening the tomes: whereas Panofsky had sought to

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3   Koerner 1993, 274–362.
4   Holbein 1971, 4.
5   Panofsky 1964; for Panofsky's description of the work as "superficial," see Nash 2016, 17.

cover roughly four millennia in 96 pages of text, Philippe Ariès, Michel Vovelle, and Thomas Laqueur successively published studies of expanding scopes and contracting historical spans.[6]

It is worth dwelling for a moment on this historiographic trajectory. Ariès's complex work—which is arguably in equal parts brilliant and frustrating—has played a foundational role for recent studies of the vast array of cultural manifestations that have arisen in response to our mortality. In a series of lectures in the early 1970s, Ariès began developing a new way of understanding the ways that humans have grappled with the ineluctable fact of death. These lectures were published in 1974, and three years later, in a much more elaborate form, as *L'homme devant la mort*, itself translated into English as *The Hour of Our Death* in 1981.[7] While this massive volume is extraordinarily rich in ideas, it has been most influential in its underlying simple thesis: Ariès approaches humanity's confrontation with death as having a history. *The Hour of Our Death* presents a shifting array of human responses to death—responses that characterize historical periods, but that also overlay each other, often complicating many of the standard approaches to periodization that had come before them. Uniting it all is a conviction that death—in the ways that individuals envision it for themselves, prepare themselves for it, assist others in doing so, and in the broader ways in which societies grapple with mortality—provides a canvas for the expression of a culture's core beliefs and assumptions. In other words, death *does things*: it allows us to understand the purposes of life, it articulates cultural principles, and it serves as means by which societies construct and solidify themselves. This approach also powerfully informs Thomas Laqueur's recent *The Work of the Dead* (2015); in many respects, Laqueur's volume serves as a kind of vast sequel to Ariès, as it devotes its greatest attention to the recent centuries that served in a sense as a coda to *The Hour of Our Death*.[8]

Michel Vovelle's work mines similar terrain; like Laqueur, he narrows the chronological scope found in Ariès, although not to the same degree as Laqueur. Vovelle in fact began his study at roughly the same time that Ariès was embarking on his inquiries, and there are many parallels between the two. Vovelle's work, published most elaborately in 1983 as *La mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours*, is more resolutely historicizing, seeking out causal factors where Ariès is content to describe phenomena.[9] This quest for causation underlies the chronological frame employed by Vovelle: he begins his study in 1300 because

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6 Ariès 1981; Vovelle 1983; Laqueur 2015.

7 Ariès 1974, Ariès 1977.

8 Laqueur 2015.

9 Vovelle 1983.

he views the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with their horrific confluence of war, plague, and famine, as marking a crucial turning point in European attitudes toward death. And indeed, it seems undeniable that the afflictions of those centuries, also witnessed an efflorescence of representations of death and dying—representations that seek to process and channel the understanding of mortality as both human constant and insistently present catastrophe. Not surprisingly, therefore much recent scholarship on death and dying has focused on this period: witness the fascinating studies of the textual and manuscript culture of death by Ashby Kinch and Amy Appleford, or the dazzling art historical study of *Dance of Death* mural paintings by Elina Gertsman.[10] Several of the essays in the present volume continue in this vein, and join those authors in elaborating and complicating the connection between specific historical events and visual imagery.

Other cultural developments suggest themselves as candidates for having been the drivers of the new fascination with visualizing death, most notably the emergence of Christian beliefs and practices centered on the concept of Purgatory; it is this development that provides this volume with its rough chronological parameters. The major conceptual shift associated with the consolidation of the understanding of Purgatory has of course been explored in the studies of Jacques Le Goff and others.[11] Le Goff observed that in the last half of the twelfth century a hitherto inchoate set of beliefs regarding a "third place" between heaven and hell began to coalesce into a notion of a concrete locale for posthumous penance and spiritual cleansing—Purgatory. Formally ratified as church doctrine at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, these beliefs held that souls in Purgatory were subject to the influence of people who were still alive: prayers and actions carried by the living could alleviate the suffering of the souls of the deceased, and by engaging in such altruistic actions on behalf of the dead, the living could improve their own postmortem outcomes. This construct of Purgatory would remain in place for generations, waning only gradually over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Protestants renounced the doctrine (and thus provoked a major rupture in the belief that the living share a community with the dead), while Catholics regularized and reformed their practices surrounding death and dying.[12]

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10   Kinch 2013, Appleford 2015, Gertsman 2010.
11   See Le Goff 1984 as well as Angenendt 1997, Dinzelbacher 1999, Marshall 2002, Merkt 2005, and Cuchet 2012.
12   For the Reformation era, see Duffy 1992, Eire 1995, Karant-Nunn 1997, Koslofsky 2000, Marshall 2002, and Reinis 2007. For the shifts in concepts of Purgatory since the Reformation and the ways they have persisted until the present, see Cuchet 2005.

This newfound belief in postmortem potency around 1200 spawned an array of popular practices as well as complex economy of Salvation, which, as with most social systems, greatly favored the rich and powerful.[13] It also proved crucial for changes in the visual culture, driving the major quantitative expansion in image making in the late Middle Ages. New categories of imagery, such as epitaph portraiture and donors embedded into sacred compositions, also emerge in this period in response to anxieties surrounding control over the afterlife in the wake of Purgatory's spatialization.[14] As Laura Gelfand and Walter Gibson argued, many of those epitaph and donor portraits, long miscategorized as devotional images, were in fact designed as "surrogate selves," the sitters immortalized in paint to act as perpetual supplicants beseeching the Virgin, Child, and saints for a commuted purgatorial sentence.[15] Many of those artworks, ranging from Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Nicolas Rolin* (c. 1435, Musée du Louvre, Paris) to Domenico Ghirlandaio's Sassetti Chapel frescos in Santa Trinita, Florence (1486), have long been regarded as paradigmatic Renaissance images, far removed from the perceived formal and conceptual archaism of the macabre imagery. We hope this volume contributes to the project of rectifying such misconceptions, retracing the historic and functional affinity of all Salvation-driven imagery, canonical as marginal.

The essays in this volume address many of the open questions still surrounding the logic and purpose of Salvation-industry imagery. Building upon important early studies of the culture of death and dying as well recent work that grapples with the ramifications of that culture for artworks and monuments, authors here explore connections hitherto obscured by artificial modern divides of periodization, national school, and perceived aesthetic merit.[16]

The first section, "Housing the Dead," deals with the manner in which new types of artifacts and structures established points of connection between the living and the dead. These chapters engaged deeply with important work by earlier generations of scholars, revising, qualifying, and nuancing long-standing arguments. Robert Marcoux directs our attention to material similar to that examined by Panofsky over half a century ago: tomb monuments. His essay enriches our understanding of the methods those monuments used to construct identity, demonstrating that "identity" is never simple, and that its

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13   Important studies of the cultural effects of the development of the concept of Purgatory include Duffy 1992, Wilhelm-Shaffer 1999, Gordon and Marshall 2000, Swanson 2007, Tingle 2012.

14   On epitaphs see, most recently, Brine 2015.

15   Geldand and Gibson 2002.

16   In addition to those cited above in note 7, see also Tenenti 1957, Ariès 1981, Vovelle 1983, Tetel et al. 1989, Llewellyn 1991, and Binski 1996.

visualization often exceeds the forms of naturalistic "likeness" that are often privileged in scholarship on tomb sculpture. In her essay, Henrike Lange offers a phenomenological rereading of the multiple materializations of Enrico Scrovegni in his famed Padua chapel to show how the housing of the dead self was of primary concern to the living. With Xavier Dectot's essay, the scope of this section also expands outward to include consideration of ancillary tomb figures—the "mourners" surrounding the primary effigy—which construct identity and allow viewers to engage in negotiation with the hereafter. Judith Steinhoff builds on recent literature on the performative nature of epitaph imagery, crucially layering it with questions of social identity. Focusing on two famed trecento paintings, she shows how the commemorative works transmitted gendered modes of prayer and paths to salvation by articulating different expectations and roles for men and women. With Katherine Boivin's essay, this section then moves to consider the wider mortuary landscape, investigating ways that elaborate funerary complexes—specifically, charnel houses—established a kind of linkage between the communities of the deceased and the living at the heart of the late medieval city. All of these authors deal with tomb figures representing the identities of the deceased, exploring the question of how to read their use of varying degrees of idealization, physiognomic likeness, and the macabre.[17]

The second section of this collection, "Mortal Anxieties and Living Paradoxes," examines the complex interface between life and death over the period at hand. Brigit Ferguson considers the possibility that the celebrated "Founder Statues" at Naumburg served as vehicles for the display of embodied emotional responses to postmortem experiences, probing the reasons for their display to the living. The next two essays turn to explore the thorny issue of the macabre, in both its literary and sculptural manifestations. Jessica Barker's essay offers a masterful consideration of the ways that the tomb monuments we encounter today—often fragmentary, stripped of their color, and in spaces that have been transformed at least in part from liturgical stages into tourist attractions—once were capable of conveying a sense of voice and embracing their audiences within a sonic environment. Johanna Scheel focuses closely on one of the texts adduced by Barker: a fifteenth-century poem describing a dialogue between the corpse of a noblewoman lying in the tomb and the worms engaged in its decomposition. Both Barker and Scheel's essays shed new light on the alarming, worm-infested "*transi*" figures that appeared across northern Europe from the mid fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, considering ways in which they allowed the corpse of the deceased to retain a voice capable

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17   See in particular s'Jacob 1954, Panofsky 1964, and Cohen 1973.

of speaking to the living, and ways in which their imagery engaged with the psyches of their viewers, urging those viewers on to greater heights of piety. In her essay, Fredrika Jacobs sheds light on the phenomenon of infant resuscitation in the town of Tirano, exploring the ways in which the image-program sponsored by the proponents of this local-shrine miracle, which consoled grieving parents by enabling them to baptize their child, adapted to changing theological winds in the wake of the Reformation.

The third section of this volume, "The Macabre, Instrumentalized," considers the uses of macabre images that lie beyond the exhortations to piety that are understood as the most obvious purposes of *memento mori* imagery. Peter Bovenmyer launches this section with an essay exploring the series of disconcerting images appearing in the earliest illustrated anatomical treatise, dedicated in 1345, describing how they sought to define this emerging field of study in ways that eluded the clerical strictures previously imposed on dissection, while retaining an interest in engaging with the curiosity and anxiety of those images' royal audience. He demonstrates ways in which these images, which have been celebrated by scholars as marking the origins of a modern, "objective" anatomical science, also functioned as *memento mori* imagery for the spiritual improvement of their original audiences. Noa Turel probes the utility of the seemingly-sacred *transi* effigies to the high clergy (and later royalty) who originally commissioned them, exploring the ways in which those monuments consequentially rhymed with established representations of martyrdom. With Maja Dujakovic's essay, this section then turns to consider the market for macabre images, exploring ways in which ambitious printers sought to exploit the flourishing public taste for *memento mori* themes. Whereas scholarship often tends to flatten these printed books into a homogenous mass of depressingly similar publications, Dujakovic demonstrates that the emerging market for printed books prompted their creators to experiment and innovate, producing a series of significant variations on the popular theme. Stephen Perkinson's essay also considers market forces, examining the ways that in the years around 1500, talented and ambitious artisans working "on spec" produced *memento mori* images in print and ivory that were capable of satisfying a range of desires. He shows ways in which these works were designed to function as aids to both devotion and learning, as objects for private contemplation and group discussions, and he points to ways that they could even be designed to function as luxury commodities that were capable of their own self-critique.

This volume concludes with the section "Departure and Persistence," which explores the endurance as well as the transformation of death imagery in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Walter Melion analyzes the consequential deployment of images in Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus*, a

1601 treatise about the forms, functions, and meaning of death, where key emblems serve to edify young Jesuits as well as theorize on the theology of justified image-making in that crucial early Post-Tridentine moment. Mary Silcox offers a veritable mirror-image, studying the ways in which traditional death imagery was reworked into emblems appropriate for a Protestant audience in Stephen Bateman's *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, retaining some of the death images' moralizing elements while manipulating others to debunk rejected doctrine, such as, crucially, the belief in Purgatory. The section concludes with Alison Fleming's study of the c. 1600 renovation of the church of San Vitale in Rome under its new Jesuit leadership, where she identifies a turning point in the iconography associated with the order: a shift away from depictions of grisly martyrdoms and towards visual celebration of the order's two new saints, pointing to a larger transformation in the visual culture of death and dying in Europe and its colonies.

Joining with and building upon other recent studies, the essays in this volume describe a visual culture of death and dying that was deeply responsive to the needs, hopes, and anxieties of its dynamic and volatile age. Transgressing the geographic and period boundaries that often guide art historical scholarship, the essays in this volume collectively map out the broader contours of the concerns over salvation that collectively were an animating force in European culture between 1200 and 1600.

PART 1

Housing the Dead

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Looking beyond the Face: Tomb Effigies and the Medieval Commemoration of the Dead

Robert Marcoux

In his *Vita* of Margaritone d'Arezzo (fl. c. 1262), Giorgio Vasari considered the funeral monument of Gregory X († 1276) as the artist's best work (*migliore opera*) primarily because the pope's effigy (*rittrato*) was lifted from nature (*di naturale*). Although we recognize here the classical paradigm of mimesis upon which the "founder" of the discipline built his historiographical endeavor, a similar approach of medieval tomb effigies has endured well into the twentieth century.[1] Indeed, by focusing on the verism of facial features, many scholars have treated these images as a primary material for a history of portraiture and placed them in a somewhat teleological process evolving from "idealism" to "realism."[2] While the evolutionary angle has since been downplayed, much of the recent research involving tomb effigies still focuses on notions of naturalism and likeness.[3] Yet, as Hans Belting aptly pointed out, tomb effigies and portraits are not the same thing.[4] Although they both display the image of someone in particular, their statuses "categorically" and "ontologically" differ from one another.[5] In short, tomb effigies are not vertical images of individualized faces but full-length depictions of dead individuals, which are placed horizontally near or on a grave. As a result, they perpetuate the presence of the deceased among the living primarily by negotiating

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1 The term "effigy" refers here to any depiction of the deceased on a tomb, no matter the material or medium used.

2 Courajod 1867; Schlosser (1911) 2008; Focillon 1933; Jacob 1954; Panofsky 1964, esp. 45–66; Bauch 1967. For a critical assessment of the approach, see Binski 1996, 92–115 and Stephenson 2009, 1–26.

3 Stephenson 2009; Olariu 2014; Ostermann 2016.

4 Belting 2010, 123.

5 Belting (2001) 2014, esp. ch. 1, 4 and 5.

tensions between references to a past life and references to a buried corpse, which in turn evoke references to the eternal soul and the resurrected body.[6]

Using a paradigmatic selection of medieval monuments from France that are still extant or documented by antiquarian drawings, this chapter proposes to first explore the manner in which such negotiations are carried out by taking into account the material, the location, and the iconography of tomb effigies.[7] This brief outline will mainly serve to demonstrate that ideas of self and identity are not inherently dependent on the paradigm of resemblance and, conversely, that the obliteration of facial features which the *transi* introduces at the end of the Middle Ages is not necessarily an abrupt sign of self-oblivion, existential angst, or conservatism in a context of adversity and triumphant individualism.[8] The second part of the chapter will turn to the commemorative strategies in which the effigies are inevitably involved. After addressing the social and spiritual objectives of funeral monuments, the tombs from the Burgundian abbey of Saint-Seine will be taken as case study to illustrate the different ways in which effigies can efficiently be used in the construction of individual and collective memories. Ultimately, the objective is to offer an overview of the retrospective and prospective qualities of tomb effigies by looking beyond the face of the deceased.

1   An Image of a Past Life

If individuality can be expressed through the rendition of facial features, it is the social identity of the deceased that is of primary importance on medieval tombs.[9] This comes as no surprise. Since it is one of the main mediums through which one can then claim a right to self-representation (along with seals and donor images), tombs are expected to reflect and perpetuate the strong hierarchy of medieval society. This more so with the use of tomb slabs which coincide with the "wholesale invasion of graves" inside churches

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6   Marcoux 2016 (2).

7   The antiquarian drawings solicited here are mainly those of the Gaignières Collection. They were partially edited by Adhémar and Dordor 1974, 1976; and Vaivre 1986. On the collection, see Ritz-Guibert 2016. For a statistical analysis of the medieval tombs documented by the collection, see Marcoux 2013.

8   Since Cohen 1973, *transi* tombs have attracted much scholarly attention. Our treatment of the subject owes much to King 1984; Binski 1996, 139–52; Baron 2006; Stephenson 2009, 145–6 and Kinch 2013, 171–81.

9   Holladay 1986; Dressler 2003, 78–97; Perkinson 2009, 91–3.

in the second half of the thirteenth century.[10] Indeed, as they are more affordable than massive sepulchers, the flat monuments allowed people from a wider social background to possess their own tombs.[11] The difference between both types of monuments—raised and flat—is in itself socially significant. Unequivocally, the more elaborate tombs belong to members of the elite, both secular and religious. However, the slabs are not solely destined for the "lesser" classes. Their format being far less obstructive than their vertical counterparts, they were to become the prescribed type of monument for almost everyone except the most important or influential dead. Instead of sepulchral typology, social differentiation then had to be signified in another way. This could be done through choice of material and location. Marble, brass, and slate distinguish themselves from the more common material of limestone and may point to the refined taste and financial means of the deceased and thus to his or her social standing. For instance, the tomb of Archbishop Philippe of Marigny († 1316) aesthetically combined both black and white marbles (Fig. 1.1), while that of Lord Jean of Dainville († 1376) replaces the latter with alabaster embellished with gilded highlights (Fig. 1.2).[12] At times, the medium is less indicative of a certain social status than a specific title or function. For instance, the vast majority of the archbishops of Sens had their tombs made of copper or brass for well over a century, suggesting in effect the continuity of their office.[13] Furthermore, all of these examples were found in the choir of their respective churches. Inevitably, this prime location near the main altar further adds to the prestige of the deceased as it clearly sets them apart from the rest of the dead whose remains are traditionally buried either in the nave or more commonly in the cemetery around the church.[14]

If the qualitative features pertaining to the structure, material and location of the tombs are likely to hierarchize the deceased within the space of the church, it is through the monuments' iconography that their social identity can truly be established. This can be done by way of single attributes. For example, priests may be identified by the image of the Eucharist (chalice, paten,

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10   Panofsky 1964, 46.

11   Dectot 2004, 50–64.

12   These monuments are no longer extant but are known by the drawings of the Gaignières Collection. Philippe of Marigny: BnF, Est. Res Pe 11a fol. 7; Jean de Dainville: Paris, BnF, Est. Res. Pe 11a fol. 129. On metal tombs, see Badham and Oosterwijk 2015. On the use of alabaster, see Dressler 2015.

13   Marcoux 2016, 205–8.

14   On medieval burial practices and cemeteries, see Galinié and Zadora-Rio 1996; Balace and Poorter 2011. See also Lauwers 2005 for a social and theological understanding of the medieval cemetery.

FIGURE 1.1   Tomb of Philippe of Marigny († 1316), destroyed
DRAWING TAKEN FROM THE GAIGNIÈRES COLLECTION:
PARIS, BNF, EST. RES PE 11A FOL. 7
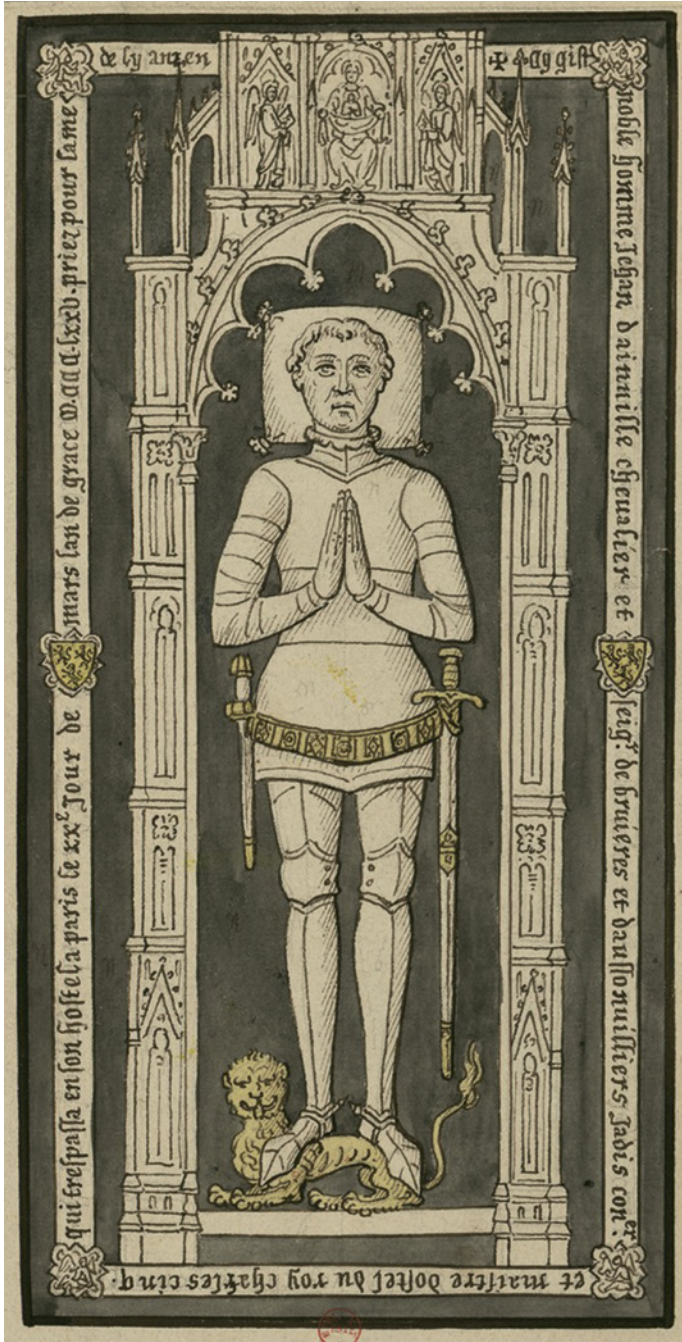
FIGURE 1.2 Tomb of Jean of Dainville († 1376), destroyed
DRAWING TAKEN FROM THE GAIGNIÈRES COLLECTION:
PARIS, BNF, EST. RES. PE 11A FOL. 129

Host) on their monuments. Tombs belonging to abbots often bear a simple crosier to indicate the prelates' authority and pastoral function, like those formerly found in the Cistercian abbey of Barbeau near Melun.[15] Tombs belonging to knights sometimes depict swords as a unique attribute of their social category, although a shield is at times added in order to also display the coat of arms of the deceased and thus proclaim his genealogy. In combination with or, at times, in lieu of a funeral inscription, the taxonomic value of such attributes is therefore sufficient to effectively and directly communicate the social identity of those buried beneath the tombs.

To that end, effigies essentially add presence to the iconography. In addition to bearing the aforementioned attributes, they are shown wearing the clothes proper to the deceased's status and rank.[16] Indeed, as sumptuary laws make manifest, medieval clothing is highly distinctive. Be it through material, style, or accessories, costumes assign to each wearer a specific status and role in society.[17] Thus, with his plate armor, jupon, dagger and sword, Jean of Dainville's effigy is entirely consistent with the deceased's former titles as lord, knight, counsellor, and "maître d'hôtel" for King Charles v. The armor is of particular importance as it is far more emblematic of the nobility than a tunic or gown. Thus, in the thirteenth century, chainmail, which emphasizes the muscular body of the effigy, differentiates the tomb of a warrior from that of a burgher.[18] Likewise, plate armor distinguishes the nobleman Jean of Dainville from the ennobled officers whose presence at the French court was becoming quite common in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Bearing witness to both his military and financial capacity, the steel carapace provides the deceased with a neatly categorized social body.

With church representatives, the difference in attire is even more scrupulously observed as it generally reflects the strict hierarchy of liturgical vestments. In the secular clergy, archbishops like Philippe of Marigny are shown wearing the regular attire of bishops composed of the alb, chasuble, miter and episcopal gloves but with the addition of the pallium as a symbol of their metropolitan status. Likewise, members of the lesser clergy are depicted with the liturgical vestment befitting their status: deacons with a dalmatic, subdeacons with a tunicle, and canons with the amice. In the regular clergy, monks and nuns are systematically garbed in the religious habit of their order, as are the abbots and abbesses whose only distinctive attribute then is the crosier.

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15   These tombs are known by the following Gaignière drawings: Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières10 fol. 14, 15 and 16.

16   For a minute study of the social identifiers on tombs, see Greenhill 1976; Grillon 2011.

17   Scott 2007. For an anthropological perspective, see Bartholeyns 2007.

18   Dressler 2004, 98–122. See also Hurtig 1979.

FIGURE 1.3   Tomb of Ponce of Saulx († 1307), limestone. Detail of dog. Dijon:
                Musée archéologique, Inv. nº 994-04-08
                PHOTO BY AUTHOR

The latter is found more often on their right side as opposed to what is seen on the tombs of bishops.[19] This detail proves to be important in the fifteenth century as many abbots are granted the privilege of being mitered. Although there are exceptions to the rule, the position of the crosier therefore becomes a visual clue to differentiate the regular prelates from the secular ones.

The animals placed at the feet of the effigies likewise have a social significance. However, that detail is not as stable as that of clothing.[20] The general consensus is that lions are associated with knights as a sign of strength while dogs are related to ladies as a representation of their fidelity. If such a symbolic value does exist in many cases, as the tomb of Jean of Dainville again proves, the animals can also bear another meaning. Dogs can be seen as companions of the aristocracy and refer to the former lifestyle of the deceased. Thus, playful lapdogs at the feet of ladies recall the domestic side of noble life; while a hound under a knight's effigy evokes the aristocratic privilege of hunting. Conversely, dogs can appear as beasts (*bestia*), especially on thirteenth and fourteenth century tomb slabs where they are sometimes shown trampled underfoot (Fig. 1.3). On such occasions, the relation between the animal and

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19   As revealed by the statistical analysis of 168 examples taken from the Gaignières Collection, Marcoux 2013, 167–71.

20   On the ambivalence of animals in medieval culture, see Dittmar 2010.

the effigy expresses domination. Similar to what is found on numerous tombs of prelates which instead involve a dragon, this tension is to be understood perhaps as symbolizing the deceased's triumph over his base and carnal (i.e. beastly) instincts. Having less to do with the earthly qualities of the individual than with his spiritual purity, it downplays in this case the animal's taxonomic significance and, in so doing, shifts the focus from the deceased's past life to his current status in death.

2   An Image of Death

If effigies like that of Jean of Dainville project the image of a living individual in his prime, references to the corpse do not suddenly appear with the development of *transi* effigies in the late fourteenth century. As the monument of Philippe of Marigny demonstrates, bishops are very often depicted with eyes closed and hands crossed over the chest or below the waist. Since bishops are known to traditionally be exposed and buried in their liturgical vestments, such images are clearly that of the dead body.[21] On certain tombs, further allusion to the funeral rites is done by including figures which reenact the ceremony. The monument of Bishop Pierre II of Poitiers († 1115) formerly in the choir of Fontevraud Abbey (Fig. 1.4) offers an early example of the iconography.[22] All around the recumbent effigy of the bishop and co-founder of the abbey stood a miniaturized cortege in which one can possibly identify the crosier-bearing figures as those of Robert of Arbrissel, the other co-founder of the monastic community, and Pétronille of Chemillé, its first abbess. Though they are mostly common to ecclesiastical tombs, such references to the dead body and to funerals can also be observed on a number of lay tombs.[23] For example, the tomb slab of Jean L'Escuyer of Voisins († 1275) in the parish church of Villiers-le-Bâcle near Paris shows the knight in a recumbent attitude with his shield and sword resting on his body, as if on the deathbed. His face is entirely covered by a cross-bearing headpiece which can be identified as a helm but bears equally great resemblance to a burial veil.[24] On the slab tomb of Ponce

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21   Duranti 2000, 7, 40.
22   The tomb is known by the Gaignières drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 fol. 230. Its date is uncertain but can be placed conservatively between 1180 and 1240 according to Julien 2006, 306.
23   Gaborit 1989.
24   The tomb being in rather bad shape, this impression is clearer with the Gaignières drawing: Paris, BnF, Est. Rés. Pe 5 fol. 87. Compare, for instance, with the image of the resurrection of Lazarus in BnF, ms. français 152, fol. 415v.
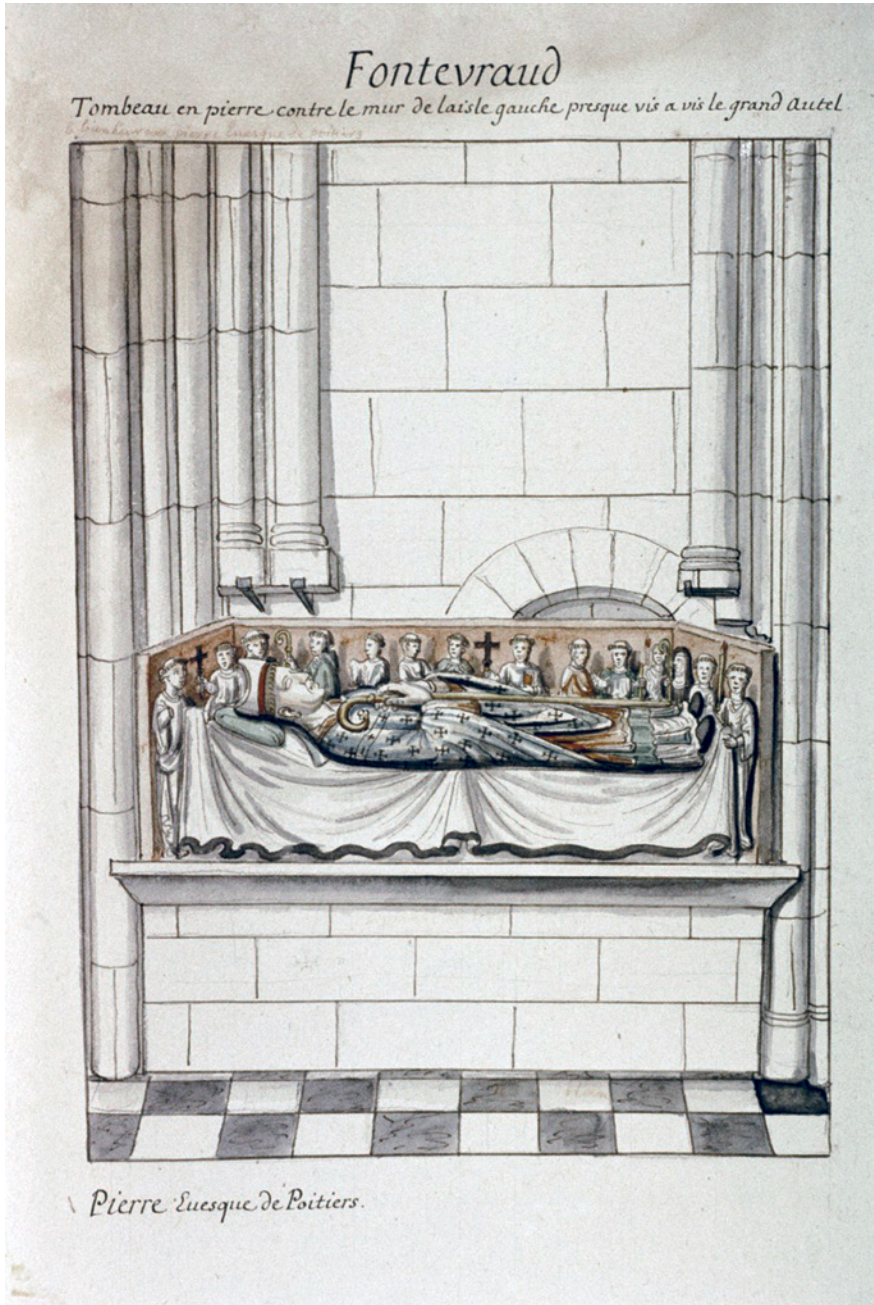
FIGURE 1.4 Tomb of Pierre II of Poitiers († 1115), destroyed
DRAWING TAKEN FROM THE GAIGNIÈRES COLLECTION: OXFORD, BODLEIAN
LIBRARY. MS. GOUGH DRAWINGS GAIGNIÈRES 14 FOL. 230

FIGURE 1.5   Tomb of Ponce of Saulx († 1307), limestone fragment. Dijon: Musée
             archéologique, Inv. n° 994-04-09
             PHOTO: AUTHOR

of Saulx originally found in the priory of Bonvaux near Dijon († 1307), the ef-
figy of the knight is somewhat less passive as it is seen firmly holding a spear
in his right hand. However, the face, with its eyes closed shut, definitely makes
the image that of a dead person (Fig. 1.5).

The conflation between the effigy and the corpse can also be reinforced by
marginal details. Amongst these, the presence of the *elevatio animae* next to
the image of the deceased is possibly the most efficient. Traditionally depict-
ing death as an ontological separation, the iconography shows the soul as a

nude child being lifted upwards and away from the body by angels.[25] Placed
on tombs, like that of Simon of Arceau († 1315), the imagery therefore tends
to equate the adjacent effigy with the deceased's mortal remains (Fig. 1.6).
This identification is certainly greater in the case of tomb slabs. Indeed, just
as it plays an important role in establishing the social identity of the deceased,
the medium of the tomb is bound to affect the correlation between effigy and
corpse. An incised tomb slab and a raised monument with a recumbent statue
do not share the same rapport with the buried body. Tomb slabs are normally
placed above the grave where they act as lids. As a result, they are physically
joined to the remains which lie therein. The effigy traced on the surface of the
slab is therefore evocative of the tomb's content. Conversely, monuments bear-
ing a sculpted *gisant* are often situated away from the site of burial, in which
case they are essentially empty memorials or cenotaphs. Even when located
near or on a grave, their relation to the corpse remains different than with
tomb slabs. Whereat the traced effigies acknowledge the presence of the dead
body, the sculpted *gisants* rather substitute the fleshy corpse with a corporal
and perennial double.[26] In other words, they negate the image of death by
providing the viewer with an embodied and haptic presence of the deceased
similar to a simulacrum.[27] As a result, their relation to the dead body is rather
substitutive than indexical.[28] As an example, the aforementioned recumbent
effigy of Pierre 11 of Poitiers may depict the deceased on his deathbed, but in
taking into account the conditions of viewing, the effect of the whole monu-
ment appears rather to freeze in time the narrative of the funeral than draw
attention to the buried remains of the bishop. The tomb focuses less on death
than it glorifies the memory of the community's founder through the local
event of his burial. In comparison, by placing the flat effigy of the deceased
directly over the site of the grave, the tomb slab of Simone of Arceau acts like
a window into the tomb, revealing the body beneath. In short, it calls forth the

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25   Barasch 2005.

26   Hollaway 1986, 217–218.

27   On the reception of medieval sculpture, see Jung 2010. For the question of phenomeno-
      logical reaction to sculpture in general, see Dent 2014. The term *simulacrum* is used here
      in reference to Pinkus 2014. The author does not consider tomb effigies to be simulacrum
      because, according to him, they always preserve "the distinction between the present and
      the absent" (p. 16). We contend however that an effigy which is sculpted in the round is
      more susceptible to blur that distinction than one that is chiseled on a slab.

28   The mode of substitution in this case would be comparable to the funeral effigies studied
      by Kantorowicz 1957 and Giesey 1987.

FIGURE 1.6　Tomb of Simone of Arceau († 1315), Parish Church of Arceau (Côte d'Or)
DRAWING TAKEN FROM THE GAIGNIÈRES COLLECTION: PARIS, BNF, MS.
CLAIRAMBAULT 942 FOL. 47

present condition of the deceased instead of just immortalizing the event of the funeral.

Other details that tend to conflate the tomb effigy with the buried body come from the funeral inscriptions that generally accompany the monuments. In addition to the traditional *HIC IACET* ("here lies") formula which can ambiguously refer to both the image and the corpse, the texts often contain direct references to the remains of the deceased. The most common of these is the term *corpus* (or *corps* in French) used to designate explicitly the entombed corpse, as in Guillaume of Beaumont's († 1336) inscription which states that the abbot's "body lies beneath the tomb slab" (*CORPUS SUB PETRA IACET ISTA*).[29] Another term employed in the same sense is *ossa* ("bones"). For example, on the monument of Philippe of Cahors († 1281) the inscription reads: *CONTINET HEC FOSSA PHILIPPI PRESULIS OSSA* ("This grave contains the bones of Bishop Philippe").[30] Occasionally, the terms *ossa* and *corpus* accompany the expression of the deceased's faith in the resurrection of the body. Such is the case with the inscription found on Pierre of Lugny's tomb where one can recognize the passage from the Office of the Dead based on Job 19:25–26: *CREDO QUOD REDEMPTOR MEUS VIVIT ET IN NOVISSIMO DIE DE TERRA SURRECTURUS SUM* ("For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that on the latter day I shall be resurrected from the earth"), which is immediately followed by the words *CUIUS CORPUS REQUIESCIT* ("whose body lies"). Alternately, on the tomb slab of Pierre of Savoisy († 1412) the inscription opens with the following words: *HIC IN SPEM RESURRECTIONIS DEPOSITA SUNT OSSA PETRI SAVOISII*.[31] Although formulaic, examples such as these, by acknowledging the presence of the body within the grave waiting for the final resurrection, thus concur to emphasize the deathly or corpse-like qualities of the effigy. To a certain extent, the use of these terms, namely that of *ossa*, can bring new meaning to the recurrent detail of the dog gnawing at a bone under the feet of the deceased (Fig. 1.3). At first glance anecdotal, it too may serve to conjure up the image of the corpse. After all, bones are quite common at grave sites. Constantly displaced with each new burial, they even become a distinctive feature of church cemeteries with the development of ossuaries.[32] Hence, their appearance on tombs, however discrete, is unlikely to be gratuitous.

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29   Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières 14 fol. 75.

30   Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières 8 fol. 99.

31   Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Gough Drawings Gaignières 1 fol. 22.

32   Delattre 2014; Alexandre-Bidon 1996, 89–90.

3   Strategies of Commemoration

The tomb effigy's ambivalent rapport with the corpse of the deceased has much to do with the dual function of the funeral monument in the medieval commemoration of the dead. In accordance with St. Augustine's teachings, which describes them as *memoriae* and *monumenta*, tombs are primarily considered in the Middle Ages as a material means through which the memory of the departed is perpetuated among the living. Indeed, from Bede and Isidore of Seville to Thomas Aquinas and William Durandus, their commemorative function is essentially defined as retrospective. While for Augustine this only meant that they helped parents and friends cope with their loss, it later extends to the construction of collective memories. Indeed, in the course of the twelfth century, the *memoria* of communities often finds its material expression in the funeral monuments of their special dead such as saints and founding figures.[33] In this view, the function of Pierre II of Poitiers's tomb can be deemed as largely retrospective. The bishop's effigy provides the Fontevraud community with an ancestral and historical presence which helps build its own identity.

Concurrently, tombs serve the dead themselves. Indeed, with the "birth of purgatory" (Jacques Le Goff) and the subsequent development of a new spiritual regime by which the salvation of the deceased is in part tributary to the action of the living, they come to play a significant role in helping the soul in the hereafter. This individual and prospective function relies on the tomb's capacity to become the focus and locus for acts of intercession.[34] Such acts may be planned as when, for instance, they are requested by the deceased through testamentary disposition.[35] The monument then serves as a grave marker upon which is to be perpetuated the intercessory liturgy. Likewise, deeds beneficial to the soul of the deceased may be informally prompted by the monument itself. This is somewhat ascertained by the fact that most funeral inscriptions end with an explicit appeal to passersby to intervene for the soul of the entombed. One may question the efficiency of these written appeals given the general literacy level of medieval society.[36] Nevertheless, the tomb is still likely to instigate a pious if not empathic response and compel the viewer to pray for the deceased since, by singling out the location of a grave, it simultaneously draws attention to a soul's uncertain fate. To this prospective end, visual

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33   On the plurality of memories in the Middle Ages (individual, collective, cultural, etc.), see Brenner, Cohen and Franklin-Brown 2013. On the overarching concept of *memoria*, see Schmid and Wollasch 1984: Van Bueren 2011.

34   Binski 1996, 115–22; Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast 2000; Maier 2000.

35   Lorcin 2007, 123–68.

36   On this, see Debiais 2009.

emphasis on the buried body, both iconographic and medial, can definitely be valuable. By bringing forth the body's presence (and not substituting it by another), it allows to bind together the individual memory of the deceased with the current needs of his or her soul, thus contributing to the tomb's prospective function.

In short, medieval tombs generate in the space of the living a tension between the past of the deceased and the future of their souls. Within this particular dynamic, the effigy necessarily assumes a crucial role by making the dead present. As seen, however, the manner in which this presence is created varies according to visual and material details. These are the result of choices which are determined by, and reflect, commemorative strategies involving individual and collective memories as well as desires of social glorification and spiritual salvation.

Through its renowned funeral monuments, the abbey of Saint-Seine in Burgundy offers a perfect case study to illustrate the commemorative use of tomb effigies through their variable staging.[37] Composed mainly of slabs, the tombs rigorously present the deceased according to their social identity. For example, as esquire, Richard of Jaucourt († 1340) is accordingly shown wearing a chainmail and plate armor with a sword and an emblazoned shield at his waist, as well as a lion beneath his feet (Fig. 1.7). Though the eyes are opened, the size and outline of the effigy parallel that of the buried corpse beneath, an impression that is also strengthened by the first words of the inscription: *CI GIT* ("here lies"). In drawing attention to the dead body this way, the tomb slab is therefore able to prompt an intercessory response in favor of the deceased's soul, something that is emphasized too by the inscription which concludes with the words: *DEX HAIT LAME DE LUY AMEN DITES PATER NOSTER* ("God has his soul, amen; Say: *Pater Noster*"). With the tomb of Hugues of Bèze († 1419), a monk of the abbey, the reference to the corpse is made even more explicit by the fact that the effigy is completely isolated on the surface of the slab (Fig. 1.8). Furthermore, Hugues is depicted as he was probably buried, wearing his traditional habit with hands crossed over the chest. Here again, the inscription completes the staging of the deceased by simultaneously pointing to his body and pleading for his soul.[38]

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37   On the abbey and its funeral monuments, Rossignol 1842–1846; Mignard 1864; Chabeuf 1887; Quarré 1976.

38   *CY GIST FRERE EUDES DE BESE JADIS / GRANT PRIEUR ET CHAMBRIER DE SEANS QUI TRESPASSA LAM MIL CCCC XIX XV / DAVRIL LEQUEL FIT TENIR (?) EN MITIE (?) / LE CHIEF MONSIGNEUR SAINT GILLE PRIES DIEU POUR LUI* ("Here lies brother Eudes of Bèze, former great prior and cellarer, who died in the year
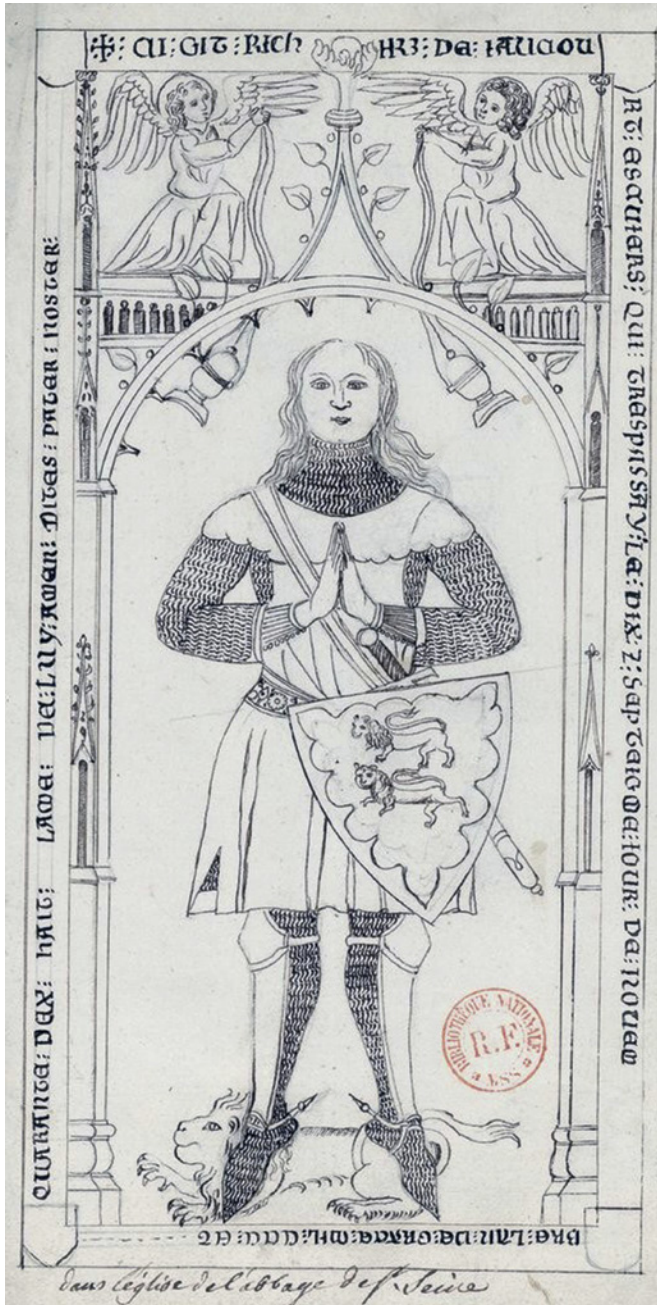
FIGURE 1.7 Tomb of Richard of Jaucourt († 1340), Abbey Church of
Saint-Seine, Saint-Seine-L'Abbaye (Côte d'Or)
DRAWING TAKEN FROM PARIS, BNF, MS. BOURGOGNE 9
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FIGURE 1.8   Tomb of Hugues of Bèze († 1419), Abbey Church of Saint-Seine,
Saint-Seine-L'Abbaye (Côte d'Or)
PHOTO BY MICHEL ROSSO, RÉGION BOURGOGNE, INVENTAIRE GENERAL

These are just two examples that demonstrate the basic manner in which effigies contribute to the retrospective and prospective functions of tombs by referring both to the social past and the present status of the deceased. But tomb effigies are also involved in more elaborate commemorative strategies like those deployed by Guillaume of Vienne († 1407) and Jean of Blaisy († 1439), two successive abbots of Saint-Seine who once had their tombs in the choir of the abbey church. Guillaume's monument was destroyed in 1805 but is known by a detailed engraving done in 1741 (Fig. 1.9). The latter shows a raised tomb bearing a recumbent statue of the deceased in pontifical attire, in accordance with his rank at the moment of his death. It was placed on the northern side of the sanctuary underneath a prominent architectural structure composed of two canopies and adorned with a multitude of sculptures representing mourners and saints. Amongst these, a second effigy of the deceased, this time in the monastic habit, is shown praying before the Virgin and Child. Still extant, Jean of Blaisy's tomb is different in every possible way (Fig. 1.10). Originally located before the main altar, it is a large tomb slab measuring 265.5 cm long by 141.5 cm wide and upon which is incised the skeletal effigy of the bishop. Placed next to each other in a seemingly dialogic exchange, the monuments thus exhibit two radically different ways to make the dead present. One by placing the abbot amongst the saints in an impressive display which glorifies his memory; the other by instead acknowledging the mortality of the deceased with an image which conjures up that of his buried body.

The difference between both approaches can be understood in terms of decorum and humility. Guillaume of Vienne died as archbishop of Rouen, a dignity he obtained in 1389 after being respectively bishop of Autun (1379) and bishop of Beauvais (1387).[39] Given that most of the secular prelates of Normandy were commemorated by sumptuous monuments with sculpted effigies wherever they were buried, Guillaume's tomb is in keeping with a practice common to his title.[40] In fact, it resembles closely the tomb of his predecessor, Pierre de La Jugie († 1376), in the cathedral of Narbonne. In contrast, Jean of Blaisy's macabre tomb slab appears more fitting for someone whose clerical charge is less worldly. Its iconography and medium are somewhat indicative of the humility inherent to the contemplative life.

However, the contrast between the magnificence of bishops and the humility of abbots must here be nuanced. Jean of Blaisy is far from being a paragon of

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1419 on the 15th of April, who in part (?) had made (?) the reliquary bust of our lord saint Gilles; pray God for him").

39   Tabbagh 1998.

40   A practice which goes back, at least, to Eudes II Rigaud († 1275), Tabbagh 2008.
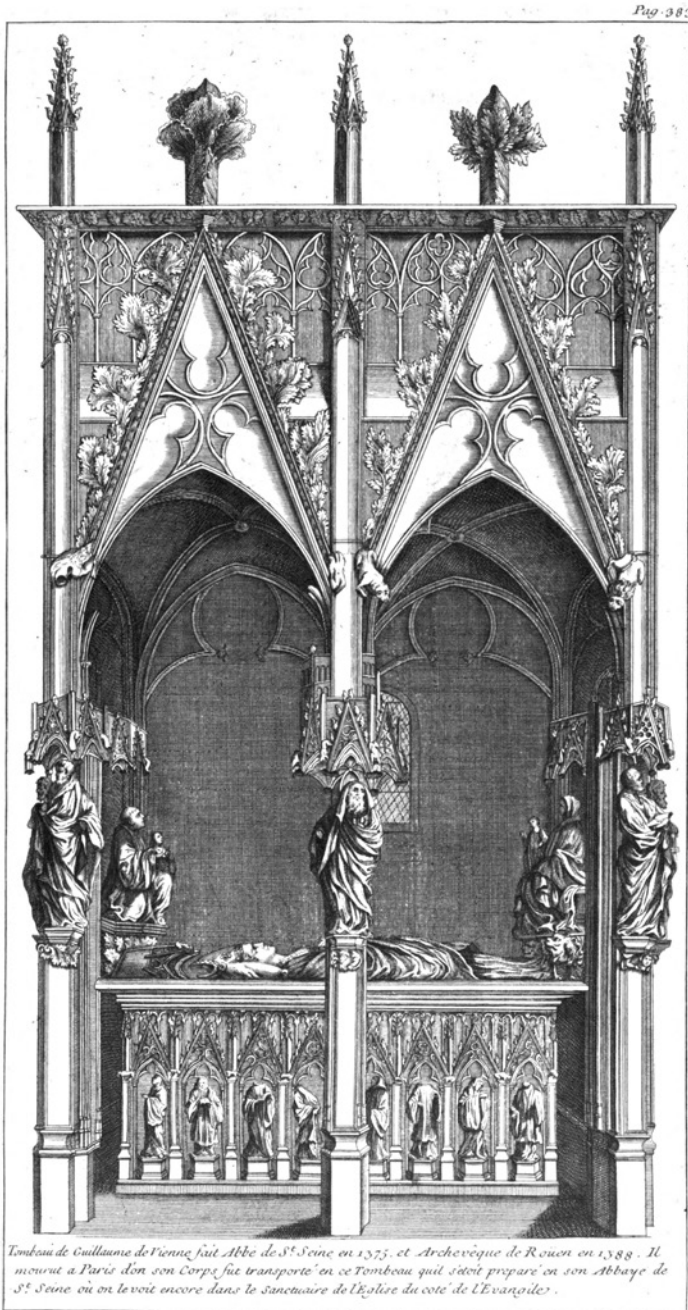
FIGURE 1.9   Tomb of Guillaume of Vienne († 1407), destroyed
             DRAWING TAKEN FROM DOM URBAIN PLANCHER, *HISTOIRE*
             GÉNÉRALE ET PARTICULIÈRE DE BOURGOGNE, T. II, PARIS:
             ÉDITIONS DU PALAIS ROYAL, (1741) 1974, P. 383

FIGURE 1.10 Tomb of Jean IV of Blaisy († 1407), Abbey Church of Saint-Seine,
              Saint-Seine-L'Abbaye (Côte d'Or)
              PHOTO: AUTHOR

modesty. A careful examination of the abbey's furnishings reveals that he was actively involved in self-promotion during his lifetime. The efforts were clearly made in a spirit of competition with his predecessor. Indeed, both Jean and Guillaume were involved in the reconstruction of the abbey church, which had sustained massive damage in a fire in 1225. Although he had resigned as abbey of Saint-Seine after only four years, Guillaume continued to support his former monastic community by having work done in the church, like the window tracery of the northern chapel and the fence between the choir and the southern chapel. His largesse even persisted in death as he provided his successor, Jean of Blaisy, with a portion of his wealth in order to pursue the reconstruction of the abbey church. Regardless of the impression of a collaborative rapport for the benefit of the monks, Guillaume's involvement in the abbey of Saint-Seine should be understood as an individual commemorative strategy. Guillaume's intention was most likely to impose his name upon the monastic community in spite of the fact that he was its abbot for only a short time. This explains why he boasted his coat of arms on the window and fence of the transept chapels and, moreover, why he ordered his prominent tomb to be elevated in the church choir where he chose to be buried. Indeed, beyond publicizing his magnanimity, such arrangements are most efficient in promoting Guillaume within the collective memory of the abbey. The tomb, in particular, with its overbearing presence and its sculpted effigies acting as simulacra, draws attention away from the prolonged absence of the deceased in the history of the community. More importantly, in a way similar to the monument of Pierre of Poitiers in Fontevraud, it likens the former abbot to a founding figure whose memory is to be cherished and glorified through retrospective commemoration.

As mentioned, Jean of Blaisy was not oblivious to Guillaume's efforts and responded to them accordingly. The work he engaged in part with his predecessor's bequest was duly singled out by his own coat of arms. One may say that Jean even went over the top by multiplying these signs as to completely overshadow Guillaume's heraldic markings.[41] Moreover, Jean made sure that his contribution in the rebuilding of the church be acknowledged by having this fact inscribed on his tomb as follows: [...] *LEQUEL A EMPLOYE DE SON POUVOIR SON TEMPS AU SERVICE ET REEDIFICATION DE CESTE DICTE EGLISE* ("... who has invested his power and time in the service and rebuilding of this church"). These words are quite meaningful. Not only do they discard the matter of financial resources—Guillaume's main claim to local glory—but they insist on the time Jean spent in the service of the abbey, something that Guillaume could never brag about. The rest of the tomb can also be

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41   In all, the Vienne coat of arms appear three times and the Blaisy one, thirteen.

read as a strategic response to Guillaume's self-promotion. Instead of trying to match it in size and prestige, Jean's monument resolutely distinguishes itself from its predecessor's. By selecting a tomb slab for medium and a *transi* for effigy, Jean of Blaisy undoubtedly wished to contrast his monastic identity to Guillaume's secular pomp and thus underscore his intimate relation with the Saint-Seine community which he led for twenty years. Indeed, as mentioned above, the type of monument chosen by Jean corresponds to the one traditionally used in the abbey church since the fourteenth century.[42] As a result, Guillaume's massive mausoleum must have stood out as something striking but also alien to the local community. Though the verism of Guillaume's effigy cannot be assessed from a simple drawing, it is possible that Jean of Blaisy's *transi* responded to it as a way to denounce the secular obsession with external appearances through a sort of "macabre rhetoric."

Furthermore, given that it was likely used as a grave cover, the tomb slab permitted Jean to be buried in the middle of the choir. Such a prestigious location thus situated Jean's body both symbolically and structurally at the center of the monastery's life. Likewise, by being placed before the main altar, the tomb was the site upon which the abbots officiated. In addition to the spiritual benefits it may offer, the position of the monument therefore fixated the memory of the deceased at a site of institutional authority and continuity. Finally, the *transi* also adds to this effect by clearly indicating the presence of Jean's remains in the choir. Shown still sporting the tonsure and holding the crosier as attributes of the abbot's dignity, the skeletal figure accurately depicts the grave's content. In doing so, it serves to recall that where Jean stood in life, he now lies in death.

In short, instead of opting for an extravagant staging of his death and afterlife, Jean de Blaisy relied on a tomb whose medium and iconography conveyed a continuous and stable monastic identity that was in complete conformity with its surroundings. To him, the slab format and the *transi* thus offered a potent and public response to the commemorative strategies deployed by his predecessor. In some way, the efficiency of this response and its impact on the monastic community of Saint-Seine can be surmised by the fact that almost a century later, Jean's tomb was to serve as model for that of the monastery's infirmarian Louis of Rochequin († 1525). Hence, through the tomb's material legacy the memory of the abbot lived on within the community of Saint-Seine.

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42   The other known medieval tombs—all slabs—are those of Perrin of Reugney († 1342), Pierre of Luxy († 1342), Guillaume of Chaudenay († 1342), Bertholomier Larchant († 1450), Henri of Bar († 1469) and Pierre of Fontette († 1499).

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Beyond issues of likeness and resemblance, medieval tomb effigies can appear to be conservative images that vary little over time. From the thirteenth century onward, the vast majority of them stubbornly depict the deceased according to the status and function he or she held in life. The self-representation they offer thus reflects the highly hierarchized order of medieval society. Yet these images are more than vehicles or agents of social awareness and reproduction. Intrinsically related to a dead person, they fully inscribe themselves in the tension between absence and presence. More precisely, they are fundamentally involved in an intricate web of commemorative strategies in which aspects of social identity and death, collective and individual memory, and retrospective and prospective intentions are explored and negotiated. To that end, the iconography and support (material, medium, location, text) of tomb effigies are potent instruments. Despite their strong traditionalism, funeral monuments offer various ways in which the dead and the living can project their hopes, ideals and ambitions.

Portraiture, Projection, Perfection: The Multiple Effigies of Enrico Scrovegni

Henrike Christiane Lange

It is not necessarily true that we know more about a person of whom a visual portrait has survived in addition to a historical record. It is likewise uncertain if there is any more knowledge to be gained from the presence of multiple portraits, as in the case of Enrico Scrovegni († 1336) and his images in Giotto's *Cappella degli Scrovegni*, the Arena Chapel, in Padua. Yet considering the totality of Scrovegni's three likenesses in their different media specificity within that interior space promises significant insights into the commission as well as into the social-spiritual environment in which Scrovegni situates himself for eternity through his portraiture campaign. In that chapel are: a frescoed donor portrait, a polychrome standing statue, and a *gisant* on a tomb (Figs. 2.1–2.3).[1] The portraits appear in different places and, more importantly, the donor's face is shown in noticeably different stages of physical and spiritual progress or decay.

"Housing the Dead" is a suitable concept for discussing a man who was preparing to house himself in death and his family name in history. The physical house is one of the most famous funerary family chapels, Giotto's Scrovegni

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1 On the monument, see Simon 1995, 24–36, and Simon 2014, 385–404. See also Jacobus 2012, 403–409. At the College Art Association's Annual Conference in 2014, Louise Bourdua, University of Warwick, presented new research with alternative models of reconstruction in the panel "Art, Architecture, and the Artist in Renaissance Venice III: Patronage and Devotional Practice," New York City, March 28th, 2014. The most recent breakthrough in the analysis of sculptural portraiture in the chapel stems from Laura Jacobus demonstrating with digital analysis the use of mechanical means to create an exact likeness of their subject in the case of Enrico Scrovegni's sculptures based on facial casting. Created 25 years apart and by different artists, the two sculpted portraits share identical underlying bone structures. See Jacobus 2017, 72–101. On the fluid concepts of portraiture and likeness, especially with a critique of the traditional emphasis on presumed individuality and selfhood in visual modes of portraiture, see Perkinson 2007, 135–157.

FIGURE 2.1   Giotto, *Santa Maria della Carità: Dedication Scene with*
            Enrico Scrovegni presenting his Chapel to the Virgin,
            c. 1304–5. Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni
            PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE UCB PARADISE
            MEMORIAL ARCHIVE & HISTORICAL SLIDE LIBRARY,
            DOE LIBRARY, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Chapel, built and decorated in the first years of the fourteenth century
(Fig. 2.4). Its barrel-vaulted interior is covered from floor to ceiling in mu-
rals, imitating an optical system of spatially protruding and receding poly-
chrome marble incrustations holding the stories of the lives of Mary and
Christ. History- and allegory-bearing registers on the walls are placed under
a starry vault and closed off with the *Last Judgment,* including the donor
and an Augustinian canon presenting the chapel to Mary and two Saints
(Fig. 2.5). Narrative scenes wrap around the room from the top south wall
down. The chancel arch spandrels host the *Annunciation* under which
four sturdy stone capitals protrude from the wall. In a system of simu-
lated stone, these are the only non-illusionistic architectural details. The
bottom zone is painted as if composed of colorful marble panels and low

FIGURE 2.3   Master of the Scrovegni Effigy, *Tomb Effigy of Enrico Scrovegni*, c. 1336. Padua, Cappella degli
Scrovegni

FIGURE 2.4 Giotto, *Santa Maria della Carità: Interior with Triumphal Arch*, c. 1304–5. Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE UCB PARADISE MEMORIAL ARCHIVE & HISTORICAL SLIDE LIBRARY, DOE LIBRARY, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

relief fields with figures of seven virtues and seven vices. Originally, the chapel was accessible through two entrances (publicly from the ancient arena under Scrovegni's likeness in the *Last Judgment*, privately in the northeast where the chapel met the formerly adjacent Palazzo Scrovegni).[2]

I have argued elsewhere that the chapel's architectural design and stylistic choices stem from a sophisticated way of transforming models from ancient Roman architecture.[3] This essay focuses on the multiple materializations of

[2] The palace was demolished in the nineteenth century but the chapel with its crypt and sacristy was saved from destruction as well as from being sold and shipped to England. For the history of the palace and the grounds of the Arena, see Giovagnoli 2008. For the nineteenth century context of the chapel's salvation from demolition, see Selvatico 1836. For the British campaign, see Ruskin 1854, 34.

[3] See Lange 2015. See also Lange, *Giotto's Arena Chapel and the Triumph of Humility*, forthcoming with Cambridge University Press. See also Lange, *Giotto's Arena Chapel and the Triumph of Humility*, forthcoming with Cambridge University Press. The archaizing choices resonate also with late-medieval Patavium's fascination with classical founding fathers and mythical kings like Dardano and Antenore in the mythological origins of Padua and their embedded Christian prophecies as recorded in Giovanni Da Nono's works *De aedificatione urbis Patavie* (*Phatolomie*), *Visio Egidii regis Patavie*, and *Liber de generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue*. See Beneš 2011, especially

FIGURE 2.5 Giotto, *Santa Maria della Carità: Last Judgment*,
c. 1304–5. Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni
PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE UCB PARADISE
MEMORIAL ARCHIVE & HISTORICAL SLIDE
LIBRARY, DOE LIBRARY, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

the donor within that classicizing space, particularly the number, placing, and
medial quality of those likenesses as one coherent statement on death and por-
traiture. Scrovegni's three portraits manifest their model in different materials,
media, different places within the chapel, and in a purposefully orchestrated
dimensionality among them. Especially the shift from a two-dimensional to a
three-dimensional medium reveals itself as a theologically appropriate choice
for illustrating and respectively projecting different versions of the patron

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"Appropriating a Roman Past," 13–36, and "Rehousing the Relics of Antenor," 39–60. On ad-
ditional ancient references, see Edwards 2015, 37–79.

in a carefully constructed range of spiritual states of his body and soul in life and death.

The effigies function as a group, creating an omnipresence of Scrovegni in or potentially even outside that chapel next to Palazzo Scrovegni (if, as Jacobus proposes, the standing statue was originally situated on the exterior of the chapel).[4] Gazes going back and forth between sculpted and painted portraits, Giotto's frescoes were not intended to be seen alone. They established their visual regime in concert with the small *Man of Sorrows* relief from the altar and the large painted triumphal cross (today in the museum). All these objects commented with their presence, materiality, and subtle illusionism upon one another in real space. Scrovegni's case shows how the question of death and portraiture around 1300 lets a figure multiply in the anticipation of death and the afterlife, creating spiritual temporalities between those versions and their distinct realization in different media and materials. The three likenesses of Scrovegni are each temporarily and spiritually specific (relative to the media in which they appear as well as to their referentiality to the model as a young man, as the body of an elderly corpse, or in the ideal image of the apparition of a soul with a perfected body out of time, after the apocalypse). Each time his portrayal and the status of the portrait changes, so my argument runs, each of the shifts is powered by Scrovegni's own transmuting position in relation to life and death, and each of the portraits comment on one another in the context of the chapel.

One of the few certain facts known about the roots of Enrico Scrovegni's family is that his father Rainaldo had acquired an immense fortune through the business of moneylending.[5] Scrovegni's local political aspirations were highly controversial, and Scrovegni's presence in Padua was interrupted twice by his Venetian exiles.[6] Scrovegni would die in 1336 in that second exile, but he succeeded in having his dead body eventually transported back into his chapel, finalizing the great campaign around his self-image.[7] Decades before, the money-lender had unabashedly stabilized his power by overruling local competitors. He had ruined the established Dalesmanini family first financially, then bought in 1300 their family palace with the grounds of the ancient arena and probably a small older chapel therewith. Finally, instead of occupying the old palace in the center of the arena and using the older chapel on

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4   See Jacobus 2000.

5   See Rough 1980, 24–35.

6   See Hyde 1966.

7   Enrico Scrovegni left Padua in 1320 during a period of major civil strife. Settling in Venice, he was formally banished from Padua in 1328. For the testament, see Bartoli Langeli's contribution "Il testamento di Enrico Scrovegni (12 marzo 1336)" in Chiara Frugoni 2008, 397–539.

the site, the new owner planned an entirely new ensemble of buildings in the ruins of the ancient arena. As if in an act of architectural *damnatio memoriae*, Scrovegni erased the former buildings "in medio ipsius Arene" and had his chapel set to project from the ruins outwards, his palace lining the curve of the ancient theatre.[8]

The chapel represents Scrovegni's greatest challenge and greatest triumph, arguing perpetually for legitimacy and justification of his questionable business success. While negotiating ambition and investments, he benefitted from the chapel to house and celebrate himself and his family, to present them as God-loving moneylenders with good moral and virtues, against the suspicion of usury (despite the telling coats of arms of the *scrofa* on one of the disemboweled souls' money sacks in Giotto's *Last Judgment*). The chapel had to bridge the ideals of humility as exemplified in the Marian and Christian ideals of poverty with the obvious pride and riches of the earthly businessman Scrovegni. With the double portrait of the donor next to a canon in the dedication scene, Scrovegni seems to have also employed, along with the painter Giotto and the sculptor Giovanni Pisano, at least one theological advisor to help imagine a chapel that would do such impossible work in political and personal iconographies while celebrating the ideals of Christian virtues.[9] The chapel's dedication as "Santa Maria della Carità" serves this purpose, insisting on the idea of *caritas* as the most generous kind of love.[10]

In the local chronicles, the Scrovegni appear with a suspiciously short family tree consisting of only Enrico and his father Rainaldo.[11] Enrico Scrovegni was married twice, each time profitably to upper-class women, the second time to an Este girl with excellent family connections to the Roman *curia* around Pope Boniface.[12] Scrovegni had probably joined the *cavalieri gaudenti* (assuming the title of knight in the inscription) and was already trying to save his soul through donations to the local Augustinians in Padua.[13] More than five and a half centuries later, his face became known globally thanks to the photographic reproductions of his striking appearance within Giotto's famous *Last Judgment* mural (see Fig. 2.1). The painted image aligned perfectly with the aesthetics of black and white photography and sepia-toned printing techniques in its first printed versions. Scrovegni appears in those reproductions not much

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8   See Chiara Frugoni 2008, 86, note 18, addressing the proposal by Laura Jacobus on the meaning of "in medio ipsius Arene" and its consequences for reconstructions of Scrovegni palace.

9   See Pisani 2008, 194–298.

10   See Derbes / Sandona 1998, 274–91.

11   See Scardeone 1560.

12   See Belting 1983, 93–101.

13   See Rough 1980.

less alive in the old photos of his fresco than many of the living subjects in nineteenth-century studio photography.

In life, Enrico Scrovegni was rich and powerful but unpopular, at least according to early sources such as Giovanni da Nono and his record of exiles from Padua.[14] Scrovegni's influence was also not universally accepted among the established Paduan families. He might also have been feeling some need of redemption, as suggested by his acts of returning some of the "ill-gotten gains" later in life.[15] Scholarship's pendulum has been swinging back and forth between over- and underemphasizing the amount and nature of Scrovegni's true, personal investment in the chapel. Undisputed is that any profit brought the Christian banker under the suspicion of usury, so that he was under pressure to find an image for positive identification. Scrovegni responds with visual and textual claims within his chapel with his multiple portraits and an inscription. The exact location of the inscription is unknown; it might have been on the façade or within the chapel before being added to the funerary monument. The text has been transmitted only in copies through Scardeone's records of local inscriptions.[16] There, the dead man speaks in life about his choice of the ancient arena as the ideal place for his project, about his status (knight), his soul (saved), and the reasons for his and his family's ultimate claim for legitimacy (celebrating a venerable feast for the Virgin Mary): "This place, known as the Arena since ancient times, becomes a noble altar to God, full of divine mystery. Thus divine power continues to affect earthly matters, so that places full of evil are transformed into honest and godly sites. This was a vast place of pagans, built for a multitude of people; it has been demolished with great fury and abandoned in an astounding manner. Those who followed a luxurious life in easy times, after squandering their wealth have been forgotten, losing name and fame. But the knight Enrico Scrovegni, preserving his honest soul, here celebrates a venerable feast. He has solemnly dedicated this temple to the mother of God so that he may enjoy, as his reward, eternal grace. Divine virtue replaces profane vices; much greater celestial joy substitutes earthly pleasure. When this site is solemnly dedicated to God, the divine year is as follows: in the year thirteen-hundred and three, March has made the Feast of the Virgin Mary tally with Palm Sunday."[17] The survival of this lost inscription through Scardeone's

14   See Collodo 2005, 9–18, here 14.

15   See Derbes / Sandona 2008.

16   See Scardeone 1560.

17   Chiara Frugoni 2005, 10f and 110f. "HIC LOCUS ANTIQUO DE NOMINE DICTUS ARENA / NOBILIS ARA DEO FIT MULTO NUMINE PLENA. / SIC AETERNA VICES VARIAT DIVINA POTESTAS / UT LOCA PLENA MALIS IN RES CONVERTAT HONESTAS. / ECCE DOMUS GENTIS FUERAT QUAE MAXIMA DIRE / DIRUTA

collection of epigraphs opens invaluable insights into the core of this commission. The text states the man's intentions, his place in history, and his legacy in five essential points: firstly, the Roman triumphal theme as expressed in declaring triumph over the evil pagans. Secondly, the successful competition with earlier local elites such as the defeated Dalesmanini who had let the Arena fall into ruin altogether. Thirdly, possibly an implicit alignment with the established family of the Frangipani in Rome and their wise noblesse that had made a better use of the Roman Arena. Fourthly, there is the self-fashioning as a Knight, and finally, the demonstration of both Christian motivation and erudition in the explicit phrasing of transforming the "temple."[18]

The inscription keeps raising the themes of wise investments, pride, and humility. Pride and humility complicate the paradoxical trading situation.[19] They necessitate a conceptual triangulation for making sense of Scrovegni's subject position, including the significance of financially produced prestige in relation to pride and in relation to humility. In her book *Gravity and Grace*, Simone Weil likens the virtue of humility to a lever: "We lower when we want to lift. In the same way, 'He who humbleth himself shall be exalted'."[20] When pride goes down, humility goes up, and vice versa. This action is a spiritual effort, but Scrovegni tried to activate and sustain the process with money. As in a seesaw, the investment would move the board, lowering the side of pride and elevating that of humility more externally and more technically than in a meditative sense of spiritual improvement, more quickly than in a sense of actually lived experience. Pride is supposed to go down while humility rises, in this case however an act of patronage is powered by money to present a costly monumentalization of the theme for the profit of indulgences and for personal benefit. Scrovegni was particularly in tune with the papal initiatives of the time, especially with

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CONSTRUITUR PER MULTOS VENDITA MIRE. / QUI LUXUM VITAE PER TEMPORA LAETA SECUTI / DIMISSIS OPIBUS REMANENT SINE NOMINE MUTI / SED DE SCROVEGNIS HENRICUS MILES HONESTUM / CONSERVANS ANIMUM FACIT HIC VENERABILE FESTUM. / NAMQUE DEI MATRI TEMPLUM SOLEMNE DICARI / FECIT UT AETERNA POSSIT MERCEDE BEARI. / SUCCESSIT VITIIS VIRTUS DIVINA PROPHANIS / CAELICA TERRENIS QUAE PRAESTANT GAUDIA VANIS / CUM LOCUS ISTE DEO SOLEMNI MORE DICATUR / ANNORUM DOMINI TEMPUS TUNC TALE NOTATUR / ANNIS MILLE TRIBUS TERCENTUM MARTIUS ALMAE / VIRGINIS IN FESTO CONIUNXERAT ORDINE PALMAE." Scardeone, 1560, 332–3. Alternative English versions in Stubblebine 1969, 111, and Jacobus 2008, 383–385, Appendix 16.

18   Lubbock appropriately calls one of the chapters in his book on visual narrative "Giotto: Scrovegni's Temple." See Lubbock 2006, 39–83.

19   See Brown 2015.

20   Weil 1952, 84.

the first Jubilee in 1300 that also hinged on the payment of indulgences.[21] For him, these contemporary trends might have provided justification and motivation to offer an unabashedly humble image of himself within the most pompous private or semi-private chapel of his time.

The inscription's authorial voice aspires to humility while disclosing the contradiction in terms of this undertaking—"for his reward, so that he may enjoy heavenly grace." This passage leaves little room for interpretation. However, a later section in the text contains a detail overlooked in scholarship: the final four lines with their remarkable insistence on the date of the consecration, "When this site is solemnly dedicated to God, the divine year is as follows: in the year thirteen-hundred and three, March has made the Feast of the Virgin Mary tally with Palm Sunday." The passage and its extraordinary importance for the entire program explain themselves in relation to the highlighted coincidence of two ecclesiastic feasts on the day of the consecration in 1305. The two models invoked here are the Annunciation and the Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. These two moments are two of the highest triumphs of humility celebrated by Mary and Jesus, a perfect illustration for the apparent contradiction in terms being not only part of, but quintessential to the Christian doctrine. These feasts were also essential to Scrovegni's attempt to integrate his chapel into established Paduan processional routines.[22]

Scrovegni's close relationship to Mary is visually established by the acts of donation, enhanced by the perpetual prayer as symbolized in his standing oratory statue. However, the relationship to Jesus is more universally applicable, as Christian faith would provide the reassurance of resurrection with Jesus suffering, dying, descending, resurrecting, and ultimately ascending. Only then the placement of Scrovegni's portraits in their different ages and stages extend their full meaning in the chapel as a house of God and as a place of worship. It might seem extreme for Scrovegni to prepare himself for the afterlife through the figure of Jesus Christ, however, Jesus can be understood humbly as a model for every Christian believer, and the very idea of Jesus taking on the sins of humanity translates into his model function not only through virtuous behavior, but also on the larger scale of things. On this point, Colossians 2 promises that the legal indebtedness be pinned on the cross and thereby canceled.[23] Jesus has also been depicted by Giotto multiple times in life and in death in the

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21   See Arsenio Frugoni 1999; Chiara Frugoni 2000; di Medio 2002.

22   See Schwarz 2010, 39–64.

23   "When you were dead in your sins and in the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive with Christ. He forgave us all our sins, having canceled the charge of our legal indebtedness, which stood against us and condemned us; he has taken it away, nailing it to the cross. And having disarmed the powers and authorities, he made a public spectacle of

chapel. The diversified style of those appearances is similar to the diversification of Scrovegni's portraits. As Jesus appears on earth in an earthly body, lives, fulfills his mission, suffers, and takes on the predicted brutal experience of dying on the cross to overcome death eventually, his resurrection is the path of every soul following him, and the happy outcome for the blessed is illustrated on the chapel's west wall. The *Last Judgment* however emphasizes also the difference between Jesus as the heavenly Emperor who went through the whole circle before human beings could follow him. He is central, gigantic in scale, and presented as a judge dividing the blessed from the damned. In scale, body, and style, the damned differ remarkably from the blessed. The damned are drawn as small and pitiful caricatures of suffering. Giotto does not empathize with them, and does not want the viewer to do so. Scholarship has noticed this cruel sense of humor in the depiction of tortures.[24] This mode stands in clear contrast to the real empathy with all living things evoked by Giotto on the sidewalls in the almost forty individual scenes from the *Lives of Mary and Christ* painted around the chapel's interior, including the soulfully expressive animals. Many individual figures from the cycle have become famous examples of intense description of their psychological state, displaying fearful, anxious, horrified, and excruciatingly painful emotions in scenes such as the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Betrayal*, the *Via Crucis* and the *Crucifixion*, as well as the complex imagery of love, relief, communion, and elation in the final scenes of the *Noli me tangere* and the *Ascension*.

The viewer, however, is supposed to be laughing about the ones with whom he shall not identify. The chapel offers a space of psychological reflection. Purgatory in the chapel is everywhere. While the split between the Blessed and the Damned in the Last Judgment gives a clear location to Hell complete with Satan and vivid depictions of tortures, and to Heaven as the realm of the ranks around Christ, the space where the souls should do their work of cleansing and ascending is not illustrated. One might argue though that the entire chapel is set up as a conceptual Purgatory, at least in so far that this is where it all comes together, in the center of a room around which the stories of the Lives of Mary and Christ are wrapped as exemplars (and as encouragement, e.g. where the *Annunciation* is perpetually happening on the chancel arch, where the *Last Judgment*'s vision is anticipated in Giotto's own artistic vision, and so on). But most crucially, the logic of Purgatory happens in an anticipatory way on

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them, triumphing over them by the cross." See Colossians 2, 13–15, including the Christian triumphal theme. See also Lange 2015.

24   See Cassidy 2004, 355–86. See also the theme of voyeurism explored by Pinkus 2011, 106–119. On the west wall's depiction of Hell, see also Derbes 2015, 41–70.

floor-level, where the spectator is caught between virtues and vices, depicted in two rows of contrasting, opposing pairs, one line leading via the final three *Faith*, *Love*, and *Hope* to the rank of the Blessed, the other via the final three *Idolatry*, *Envy*, and *Despair* to Hell. That is where the finest ambiguities arise, as each spectator will be placed onto that battlefield of the psychomachia, as Ladis describes it.[25] Scrovegni's proud image in the donation scene however confirms that he did not wish to be seen any less prominent and redeemed than in a direct communication with Mary and the Saints (probably Catherine and John), as someone who wants to make sure to be saved.

While the other likenesses of Enrico and his dead body form one group in so far that they all relate directly to the same earthly appearance in different stages of his life's development, his image of the west wall stands apart. This one is conceived by the artist in a different way; it is painting painted true to the vision. Giotto could only show a vision of what his model, the person of Scrovegni, would be in a spiritually and physically perfected form at the end of times. As the saying goes, to love someone is to see him as God had intended him to be. This would be the act of Giotto's perfection of aesthetic appeal and beauty; Scrovegni's features on the wall look not much like the apparently more naturalistically conceived, less flawless features of his polychrome standing statue. It is as if that statue's perpetual act of prayer for his and his family's souls had already been imagined as fulfilled in that daring version of a *Last Judgement with Donor*. The flaws of the moneylender or his shrewd actions are cleansed from that vision of him in which he encounters the Virgin Mary and the Saints. He cannot be his earthly self then anymore, an accumulation of virtues and vices, but as good as he will get in a future beyond world, time, and history.

With this complex set of images in form of architecture and objects, the housing of the family in collective memory was ultimately achieved, but in a manner different than originally thought and intended. The collective memory is not local, but global, and the one likeness central to the act of psychological housing of the man and his family was the least likely to succeed to do so if taken seriously in its theological depth and claim for humility. It is the projected vision of the moneylender, not his living image as orating statue, not his *gisant*, and not his shed bodily remains. The best version of him, a projection of Giotto's imagination of what Enrico Scrovegni's perfected body would look like, took over to become an emblem of art and beauty, naturalism and power, to be taught in all the Italian and Western art history surveys as a first portrait of a Renaissance or a proto-Renaissance, to be critically quoted in Pier Paolo Pasolini's

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25   Ladis 2008, 18.

dream of Giotto for the movie director's self-portrait role in *Il Decameron* (1971). That perfected projection of Enrico is part of old and modern art and art history, a canonic work, UNESCO world heritage, embedded in academic discourses far away from medieval Padua. The historical person, Enrico Scrovegni, anticipated "eternal grace," as he put it, or commissioned to be put, in the Latin inscription. A confident statement on the grace expected, it underscored Scrovegni's investment in the chapel in the currency of eternity. Scrovegni is seen and remembered as a better version of himself up to the present day. Despite his exiles and defeats, even if he had to die to be reunited with his likenesses in the chapel, Scrovegni ultimately succeeded in housing himself in collective memory in speech, thought, and portraiture.

Plorans ploravit in nocte: The Birth of the Figure of the *Pleurant* in Tomb Sculpture

Xavier Dectot

ne of the most notable elements of Gothic tomb sculpture is the figure of the *pleurant*. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they adopt strikingly theatrical forms. Whereas earlier *pleurants* had been diminutive, those from later centuries occasionally grow to life-size, as in the tomb of Philippe Pot, formerly in the Cîteaux Abbey and now in the Louvre (Fig. 3.1) or the even more impressing figures of the Tomb of Maximilian I in the Innsbruck Hofkirche. Those made by Jean de Cambrai for the tomb of the duc de Berry and, even more, by Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, Jean de la Huerta and Antoine le Moiturier for the tombs of Philippe the Bold and of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria have been the object of an extensive bibliography and figured prominently in exhibitions.[1]

Yet, the figure of the *pleurant* is not an invention of Claus Sluter, nor is he reinterpreting an element of Antique tradition. As we shall see, the first appearance of the *pleurant* as such is not older than the thirteenth century. While the later examples have been widely studied, the history of the formation of the iconography has been less explored, with the notable exception of recent work by Anne Morganstern.[2] A careful examination of the trajectory of this iconography offers us resources for a better understanding not only of the figure of the *pleurant* in itself, but also of the vision of death encoded in these tombs and, furthermore, of the use the living made of them. This essay seeks to contribute to such an examination, exploring not only the historical origins of the *pleurant*, but also all it can tell us on the stronger religious and political forces that presided over its emergence.

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1   Most recently, Jugie 2010 and Baron, Jugie, and Lafay 2010.
2   Morganstern 2000.

FIGURE 3.1
Tomb of Philippe Pot, Grand Seneschal of Burgundy,
between 1477 and 1483, formerly in the Abbey of Cîteaux.
Musée du Louvre, département des Sculptures, RF 795
PHOTO: © MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, DIST. RMN-GRAND
PALAIS / RAPHAËL CHIPAULT

1   Depicting the Funerals on Tombs before the *Gisant*

The idea of incorporating prominent references to the funeral procession or
mourning was in no way a medieval innovation. Among many others, one
of the reliefs of the Haterii tomb depicts a funeral scene, complete with the
bier, the mourners and even the construction of the funeral temple.[3] But when
the figural sarcophagus starts to reappear in Europe in the tenth and eleventh
centuries, there is, at first, no representation of funerals; the salvation of the
deceased is considered a given, accepted without need to reference ceremo-
nies aimed at ensuring it.[4] It is only at the turn of the twelfth century that
such funerary imagery begins to reappear. Two tombs seem to mark a transi-
tion in this respect. Both are children's tombs: that of Alfonso Ansúrez, son of
Pedro Ansúrez, formerly in the monastery of Sahagún (Fig. 3.2), and the tomb
of Guillaume de Flandre, son of Robert II, count of Flanders (Fig. 3.3).[5] While
neither of those tombs represent the moment of the funeral, they do repre-
sent the immediate aftermath. On the lid of the tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez,
the soul of the deceased is represented, having passed through the seven
heavens described in the fourth book of Esdras and is standing alongside the
four Living Beings, as near as possible to God, who is blessing him with his
right hand, the only part of Him that is depicted. The tomb of Guillaume de
Flandre was, in a way, quite different. It was an example of a type of tomb
that has mostly disappeared: the mosaic tomb. In fact, it was part of a larger

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3   Rome, early 2nd century, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, cat. 9997.

4   Dectot 2006.

5   See Hasig 1991 on the former, Barral i Altet 2004 on the latter.

FIGURE 3.2 Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez, formerly in Sahagún, after 1093.
Museo Arqueólogico Nacional, Madrid, 1932/115
PHOTO: © MUSEO ARQUEÓLOGICO NACIONAL/ JOSÉ
LATOVA FERNÁNDEZ-LUNA

FIGURE 3.3
Tomb of Guillaume de Flandres, after 1109.
Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin, St Omer

ensemble, commissioned for the apse of St. Bertin by his father, Robert II. It showed Guillaume lying peacefully, eyes closed, alongside representations of the Ocean and the signs of the Zodiac, a juxtaposition that can be interpreted as a representation of the celestial world. Although not a representation of the funeral *per se*, these two monuments concentrating on the moment of the salvation are essential to understand the context in which the *deploratio* appears on Romanesque tombs.

Another tomb worth considering, also from the early twelfth century, is that of Pierre de Saine Fontaine, who reconstructed the abbey church of Saint-Pierre d'Airvault (Fig. 3.4). After his death in 1110, he was buried under a strange monument, the lid of a sarcophagus resting on two Atlantes, in a niche in the north arm of the transept of the church. On this lid are represented nine figures under arches. The model seems to be the apostolic processions that could be found on many late Roman sarcophagi.[6] In this instance, it is more a

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6 For instance, the sarcophagus of Hydra Tertullia and her daughter in Arles, Musée de l'Arles antique.

FIGURE 3.4
Tomb of Pierre de Saine Fontaine, after
1110. Saint-Pierre Abbey, Airvault

way of placing the former abbot amongst the disciples of Christ than of specu-
lating on his salvation.

Things are different with the sarcophagus of Doña Sancha sister of Sancho
Ramírez, king of Aragon. This tomb was originally placed in Santa Cruz de la
Seros, then moved to San Ginés, in Jaca, in the seventeenth century, and today
it is in the Real Monasterio de las Benedictas in Jaca (Fig. 3.5).[7] In this piece,
dated to the second or the third decade of the twelfth century, the model is
also Late Roman. We find the same idea of scenes placed under arches, and
many elements of the iconography are clearly of Early Christian origin, such
as the chrismon on one of the small sides, the figure of Samson fighting the
lion, and the duelling knights on one of the long sides.[8] However, it is the other
long side we are more interested in. To the right of the beholder, under an arch,
Doña Sancha is represented, still alive, seating between two courtiers. In the
middle, we see two angels, carrying the soul of the deceased, represented as
a naked, sexless body, in a mandorla.[9] But the third scene, to the left of the
beholder, is the one with greatest significance to the history of the *pleurant*: a
bishop, flanked by two acolytes, one carrying the Book, the other an incense
burner, seem to be rushing toward the central angels. The pairing of the in-
cense burner and the book on a sarcophagus seems to be a clear reference to
the funerals, especially as two of these three figures are looking towards the
central representation.

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7   Campo Bertran 1987.

8   Those, in fact, echo even earlier models, such as the sarcophagus with scenes from the hunt
    for the Calydonian boar from Roma, Musei Capitolini, inv. Scu 917.

9   This is yet another figure inspired by the ancient *imago clipeata*, which can already be seen
    being carried by angels, or even sometimes replaced by a chrismon, like on a sarcophagus
    from Istanbul, Archaeological museum, 5798.

FIGURE 3.5   Tomb of doña Sancha, ca. 1110–1120, formerly in Santa Cruz de la Serós. Real
                    Monasterio de Benedictinas, Jaca
                    PHOTO: © ANTONIO GARCÍA OMEDES

Starting, then, in the first third of the twelfth century, this model for the iconography of figural sarcophagi mixing representations of the life, the funerals, and the afterlife of the deceased prospered, especially in the Iberian Peninsula. Its popularity would continue into the first decades of the thirteenth century. We shall concentrate, here, on two additional examples.

In Santa Maria de Ripoll, in the Catalonian Pyrenees, a peculiar monument can be found, dedicated to Ramon Berenguer III. It depicts a monumental charging knight standing over a (largely damaged) sarcophagus. While most of the present monument was created during the nineteenth century restoration of the church, the sarcophagus itself dates back to the twelfth century.[10] One must be cautious regarding its dating nonetheless: while the count died in 1131, this sarcophagus probably was only commissioned after his grandson Alfonso became count of Barcelona in 1163 and king of Aragon in 1164. This sarcophagus was badly damaged during the fire that nearly destroyed the abbey in 1835, but it can still be partly read. The face is divided in six parts, which seem to be made to be read from left to right. The count is first presented on a bed covered by a sheet, his head on a pillow, while in the superior part, two angels placed on both sides of a dove carry away his soul, depicted as a naked figure, in bust form. The second part presents the funeral mass. A crowned figure and a bishop stand on both sides of a cleric, bearing a cross, probably an abbot, celebrating the funeral rite. Next comes a procession of laymen, both civilians and warriors, in front of a city's wall. They probably illustrate the *planctus*, the popular mourning that took place at the death of the count. Although it is damaged, the fourth part can still be read: a horse bearing the dead count's

10   Español i Bertran 2011.

coffin, accompanied by three men. The last two parts are very badly damaged, but they seem to represent the final episodes: the count brought to his last resting place, and his burial. The whole depiction seems to reflect quite precisely what we know about the funerals of the Counts of Barcelona, but two other things are also of interest to us.[11] First, the salvation of the Count is apparently immediate, as his soul is carried away by angels concomitantly with his death, even before the funeral rite takes place. Ripoll was a traditional Benedictine abbey, but yet had very quickly accepted some aspects of the Cluniac reform, including the annual celebration of the dead, instituted by Oliba before his death in 1046.[12] Yet, although it was created more than a century later, no trace of an intermediate place can be found in this tomb. First, while it was probably commissioned by the king, one can hardly think that the monks did not get their say at least on the theological aspect. Second, and also very notable for us, the idea of a representation of the funeral procession on the tomb is fully fledged in this tomb. Departing from its Late Roman and Early Christian models, it becomes a reflection of a contemporary, even if not theologically advanced, vision of death.

At the other end of the Pyrenean range we come upon another interesting funeral monument, although only the lid has been preserved. The infanta of the kingdom of Navarra, Blanca Garcès, married Sancho, the son of Alfonso VII the Emperor, king of Castile, León and Galicia, in 1151. In 1155, she gave birth to a son, Alfonso, and probably died in childbirth, as we know that she was buried in 1156 in Nájera, then the residence of the kings of Navarre, in the royal monastery of Santa Maria (Fig. 3.6). Although she never reigned and the monarchy of her husband, Sancho III the Beloved, was very short (just over a year, from August 1157 to August 1158), her son became one of the strongest men of his time, scoring a number of victories over the Almohads culminating in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Like Ramon Berenguer, then, she never ascended to the throne, yet was very intimately linked with the strengthening of her kingdom. What is left of her tomb is, in many aspects, an ode to both maternity and Queenship.[13] One side presents scenes from both testaments relating to children and motherhood: the Visitation, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Judgement of Solomon, alongside the Wise and Foolish Virgins as an allegory of good matrimony.

11   Aurell 1995, 87–98.
12   Mundó 2016, 110.
13   Alamo 1996; On the political and artistic place of the queen in 12th century Castile, see also Martin 2006.

FIGURE 3.6
Tomb of doña Blanca de Navarra, after 1156,
Santa Maria, Nájera
PHOTO: © INSTITUTO CERVANTES/
JOAQUÍN GUIJARRO

It is the other side, however, which is of the most interest to the subject of this paper: there, on the lower register, one can see Blanca on her deathbed, surrounded by mourners from the royal court, while her soul, in the form of a small, naked, reclining figure is carried away by two angels.[14] In the upper register is the Lord in a mandorla, flanked on each side by two of the Living Beings and six Apostles. If one combines this upper register with the Angels and the soul on the lower one, the iconography is very similar to that of the tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez. Yet there is something more here, with the presence not only of the deathbed, but also of the two groups of mourners, separated by sex— the women on the left side of the lid, the men on the right side—among which figures prominently a grief-stricken Sancho, wearing the crown. As a whole, the figures represent the Spanish custom of *faciendo el llanto*, literally making lament, but the figure of Sancho strikes out as being afflicted by a very different, less customary and more profound, kind of grief, which Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo has convincingly linked to descriptions in *chansons de geste* of the same era.[15] Already, in this second half of the twelfth century, before the figure of the *gisant* has become central, the representation of the funeral is mixing tradition and contemporary developments, earthly and heavenly matters.

2 A Vision of Christian Death

With the advent of the *gisant* in the late twelfth early thirteenth century, the sarcophagus lid, which had been, for a long while, one of the main supports for the representation of the funerals, disappeared. In fact, the first examples of reclining figures are not accompanied with other extensive figuration, either

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14   Alamo 1996, 314, compares this figure to a newborn child.
15   Ibid.
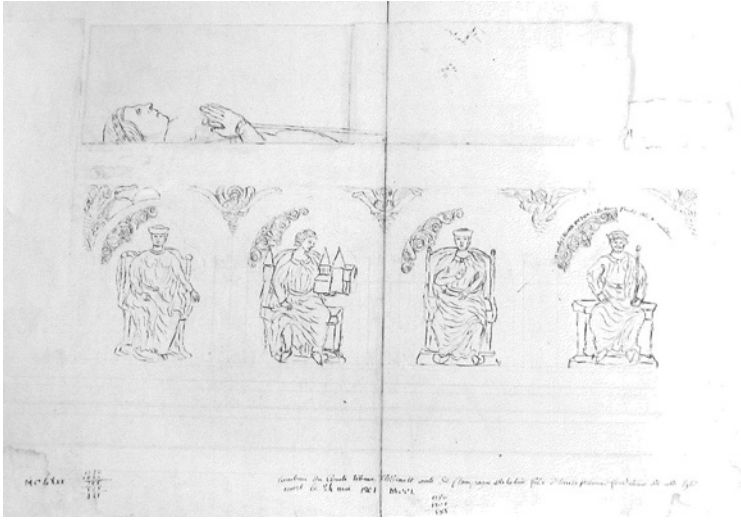
FIGURE 3.7   Drawing of the tomb of Thibaut III of Champagne, anonymous
             drawing, 1786, Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes

on the lid or on the flanks of the tomb.[16] Many of those first *gisants* are never-
theless a way of perpetuating a specific aspect of the funeral rite: the exhibi-
tion of the body of the deceased. This is clearly the case, for instance, with the
figures of Henry II and Richard I of England at Fontevraud (and, to a lesser
extent, of Eleanor of Aquitaine), or of the now destroyed figure of Henry I of
Champagne, formerly in Saint-Étienne in Troyes.[17] Yet, it is only in the late
1220s, with the tomb of the short-lived successor of Henri I, Thibaut III, that
this funeral representation takes a new strength.

Visually, Thibaut's tomb was in harmony with that of his father (Fig. 3.7).
Both were large rectangles adorned with arcatures. However, while on Henri's
tomb those were open, offering a view on the reclining figure of the count
placed inside, on Thibaut's the *gisant* was, as had become customary, placed
on top of the sarcophagus, freeing the ten side arches for a new iconography.
Each was occupied by a seating figure, identified by a legend on the arch. Seven
of them were identified by name: Scholastique, countess of Vienne, sister of
Thibaut III; Henri II, his brother; Henri I and Mary of France, his parents; Mary
of Champagne, countess of Flanders, his sister; Blanche of Navarre, his wife;
and Sancho VII, king of Navarre, his brother in law. Two other figures were
identified only by their title, the king of England, seating at the head, and the

16   On the origins of the reclining figure, see Louis 2006 for France.
17   Dectot 2004.

king of France, at the foot of the tomb, facing the altar. Finally, the last arch was occupied by two smaller figures, the children of the count, Thibaut IV and his sister Mary, who died in childhood. We shall return to the significance of the choice of the persons represented on the tomb later in the chapter. They are, undoubtedly, mourners. It is said of the children that "God has given, in lieu of the father, those two flowers to grow, so that you, Champagne, may continue to benefit of a spring of peace." Nevertheless, unlike the previous examples, most of those mourners could not have been present at the funerals of Thibaut. Henri I, Henri II and Mary of France were dead, while Mary of Champagne was on the road to the Holy Land, for instance. Yet, they are forever linked to the deceased in a frozen, ideal, funeral cortege. But they are not just mourning. Although the multiple epitaphs mostly praise the Count, his political successes and his (in fact, mostly his son's) ambitions, a new element appears, not once but twice at the head: *Ut requies detur mihi, qui legis ista, precetur* and *Qui legit, oret pro Comite*. Salvation is not immediate anymore, but relies on prayers by the living. The tomb has changed role; no longer just commemorating a great man, it now implores the living to help him gain paradise. The family figures flanking the tomb play a strong role in this, as they not only are a testimony to the family power, but also provide a permanent orison for the deceased.

Not long after, another tomb, that of Philippe-Dagobert, brother of Louis IX, took this iconography one step further (Fig. 3.8).[18] Traditionally dated around 1250–1260, a new date, ca. 1235, has recently been proposed.[19] Beyond this question of the date, this monument provides an interesting transition between the family representation of the tomb of Thibaut IV and another kind of figuration: on each of the long sides of the tomb are represented four angels, alternating with three monks, with a wide variety of attitudes.[20] On the head's small side, an angel is holding the soul of the deceased while, at the foot, the abbot of Royaumont (where Philippe-Dagobert was buried) leads the funeral rite.[21] Le Pogam has pointed out two very interesting aspects of the iconography of these sides: first, the angel at the head of the tomb bears a plant

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18 Le Pogam 2010.

19 Morganstern 2000. For the later dating, see Erlande-Brandenburg 1975. The argument in favor of the earlier date has been reinforced since in Le Pogam 2010, 143 (although the latter's main argument, a comparison with the sculpture of Childebert from the trumeau of the refectory of Saint-Germain-des-Prés would rather plead for a date in the early 1240s; see Dectot 2010).

20 Now in the Louvre, Cl. 11655 (on loan from the Cluny Museum), RF 522, RF 523, RF 1066 and RF 3622.

21 Both of the small sides are now incorporated in the cenotaph of Heloïse and Abélard, now in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

FIGURE 3.8
Side from the tomb of Philippe Dagobert, formerly in
Royaumont, ca. 1245. Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 1066
PHOTO: © RMN-GRAND PALAIS (MUSÉE DU
LOUVRE) / STÉPHANE MARÉCHALLE

as a symbol of eternal life, which places the scene in Heaven rather than in
an intermediate place, and the angels and the monks are not mourning but
celebrating a funeral rite (at least one of the angels was holding an incense
burner).[22] In fact, one can probably read this alternation of monks and angels
as providing a smooth transition between the loss of terrestrial life and the gift
of eternity. The tomb of a child, like those discussed earlier of Alfonso Ansúrez
and Guillaume of Flander, this monument considers that salvation is a given,
not something that requires prayers.

A shift occurs only a couple of decades later, with the tombs of Louis of
France, son of Louis IX, dated around 1260–1270 and of the heart of Thibaut V of
Champagne, II of Navarre, probably commissioned a few years after his death
under the patronage of the King of France.[23] The tomb of Louis of France is
shaped in a way quite similar to that of Philippe Dagobert, alongside whom
he rested in the abbey of Royaumont. At the feet, once again, was represented
a scene of the funerals although here, the emphasis is funereal, rather than
theological: the funeral bed is carried by four pallbearers who may be iden-
tified with the four major nobles of the Kingdom, amongst whom Henry III
of England, that performed the same task at the funerals of the young man
(Fig. 3.9).[24] Under the funeral bed, three vases hold burning incense, while an
angel, now disappeared, descended from the arch. On the long sides, monks,
but also abbots and bishops, form a long procession, this time truly mourning.
Unlike on the tomb of his uncle Philippe Dagobert, it is a funeral procession,

22   Le Pogam 2010.

23   On the tomb of Louis de France, see Erlande-Brandenburg 1975; for the heart tomb of
      Thibaut V of Champagne, see Dectot 2004, 47.

24   The relief on the small side at the feet has been stripped of the tomb by Alexandre Lenoir
      to be reused in the tomb of Heloïse and Abélard at Père-Lachaise cemetery. It is now in
      the musée Carnavalet, AP 865.

FIGURE 3.9
Figure from the foot of the tomb of Louis
de France, ca. 1260. Paris, Musée Carnavalet,
AP 865
PHOTO: © MUSÉE CARNAVALET-ROGER
VIOLLET

not an ascent to Heaven, that is depicted. The tomb of the heart of Thibault V
was both similar and different. Probably the work of the same sculptor,[25] it
was installed in a Dominican convent, the Jacobins in Provins. It is till extant,
although the enamels are lost. It consists of a small hexagonal monument with
a six-sided pyramid cover topped with rock crystal (Fig. 3.10). On each of the
six sides of the monument, a monk is represented. Two of the monks have lost
their arms, making their attitude hard to decipher, but of the four remaining
monks, one is weeping and three are meditating on open books. This tomb
has two, strongly contrasting, potential readings. On the one hand, its shape
and the rock crystal on top, serving as a window through which to observe
Thibaut's heart, are reminiscent of a reliquary. In this respect Thibaut's heart
tomb resembles to some degree that of his predecessor Henry I. Obviously,
the influence of the tombs of saints on those of the aristocracy has already
been noted, but this tomb seems to go a step further. On the other hand, the
iconography of the base, like in the tomb of Louis of France, has completely
shunned both the lay aspect of the family tomb and the promise of salvation
to concentrate entirely on religious mourning. Although those two tombs still
carry a strong message, it is very different from that of the previous decades
and mostly revolves around the last funeral rites.

In a way, these changing images of the mourners on the sides of the tomb
reflect, although in a belated manner, the evolution of the theology of death
since the twelfth century, with the development of the concept of an interme-
diary place where the deceased can be cleansed of their sins before they reach
heaven, but where they still need the help of the living. Mourners not only
appeal to the church visitors, encouraging them to pray for the deceased. They

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25   Dectot 2004, 47.

FIGURE 3.10
Tomb of the heart of Thibaut V, formerly in the Jacobins in
Provins, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Centre
André-François Poncet, Provins

also provide a permanent, perpetual mourning, a still image of the perpetual
masses which were founded alongside the installation of these tombs.

3   Power and Piety, Monuments for the Living

The first tomb mourners are thus closely linked to the vision that the con-
temporaries had of the funeral rite and of the salvation, a vision that changes
much more slowly than the theological vision during the twelfth and thir-
teenth centuries.[26] But, as we have already seen, religion and the afterlife are
not the only subjects addressed by these mourners. The tomb of Thibaut III
of Champagne was the first of its kind in that it not only figured generic people
mourning the deceased but, in fact, specific members of his family, most of
them clearly identified.[27] This trend continued throughout the Middle Ages
and beyond, leading to the creation of tombs as striking as those of Philippe
Pot or Isabella of Bourbon. In those later tombs, the "family" is defined in ag-
natic terms of patrilineal descent. The pallbearers of the tomb of Philippe Pot
carry the arms of the grand seneschal of Burgundy. In the case of Thibaut III,
the family is rather different: many close members have been excluded, such
as the counts of Blois, direct cousins and vassals of the counts of Champagne.
Meanwhile, the link with the kings of England proposed by the sculpture is
rather tenuous, dating back several generations.[28] In fact, rather than serving

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26   On the evolution of the vision of salvation after death and the progressive introduction of
      the purgatory, the seminal work remains Le Goff 1981.
27   As it has been pointed out by Morganstern 2000 and Dectot 2004.
28   A line of descent can be traced connecting Thibaut III with England up his paternal
      family tree to his grandfather, Thibaut II of Champagne, who was the brother of King
      Stephen II of England, or, somewhat more directly but also more distantly, to William the
      Conqueror, who was the paternal great-great-grandfather of Thibaut III.

as a comprehensive representation of a family, this tomb displays a web of political alliances. The first thing to be noted is that this web is very gender-balanced, with five women and six men, four and five if we exclude the children of Thibaut III. This does not only underscore the general role played by women in the strategy of alliances of ruling families. In this particular case, another thing is to be noted: of the five adult men, three are kings: the kings of France and England, most probably Philippe Augustus and Richard I, and the king of Navarre, Sancho VII.[29] None of these three men are members of the agnatic family of Thibaut III, except very remotely. But Philippe Augustus' mother was the aunt of Thibaut III and, more significantly even, Thibaut III's spouse, Blanche of Navarre, was the sister both of Sancho VII and of Berangaria of Navarra, the wife of Richard I. As for the women present on the tomb, apart from his sister Scholastique, they are also all directly linked to royal and imperial blood. This is true for Blanche, of course, but also for the mother of Thibaut, Marie de France, who was daughter of Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and for Marie de Champagne, who died just before her husband ascended to the throne of Constantinople (in fact, although her inscription does not allude to her titles, it qualifies her as *sophia*, a clear allusion to Hagia Sophia in then-Constantinople, where she is buried).

This abundance of royalty can be easily explained by the fact that the tomb was most probably commissioned by Thibaut III's wife, Blanche, and their son, Thibaut IV, at a time when the latter was claiming the crown of Navarre, which his uncle had bequeathed to the king of Castile. Putting the emphasis on the international significance of his web of relations was a way of showing his legitimacy, both in Champagne, where his authority had been challenged by the kings of France, and in Navarre.

At first glance, a nearly contemporary tomb, dated after 1224, made for one of the vassals of the counts of Champagne, that of Adelaïde, countess of Joigny, formerly in the abbey church of Dilo, now in Saint-Jean in Joigny, could seem to be presenting a much more traditional vision of family.[30] On the front of the chest are represented four figures, two males and two females, most probably her children, Guillaume, count of Joigny, Gaucher, lord of Châteaurenard and seneschal of Nevers; Agnès, wife of Simon de Broyes; and Hélissent, who married Milon IV, count of Bar-sur-Seine.[31] But things are, in fact, more complex. In the late twelfth century, when the countess died, monumental tombs where

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29   On the identity of the kings, see Dectot 2004, 34. The other two adult men being Henri I
      and Henri II, the father and brother of Thibaut.
30   Morganstern 2000, 23–24.
31   Morganstern 2000, 21.

not yet a given for the aristocracy, and most evidence points to the fact that she probably did not have one at first. In 1221, however, when her son Guillaume died in Joigny, the town's Cluniac priory exerted its right to be the sepulchre of the count, notwithstanding the fact that, in 1179, he had promised in a charter to be buried in Dilo. Three years of negotiations ensued, at the end of which the count remained in Joigny, but Dilo got an important settlement.[32] It is only after that date that the tomb of Adelaïde was erected. This is not a unique phenomenon: since the twelfth century, welcoming the sepulchres of the aristocracy had been a way for abbeys and convents to strengthen their links to powerful and rich families, and losing such a link could be problematic. Saint-Denis tried to reverse the decision of Louis VII to be buried in Barbeau, and King John sent his heart to Fontevraud to mitigate the fact that he was getting buried in Worcester. Like others, the Dilo monks decided to build a monument to Adelaïde not so much to honour the dead countess as to remind her very living descendants of the special relation they had with the abbey. One could in fact say that the real subject of the tomb is not as much Adelaïde as her progeny.

In the following decades, figures on the side of the sepulchre were used both to benefit the family and the receiving church. It is probably not a coincidence that the abbot of Royaumont is figured leading the funeral of Philippe Dagobert on his tomb: the abbey itself was a recent royal foundation, and the presence of a buried brother could only reinforce their link to the king. That link proved strong in the long term as, alongside Philippe Dagobert, the abbey received the bodies of three children and two grandchildren of Louis IX, amongst which that of Louis of France discussed earlier. More to the north, when Henry, duke of Brabant, died in 1261 leaving three minor sons, his widow Adelaïde of Burgundy, commissioned a tomb (within which she herself was later buried) on which eight generations of ancestors where represented, serving to strengthen the legitimacy of her sons. Yet, this second use did tend to decline with the rise of heraldry in the thirteenth century, which contributed to separate both functions of the early figures in later tombs.[33] In the tomb of Marie de Dreux, formerly in Saint-Yved-de-Braine, or in that of Béatrice de Savoie, countess of Provence, formerly in the chapel of Les Échelles, for example, the family members surrounding the chest are no longer identified by inscriptions, but rather by heraldic shields. In fact, heraldry often completely replaced figural representations. Sometimes, this choice allowed a tomb to go entirely without mourners, as with the enamelled tombs of two other children

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32   Morganstern 2000, 23.
33   Pastoureau 1979.

of Louis IX, Jean and Blanche of France, or could come as a complement to the mourners, as with the tomb of the heart of Thibaut V of Champagne.[34] This system probably was first fully crystalized in the now-lost tomb of Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, buried in Westminster abbey, where, according to a drawing by John Carter, the knights on the base were wearing a full tabard with their arms.

4 Conclusion

Although they come from a representation of the funeral procession, the mourners, at least in their early form, are not only that. First of all, they bear testimony to a vision of death in which the part played by the living is still, at that time, undefined. In a way, they raise the question of the usefulness of the prayers of those that remained, but, on another hand, they also provide a figurative perpetual mass for the deceased. Secondly, but sometimes more prominently, they place the deceased they are celebrating in a family line, whether agnatic or cognatic. This is, in a sense, a reversal of the implications of the tombs referencing the living; in the case of these retrospective tombs, it is not the living who provide succour for the deceased, but the memory (enriched with its genealogical sources of authority) of the deceased that serves as protection to the interests of his heirs.

But the transfer of a solution initially born on sarcophagi proved sometimes complex for the sculptors. While depicting the family members seated around the deceased was relatively simple, some of the most complex meanings got lost once the fluidity between the chest and the lid disappeared with the appearance of the *gisant*. No longer did the sculptors have recourse to an upper zone where they could represent benevolent angels or saints awaiting their new brethren. Representing the elevation of the soul became more complicated (here, the use of the niche in which the tomb was placed could provide a solution, with its back wall inviting imagery). But mostly, the funeral cortege itself got complicated. How could you make it move when it was set in stone? It was only in the early fifteenth century that Claus Sluter found a solution to that question—a solution that resonated in later, extravagant tombs like that of Philippe Pot.

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34   On the tombs of Louis' children, see Taburet-Delahaye and Boehm 1995, number 146, 402–405 (catalogue essay by Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot).

Gendering Prayer in Trecento Florence: Tomb Paintings in Santa Croce and San Remigio

Judith Steinhoff

In recent decades, an increasing number of medieval art historical studies have explored the idea of "images that act" and the performative nature of vision in medieval Christianity.[1] Such studies engage both the interactivity between the viewer and the image, and the multiple functions of individual images. Among scholars analyzing images connected with tombs, Robert Marcoux, re-evaluating Panofsky's distinction between prospective (intercessory) and retrospective (commemorative) tomb imagery, demonstrated that many tombs played both performative roles simultaneously. He also argued that the materiality and placement of the tomb and its effigy affected viewer reception, thus somewhat skewing the functionality of the tomb in one direction or the other.[2] Tomb images depicting the deceased or family suppliant in prayer have also been analyzed as performing multiple functions. While serving to remind living viewers of the departed and to elicit their prayers on behalf of the deceased, as analyzed by Anne McGee Morgenstern, such figures can also be understood to be active embodiments of the suppliant and their proxies, perpetually performing prayer in the hope of the depicted person's rapid transit through Purgatory, as demonstrated by Gelfand and Gibson, and others.[3]

In this chapter I will argue that tomb images with suppliants also functioned in yet another way—one that was social rather than spiritual. Two well-known frescoes, situated over the husband and wife tombs of Gualtieri and Tessa de'

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1   Bino 2016 (for additional literature see Bino note 7); Gertsman 2008.

2   Marcoux 2016.

3   Morgenstern 2000, 81–89. Brilliant (2009, 318–319) proposed that this mnemonic and commemorative function was in fact a principal purpose of the Bardi di Vernio tombs in Santa Croce, Florence, the frescoes treated in this chapter. Gelfand and Gibson 2002; Nelson 2000, 155; Gaston 2001, 144–54.

Bardi in their family burial chapel in Santa Croce (Fig. 4.1), as well as the large panel of the Lamentation by Giottino from the church of St. Remigio, Florence (Fig. 4.2), which I argue was also commissioned for a tomb, serve as case studies for this larger argument, grounded in my analyses of numerous functionally and iconographically similar images. Through their powers as both visual prompt and performative surrogate, and as embodiments of late medieval theories of the transformative powers of sight, such images transmitted gendered modes of prayer and paths to salvation with their different expectations and roles for men and women.

The dual tombs of a husband and wife, Gualtieri dei Bardi and Monna Tessa, in the Confessors' chapel in Santa Croce, Florence, were probably commissioned as an ensemble although executed by two different fourteenth-century artists. The frescoes above Gualtieri's tomb and the carved niche of the tomb are universally attributed to Maso di Banco in the 1330s, while the sculptural elements have convincingly been ascribed to Agnolo di Ventura, working under Maso's supervision.[4] The frescoes of Monna Tessa's tomb were completed by Taddeo Gaddi ca. 1335–40 (her sarcophagus lacks sculptural decoration and its maker is unknown).

The Bardi man's tomb in the Confessors' Chapel in Santa Croce represents a relatively rare and unusually detailed version of the "Beatific Vision" or Particular Judgment, one that combines the iconography of the Particular Judgment with that of the Last Judgment.[5] (Fig 4.3, compare with Fig. 4.1) The notion that a soul was judged immediately after death promoted the popular belief that, if consigned to Purgatory, the deceased had already been chosen to ultimately join the elect (after undergoing rigorous purgation and aided by the prayers of still-living loved ones), was highly controversial in the late thirteenth century. It was nevertheless adopted as a component of the doctrine of Purgatory at the Council at Lyons in 1274. The controversy continued into the fourteenth century when, in the early 1330s Pope John XXII suppressed the notion of the Particular Judgment. However, it was reinstated by Benedict XII in 1336, and then condemned again as an attempt to evade Divine Justice at the Last Judgment by the Dominican preacher Jacopo Passavanti in his Florentine sermons of 1354 (collected in *Lo Specchio della vera penitenza*).[6] Despite these shifts in official Church doctrine, belief in the possibility of a favorable judgment immediately after death continued to be popular among the laity throughout the fourteenth century and beyond. Gualtieri de'Bardi was himself

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4   Kreytenberg 1998, 51ff; Brilliant 2005, 294–295 note 3.
5   Brilliant 2005, 294–325 and 2009, 303–311.
6   Brilliant 2009, 345; Carrara 1997, 66; Heller 2005, 164. note 7.

FIGURE 4.1   Confessor's Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Maso di Banco, *The Particular Judgment*, 1330s, fresco, and Taddeo Gaddi, *The Entombment with donatress* (Tessa dei Bardi), ca. 1335–40, fresco. Tombs of Gualtieri dei Bardi, and Monna Tessa dei Bardi
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 4.2
Tommaso di Stefano (called "Giottino"), Lamentation over Christ with donors, ca. 1357–59, tempera on panel, 78 × 53 in., 195 × 134 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv 1890, no. 454, Florence
PHOTO: SOPRINTENDENZA PER I BENI ARTISTICI E STORICI PER LA PROVINCIA DI FIRENZE

a partisan of those who adhered to the doctrine of the Beatific Vision and Particular Judgment at the moment of death with its salvific guarantee. Thus, it is not surprising that his tomb imagery, commissioned during the period of the conflict, reflects this belief.[7]

The rocky peak directly behind Gualtieri is easily identified as Purgatory, looking strikingly as described by Dante. Virginia Brilliant, who has published extensively on the Particular Judgment in art, has also argued that the V-shaped rocks framing Gualtieri probably represent the rocky valley of Josephat, where (following a tradition deriving from Joel 3:12) the Last Judgment was believed to take place.[8] The Valley of Death also appears in Psalm 22 (KJV, Ps. 23), which was included in the Office of the Dead and was recited at the death-bed, throughout funerals, and daily in funerary chapels like that of the Bardi di Vernio family. Brilliant furthermore identified the verdant area to Christ's right as the garden of Paradise, and the small, barren, deeply shadowed hill to Christ's left as Hell.[9] (Fig. 4.3)

Most notably, this image reveals some of the reasons for both the appeal and the criticisms of the Beatific Vision. (See Fig. 4.3) Gualtieri, physically aligned with Christ to whom he directs his gaze and prayers, asserts the potency of human supplication. In line with tradition, Christ appears above Gualtieri in a mandorla flanked by angels, some of which announce the Judgment with long trumpets. Although Christ's upturned palm signals that it is He who grants Gualtieri's salvation, Maso di Banco's representation of Gualtieri's lone,

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7   Carrara 1997, 66.

8   Brilliant 2005 and 2009.

9   Brilliant 2009, 342–45 and note 40.

FIGURE 4.3   Maso di Banco, *Particular Judgment*, detail (close-up of Judgment)
PHOTO: AUTHOR

unaided prayer implies that the individual has a great deal of agency in this process. In fact, male testators frequently requested additional prayers for their entire male line, often represented visually by numerous coats of arms, like those we see on Gualtieri's tomb.[10] (See Fig. 4.1). Thus, the single figure of Gualtieri would have impressed familial and non-familial worshippers alike with its message of a direct and active role for a man in achieving redemption— not only for himself but also for his male ancestors and descendants.

Whereas Gualtieri dei Bardi, a male member of one of Florence's most powerful merchant and banking families, is depicted as the hero of his own salvation story, his wife, Monna Tessa, is represented by Taddeo Gaddi as taking a different and somewhat less direct route to achieve hers. (compare Figs. 4.3 and 4.4) Although, as a man, Gualtieri could choose to include his own male relatives in his prayer for redemption, as a woman, Monna Tessa was under a strong social obligation to pray for both her natal and conjugal families. Inclusion of the armorials of Tessa's family, the Brunetti of Pistoia (no longer visible), confirms what we know from many sources about women's responsibilities in this regard.[11] Wives were responsible for regular prayer to ensure that a husband who went first to Purgatory could eventually transit upwards, and women in general bore a large part of the responsibility for the salvation, commemoration, and religious education of their families.[12] Dante himself emphasizes that Trecento women must be especially vigilant in performing prayers for their deceased husbands who, it seems, were constantly in danger of getting stuck in the lower realms. In canto 23 of the *Purgatorio*, Dante encounters Forese Donati, whom he addresses with some sarcasm, expressing surprise that Donati has arrived so quickly at the sixth level, well on his way up and out of Purgatory. Donati tells Dante that it is due to his wife, that it was her prayers that speeded his journey.[13] Wives were also often involved in the commission of their husband's tombs, a role Tessa shared with her sons and nephew.[14]

Like her husband, Tessa would originally have been seen emerging out of the lid of her tomb (now lost). Like his, her praying gesture and gaze are upturned toward Christ. (Compare Figs 4.3 and 4.4) However, here Christ is not depicted solely iconically as in Gualtieri's highly visionary tomb image, but most visibly in very human form within the narrative of an historical event,

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10   Carrara 1997, 66; Cohn 2000. The Bardi arms are depicted prominently in relief on Gualtieri's sarcophagus: a shield with a bend lozengy, castle sinister chief on the front face of the sarcophagus and again on the lid (Long 1995, 79).

11   Carrara 1997, 67; Heller 2005, note 17.

12   Heller 2005, 167, 169; Innes 2001; King 1995; Youngs 2006, 191–92.

13   Heller 2005, notes 15 and 16.

14   Carrara 1997, 66.

FIGURE 4.4 Taddeo Gaddi, *Entombment*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

the Entombment. This difference is significant not only for possible individual iconographic choices, but also for the socially gendered roles and expression of grief and prayer in Medieval Christian thought. The latter, based on Aristotle's theory of female nature, held that women were governed by their emotions and were also more rooted in the material world and thus needed tangible (often visual) prompts in order to comprehend spiritual truths.[15] The growing theology and practice of affective piety, while not directed exclusively at women, also drew on ideas of emotional receptivity associated especially with women.[16] At the heart of this emotion-based theology, was the belief that salvation can only be achieved through true compassion-induced repentance, itself often evoked by images of suffering and/or grieving. Tessa's evident empathy for Christ, whose torments for the sake of humanity are referenced by the cross, lance, and sop in the background, enacts these tenets of affective piety (see Fig. 4.4). While, as Ladis noted, the current representation of Tessa is the product of restoration, we can imagine that she may well have been portrayed

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15   Aristotle's views on women appear in the *Politics* (1254b13–14), as well as in his *Poetics*, *Generation of Animals*, and *History of Animals*. For the medieval application of those views to women, see *Women's Secrets*, ed. and trans. Lemay 1992, 106.

16   On the gendering of compassion as female by medieval writers see McNamer 2010, 119.

as more emotional in her devotion to Christ than her husband, as would have been consistent with the societal notions of female emotionality noted above.[17]

Undoubtedly, in the original, as now, both Tessa and Gualtieri gazed intently at Christ (see Figs. 4.3 and 4.4), activating their prayers through their visual "touching" of Him in line with medieval theories of sight. Both the theories of "extramission" and "intromission" (often understood to work together) envisioned seeing as a two-way process through which rays either emitted by the eye or by the object imprinted on the individual's memory and potentially transformed him or her. Both go back to Ancient and Arab thinkers (eg Aristotle, Plato, Alhazen) and were adopted and adapted to Christian moral views by numerous medieval Christian thinkers, including St. Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as many others.[18]

A greater sense of intimacy between Tessa and Christ than between Gualtieri and Christ is evoked by their proximity and, especially, by that of her raised hands and his recumbent left hand. (see Fig. 4.5) Their fingers nearly perfectly aligned, the two almost touch physically across a visually charged space in a way that for many people startlingly recalls Michelangelo's famous (much later) *Creation of Adam* in the Sistine Chapel. The original version from which Taddeo drew, may well have been that of his teacher, Giotto, namely the depiction of Enrico Scrovegni extending his hand toward Mary of Charity as he offers her his chapel in the Last Judgment scene on the inner West wall of the Arena Chapel in Padua.[19] The iconographic potency of Taddeo's image lies in its demonstration of Tessa's focused, yearning piety and the efficacy it gives her prayers to Christ.

Tessa is currently and was probably originally not only placed close to Christ, but also in counterpoint to the diagonal that aligns Christ, the Virgin Mary, and another holy woman wearing a red hooded garment and a white wimple. (Fig. 4.5) At first glance, the latter figure may be presumed to represent

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17   Ladis 1982, 137.

18   Flanigan 2013, 49–56; Miles 1983; Tachau 2006.

19   I would like to thank Laura Jacobus for pointing out the likely connection to Giotto's Arena Chapel fresco. Although Ladis noted that there was no "authentic precedent" for Tessa's placement in the paneling of the sarcophagus (Ladis 1982, 137), her prayerful gesture does seem likely based on, if not part of, the original. The proximity of Tessa's hands to Christ's left hand, may also have been intended to link Tessa with Mary Magdalen as she reached out to Christ in the scene known as the "Noli me tangere" when he was resurrected but not yet ascended to God. I would like to thank the reader for Brill for this intriguing suggestion. Although Monna Tessa does not reach toward Christ in the same way as the Magdalen did, nor yearn specifically to touch him physically, her intense gaze recalls the medieval optical theories that posited sight as a kind of touching, leading to transformation of the viewer.

FIGURE 4.5   Taddeo Gaddi, *Entombment*, detail (Monna Tessa and holy women)
         PHOTO: AUTHOR

one of the three Maries traditionally included in images of the Crucifixion, Lamentation, and Entombment. However, none of the Maries are anywhere described as older and wearing a wimple as does this holy woman. I would suggest that her elderly appearance, covered hair, and tightly wrapped red hood and wimple closely follow depictions of St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary and grandmother of Christ.

While St Anne became well-known as Florence's special protectress from tyranny due to the routing of Walter of Brienne, called the "Duke of Athens," on her feast day, that event occurred in 1343, several years after the Bardi frescoes were completed in the 1330s and so cannot have been the reason she is represented over Monna Tessa dei Bardi's tomb. However, as Catherine Lawless has shown, St Anne had a prior and continuing claim to sainthood (throughout

Europe) as the Virgin's mother and Christ's grandmother. She was also vener-
ated as a married woman and a widow (said to have been married three times),
two roles that were also central to Tessa's identity here.[20] Indeed, Tessa, like
this saint, wears a wimple indicating her status as widow at the time she died.[21]

While highly personal reasons that we may never know could well have
dictated the choice to connect the two widows in this image, it is clear that
the linkage was intentional, whether on the part of the painter or the patron.
If this elderly saint is Anne, we might hypothesize that her presence at the
Entombment (lacking any scriptural support and, indeed, rare altogether out-
side of cycles of the Virgin's early life or in iconic images of the three genera-
tions) would have served to underscore Tessa's role in helping to effect the
redemption of both the Bardi and her own natal families.

Anne's(?) alignment with the grieving Virgin Mary and the dead Christ fur-
ther enriches the scene both visually and iconographically by combining a
narrative rendering with a reference to a popular iconic image called *Anna
Matterza* in Italy (more often referenced in art historical literature by the
German, *Anna Selbdritt*). This image-type with Anne looming over Mary, who
holds the infant Christ in her lap, was widely understood to reference Christ's
matrilineage and in this context may have been intended to further underscore
Tessa's role in praying for her entire female line.[22]

Identified as secular by her clothing, Tessa is also differentiated from the
other figures by her significantly smaller size. The only figure on the viewer's
side of Christ's coffin, she occupies a space usually left open, a space into which
a worshipper might imaginatively enter. As I have discussed elsewhere, Tessa is
also clearly distinguished by her decorous behavior, intended to remind view-
ers of the emotional restraint required of Trecento women in public under the
law.[23] In contrast, the holy women openly express their intense emotions with
their gestures, body language, facial expressions, and their loosened, dishev-
eled hair, all of which conform to the male viewpoint that such emotional out-
bursts reveal women's lack of self-control. At the same time, the saints' display
of extreme grief mirrors and reaffirms the roles assigned to Trecento women in
the interior spaces of the home.

Monna Tessa's relative exclusion from the scene, which does not revolve
around her as Gualtieri's judgment does around him, is common among images
of supplicants depicted in proximity to a Christological narrative. She is not

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20 Lawless 2000, 15–42.
21 I thank Laura Jacobus for first calling my attention to this.
22 Lawless 2000, 17.
23 Steinhoff 2012.

configured as a participant, but as a witness, or perhaps as someone beholding a vision, as Jane Long proposed.[24] In an historical sense, this is altogether fitting, since such supplicants obviously were not present at the Passion. Furthermore, in addition to Tessa's lack of a role within the Entombment scene, the scale and location of her tomb niche bespeak her identity as a woman. (Fig. 4.1) Smaller than her husband's monument, Tessa's tomb is placed in privileged proximity to the altar, but also tucked into a less accessible and less visible corner within the deeper recesses of the chapel—a gendered space of interiority and protection. Thus, within the context of her own tomb, the efficacy and indeed the power of Tessa's prayers are apparent. However, in the larger scheme of the chapel as a whole, Tessa's tomb signals a woman's secondary status within a prominent Florentine family and society. Unfortunately, we lack records that might reveal who planned the iconography of Tessa's tomb. The elements that give visual expression to established social norms for women's roles could have been requested by her sons after her demise or they could simply mirror the broader cultural expectations. The rich, complex, and distinctly female-centered aspects of the iconography, however, allow at least for the possibility that Monna Tessa, herself, played a part in determining the imagery of her tomb decoration, perhaps through a will and testament.

My second case study is *The Lamentation* or *Pietà* painted by Giottino, ca. 1357–1359, for the Church of San Remigio in Florence (See Fig. 4.2)—a very large panel, measuring 195 × 134 cm or about 78 × 53 in.[25] The precise location and function of the panel as well as its patronage remain uncertain since neither the family nor the individual identity of the supplicant has been recovered. However, unusual features such as the scale, attire, and apparent participation of the women supplicants, as well as the shape of the panel strongly suggest that the image was commissioned in honor not only of the death of Christ, but also that of a family member or members. As in the Bardi di Vernio Entombment, the contrast between the affect of the supplicant women and that of the holy women in Giottino's painting again delineates acceptable forms of female grief. Lacking the evidence for the historical identities of these supplicants that we have for the Bardi di Vernio chapel, we can, however, turn to the unusual iconography to hypothesize about the circumstances of the commission and to explore the ideas about gendered grief the image promoted.

Despite its relatively small size, the church of San Remigio had an architectural *tramezzo*, and it was there, on the right side, that both Vasari and the record of the pastoral visit in 1575 locate Giottino's painting. Maria Bandini, who

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24   Long 1995.
25   Florence, Uffizi inv. 1890, n. 454.

FIGURE 4.6
Avelli, Santa Maria Novella, Florence
PHOTO: AUTHOR

has done extensive research on the church and its decoration, has proposed that Giottino's *Lamentation* might originally have been over the central door into the *tramezzo*, the place where a painted Crucifix was more often located. However, the narrative subject, the large size of the panel, and the moderate size of the church make this unlikely.[26]

I propose instead that this unusual *Lamentation* was located in a niche chapel built into the wall on the side of the *tramezzo* that housed the tombs of one or both of the secular women depicted and possibly other family members. Niche chapels within the church began to multiply in the late thirteenth century and often took the form of *arcosolia* or *avelli* traditionally found on church exteriors and in cemeteries. (Fig. 4.6) While such chapels often lined the walls of church naves, they were also constructed in *tramezzi*. They could employ various formats, from a deep or shallow architectural space either built into the wall or projecting outward into the nave, and in either case covered with a canopy or baldachin.[27] The chapel in San Remigio would have been crowned by a cusped arch that echoed the contours of the panel. The decoration of architectural niche chapels was most often executed in fresco, mosaic, or sculpture; however, as Victor Schmidt has shown, a number of surviving panel paintings can also be traced to tombs.[28] The majority of such panels take simple lunette forms. However, some did have more complex shapes like Giottino's—one example is the *Annunciation with donor* painted by Jacopo di Cione (nearly 52×52 in) ca. 1370.[29] Given the size of the Giottino *Lamentation*,

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26　Bandini 2010, 220–226.

27　Bacci 2009, 12; Levin 2009, 400–402.

28　Schmidt 2002.

29　The panel is now in the Museo de Arte, Ponce, Puerto Rico, acc. no. 62.0268. Kress Collection, K-156.

I would suggest that the family burials were in the floor below, although a low-rising chest tomb with the baldachin and painting above it is also a possibility. If we accept Marcoux's analysis, mentioned above, a tomb slab with the deceased's effigy would have increased the intercessory power of the entire tomb ensemble.[30]

The core composition of Giottino's *Lamentation* (Fig. 4.2) and its set of characters are fairly conventional. The inclusion of extra saints is also fairly common. The monk saint in a white habit here is usually identified as Benedict, but quite possibly could be St Romuald. The second non-Biblical saint is St Remigius, the titular saint of the church, who lived in the late fifth-century. Remigius was known as Bishop of Reims and baptizer of Clovis I, King of the Franks, an act that is said to have led to the conversion of the entire Frankish people.[31] Unsurprising, too, is the fact that the saints each place a hand on the head of one of the secular women supplicants, as if presenting her. Many elements of Giottino's depiction, however, are unusual in ways that reveal the painter's great talent and sensitivity while also speaking to the culture's gendering of deep grief as female. Of these, most striking is the rendering of Mary Magdalen, who usually stretches out her arms and wails her extreme grief but here is depicted as turning inward, her reddened cheeks revealing she has been crying intensely.

Most surprising in a Trecento painting, however, is the depiction of the two female supplicants as nearly the same size as the holy figures and placed such that they appear to participate in the event, a positioning that gives them virtually unprecedented prominence in Trecento images with supplicants.[32] (Fig. 4.7)

One of the supplicants has been identified variously as a widow and as a Benedictine nun; the other, a young blond woman, as perhaps a daughter or sister of the first.[33] The young blond is elegantly attired in a two-toned gown with a lavishly decorated neckline and gold buttons down the sleeves and a golden belt with a large round buckle slung low on her hips. Her gown is of somber black or, more likely, "perso", a dark purplish color described by Dante as considered equally suitable for mourning at the time.[34]

As in the case of Monna Tessa and the other women in the Entombment scene, the contrast between the decorously calm secular supplicants and the

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30   Marcoux 2016, especially p. 64.
31   Voragine/Ryan 1993.
32   This type of image becomes prevalent in northern Europe and especially Flanders in the 15th century.
33   Bandini 2010, 221.
34   Antonetti 1998, 73–74.

FIGURE 4.7 Giottino, *Lamentation*, detail (holy women and donatresses)

highly emotional holy women in this painting embodies expected differences between socially and religiously acceptable behaviors for Trecento women in public and in private spaces. (compare Figs. 4.5 and 4.7) However, compared to the depiction of Tessa dei Bardi, the pair of female supplicants in Giottino's Lamentation presents a more complex and elusive situation. (Fig. 4.7)

The woman garbed in black raises her hands in a typical prayer gesture, embodying her supplication and hope for resurrection mirroring that of Christ. While she clearly seeks her own salvation, as an image destined for a funerary context she certainly also prays for her family. If she is a widow, as Bandini proposes, she could be praying for her deceased husband. At the same time, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that she appears to be gazing not so much at Christ as at her companion.

Indeed, the young blond woman who kneels just behind Christ's extended legs is marked as especially important both by her proximity to Christ and by her nearly frontal presentation. Her medium-length, uncovered, but carefully combed hair reflects the custom for unmarried women, while it also embodies decorum in contrast to the long, free-flowing hair of the two most demonstratively grieving female saints in the lower left and right corners of the panel. Somewhat surprisingly in a votive image, the blond woman with uncovered head does not raise her hands in a conventional prayer gesture, but instead crosses her arms on her breast with her hands turned upward. This gesture is commonly seen in images of the Annunciate Virgin and of angels flanking a central Madonna and Child enthroned. In both instances the crossed arms signify humility and reverence. At times, angels raising their hands and those

crossing their arms were paired in an alternating pattern across the image, much like Giottino's two supplicant figures. Together, then, these two women may be seen as modeling virtuous characteristics considered essential, especially for female devotion.[35]

Nevertheless, the gesture of crossing the arms with hands turned upward remains unusual for an Italian votive figure. A slightly modified version, however, with the crossed hands facing downward, became the custom for positioning the hands of the deceased in virtually all sculpted effigies present in Italian tomb monuments beginning in the late 13th century.[36] In northern Europe, however, such effigies were represented with their arms crossed and hands upturned, the very gesture performed by the young blond supplicant in Giottino's painting. Given that St. Remigius was active and therefore most popular in France, and also that in this panel he rests his right hand on the young woman's head, it is possible that this connection between the two, along with the choice specifically of the northern European funerary gesture, suggest the family's origins in that region. Although we lack hard evidence, the use of this gesture also allows us to speculate that the young woman may herself be recently deceased and that her death was the immediate occasion for the commission of Giottino's painting. Such a possibility would help explain the surprisingly elegant, detailed, yet somber attire of the young woman, conceivable as her "Sunday best", a fitting costume for burial as well a signal of her special importance within the image.

Many written accounts attest to the fact that it was considered the duty particularly of women to offer prayers for the deceased daily, even multiple times a day. Recent research also reveals that apart from High Mass and a few other special times, lay people had access to both the high altar and the chapels on the choir side of the *tramezzo*, even in a mendicant church.[37] The efficacy of the commemorative masses and prayers that took place there, and perhaps also their imagery, often attracted non-family members to seek burial nearby in order to share in those benefits, thereby drawing multiple supplicants to that part of the church. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that Giottino's *Lamentation* and the dual tombs of the Bardi family reached a large audience amongst the citizens of Florence, reinforcing the gender roles and gendered modes of prayer they encoded.

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35 Levin 1999.
36 Ibid. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Bill Levin for his helpful comments and editorial suggestions.
37 Cannon 2006, 205–21; Maginnis 2008; Robson 2011, 145.

Two-Story Charnel-House Chapels and the Space of Death in the Medieval City

Katherine M. Boivin

nlike modern cemeteries that often lie at the outskirts of urban centers, the medieval cemetery lay at the very heart of the city where it served as an open and adaptable space. Funerals and church processions but also festivals, dances, and public proclamations brought people to the cemetery where they were confronted by a rich assortment of visual stimuli. Plaques commemorated the dead, candles surrounded funeral biers, opulent fabrics covered gravesites, and sculptural groups formed stations linking the cemetery to the Biblical sites of Christ's Passion and death. Not least of these features was the ossuary or charnel house (*ossuarium*, *charnier*, *Karner*), a designated space for the storage of old bones dug up in the overcrowded cemetery.[1]

The constraint of space in urban cemeteries made ossuaries exigent, for although the medieval cemetery was flexible in its function and topography, its physical limits were relatively fixed. Encircled by a wall, the boundaries of the cemetery were only rarely extended by land grants. Otherwise, the same ground had to accommodate each new generation of dead. The constant demand for burial space, particularly at times of pestilence, required that old bones, cleaned of their flesh, be cleared.[2] Despite the Christian doctrine that

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1 Despite the striking spatial arrangement of charnel houses and their important role in medieval society, they have attracted little scholarly attention. The most important study of the German charnel-house chapels to date is the published dissertation of Stephan Zilkens, which provides a typological catalog analyzing their form, distribution, and stylistic ties to neighboring churches. Zilkens 1983. See also Capra 1926; Hula 1970; Brombierstäudl 2010. Work on the symbolic potential of two-story charnel houses has primarily focused on examples built on a centralized plan and the reference to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Capra 1926; Krautheimer 1942; Untermann 1989; Zilkens 1983. My own interest in these buildings developed out of my work on Rothenburg ob der Tauber. See Boivin 2021.

2 A donation recorded March 12, 1303, establishing the space of the late medieval cemetery in the city of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, for instance, stipulated that anyone who allowed a

held bodies would be reconstituted at the end of time, regardless of decomposition and distribution, medieval society was concerned with the preservation of old bones.[3] Bones were kept on consecrated ground and in proximity to an altar where they were protected until final judgment and where they could elicit prayers from the living. Ossuaries were an efficient means of meeting these needs, for they provided a vaulted space in which bones could be stacked and consolidated. Although most medieval ossuaries were cleared of their human remains in the nineteenth century, a few examples still retain their contents, demonstrating their capacity to accommodate the bones of thousands of individuals. The lower-story ossuary of the charnel house in Iphofen, for instance, contains the bones of around 8,000 individuals; the one in Oppenheim houses an estimated 20,000 (Fig. 5.1).[4] Reports from other sites recording the reburial of remains from ossuaries count their contents in cartloads. In Jena and Gerolzhofen, for example, 70 and 40 cartloads of bones respectively were removed in the nineteenth century.[5]

In some cases, ossuaries took the form of a crypt beneath the main church; in others, they stood as a separate building, called a charnel house, within the consecrated grounds of the cemetery. Some of the most striking charnel houses took the form of two-story structures, with an elevated chapel superimposed on the lower ossuary. These two-story charnel-house chapels were particularly popular in German-speaking regions, where examples survive from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries.[6]

Michel Foucault recognized the cemetery as a prime example of the heterotopia, a space of the other in which all real sites of the culture could be "simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." For Foucault, the charnel house contributed a particular element to the medieval cemetery, for there,

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grave to be exhumed but found the corpse not yet adequately decayed was responsible for finding another burial spot. Schnurrer 1999, 101 entry 230. Although the document does not indicate the fate of the bones that were "adequately decayed," the implication is that they were not reburied. Instead, they found a second resting place in an ossuary or charnel house.

3   Caroline Bynum, who has written extensively on medieval concerns about the body, cautions us not to succumb to the stereotype "of the Middle Ages as 'dualistic'—that is, as despising and fleeing 'matter' or 'the body.'" Bynum 1995b, 12–13. See also Bynum 1995.

4   The bones in the charnel house of Iphofen were buried in a cemetery, only to be returned to the charnel house during its 2005 restoration. Wieser 2006.

5   Möbius 1996, 43; Schneider 2006, 13. In Gerolzhofen, the bones were removed in 1816. I am grateful to Klaus Vogt, director of the Museum "Kunst und Geist der Gotik" in Gerolzhofen, for sharing his unpublished research on the Gerolzhofen charnel house of St. John with me.

6   Zilkens 1983.

FIGURE 5.1   Stacked bones in the lower-story ossuary of St. Michael in Oppenheim
PHOTO: AUTHOR

"bodies lost the last traces of individuality."[7] Yet the role of the charnel house went beyond this, forming a space in which dialectic concepts of medieval life and Christian belief were given ritual and spatial shape. When we consider how death was pictured between 1200 and 1600, figural representations undoubtedly come to mind—of the Crucifixion, of martyrdom, of tomb effigies, of skeletal personifications of Death—but architecture also pictured death in the medieval city. The fifteenth-century two-story charnel-houses chapels, in particular, visualized death through a highly structured spatial system. Their striking compositions, the visibility afforded human remains, and the rituals animating their disparate spaces presented death as a dialogical set of temporalities.

1   The Space of Death

Both the function and form of two-story charnel houses reflect the interdependence in medieval Christian doctrine of the living and the dead. Death was

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7   Foucault 1984.

seen as a process which divided the body and soul for a finite period. During the intermediary stage between life on earth and the Last Judgment, the body lay interred in the cemetery, where its flesh returned to dust, while the soul was thought to suffer in Purgatory to atone for its sins.[8] The moment of death, therefore, marked the beginning of a period of time in which the individual inhabited two spaces, one earthly and concrete, the other liminal and theoretical. Two-story charnel houses can be seen as representing this dual spatiality in their superimposed stories as well as implicating the actions of the living in the experience of the dead before final judgment.

A relatively tight geographic and chronological cluster of two-story charnel-houses was built along the Main and Tauber Rivers during the fifteenth century. Examples survive in Ebern (begun 1464), Gerolzhofen (1497), Haßfurt (ca. 1420, donor relief from 1448), Iphofen (ca. 1380, lost inscription 1412), Kiedrich (consecrated 1445), Kronach (1512), Ochsenfurt (1440–96), Oppenhiem (early 15th c.), Tauberbischofsheim (begun 1474), Wertheim (begun 1472), and Zeil am Main (early 15th c.).[9] Many of these can be dated based on inscriptions on the buildings themselves, though few archival sources attest to their construction or early use. The best documented two-story charnel house, St. Michael in Rothenburg (consecrated 1411 and 1449), has largely been destroyed, with only one wall surviving in partial height (Fig. 5.2).[10]

Whereas earlier, free-standing charnel houses were predominantly unassuming buildings, the fifteenth-century examples could rival their neighboring churches in architectural ornament. St. Michael in Rothenburg ob der Tauber

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8   See Bynum 1991; Bynum 1995; Westerhof 2008.

9   Faber 2012; Paczkowski 2012; Schneider 2006; Wieser 2006; Zilkens 1983, Zürcher 2009. A short guide to the city of Zeil am Main claims the charnel-house chapel dedicated to St. Anne was consecrated in 1412, though it gives no source for this date and I have not been able to verify it. Leisentritt 1990, 20.

   My sincere thanks go to the many individuals who made my visits to these chapels possible. In particular, I would like to thank Klaus Vogt (Gerolzhofen), Thomas Schindler (Haßfurt), Hannelore Siebers (Kiedrich), the Rother Family (Rothenburg ob der Tauber), Petra Holland-Cunz (Tauberbischofsheim), Herr Betcher (Oppenheim), Beate Reinhardt (Zeil am Main).

10   Boivin 2013, 406–20; Boivin 2017; Boivin 2021; Ress 1959, 525–28; Zilkens 1983, 14. The documentation on St. Michael in Rothenburg includes records from the city's financial ledgers. The financial records for the *fabrica ecclesiae* of St. Jakob in Rothenburg, which also administered the chapel of St. Michael, survive in their entirety beginning in 1468. Unfortunately, the accounts do not cover the construction of the charnel house in the first half of the fifteenth century, though they do mention several repairs to the roof, windows, and doors in the following decades (Rothenburg Accounts). According to Zilkens, St. Michael in Rothenburg is the only two-story charnel-house chapel known to have stood in Germany mentioned in such accounts. Zilkens 1983, 14.

FIGURE 5.2   View from the south of the Kirchplatz in Rothenburg including at right the destroyed charnel-house chapel of St. Michael by Johann Friedrich Schmidt, 1762
PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE STADTARCHIV ROTHENBURG

was once called the "daintiest Gothic building" of the city, and surviving examples like St. Kilian in Wertheim and St. Michael in Kiedrich still impress with their rich architectural details (Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5).[11] The stacked spaces of the late Gothic charnel-house chapels distinguished architecturally their dual function as ossuary (below) and cemetery chapel (above). The upper-story chapels were lit by large tracery windows and could be distinguished by elegant rib vaulting (example Wertheim, Fig. 5.3), western galleries (example Ochsenfurt), outdoor pulpits (example Kiedrich, Fig. 5.4), projecting east choirs (examples Zeil am Main and Kiedrich, Fig. 5.5), and bell turrets (originally Haßfurt).[12] A greater variety characterizes the articulation and disposition of the lower ossuaries: from the roughhewn stone and simple barrel vault of Zeil am Main, to the single central support and rib-vaults of Tauberbischofsheim, to the three-aisled room and elegant net-vaults of Wertheim (Fig. 5.6).

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11   Weissbecker 1882, 78. Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English are by the author.

12   The bell turret, or "thurnlein," of the charnel-house chapel in Haßfurt is documented in a surviving record of 1527 (Haßfurt Accounts, fol. 20v) as it was dismantled in that year. My thanks go to archivist Thomas Schindler for drawing my attention to this source.

FIGURE 5.3   View of St. Kilian in Wertheim from the south-west
                   PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.4 View of St. Michael in Kiedrich from the north-west
          PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.5   Interior view of the upper chapel of St. Michael in Kiedrich from the west
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.6   View of the lower ossuary of St. John in Gerolzhofen from the north-west
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Though each charnel house was unique in its architectural form and articulation, considered as a group, the two-story chapels reveal a set of shared functions and concerns. The two stories were invariably spatially distinct, dividing the place for the storage of bones from that used for services by the living. Since the two discrete stories were not usually connected by interior staircases, but instead had their own separate entrances, the division of spaces was visibly pronounced on the exterior of the structures.[13] This design also meant that visitors moved between the two stories in full view of the cemetery and neighboring church.

This movement generally took place on the show façade(s) of the building. At times, the doors to the two stories were vertically aligned (examples Ochsenfurt, Haßfurt), in other cases they were offset (examples Tauberbischofsheim, Zeil am Main) or positioned around the corner from one another (examples Iphofen, Gerolzhofen), but they invariably faced inward on the cemetery and neighboring principal church rather than outward toward the surrounding city. Indeed, the lower ossuary was often articulated as an extension of the cemetery itself. Nowhere was this clearer than in the charnel-house chapel of St. Michael in Rothenburg, where the lower story opened through arches on the surrounding land (Fig. 5.2). In practice, too, the charnel house formed a prominent feature of the cemetery, evinced, for instance, by the custom of measuring the location of gravesites as a number of steps from the charnel house.[14] The elevated entrance to the chapel story often served as a platform from which public announcements could be made before gathered crowds (Figs. 5.3, 5.7). The late-medieval two-story charnel houses thus distinguished distinctive spaces while at the same time emphasizing their integration as a spatially structured extension of the surrounding cemetery.

2   *Media vita in morte sumus*—In Life We Are in Death

Religious and lay visitors alike were confronted in the form of the two-story charnel house with a distinction between life and death. Yet the charnel house

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13 Frequently, the division was also underscored by the inclusion of a dividing string course (examples Ochsenfurt, Tauberbischofsheim). Friedrich Möbius has argued, for the related church of St. Michael in Jena, that the division was meant as a demarcation of two realms. Möbius 1996, 34–46.

14 Schnurrer 1999, 669 entry 657. The painter Heinrich Glück's anniversary celebration established in Rothenburg in 1487, for instance, had a procession walk over four graves including one located eight steps from the charnel house and another situated twelve strides from the charnel house.

FIGURE 5.7   View of St. Michael in Oppenheim from the south
            PHOTO: AUTHOR

did not oppose the living and dead communities as much as it emphasized their interdependence, visualizing spatially that they belonged to the complex temporality of human existence before final judgment.

It was the task of the living to care for the dead, to ease the suffering of the souls in Purgatory through active commemoration. Since the duration of death was finite yet unknowable, "the emphasis was on continuing and on-going support, exercised through the cyclical nature of many of the rituals

associated with the intercessory prayers."[15] The liturgical and para-liturgical rituals performed in the spaces of the charnel house made visible the dialectical relationship between the action of the living community and the stasis of the dead while also emphasizing their common concern for salvation.

In Rothenburg, the chaplain of St. Michael was responsible for holding at least four services a week in the upper story of the charnel house, for which the chapel had its own set of vestments and liturgical furnishings.[16] As part of the regular ritual, he would descend the exterior staircase to visit the bones in the lower-story ossuary, which he sprinkled with holy water. The priest charged with oversight of the charnel-house chapel of St. Michael in Kiedrich similarly performed three required weekly masses, after each of which he was to descend to the lower-story ossuary and recite the Psalm *Miserere mei Deius*, focused on the washing clean of sin, and the prayer *Deus cuius misericordiae non est numerus*, praising God's mercy.[17] The movement of the celebrating priest from one story of the charnel house to the other and back served as a short procession that ritually linked the two spaces. This movement was the most public aspect of the weekly services.

Charnel houses were also included in processions through the wider cemetery. In the Spital cemetery of Rothenburg, for example, the chaplain, accompanied by other priests, processed through the cemetery every Monday to commemorate the souls of the dead. Walking over graves, they sang the *Libera me domine de morte eterna* while the chaplain sprinkled the ground with holy water. At the charnel house, they recited a Placebo with the associated Psalms, the Collects *Deus in cuius miseracione anime omnium fidelium requiescunt, da famulis et famulabus eius omnibus hic et in Christo quiescentibus* and *Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor*. Following this, the chaplain censed the bones in the charnel house while reciting *Odore celesti pascat animas vestras deus*, then sprinkled them with holy water while saying *Rore celesti perfundet animas vestras deus*. Next, the procession circled the cemetery along the wall,

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15   Finch 2003, 440.

16   Borchardt 1988, 82; Ress 1959, 525; Rothenburg Cartulary, fol. 64v–65r. Unfortunately, the original source that Borchardt and Ress cite for the establishment of the chantry has been lost. Although included in the table of contents, the page with the donation for the chaplaincy and chantry in St. Michael has been cut out of the sourcebook (Nuremberg Sourcebook, fol. 4rv, 31v) and cannot be located. The liturgical vestments and furnishings are listed in an inventory from 1543 as: "four liturgical vestments with all accessories and four corporals, which belong to the blessed holdings on the charnel house." Schnurrer 1994, 31. It is worth noting that some of the relatively rare surviving vestments from the period include memento mori themes. von Hülsen-Esch 2006, vol. 2, cat. no. 3.

17   Fischer 1962, 74.

censing and sprinkling the graves during the Response *Cognoscimus domine.* Finally, it returned to the church to the sound of the Antiphon *Media vita in morte sumus* and the Collect *Parce, domine, parce peccatis nostris et quamvis incessabiliter.*[18] These texts, many of which were also included in the Office of the Dead or funerary liturgies, reminded participants of the close relationship between the living and dead. Indeed, as the Antiphon held, "in life we are in death," suggesting that life and death were part of a single complex temporality.

In addition to such weekly services, charnel houses also featured in the annual, public celebration of feast days, such as All Souls Day.[19] In Kiedrich, the feast day of St. Valentine was celebrated with a festive procession that carried relics of the honored saint from the principal church, across the cemetery, to the charnel-house chapel of St. Michael. There, the procession passed through the lower ossuary before mounting the steps to the upper chapel. The relics were then displayed from the outdoor pulpit in the north façade of the charnel house before a crowd assembled in the cemetery below (Fig. 5.4).[20]

Records of funeral ceremonies held in the upper chapels of the late medieval charnel houses appear in documents from the seventeenth through nineteenth century, as do references to processions following older customs, which may stretch back to the medieval period.[21] When in 1472 a pestilence swept through Rothenburg, the municipal council set up an offertory box in the charnel-house chapel of St. Michael. When the next wave of contagion hit the city in 1483, donations from this offertory box brought in 5lb, demonstrating the importance of the chapel at such moments. During this and later epidemics, the income of the parish in Rothenburg more than doubled due to revenue from funeral services and donations.[22]

The living community thus regularly visited the spaces of the charnel house. There, it was confronted by the most direct reminder of death, the memento mori par excellence: the bones of the dead. The practice of visiting the bones is captured powerfully in the architecture of some of the lower-story ossuaries. Many include two doors so that processions could enter through one and exit through the other. In Kiedrich and Gerolzhofen, the path for participants is clearly marked in the vaulting of the lower story, which differentiates the processional space—the section nearest the cemetery and principal church with

18   Schnurrer 1999, 392–93 entry 958.
19   Borchardt 1988, 679.
20   Fischer 1962, 81–82; Wels 2003, 71; Zilkens 1983, 62, 95.
21   Gerolzhofen Verkündigungsbuch 1876; Haßfurt Stadtordnung 1630; Kehl 1948, 238. My thanks go to Thomas Schindler, archivist of the Stadtarchiv Haßfurt, for drawing my attention to these sources.
22   Schnurrer 1987, 21, 23; Reitemeier 2005, 159.

doors at opposite ends—from the more enclosed space reserved for bones (Fig. 5.6). Both examples also preserve holy-water basins situated in the middle of the processional space, so that visitors could pause to sprinkle the neighboring bones.[23] In Gerolzhofen and Kronach, a difference in the level of the floor reinforced the division of the space by function, with the area for bones set deeper than the path for processions.

Outside of ritual ceremonies, the bones also formed a generally visible feature of the cemetery. In almost all the two-story charnel houses, windows to the lower ossuary allowed the passerby to glimpse the bones stored within (Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.6). In some cases, this visibility was enhanced by the decision to place metal grates instead of solid doors over the doorways to the lower story (example Kiedrich), thereby providing additional sight lines into the interior. This is captured in numerous woodcuts and illuminations where stacked skulls stare out from the windows or doors of a charnel house (Fig. 5.8). In cases where the lower story was dimly lit or the openings closed by shutters (example Iphofen), their presence nonetheless served as a symbolic window onto the charnel known to lie within.

The presence of the dead often was also marked by an eternal light or lantern of the dead. The charnel-house chapel in Oppenheim, for instance, preserves a lantern in its south wall that once overlooked the cemetery (Fig. 5.7). The charnel houses in Gerolzhofen and Kiedrich still retain the place for an eternal light inside the lower-story ossuary. These lights marked the charnel house as a protected location for the dead, symbolizing faith, the presence of Christ, and the promise of resurrection. They also served as a reminder to the living of the immortality of the soul.[24]

Thus, death was made highly visible in the two-story structure of the charnel-house chapel. Though these chapels fulfilled additional functions to those discussed above—they occasionally served as pilgrimage destinations (examples Kiedrich, Wertheim), memorialized in inscriptions the contemporary market value of goods (example Wertheim), or harbored individuals seeking sanctuary[25]—their primary functions utilized the complex spatial design to bring together the living and dead in a dialectic confrontation that at once juxtaposed their states and at the same time positioned them as part of the same complex temporality.

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23   In Gerolzhofen, the basin has been relocated to the west wall, though its original location on the middle support of the processional path is known. My thanks go to Klaus Vogt, Director of the Johanniskapelle Museum, for drawing my attention to this fact.

24   Hula 1970, 16; Höck 1962, 121; Plault 1988, 153–54; Hula 1948.

25   Ragon 1983, 144.

FIGURE 5.8   Woodcut of a man kneeling before a charnel house

3   *Gnotosolidos*—Recognize Yourself

In addition to acting as an interface between the living and dead communities of a city, two-story charnel houses placed in dialogue different temporalities. In the case of the two-story charnel house in Gerolzhofen, for instance, a large inscription in the south wall recorded that "In the year of Christ 1497... this charnel house was begun for the salvation of the souls."[26] In addition to pointing to the close relationship between actions of the living and the fate of the dead, this text also references multiple temporalities by combining the concrete historical date of construction with future, divine salvation after the Second Coming.

In addition to rituals and texts, the fifteenth-century charnel houses occasionally employed figural reliefs to encourage individuals to contemplate the end of earthly time and their promised entrance into eternal time. One of the most poignant images of the future in this context was the Last Judgment. The entrance to the lower-story ossuary of the charnel-house chapel in Tauberbischofsheim, for example, is capped by a sculpted tympanum displaying the scene (Figs. 5.9, 5.10). Christ appears in Majesty at the apex flanked by Mary and John as the dead arise from their graves to either side. Below, the resurrected figures either join the steady procession of faithful, led to the gates of heaven by Saint Peter, or are dragged toward the mouth of hell by grizzly demons. The dense groups of resurrected dead crowd the upper scene. They also appear to press forward, treading on the rounded moulding that separates the tympanum from the void of the doors below. This void appears to push back, forming two shallow ogee arches whose sharp points cut into the tympanum field. They frame the space beneath, visually dividing it into two paths, one below heaven, the other below hell. The sorting of the figures in the scene thus is implied to extend down into the real, liminal space of the portal, the division marked by the half-figure of an angel, likely Saint Michael, whose torso seems to emerge from the space within. Both the dead in the ossuary and the living visiting the space are therefore invited to participate in the sculpted scene.

The richly sculpted tympanum of the charnel-house chapel of St. Michael in Ochsenfurt crowns the portal to the upper chapel, rather than the entrance to the lower ossuary. Both the framing ornament and the quality of the carving are striking in this Last Judgment scene (Fig. 5.11). The damned appear less chaotic than in Tauberbischofshem, submitting to their fate almost without a fight. At the left, the gates of heaven emerge from a billowing cloud as a

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26   A foundation document confirms that an eternal mass celebrated in the upper chapel was "for the help and consolation of all faithful souls." Bier 1978, 18; Schneider 2006, 11.

FIGURE 5.9   View of St. Sebastian in Gerolzhofen from the north
            PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.10   Tymapnum over the entrance to the lower-story ossuary of St. Sebastian in
                Tauberbischofsheim
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

three-dimensional micro-Gothic structure. The upper register of the tympa-
num is strictly divided from the lower zone by a rough-textured plane that
represents the ground. Here, the dead arise as skeletal figures, their cavernous
eye sockets and visible ribs a clear reminder of the bones in the ossuary. This
strong citation of death in the concrete form of skeletons contrasts the fleshy
faces and thickly folded robes of both the good and bad in the processions
below. A process of transformation is shown that reverses the effects of death
and burial: the bones regain their flesh as they are reanimated by the soul.

    More common in the figural programs of the surviving charnel-house
chapels than scenes of the Last Judgment are images of the Man of Sorrows,
the motif of Christ resurrected displaying his wounds. In Gerolzhofen, a re-
lief of the Man of Sorrows that likely predated the late-Gothic charnel house
was incorporated in the exterior wall of the lower story. It is possible that this
image was once associated with an indulgence that offered relief off of time in
Purgatory. Such indulgences were measured in units of earthy time (most often
days) but were understood to commute to an unknowable divine measure of
time. Positioned alongside the ossuary portal, the Gerolzhofen relief shows
Christ from the torso up looking out at the viewer. In Wertheim, an elegantly
carved Man of Sorrows adorns one of the corbels supporting the tympanum to

FIGURE 5.11   Tympanum of the west portal to the upper chapel of St. Michael in Ochsenfurt
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 5.12   Man of Sorrows on a corbel of the west portal to the upper chapel of
                St. Kilian in Wertheim
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

the upper chapel (Fig. 5.12). It is balanced by a second corbel sculpted with an angel displaying the *Arma Christi*, the instruments of Christ's Passion. Together these images address the viewer with a direct reminder of Christ's suffering and death but also of his resurrection and the promise of a similar resurrection for all at the end of earthly time.[27]

In addition to these canonical motifs, two-story charnel houses sometimes boasted more enigmatic or playful calls for self-reflection that encouraged visitors to think beyond their own lives and see themselves in the anonymous piles of Christian dead. For example, a dancing ape (popularly known as the *Wertheim Affe*) appears on the south-west corner of the charnel-house chapel of St. Kilian in Wertheim. Positioned at the edge of the tracery balustrade that forms a strong horizontal division between the upper and lower stories, he holds aloft a mirror that at once symbolizes vanity and encourages viewers to contemplate their own sins (Figs. 5.3, 5.13).[28] Perhaps the most enticing call for self-reflection is made by two figures perched on the exterior of the two-story charnel house chapel of Tauberbischofsheim. The first sits straddling the cap of the central buttress of the north side (Figs. 5.10, 5.14). He raises his right hand to shield his eyes as he looks out into the distance. His lofty perspective and choice view suggest a contemplative look not only into the distance but also into the future. The second, related figure appears closer to the viewer on the corbel of the north-west corner buttress (Fig. 5.10). This man, shown as a bust, gestures toward his chest with his right hand and points down with his left to an inscribed banderol and the lower-story ossuary. Carved onto the scroll is the word "gnotosolidos." Likely derived from the Greek "gnothi seauton," this inscription urges the viewer to "recognize yourself!"[29]

Just as the individual viewer was encouraged to imagine himself at the Last Judgment either among the faithful admitted to heaven or among the sinners dragged down to hell, he was incited to recognize himself in the piles of anonymous dead in the lower-story ossuary of the charnel house and to look to the future. The highly visible interface of the two-story charnel house sought to picture a complex temporal dialogue in which the individual was subsumed into the generations of collective faithful who would be resurrected at the Last Judgment. Here, at the heart of the medieval city, the human experience of earthly time entered into visual and spatial dialogue with the promise of future eternal salvation.

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27   Kirkland-Ives 2015.
28   For scholarship on the history and role of the mirror in images of this type, see
      Hartlaub 1951; Marrow 1983.
29   Zürcher 2009.

FIGURE 5.13   Original *Werheimer Affe* now in the Grafschaftsmuseum Wertheim
PHOTO: COURTESY OF KURT BAUER

FIGURE 5.14   Buttress with a figure gazing off into the distance from St. Sebastian in
                Tauberbischofsheim
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

4   Conclusion

It has often been remarked that although Purgatory was central in the late medieval excursus on death, little visual culture from the period represented it directly.[30] Two-story charnel-house chapels, although they did not depict Purgatory, nevertheless closely represented its role as a holding ground for the dead awaiting the final trumpet call to judgment. The elevated chapel situated an altar—at which a regular *missa pro defunctis* (a mass for the dead) was performed—above the collective tomb below. Since the masses were said for the souls, rather than for the bodies of the dead, a connection was created between this place and the space of Purgatory.

The sight of the inanimate bones in the lower ossuary, in particular, would have obliged visitors to contemplate the fate of the souls in the interlude before final judgment.[31] Though they might display family crests, host individual funerary services, and receive named endowments, charnel houses ultimately also challenged the hierarchies found in all other medieval spaces. Here, we might say, was the architectural counterpart of the Dance of Death imagery that also became popular during the fifteenth century.[32] Particularly in the confrontation of processions of the living—highly ordered and conditioned by the trappings of status, wealth, and identity—with the heaps of unidentified and undifferentiated bones, the charnel house realized its heterotopic potential. The otherness of death became in the fifteenth century charnel-house chapels the ultimate call to recognize the self as part of a collective community and the present as inexorably linked to the future.

Unfortunately, most charnel-house chapels have now disappeared. Those in Protestant lands were torn down in the aftermath of the Reformation to discourage the cult of relics and to challenge the doctrine of Purgatory. Already in the sixteenth century, it became common for cemeteries to be relocated from the center of a city to its outskirts.[33] In southern Germany, where Catholicism largely held its ground, charnel houses were demolished in the first decades of the nineteenth century when strict hygienic policies of the newly formed Bavarian state mandated their dissolution.[34] The bones from medieval charnel houses were carted out to new cemeteries and there reburied in mass graves. This re-interment of old bones due to the discomfort of modern society

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30   Binski 1996, 182, 188–199. See also Duffy 1992.
31   On this, see Westerhof 2008.
32   On the Dance of Death, see Gertsman 2010.
33   Ress 1959, 525.
34   Zilkens 1983, 9.

FIGURE 5.15   *Triumph of Death*, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ca. 1562–67
                 PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN

with the products of death, highlights all the more the central and highly vis-
ible place of death in the late Middle Ages. The emphasis on the place occu-
pied by the dead body recalled the space of Purgatory where the soul awaited
judgment. The visible bones in the lower ossuary that lay beneath the ritual re-
enactment of Christ's sacrifice—the mass celebrated at the altar in the upper
chapel—recalled the Biblical place of Golgotha and the promise of resurrec-
tion to come. The spatial arrangement of the two-story charnel houses thus
cast death as a temporary state from which humankind would one day emerge.

   This is one of the elements that makes Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting
The Triumph of Death (ca. 1562) so haunting. The foreground of what Walter
Gibson has termed "a secular apocalypse" teams with chaotic activity as Death,
in the form of innumerable skeletons, overwhelms the living. The largest build-
ing in the painting lies in ruins at the left side of the canvas (Fig. 5.15). Two
pointed arches lead into a dim interior in which a procession of darkly robed
figures passes alongside columns and beneath ribbed vaults. Set on an en-
gaged column between the two dark arches of the entrance is a sculpted stone
skull; other real skulls stare out from niches in the encircling wall and from
the jagged edge of the ruined upper story. The form, articulation, and use of

this building indicate that it was once a two-story charnel-house chapel.[35] In contrast to the distant, single-story ossuary by the sea, this is an urban charnel-house. Bruegel has concentrated the inanimate skulls in the painting around it: they lie in a pile immediately to its right and fill the horse-drawn cart in the foreground before its doors. The upper story of the charnel house, however, has crumbled and in its place a dead tree supports the chapel's two bells. Death's triumph here is predicated on the destruction of the protective upper chapel of the charnel house and on the disappointment of its promise of resurrection.[36] Without the hope of life to come, death is no longer just a transition but has become a permanent state.

35   While most scholars have overlooked this connection, Anna Pawlak identifies it as an os-suary. Pawlak 2008, 136.

36   Three of the most important studies of the painting emphasize the absence of both Final Judgment and the promise of salvation: Gibson 1991, 57; Silver 2004, 270; Pawlak 2008, 105–32.

PART 2

Mortal Anxieties and Living Paradoxes

∵

The Living Dead and the Joy of the Crucifixion

Brigit G. Ferguson

Twelve life-sized, brightly painted, subtly gesturing sculptures in very high relief stand along the walls of Naumburg cathedral's west choir (Figs. 6.1–6.5). Sculpted c. 1250 but purportedly portraying eleventh-century donors to the cathedral, these life-like "founder figures" represent long-dead members of the local nobility. Both the figures themselves and their physical setting are emotionally charged. Visitors entering the west choir encounter sorrow and anger on the faces of characters in Christ's Passion depicted across

FIGURE 6.1 The West Choir from the Platform of the West Screen, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, ca. 1250

THIMO   EKKEHARD   DIETRICH
           UTA
                      BERCHTA
                      ODER
                      GERBURG

WILHELM

SYZZO

                      KONRAD

DIETMAR   REGLINDIS   GERBURG
             HERMANN   ODER
                              BERCHTA

0   10 m
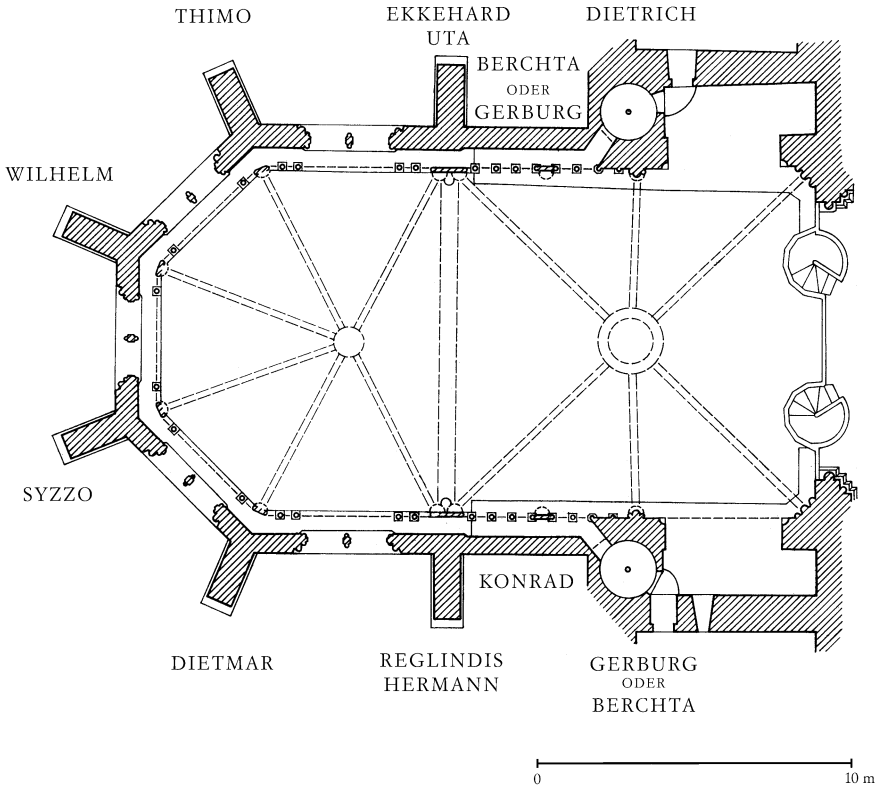
FIGURE 6.2 Placement of Donor Portraits in the West Choir, Cathedral of St. Peter and
            St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250
            DRAWING PHOTO: © JANOS STEKOVICS

a screen separating the choir from the rest of the church. Most strikingly, they
enter the choir by passing *through* a sculpted Crucifixion filling the door-
way. The heart-wrenching expressions of the Virgin and John the Evangelist
sculpted to either side frame this space as one of mourning, yet movement
into the choir simultaneously materializes the resurrection of the Christian
into heaven enabled by Christ's death. The sculpted donors model responses
to Christ's Passion as reenacted in the Masses. Male donors demonstrate grief
or anger, while one female (Reglindis) smiles at the promise of resurrection.
By engaging with gendered and class-based expectations related to emotional
performance, the sculptors at Naumburg emphasized both contemplation of
Christ's Passion and financial support of the cathedral as enabling the personal
salvation of the local lay elite.

The Naumburg "founders" are some of the most studied, yet least under-
stood, representations of the dead created in medieval Europe. According to

FIGURE 6.3 Hermann and Reglindis, the West Choir, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250

FIGURE 6.4   Ekkehard and Uta, the West Choir, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg,
             c. 1250
             PHOTO: © JANOS STEKOVICS WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE
             DOMSTIFTER ZU MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS
             ZEITZ

FIGURE 6.5   Wilhelm, the West Choir, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250
PHOTO: AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER ZU
MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ

the currently dominant interpretation, these figures represent a "Mirror of Princes in stone," showing a range of ideal courtly types.[1] Yet this interpretation is incomplete, because the choir was (and is) primarily a sacred space. I argue instead that the sculpted donors perform ideal responses, especially ideal emotional responses, to the daily Masses performed in the choir. The figures were in the perfect position to serve as exemplars in thirteenth-century Naumburg because, first, they represented ancestors of local elites; second, they were perceived to be in heaven rather than in Purgatory; and, third, because their evocative expressions, vivid polychromy, and thirteenth-century clothing all contributed to the sense that these long-dead donors witnessed the liturgy alongside the living. The sculptures thus exemplify what Thomas Laqueur has called the "work of the dead" in that they "mirror the living to themselves," providing models and creating community.[2]

Though they represent early donors to the cathedral, these sculptures do not exemplify the relationship between donation and *memoria* typical in the Middle Ages. They are not grave markers. Rather, they are effigies in the broader sense of the term as advocated by Shirin Fozi: "commemorative sculptures that presented the tactile bodies of the dead to the communities that claimed them … regardless of the presence or absence of actual bodily remains."[3] The thirteenth-century nave floor of Naumburg Cathedral was covered in burials, probably including those of the donors themselves.[4] The donor statues would have been seen alongside numerous grave coverings, and thus clearly differentiated from them. The animated gestures, vertical position, and status as sculpture nearly in the round visually distinguish the Naumburg figures from most thirteenth-century grave markers, including those surviving from German-speaking lands.[5] Though thirteenth-century effigies do not show the deceased as dead bodies, signs of movement and of emotional expression are rare. Typically effigies were displayed flat; the figures, as in the portrait pair of Henry the Lion and his wife Mathilde (Fig. 6.6), are sculpted like standing figures who have been tipped onto their backs, with pillows placed behind their heads. In fact this portrait pair is rather livelier than most thirteenth-century German tomb sculpture in that the figures are in high relief and appear fairly naturalistic. The Naumburg figures share with most mid-thirteenth century tomb portraits an idealized age—children as children and elderly figures as

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1   Sauerländer 1979.
2   Laqueur 2015, 4 and 21–2.
3   Fozi 2016, 45.
4   Jung 2013, 64 and Mann 1961, 211.
5   For medieval German tombs, see Panofsky 1964; Bauch 1976; and Meier, Schmid, and Schwarz 2000.

FIGURE 6.6   Tomb of Henry the Lion and Mathilde, Cathedral of St. Blasius, Braunschweig,
                 c. 1230–50
                 PHOTO: DADEROT; ARTWORK IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

elderly are practically non-existent in the period. The clothing and accoutre-
ments indicating status are also typical of memorial sculpture.[6] The insistent
lifelikeness of the sculptures, though, highlights the degree to which (the idea
of) these ancestors remained essential to the functioning of the cathedral and
the town long after their death.

   The representation of the founder figures within the space of the choir indi-
cates their elevated spiritual status. As Naumburg's main altar was in the east
choir during the Middle Ages, the purpose of the second choir in the west is
unclear. There is some evidence that the west choir altar was dedicated to the
Virgin, and the choir space may have been used especially by canons dedicated
to her.[7] In double-choired medieval churches, the secondary choir (usually, as
at Naumburg, the west choir) typically served a memorial function, and one
that was often specific to early financial supporters of the particular church in
which they were honored.[8] Secondary choirs, like the high choirs in the same

6   See Binski 1996, 92–115.
7   Mann 1961, 162 and Lehmann 1997, 24–5.
8   Mann 1961, 221. Lehmann 1997, 55–6 suggests that the main function of the Naumburg west
    choir was to hold services commemorating the "founders."

churches and like church choirs generally, were dedicated to a patron saint and included imagery of saints, and sometimes also of donors.[9] The double-choired cathedral in Meissen, approximately 135 km east of Naumburg, offers a useful comparison to Naumburg. Four figures, often attributed to the Naumburg Master, sculpted in the east choir represent the cathedral founders King Otto I and his wife Queen Adelheid on the north wall and John the Evangelist and Bishop Donatus on the south (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). John the Evangelist is of course one of the most important saints in all of Christianity, while Bishop Donatus and Adelheid were both saints of local importance.[10] Otto, as a Saxon emperor and the founder of Meissen cathedral, is a notable exception among this saintly cohort. In the Naumburg west choir itself, the stained-glass windows are filled with images of saints alongside personifications of virtues and vices. The only uncanonized figures, aside from personifications and defeated evildoers, are blesseds.[11] More generally, representations of uncanonized laity in church choirs—whether primary, secondary, or only—are rare.[12] Thus both by their presence in a cathedral choir and by association with the saintly figures surrounding them, the Naumburg founder figures are in the company of saints.

What, then, was the purpose of elevating these uncanonized lay folk within this sacred space? There is no evidence that the figures portrayed, or members of their families, provided the money for the effigies. Rather, the available evidence suggests that this is a case of the bishop and cathedral canons coopting the *memoria* of local aristocratic ancestors in order to encourage donations from contemporaneous local aristocrats, whether the actual descendants of the founders or others belonging to the same class. The founder figures are especially effective as three-dimensional, life-size and life-like models of financial support for the cathedral because they represent the ancestors of the Wettin clan then in power in the region.[13] The twelve figures, based on medieval documentation and on sixteenth-century inscriptions on the shields of the male figures, have traditionally been interpreted as representations of the Countesses Berchta and/or Gerburg and/or Gepa, Counts Konrad, Dietmar, Syzzo, Wilhelm, Thimo, and Dietrich, and the Margraves Hermann with his

9   Mann 1961, 210.
10   Campbell 1907.
11   Siebert and Ludwig 2009, 79–93.
12   I make this statement cautiously, as the destruction or removal of objects during and after the Middle Ages means we cannot know the full scope of who was represented in church choirs at all times. On balance, however, I think it safe to say that most of those represented in Catholic church choirs were/are believed to reside in heaven.
13   Sciurie 1990, 149–70.

FIGURE 6.7   Figures of St. Adelheid and Otto the Great, Cathedral of St. John and St. Donatus,
Meissen, c. 1255–60
PHOTO: © VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER ZU MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND
DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ, BILDARCHIV NAUMBURG. PHOTO: MATTHIAS
RUTKOWSKI

wife Reglindis and Eckehard with his wife Uta. All are nobles who lived in or near Naumburg in the eleventh century.[14] Specifically, the Naumburg bishop during construction of the west choir, Dietrich II, was the illegitimate son of the Margrave of Meissen and therefore associated with the Wettin clan, of which Ekkehard and Hermann were also members.[15] The range of appropriate emotional responses to the Mass that the donors in the west choir display would have reminded the bishop and canons of their responsibilities to care for the cathedral's relationship with the local nobility. Sculptures of the donors would have been especially effective in this role because death did not break the bonds of blood, vassalage, and religion that tied the "founders" to the cathedral canons and local elites who may have entered the choir.[16] In effect, the bishop performed Mass, and the canons witnessed it, surrounded by their own ancestors who respond to the Mass alongside them.

The enclosure of the choir behind a screen mediated the experience of those who used it. Jacqueline Jung has shown that Gothic screens united as well as divided lay and clerical space.[17] The screen separating Naumburg's west choir from the nave tells the story of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion (Fig. 6.9).[18] Small, but easily visible, reliefs across the top of the screen recall the events of the Passion, from the Last Supper to the carrying of the cross, while a large-scale Crucifixion group occupies the doorway at center and a *Christ in Judgment* is painted above. The presence of the screen created distinct viewing experiences for those who could pass through it and for those who could not. For those who could not pass through, the west screen and the choir decoration visible through its doors helped to prepare them spiritually and emotionally to witness the Mass. For those who could enter the west choir, certainly the bishop and cathedral canons dedicated to the Virgin and probably also members of the lay elite outside of the canonical hours, the additional experience of performing and witnessing the Mass alongside the sculpted eleventh-century donors reinforced the close social, political, and financial ties between the cathedral and the local nobility.

A sculpted Crucifixion filling the doorway to the choir ensured that Christian salvation was at the forefront of the choir user's mind. Christ is sculpted on the trumeau of the screen's portal, and the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist are sculpted to either side. Not only does the placement of these figures in

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14   Sauerländer 1979, Kunde and Filip 2011.
15   Sciurie 1990, 153, and Mann 1961, 211.
16   Schmitt 1998, esp. 191–3.
17   Jung 2000, Jung 2006, and Jung 2013.
18   Jung 2003, Jung 2008, Jung 2011, and Jung 2013.

FIGURE 6.9   The West Choir Screen, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, ca. 1250
PHOTO: AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER ZU
MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ

the doorway mean that anyone walking through it must pass between them, an experience that I will address shortly, but also that the sculptures are at almost the same level as anyone standing in the nave. This is highly unusual for monumental crucifixes in the thirteenth century, as they were usually hung well above eye level.[19] The Virgin and St. John are dressed in bright red and green, in polychromy that survives from the thirteenth century. Both face away from Christ and into the nave, while gesturing toward Christ in the center with their hands. Both thereby address a viewer in the nave while simultaneously focusing attention on Christ's crucified body.

Standing in the nave just in front of the first step into the choir, a viewer can see the Virgin's face clearly (Fig. 6.10). Drapery covers her head, and her dark, wavy hair hangs loose beneath. She pinches her eyebrows, creating vertical creases at the top of her nose, and opens her mouth slightly. The area just beneath her eyes is swollen, which heightens the impression of distress, but examination of the rest of the sculpture on the screen and in the choir reveals that under-eye swelling is characteristic of all the figures. More telling is a raised, vertical line beneath the Virgin's right eye, evoking a tear. Though the

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19   Lutz 2011, 158.
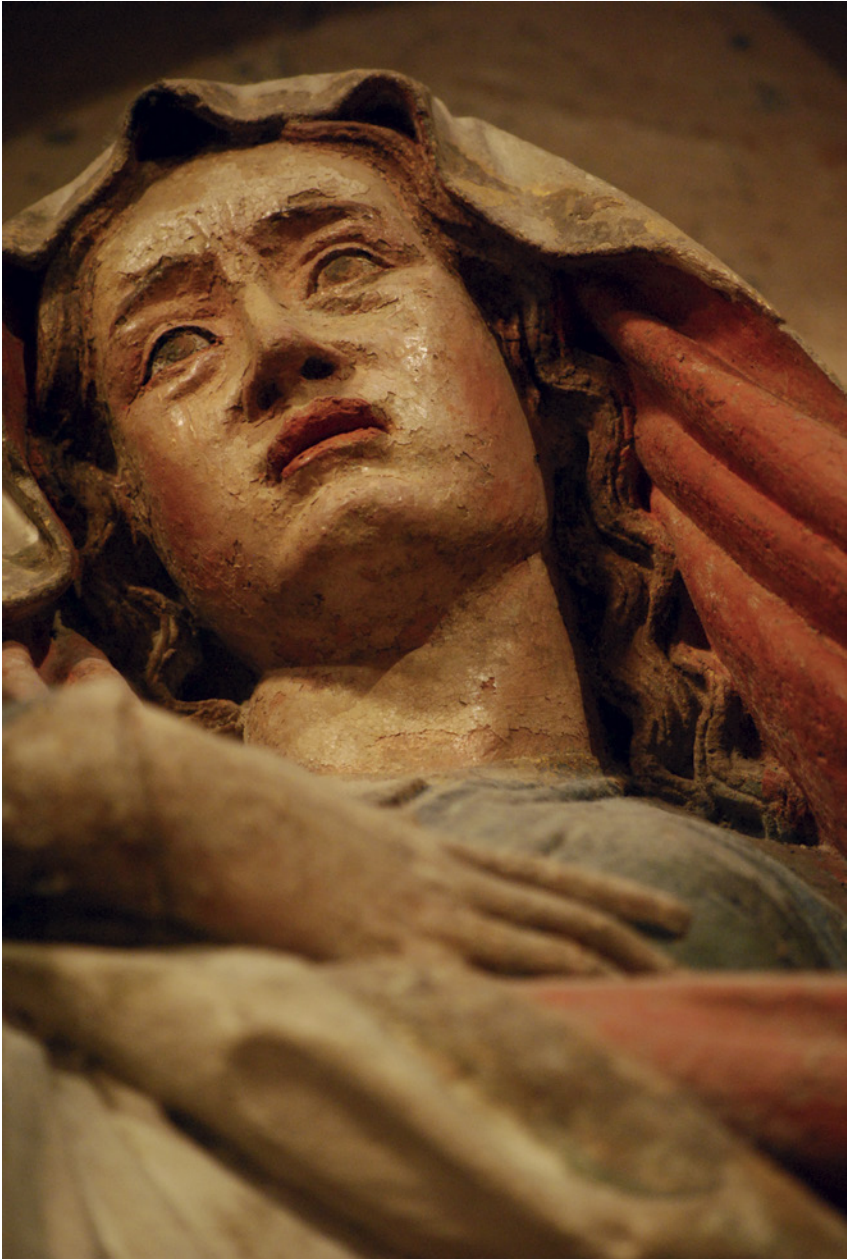
FIGURE 6.10   Detail of the Face of the Virgin Mary, from *The Crucifixion*, West Choir
Screen, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250
PHOTO: AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER
ZU MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ

peeling and fading of the paint over the centuries makes this element difficult to identify with certainty, the combination of furrowed brow, open mouth, and possible tear reveals the Virgin's emotional distress and compassion for Christ reminiscent of the genre of Marian laments developing at the time.[20]

The visitor standing here is also ideally positioned to read the face of St. John on the other side of the doorway (Fig. 6.11). Like Mary, St. John pinches his eyebrows, but in his case they are also dramatically curved. His mouth is closed and creases frame his lips. Tears are visible under both his eyes, and in St. John's case, these are very clear. Two raised lines extend from immediately below his left eye, ending at the deep fold which extends horizontally from his nose, while three raised dots appear on his left cheek. Thus his emotional distress is immediately apparent to anyone entering the choir.

Jesus's face is most legible from a position right in front of the first step into the choir, between him and Mary (Fig. 6.12). That is, a person who has just gazed at the Virgin and St. John and is now poised to enter the choir has the experience of Christ looking directly at her. Like Mary's, Christ's mouth is slightly open and, like St. John as well, his eyebrows are pinched. His head is tilted over his right shoulder, towards the Virgin. His eyes are barely open. Bright red blood drips down his face from the crown of thorns on his head, and more blood appears on his arms and torso. No blood is visible on his legs and feet, perhaps because the paint has worn off here due to visitors having rubbed his legs over the centuries. The placement of Christ's body in the doorway and his downward tilted head with open eyes encourage this kind of physical engagement between object and viewer.

Presenting slightly different analyses, both Jung and Martin Büchsel have argued that the combination of the crucifixion in the doorway and the donor portraits just visible through that doorway creates a series of pictures for a viewer in the nave.[21] In short, from the perspective of a viewer centrally positioned in front of the doorway, the portraits of Counts Wilhelm and Syzzo fill the openings of the doorway between Mary and Christ, on one side, and between Christ and the Evangelist, on the other. The viewer in the nave can also glimpse Dietmar, Hermann and Reglindis by stepping to her right, and Thimo, Ekkehard and Uta by stepping to the left. While I will not explore their expressions at great length, suffice it to say that Wilhelm, Syzzo, Dietmar, and Thimo, the four founders in the west polygon and the portraits most visible from the nave, all offer powerful expressions combining, to different degrees, anger and

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20   Sticca 1988. For the text of laments circulating in the 13th century, see Hackemann and Brandt-Schwarze 2006.

21   Büchsel 2011 and Jung 2013, 80–3.

FIGURE 6.11   Detail of the Face of John the Evangelist, from *The Crucifixion*, West Choir
Screen, Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250
PHOTO: AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER
ZU MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ

FIGURE 6.12   Detail of the Face of Christ, from *The Crucifixion*, West Choir Screen,
Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Naumburg, c. 1250
PHOTO: AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION OF THE VEREINIGTE DOMSTIFTER
ZU MERSEBURG UND NAUMBURG UND DES KOLLEGIATSTIFTS ZEITZ

sorrow. The two couples have subtler expressions. Hermann, Ekkehard, and Uta feature no distinct emotional markers, at least none that I can discern at this time. Reglindis, on the other hand, smiles radiantly, and it is to her surprising joy—barely visible from the nave—that I will turn my attention shortly.

Walking into the choir is hardly a neutral experience: Christ bleeds and Mary and John weep, all while gazing down at the viewer. The physicality of these figures makes present the reality of Christ's sacrifice. The viewer at the threshold of the west choir is the object of multiple stony gazes: Christ's bleeding, drawn face is the most forceful, but the Virgin, St. John, Wilhelm, Thimo, and Syzzo all concentrate their sorrowful or angry gazes at this viewer.

Stepping into the choir allows a release from this emotional intensity, as the viewer now encounters a range of emotional expressions on the sculpted faces of the donors and is bathed in the colored light of the stained-glass windows. In contrast to the anger and sorrow on the faces of Dietmar, Syzzo, Wilhelm, and Thimo visible from the nave, the ensemble of donors visible from within the choir offers a more nuanced response.

Margravine Reglindis's smile has been the most elusive of the emotions expressed by the founder figures (Fig. 6.3). Gesine Mierke has argued that Reglindis's smile functions both to mark her belonging to a social elite as an expression of courtly joy and also to signal her salvation.[22] By comparing Reglindis's expression with examples of women's laughter from Middle High German courtly romances, Mierke shows that multiple texts link this emotional expression with Easter. She furthermore sees the Crucifixion in the doorway and the *Christ in Judgment* above as providing context for Reglindis's smile. That is, Reglindis smiles because of the salvific power of Christ's sacrifice and because she has herself been saved. I want to take a step further and suggest that Reglindis's expression is a response to the activities taking place in the choir, especially the Mass. Several thirteenth-century texts describe Christ's Crucifixion as a cause for joy. The Mass, as a reenactment of that sacrifice, would therefore also be a cause for joy. Reglindis's smile is as much a religious as a courtly act.

Peter Abelard's twelfth-century hymns for Good Friday and Holy Saturday are the oldest surviving texts to associate smiles or laughter with Christ's Passion and Resurrection. His fifteen hymns for the canonical hours of these days all conclude with these lines:

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22   Mierke 2012.

Lord, allow us to suffer with you
so that we may share in your glory,
that we may be led into mourning during the present three days,
grant us the laughter [or smile] of Easter grace.[23]

By suggesting that laughter follows suffering, Abelard engages with a long tradition of thinking about emotions in opposing pairs which, in the Middle Ages, appears most clearly in Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* II-1.22–48, the so-called "Treatise on the Passions."[24] Aquinas pairs love (*amor*) and hate (*odium*), desire (*desiderium*) and fear (*fuga*), joy (*delectatio/gaudium*) and sadness (*dolor/tristitia*), hope (*spes*) and desperation (*desperatio*), and fear (*timor*) and confidence (*audacia*). Only anger (*ira*) is without an opposing emotion in Aquinas's list.[25] In particular, smiles/laughter (medieval Latin and the Romance languages, as well as Old English and Middle High German, did not distinguish between the two as do modern European languages) and tears are paired in a variety of texts, especially related to salvation. Most often the point is that one should focus on one's personal salvation and weep in contrition during one's lifetime in order to receive the reward of heaven, and an accompanying smile, on Judgment Day. Those who smile/laugh during life conversely will experience the tears of damnation after death.[26] A viewer standing in the choir, having just experienced compassionate grief while walking through the Crucifixion, is ready to experience the joy of Christ's Resurrection, as Reglindis does.

The recorded sermons of the Cistercian monk and abbot Leodegar of Altzelle, in the diocese of Meissen, dating to the 1220s, further reveal how thirteenth-century Saxons engaged with the idea of a joyful response to Christ's passion.[27] Leodegar was a sought-after preacher throughout the region, and spoke to members of the laity as well as to his fellow monks.[28] He focuses particular attention on the redemptive power of the Crucifixion, and thus on happiness rather than on sorrow. For example, in his sermon for Maundy Thursday, he describes the joy associated with Christ's passion: "Tomorrow, as you know, we shall celebrate the Passion of our Lord the Redeemer, and truly I have said 'we

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23 "*Tu tibi compati sic fac nos Domine/ Tuae participes ut simus gloriae,/ Sic praesens triduum in luctu ducere,/ Ut risum tribuas paschalis gratiae.*" Quoted in O'Connell 2002, 50.

24 See Knuutila 2004, with discussion of Aquinas at 239–55, and Miner 2009.

25 For a discussion of Aquinas's philosophy of anger and possible connections to the visual arts, see Ferguson 2015b.

26 Trokhimenko 2014, chapter 2 and Ferguson 2015a, 14–48.

27 The text of Leodegar's first fourteen sermons has been published in Zehles 2006, 1–208.

28 Zehles 2006, XIII.

shall celebrate' because, as the blessed Ambrose testifies, the death of Christ is the festival of the world."[29] Reglindis models this celebration through her joyful smile while facing in the direction of the altar.

The early thirteenth-century German poet Stricker, similarly to Leodegar, focused on the salvific power of Christ's wounds and on the power of Christ's suffering to bring joy:

> Your five holy wounds,
> they are for me at all times
> an eternal happiness and a blessing!
> Your holiness bears my sins [away].
> Your holy body and your blood,
> these are for me good against all evil!
> The tears that you weep
> on the cross, where you cleanse us,
> these are always my joy.
> Lord God, in your view
> my eternal peace is your suffering,
> my living existence is your death![30]

A viewer just having passed beneath Christ's outstretched arms and gazed up at his blood-covered face and body, upon stepping into the choir and seeing Reglindis's radiant smile is reminded of the good that results from Christ's suffering. That only Reglindis smiles points to the particular role of women in performing emotional work in sacred as well as secular contexts.[31] While, as Sarah McNamer has shown, compassion was especially tied to religious women in the later Middle Ages, studies of medieval literature, especially that written in Middle High German, highlight the role of noble women in maintaining courtly decorum, often by smiling.[32] In both the devotional texts McNamer

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29   "*Crastino, ut scitis, passionem Domini Redemptoris celebrabimus, et uere dixi, celebraminus, quoniam, sicut testatur beatus Ambrosius, mors Christi festiuitas est mundi.*" Quoted in Zehles 2006, 12.

30   "*dîn heilige fünf wunden,/ die sîn mir z'allen stunden/ ein êwic sælde und ein heil!/ dîn heiligcheit zefüere mîniu meil./ dîn heiliger lîchame und dîn bluot,/ diu sîn mir für allez übel guot!/ die zeher, die du weindest/ an dem kriuze, dô du uns reindest,/ die sîn iemer mîn fröude./ Herre got, an diner beschöude/ der êwige fride sî mir dîn nôt,/ daz lebende leben sî mir dîn tôt!*" Quoted in Schulze 2003, 213.

31   See Steinhoff's contribution to this volume for a discussion of the gendered expectations surrounding mourning in trecento Florence.

32   McNamer 2010. For gendered smiles in Middle High German literature, see Trokhimenko 2014. Earlier medieval texts, such as many discussed in Jaeger 1985, praise elite men for

addresses and in courtly literature, though, women's emotional performances were directed to both men and women: compassion and joy might themselves be gendered female, but men were also encouraged to access both.

Nor need we look very far to find another example of a smiling figure in a choir space. In the east choir of Meissen cathedral discussed above, both Adelheid and John the Evangelist smile (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). John's open book serves as a reminder of the salvation that results from Christ's sacrifice, the salvation offered to those good Christians who have entered the sacred space of the choir. This salvation is clearly the inspiration for the Evangelist's smile, and it is not a stretch to see Reglindis's smile in this same light. As the space of the Church Triumphant, a cathedral choir appears to be a very appropriate place in which to smile.

In addition to these broader trends, there is one instance of site-specific documentation that can help us to understand the founder figures. In 1249, Bishop Dietrich of Naumburg issued a public letter asking for donations from the laity to finance the construction of the west choir. This letter made explicit the comparison between thirteenth-century laity who might contribute to the church and the original eleventh-century donors, suggesting that donations to the church lead to personal salvation. It is therefore textual evidence that the clergy at Naumburg desired, even needed, increased lay participation while the west choir was under construction. The letter is addressed "to all the people, of both genders, as well as prelates, parish clergy, vicars, and the faithful of all stations," and lists eleven "founders of our church," whose names correspond closely with, but are not identical to, those assigned to the donor portraits and who "deserve the greatest praise and gratitude and the forgiveness of their sins before God for their initial foundation." Furthermore, the letter urges contemporaries to donate with the enticement that "it is certain that the next generation, through the generosity of their donations for the completion of church building, will be equally rewarded."[33]

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smiling. There is evidence that smiles were increasingly the province/responsibility of women by the thirteenth century and later, as evidenced in the texts that Trokhimenko discusses.

33   "*cunctis utriusque sexus, tum prelatis, tum plebanis, tum vicariis, tum omnis conditionis fidelibus … Ut quemadmodum primi ecclesie nostre fundatores, quorum nomina sunt hec: Hermannus marchio, Regelyndis marchionissa, Eckehardus marchio, Uta marchionissa, Syzzo comes, Cunradus comes, Willehelmus comes, Gepa comitissa, Berchtha comitissa, Theodericus comes, Gerburch comitissa, qui pro prima fundatione maximum apud deum meritum et indulgentiam peccatorum suorum promeruerunt, sic certum est posteros per largitionem elemosinarum suarum in edificatione monasterii promeruisse semper et promereri.*" Domstiftsarchiv Naumburg Urk. Nr. 88 (A), published in Schulze 2000, 257–8 (Nr. 236).

The presence of the donors within a church choir, usually reserved for representations of clerics and saints, implicitly aligns them with the community of the saved. Bishop Dietrich's letter similarly implies that the founders are in heaven. Created before Purgatory was established doctrine, these figures demonstrated that donating to the church was an effective means to achieve heaven upon death. Though monks and theologians had fully developed the concept of Purgatory by about 1200, it was not until the Council of Lyons in 1274 that it achieved official status.[34] In ca. 1250 Naumburg, the parameters of who went to Purgatory and for how long seem still to have been flexible.[35] The Naumburg founder figures, including a smiling Reglindis, occupy the Church Triumphant despite not having been canonized. Surrounded by saints represented in the windows, they appear already as part of the heavenly community.

Conclusion

The living dead and the joy of the crucifixion at Naumburg have both broadly Christian and specifically local, practical implications. In the broadest sense, these pairings recall what I like to call the "theology of inversion" that is so important to Christian belief. Just as the meek shall inherit the Earth, Christ's suffering and death enables the salvation of us all. In Stricker's words, "my living existence is your death!" The pairing of opposites is also characteristic of philosophies of emotion from as early as Classical Greece. Thus Christian theology and emotion philosophy dovetail.

In a local, practical sense, the pairing of joy and sorrow, life and death of early donors to the cathedral enabled the patrons and sculptors at Naumburg to emphasize both contemplation of Christ's Passion and financial support of the cathedral as enabling the personal salvation of the local lay elite. The high degree of naturalism, vivid polychromy, and animating gestures of the figures appear to bring these stones to life, almost as though they are living people standing in the choir alongside the viewer. That these figures represent, if not the actual ancestors of thirteenth-century choir users, then at least well-known communal ancestors, adds another layer of urgency to their status as simultaneously dead and alive. The sculptures emphasize the financial,

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34   LeGoff 1984, 237. For an interpretation of the Naumburg founder figures as residing in Purgatory, see Schwarz 2005.

35   Discussions of Purgatory through the thirteenth century are marked by considerable variation in terms of its location and of how much time a person might be expected to reside there. See Schmitt 1998, 179–81.

political, and spiritual ties between the cathedral canons and the local nobility, reminding both of their obligations to the other. Their presence thus foreshadows the economy of salvation that will develop in subsequent centuries, with the institutionalization of the concept of Purgatory. While in 1250 Naumburg financial support of the cathedral might guarantee one's own salvation, soon personal salvation will require the support of the community.

The Speaking Tomb: Ventriloquizing the Voices of the Dead

Jessica Barker

What is more, my beloved one, I add this, the desire of a loving heart, that when my body will be reduced to smallest particles of dust and covered with a stone, some pleasing voice giving praise and glory to you may rise from every minutest particle, and piercing the hardest stone may rise to heaven's heights, and may sound the proclamation of loving praise until the day of judgment, until at the blessed resurrection my body and my soul, reunited with one another, may be joined to praise and glorify you eternally.[1]

ound, present and absent, was central to medieval conceptions of the afterlife. The *Horologium Sapientiae*, one of the most influential and widely circulated devotional tracts from the fourteenth century, written by the Dominican friar Henry de Suso, expresses a desperate desire for an unbroken vocal connection to God.[2] In a deliberate reversal of the silence of death as described in Psalm 113 ("the dead cannot praise God; nor any of them who descend into silence"), Suso conjures a vivid image of his bodily remains

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1 "Insuper dilecte my hec adicio, desiderans corde affectuoso, ut quando corpus meum fuerit in pulveres minutissimos redactum et lapide clausum, quod de qualibet pulveris particula minutissima vox amena laudis et glorie tue exurgat, que durissimum lapidem penetrans celorum altitudinem transcendat, et usque ad extremam iudicii diem vive laudis preconium extollat donec in resurreccione beata corpus et anima pariter unita, in tue laudis glorificacione eternaliter copulentur." de Suso 1861, 203–04. Translated in Colledge 1994, 299.

2 Over 300 manuscripts of the *Horologium* survive from the fifteenth century. The Dominican friar Jean de Souhabe translated the Latin text into French in 1389; during the fifteenth century the *Horologium* was translated into Dutch, German, Italian, Danish, Polish, Czech and (in part) Middle English. Kinch 2013, 25, 35–36.

resounding with praises so potent that they penetrate the stone tomb and rise to heaven.[3] Whereas the corpse has disintegrated into particles of dust, the voice of the deceased remains intact and even pleasing. Suso's prayer emphasizes the enduring quality of the voice, describing how the same cries that resound from the dust of the grave will be joined with his resurrected body at the Last Judgment to declare God's glory for eternity. Implicit in this passage is the fact that the Resurrection itself was understood to be a sonic event: as readings from the funeral rites declare, the Christian dead would rise from their graves "at the voice of an archangel and the trumpet of God."[4] Suso's prayer also resonates with medieval ghost stories in which the enduring earthly presence of the deceased was manifested in the form of a voice, disembodied or distorted as befitted their transitional state.[5] Sound was often construed as the connective tissue between life, death and resurrection.

Despite its importance, the role of sound in the representation of the dead—and its intersections with funerary images—has yet to receive sustained attention.[6] Unlike the material remnants that continue to assert their presence in our contemporary world, the soundscape of the Middle Ages is irrevocably lost. Sound produced in an era before recording can only be studied through second-hand traces of "audible reality": performance transmuted into language and notation.[7] Notwithstanding the challenges in seeking to connect ephemeral experiences with enduring objects, the possibilities of such an approach for enriching and nuancing our understanding of medieval objects have been demonstrated in the work of musicologists such as Susan Boynton, Emma Dillon, Andrew Kirkman and Philip Weller, and art historians such as Niall Atkinson, Bissera Pentcheva and Beth Williamson.[8] This research has been enabled by recent scholarship in the field of sound studies, which has considerably broadened the range of conceptual and methodological tools

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3   Psalm 113.25. "non mortui laudabunt Dominum nec omnes qui descendunt in silentium." The same sentiment is expressed in Isaiah 38.18, one of the readings for Lauds in Office of the Dead. Proctor and Wordsworth 1879, 281.

4   "Quoniam ipse Dominus in iussu et in voce archangeli et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo: et mortui qui in Christo sunt resurgent primi." 1 Thessalonians 4:15. Dickinson 1861–1883, 862*.

5   See, for instance, the ghost of Gui de Corvo, whom allegedly haunted French town of Alès between December 1323 and Easter 1324 in the form of a disembodied voice. Caciola 2016, 291–96.

6   This is in contrast to scholars working on the modern era, who have emphasized the unique ability of the (recorded) voice to 'resurrect' the dead in the imagination of the living. See, for example, Kahn 1999, 213–20.

7   Dillon 2016, 96.

8   See, for example, Atkinson 2016; Boynton 2016; Boynton and Reilly 2015; Dillon 2012; Dillon 2016; Kirkman and Weller 2017; Pentcheva 2014; Pentcheva 2010; Williamson 2013.

available to deal with sound.[9] A particularly lively area of interest has been the relationship between the body and the voice, with Martha Feldman and Douglas Kahn drawing attention to the ambiguous status of the voice as sound that is both fully embodied, and yet also transgresses the flesh which produces it.[10] In *A Voice and Nothing More*, the philosopher Mladen Dolar argues that this paradoxical relationship enables the voice to operate at the intersection of body and soul: "the voice is *plus-de-corps*: both the surplus of the body, a bodily excess, and the no-more-body, the end of the corporeal, the spirituality of the corporeal, so that it embodies the very coincidence of quintessential corporeality and the soul."[11] The voice may thus be characterized as simultaneously alien and intrinsic to the body, representing its unseen, intangible and enduring qualities.

This essay is an attempt to recover something of the voice of the medieval tomb. Funerary monuments offer rich opportunities for considering the relationship between the voice and the body: they are artworks that not only contain *and* represent bodies, but as sculptures also explicitly seek a bodily response from the viewer.[12] Since tombs often survive in their original location and are more frequently documented than other types of medieval artworks, it is possible to search for traces of sound in a broad range of textual and material evidence, including liturgical documents, wills, inventories, poems, inscriptions, manuscript illuminations, monumental sculpture and architecture.[13] This essay draws together artistic and literary depictions of 'speaking tombs'; liturgical performances which took place at or near tombs; and sonic cues in the inscriptions on funerary monuments. Beginning with an analysis of the presentation of the voice in the Office of the Dead, it then examines the effect of these performances on the meaning and purposes of tomb sculpture. The final section offers a sonic perspective on the development of the 'transi' tomb, examining sound's ability to disrupt and complicate the meanings communicated by the monument, and thus the unique capacity of sight and sound in combination to express the temporal and material paradoxes at the heart of the theology of death in the Middle Ages. Exploring

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9   See, for example, Blesser and Salter 2007; Born 2013; Dolar 2006; Kahn 1999; Smith 2004; Smith 1999.

10   Feldman 2015, 656–59; Kahn 1999, 290–91.

11   Dolar 2006, 71.

12   For the relationship between tombs and bodies (both of the deceased and the viewer), see Barker 2016. For the vocal qualities of funerary effigies that present the deceased kneeling in prayer, see Woods 2017.

13   For an overview of the field of tomb studies and the types of sources available to researchers, see van Bueren, Ragetli and Bijsterveld 2011; Llewellyn 2013; Saul 2009, 1–12.

sight and sound in relation to the tomb affords new insights into the medieval culture of death, as well as an opportunity to explore how art historians might attend more closely to the sonic aspects of the visual arts.

1   Performing the Voices of the Dead

A chorus of speaking tombs appears in the Bohun Psalter-Hours (Fig. 7.1). This lavishly illuminated manuscript was begun in the 1360s, probably for Humphrey de Bohun, seventh earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton (d. 1373), and completed in the 1380s, most likely at the behest of Humphrey's widow, Joan Fitzalan (d. 1419).[14] The historiated initial 'V' for '*verba*' [words], marking the beginning of the Office of the Dead for Matins, contains four scenes depicting appearances of the resurrected Christ to Mary Magdalene and the disciples. Four foliate roundels are sandwiched between these New Testament scenes and the framing bars of the text block, each containing a small vignette. The uppermost depicts a stone tomb chest, its niches filled with fashionably dressed mourners: a woman bent over an open book, a man in knee-length cloak, his face obscured beneath a hood, and another, bare-headed man clasping his hands in prayer. A scroll appears from a small, dark gap in the cover of the tomb chest, bearing the opening words of Psalm 5: "give ear, O Lord, to my words."[15] The second vignette depicts another stone monument, its chest embellished with three colorful heraldic shields.[16] A wooden coffin emerges from the chest, a scroll appearing from a slot in the wood to continue the exclamation of the tomb above: "understand my cry, O my king and my God."[17] The third vignette takes the viewer into the grave itself. A shrouded body bends at the waist to sit upright, and proclaims: "you hate all workers of iniquity, for there is no truth in their mouth, their heart is vain."[18] Unlike the coffin and the tomb, the shrouded body emits two scrolls. The first undulates upwards, winding around to meet the foliate border; the second unfurls downwards, crossing the lower frame into the fourth vignette and terminating in a coil between the heads of two men grasping piles of treasure (the "workers of iniquity" to whom

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14   Sandler 2014, 3.
15   "Verba mea auribus percipe domine."
16   Sandler identified the shields on the tomb chest as (left to right): Bardolph(?), Neville of Essex, and St Owen, while the shield above the tomb is Fitzalan. In the uppermost vignette, the shield above the tomb bears the arms of St Edmund. Sandler 2014, 144–45.
17   "Intellege clamorem meum/ rex meus & deus meus."
18   "Odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem per/Quoniam non est in ore eorum veritas: cor eorum vanitas est."

FIGURE 7.1 *The Bohun Psalter-Hours*, Essex (c. 1360–c. 1373 and 1380s), British Library Egerton MS 3277, fol. 145ᵛ
PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD

the voice refers).[19] By concealing the bodies in tombs, coffins and shrouds, the three vignettes make it clear that these speaking dead are not embodied souls rising out of their graves at the Resurrection but rather decaying corpses. We hear the dead but do not see them. Although there is a sense of progressive revelation, moving from a body entirely concealed in the tomb chest, to the upper half of a wooden coffin, to a complete view of the shrouded body, the source of the voice—the corpse itself—is never revealed.[20]

These speaking tombs constitute a complex layering of voices, represented and performed, individual and communal. The chorus of the dead appropriate the words of the Psalmist for themselves, the words on the scrolls echoing the text of Psalm 5 directly to the right and below the historiated initial.[21] All of the verses coming from the tombs are concerned with the act of speech: cries for mercy, the need to be heard, and the importance of truthful words. While art historians tend to treat scrolls as iconographic symbols for the voice, the musicologist Emma Dillon suggests that their function was more closely analogous to notation: a visual sign that describes the shape or direction of a voice and that could also be used to cue sound.[22] The three vignettes could thus be understood as an invitation to vocalize the words on the scrolls, either aloud or resounding silently within the reader's mind.[23] By depicting the words of Psalm 5—the same words that would be recited by owners during their daily devotions—emanating from a succession of tombs, the marginal miniatures in the Bohun Psalter-Hours encourage readers to understand their prayers as an act of ventriloquism, of giving voice to the silent dead.[24]

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19   Sandler 2014, 191.

20   Compare, for example, to the fifteenth-century brass memorial of Joan Strangbon at Childrey (Berks.) and the tablet commemorating Henry Rosseau at St Julien les Pauvres, Paris, both of which show a shrouded corpse in the tomb and a speech scroll rising upwards, but with the face exposed. See Bertram 2015, 2: 293; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore 1993, 34, 37.

21   The speech-scrolls are based on Psalm 5, verse 2 (uppermost vignette), verses 2–3 (second vignette), and verses 7 and 10 (lower vignette). The verses that the scrolls replicate are all found on the same folio as the tombs (145ᵛ), except for verse 10, which is on the facing folio (146).

22   Dillon 2012, 209–211; Dillon 2016, 102. For the ways in which speech scrolls on memento mori objects were designed to prompt responses (articulated out loud or silently), see the essay by Perkinson in this volume.

23   Much debate has surrounded the issue of whether reading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was primarily a silent or spoken activity. For two foundational studies on this topic, see Coleman 1995, 63–79; Seanger 1989, 141–73.

24   Another purpose of the vignettes in the Bohun Psalter-Hours may have been to individualise these general commemorations, ensuring that the reader spoke in the voice of one particular 'dead'. Since the heraldic shield above the tomb in the uppermost vignette

The concept of relocating the voice from its originating source to an exterior person was central to devotional practices in the Middle Ages.[25] During the consecration of the Host, the priest performed the words of Jesus at the Last Supper, a sacramental speech act that transformed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.[26] In his account of the relationship between writing and notation in the Middle Ages, the social anthropologist Tim Ingold characterizes medieval liturgical chant as akin to "a good belch," since the vocal tracts of the singers are not understood to be producing the words but merely releasing them.[27] Devotional ventriloquism was not limited to the clergy: as Eamon Duffy points out in *Marking the Hours*, laymen and women did not speak from themselves when they prayed from their Books of Hours, but instead articulated their petitions through the borrowed words of the Psalmist.[28] The *Ave Maria*, a prayer that all laypeople would have been expected to know by heart and utter daily, involved the recitation of Gabriel's greeting when informing the Virgin of her miraculous pregnancy.[29] The speaking tombs pictured in the Bohun Psalter-Hours express the wider notion of the voice as a medium for performing the words of others, an idea that was particularly pertinent to prayers for the dead, those no longer able to vocalize petitions for themselves.

Just as the Bohun Psalter-Hours juxtaposes tomb and voice on the parchment folio, inside churches prayers for the deceased—the Office of the Dead and the Requiem Mass—would have been performed in close proximity to funerary monuments.[30] Although much lies beyond the historian's grasp (it is impossible to reconstruct the particularities of individual performances, for instance, or the aesthetic experience of sound), the basic contours of the

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       bears the arms of St Edmund and the one immediately below has the arms of the Fitzalan family, Sandler argued that the tombs must represent Edmund Fitzalan (d. 1326), the grandfather of Joan Fitzalan, who had been executed by Isabella, Queen of England and her lover Richard Mortimer, his estates forfeited, and the treasure from his London residence plundered by a mob. If this were the case, the scrolls accompanying the vignettes, particularly the reference to "workers of iniquity," would have allowed Joan to vocalise the complaints of her long-dead ancestor, performing the voice that Edmund had been deprived of. Sandler 2014, 190–91.

25   Hayes 2011, 7–8.

26   Hayes 2011, 1–2, 6.

27   Ingold 2007, 18.

28   Duffy asserts, "the voice of lay prayer in the Middle Ages is essentially ventriloquial." Duffy 2006, 104. For prayer as ventriloquism see also Reinberg 2012, 89, 139–40.

29   Luke 1: 28.

30   The Office of the Dead consisted of three Hours. Vespers was ideally prayed over the coffin on the evening before the Requiem Mass. Matins and Lauds were then prayed on the morning of the funeral itself. All would have taken place in the choir of the church. Wieck 1999, 432.

Office of the Dead are recorded in instruction manuals for priest and choir: the breviary, which dictates the order of readings and prayers, and antiphonal, which prescribes the notes of the sung responses.[31] The majority of churches in southern England during the later Middle Ages followed a version of the rites known as the Sarum Use.[32] In contrast to other liturgical offices, the Office of the Dead was replicated in exactly the same form in Books of Hours as in the breviary, meaning that the texts of its readings and responses would have been familiar to both laity and clergy.[33] Indeed, the Office of the Dead could be considered as the most 'sonorous' of all the offices in the Book of Hours. Not only does it directly recreate the words of the liturgy and is commonly illustrated by miniatures of chanting clerics, but it is also the office most frequently accompanied by musical notation, further underlining its relationship to sonic performance.[34] Even when reciting prayers in private from their Books of Hours, the memory of the Office of the Dead, performed at the funerals of relatives and repeated regularly at anniversaries of the deceased, would surely have resounded in the minds of medieval men and women.[35]

The Office of the Dead is structured as a conversation, with the spoken and sung 'voice' shifting between the second person ('we') and first person ('I'). The identity of the voices is multi-layered. Almost all the words of the services are derived from the Bible. Performers of the Office of the Dead thus ventriloquize the voice of the Biblical authors, while at the same time appropriating these words as a means of expressing the identity of different actors in the ceremony. So the second person ('we') of the readings and responses also becomes the voice of the Christian community, interceding with God on behalf of the deceased. The first person ('I') takes on the persona of the deceased themselves, pleading with God for salvation and with the Christian community for prayer. An example of these multi-layered voices can be found in the eighth lesson in the Office of the Dead for Matins. The reading is a speech by the Old Testament

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31   For the breviary and antiphonal, see Hughes 1982, 160–224; Krochalis and Matter 2001, 435, 439. For a discussion of the methodological issues in reconciling liturgical texts and performance, see Symes 2016, 239–67.

32   The quotations from the Office of the Dead in this essay are all from the final version of the 'Sarum Use', developed in Salisbury during the second half of the fourteenth century. See Pfaff 2009, 412.

33   Other prayers in Books of Hours are quasi-liturgical, meaning that they reflect church practice but in a slightly altered form. Dillon 2012, 214; Wieck 2001, 508.

34   Dillon 2012, 214–16; Schell 2011, 189–227; Wieck 1999, 433, 437–38.

35   Clive Burgess emphasizes how the repetitive nature of the sounds of the Office of the Dead, including the words of the rite, music, chants and even polyphony, would have produced a powerful mnemonic effect. Burgess 2000, 47.

patriarch Job.[36] However, in the context of the funeral rite, Job's words also take on another identity, ceasing to be the voice of the patriarch, or even the priests, but instead that of the deceased, crying to God for mercy.[37]

> *Reading*: The flesh being consumed, my bone has cleaved to my skin, and nothing but lips are left about my teeth. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, because the hand of God has touched me … For I know that my Redeemer lives, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I will see my God and Savior.
>   *Response*: Grant them eternal rest, O Lord. And may light perpetual shine upon them.
>   *Versicle*: You who raised Lazarus from the grave of corruption, may You, Lord, grant them rest. And light.[38]

When performed within the space of the church, these shifts in identity, from the voice of the deceased, to the voice of the community, to the voice of the priest, would have been enhanced by sonic contrasts. A single priest recited the Biblical reading, most likely chanted in monotone; the response was sung by a small group of cantors, often in more ornate tones; and the versicle was sung or chanted by one or two soloists.[39] Varying volume, rhythm and tone—alternating between solo and communal voices, intoned and melismatic chant—heightens the impression of multiple voices in conversation.

The effect of these oscillating vocal patterns was amplified through movement. For the Requiem Mass, the missal instructs that after the reading of the epistle three clerics should move away from the main body of singers and stand behind the head of the corpse, which would have been concealed within

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36 Job 19: 20–27. This reading is also one of the most common inscriptions on funerary monuments from late-medieval England. Bertram 2001, 196; Bertram 2015, 1: 366–68.

37 The performance of the voice of the deceased in the Office of the Dead is discussed in Ottosen 1993, 43–44; Wieck 1999, 433; Wieck 2008, 413.

38 Reading: "Pelli meae consumptis carnibus adhaesit os meum: et derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos. Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei: quia manus Domini tetigit me … Scio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et rursum cicundabor pelle mea: et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum." Response: "Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis." Versicle: "Qui Lazarem resuscitasti a monumento foetidum, tu eis Domine dona requiem. Et lux." Proctor and Wordsworth 1879, 278–79. For a discussion of Proctor and Wordsworth's edition of the Sarum Breviary, see Pfaff 2009, 425–27.

39 Hiley 1993, 54–55, 65–66; Hughes 1982, 26–33, 40–41; Ilnitchi 2001, 649, 661–63.

a coffin and mounted on a hearse in a center of the choir.[40] They are to chant the following intercessions, adopting alternately the voice of the community in prayer, and the voice of God in response:

> *Gradual:*[41] Grant them, O Lord, eternal rest and let light perpetual shine upon them.
> *Versicle*: Their souls shall dwell at ease, and their seed shall inherit the land.[42]

These three clerks are then replaced by another set of singers, now four in number, who take their place at the head of the corpse.[43] These clerics sing in the voice of the deceased:

> *Tract:*[44] Just as a deer desires the water fountains, so my soul longs after You, O God.
> *Versicle*: My soul has thirsted for the living God: when shall I come and appear before the face of my God?
> *Versicle*: My tears have been my bread day and night, while it is said to me daily: where is your God?[45]

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40   The Latin for this section of the missal as transcribed by Dickinson is slightly confused, with repetition of one of the sentences in the rubric and two clauses varying across the different editions he collated. The reading that makes best sense of this rubric is as follows: the clerics were to perform the gradual and versicle for all Masses apart from those commemorating a bishop, for which a different gradual and versicle are prescribed. If the corpse was not present, then the gradual and versicle should be sung from the choir step. Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*. For a discussion of Dickinson's edition of the Sarum Missal, see Pfaff 2009, 416–19.

41   The 'gradual' was a form of responsory chant that took its name from the fact it was usually chanted from the step (or 'gradus') of the choir. Sung by a group of cantors, it was typically a more ornate chant than the standard responses. Hiley 1993, 76–77; Hughes 1982, 29–30.

42   Gradual: "Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis." Versicle: "Animae eorum in bonis demorentur et semen eorum hereditet terram." Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*.

43   As with the gradual, if the corpse was not present the singers should perform from the choir step. The rest of the choir was to remain seated throughout. Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*.

44   The tract consists of verses from the Psalms and in the Requiem Mass was sung before the Gospel reading in place of the Alleluia. Unlike other responsories, it is sung without a refrain or response.

45   Tract: "Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus." Versicle: "Sitivit anima mea ad Deum vivum: quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem

The instruction to stand at the head of the corpse is unique to this section of the Requiem Mass. Indeed, the rubric insists that all four clerics should continue to stand at the head of the corpse for the entire performance of the tract, rather than standing and sitting alternately as was the usual custom.[46] Juxtaposing singers and corpse creates an immediate connection between the vocal performance and the body of the deceased. Although the three clerics reciting the gradual and the four clerics reciting the tract stand in exactly the same place, the significance of this position would have shifted depending on the vocal persona they adopted. The first group of singers, interceding for the deceased, gather around the one for whom they pray, while the second group of singers, adopting the voice of the deceased, stand near the head—and thus the mouth—of the corpse, the origin of its voice.

As in the Office of the Dead, the Requiem Mass alternates between the voice of the Christian community and that of the deceased. Changing the number and type of singers reinforces the idea of a conversation. Sonorous complexity, created through the layering of different voices working together, sometimes in harmonious and sometimes in contrasting ways, allows the liturgy to present multiple personae simultaneously. This effect reaches its height in the elaborate responsorial structure of the tract, in which each verse alternates between the two pairs of singers, but begins and ends with all four singers in unison.[47] Undulating between singularity and duality, unity and separation, this rich musical texture allows the deceased to 'speak' in several voices, expressing their state as both an individual and a *pars pro toto* of the imploring and longing Church.

The words, sounds and movements of the liturgy were choreographed to elide the boundary between the living and the dead. As they performed the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass, the priests and canons continually shifted between the roles of intercessor and petitioner, between praying *for* and praying *as* the dead. This multifaceted structure, enhanced by changing the rhythm, tone and number of voices, created the impression of a dialogue between the living Christian community and the faithful dead, as well as between God and humanity. In his study of a liturgical office honoring the fourteenth-century hermit and saint Richard Rolle, which was performed near the site of

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Dei mei." Versicle: "Fuerunt mihi lacrymae meae panes die ac nocte: dum dicitur mihi per singulos dies, ubi est Deus tuus." Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*.

46   "dicatur Tractus, *Sicut cervis*, ibidem ubi Graduale, a quatuor clericis de superiori gradu, habitu non mutate, nequaquam ut in aliis Tractibus alternatim sedentibus, sed interim continue stantibus ad caput corporis." Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*.

47   This responsorial structure is prescribed in precise detail in the rubric. Dickinson 1861–1883, 863*.

his tomb at Hampole Priory (Yorkshire), Andrew Albin describes how the act of "inhabiting the scriptural first person singular of the respond's pronouns and verbs" meant that the singers announced the words they pronounced as their own first-hand experiences, thus blurring the line between the celebrants and saint.[48] In the same way, reciting verses such as "my bone has cleaved to my skin" and "my tears have been my bread day and night" meant that the singers of the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass declared the plight of the dead as their own suffering, identifying the fleshy agonies of the deceased as their direct bodily experience. The funerary rites thus encouraged an intimate, corporeal identification between the celebrants and those for whom they prayed, the voices and bodies of the dead made 'present' in the performers.

2   The Soundscape of the Tomb

The conjunction of sight and sound heightened the impression of the deceased's active participation in the liturgy. Many testators in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries asked for the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass to be repeated—either in full or part, on a yearly, weekly or even daily basis—at the site of their tomb.[49] For instance, the chantry regulations of Lady Elizabeth de Montacute (d. 1354) stipulate that after her demise the prior and canons of St. Frideswide in Oxford should make her tomb the focus for a daily Office of the Dead, accompanied by a special prayer for her soul.[50] Likewise, at Fotheringhay (Northamptonshire), the foundation statutes for the collegiate community prescribe a daily re-enactment: every day the canons were to stand in two rows either side of the tomb of the founder, Edward of York (d. 1415), singing the *De profundis* and *Requiem eternam*, followed by prayers for his soul.[51] John Marshall, bishop of Llandaff (d. 1498), sought a more material connection between monument and voice. In his will the Bishop requested that his tomb

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48   The office was composed in the 1380s, a little over 30 years after Rolle's death. Albin 2016, 1035.

49   For the practice of celebrating the anniversary of the deceased with a full re-enactment of the funeral service, which had become commonplace in England by the late fifteenth century, see Burgess 2000, 58. For further examples of prayers prescribed at the site of the tomb, see Burgess and Wathey 2000, 33; Goodall 2001, 235; Luxford 2008, 115–16; Saul 2009, 128.

50   The prayers that Lady Montacute prescribed at her tomb are distinct from the daily Mass celebrated for her soul, which was said at the adjacent altar in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary. Morganstern 2000, 3, pl. 1.

51   The *De profundis* (Psalm 129) and *Requiem eternam* were sung during vespers in the Office of the Dead. Thompson 1918, 292; Luxford 2008, 115.

be situated between the choir and high altar at Llandaff cathedral, stipulating that his psalter be chained to the head of his tomb and his portoforium be chained above the southern part of the choir.[52] These two books were closely associated with the Office of the Dead: the psalter contained the psalms that made up the majority of the readings, while the portiforium was a portable breviary, containing the order and structure of the service. By physically attaching these texts to his tomb and the stalls, Bishop Marshall ensured that his sculpted effigy would be inextricably linked to these vocal performances.

Teasing apart these connections between funerary sculpture and sound relies on a patchwork of different types of evidence: architectural, documentary, liturgical and artistic. One of the few sites with such a confluence of material and textual survivals is the Fitzalan Chapel, also known as the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, in Arundel (Sussex), built in the 1380s under the patronage of Richard Fitzalan, third earl of Arundel (d. 1397) (Figs. 7.2 and 7.3).[53] The Fitzalan Chapel housed a collegiate community—comprised of a Master, twelve canons, two deacons, a subdeacon, four acolytes and four poor boys who acted as choristers—dedicated to praying for the souls of the earls, their wives, relatives and associates.[54] One of the named beneficiaries of the canons' intercessions was Joan Fitzalan, sister of Richard, and the probable patron of the 'speaking tomb' vignettes in the Bohun Psalter-Hours.[55] In a foundation charter of 1387 Richard Fitzalan set down precise instructions for the liturgical programme to be followed by his community; the Earl ordered that a daily, spoken Mass for the dead was to be performed, with special collects for the founders, benefactors and all the faithful dead.[56] In addition, every day after celebrating High Mass and reciting the hours in the chancel, the priests and

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52 Gray 2013, 339, 343; Will of John Marshall 1493.

53 The Fitzalan Chapel occupies the east end of the parish church of St Nicholas. The College was founded by Richard Fitzalan on 1 April 1380 through the will of his father, and the Chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity on the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1387. Its Lady Chapel was not completed until c. 1421. Elvins 1981, 54–70; Page 1973, 108–09; Plumley 2014, 5–7; Robinson 2008, 88–92; St John Hope 1909, 61–64.

54 The full list of anniversaries ordered to be celebrated in the 1387 charter: Edward III, King of England; Richard Fitzalan, third earl of Arundel (father of the founder); Eleanor of Lancaster (mother of the founder); Elizabeth de Bohun (wife of the founder); John Arundel (brother of the founder); William Reade, bishop of Chichester; Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely (brother of the founder); Joan Fitzalan, countess of Hereford and Essex (sister of the founder); and Alice Fitzalan, Countess of Kent (sister of the founder). Fundatio et Ordinatio Collegii Arundell 1387, 4, 11.

55 Sandler argues that the 'speaking tombs' belong to the second phase of the manuscript's production, which took place sometime in the 1380s under the patronage of John Fitzalan. Sandler 2014, 190.

56 Fundatio et Ordinatio Collegii Arundell 1387, 11.

FIGURE 7.2 Fitzalan Chapel (1380–87, with its Lady Chapel complete by c. 1421), Church of
St Nicholas, Arundel, Sussex
PHOTO: THE CONWAY LIBRARY, COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART
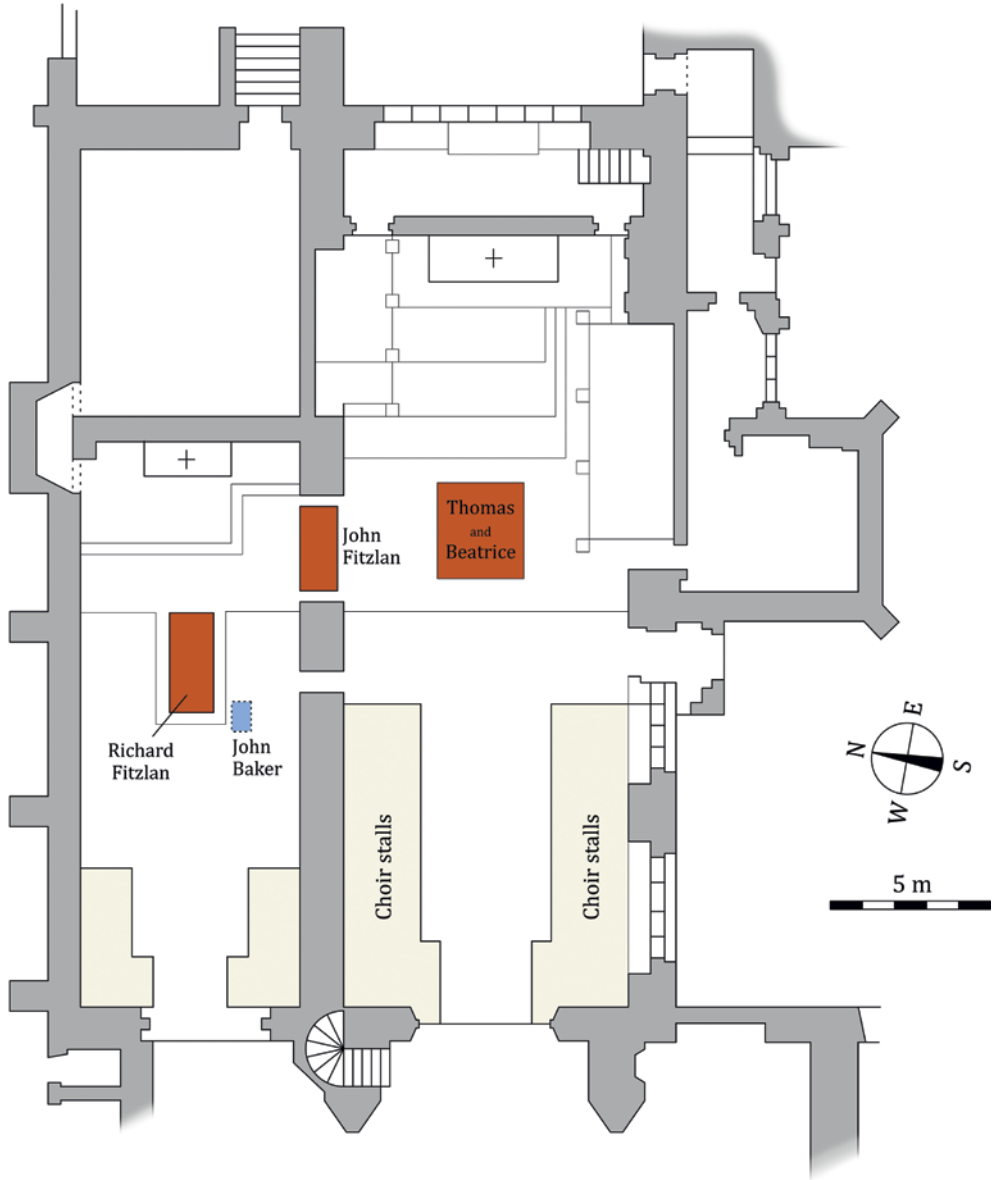
FIGURE 7.3 Plan of the Fitzalan Chapel, indicating location of the memorials discussed
PHOTO: © MATILDE GRIMALDI

chaplains were instructed to recite Psalm 129 from the Office of the Dead, the *De profundis*, with the prayers *Pater noster* and *Ave*, and the usual versicles, followed by further prayers led by the priest who had celebrated Mass.[57]

The *De profundis* was the passage from the Office of the Dead that medieval patrons most frequently requested to be performed at the site of their tomb.[58] In the foundation charter of Richard Fitzalan, the special status of this psalm is indicated by the frequency with which it is to be recited and by the unusually precise instructions for its performance: the priests and chaplains at the college were required to chant the *De profundis* in two groups, one standing in the choir and the other standing in front of the altar.[59] The primary theme of this psalm is the voice itself, the act of calling for help, and the need to be heard:

> Out of the deep I have called unto Thee: Lord, hear my voice,
> O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint …[60]

Like the extracts from Psalm 5 in the Bohun Psalter-Hours and the reading from the nineteenth chapter of the book of Job, the *De profundis* is written in the first person. Its original voice is that of the Psalmist, but when recited as part of the daily commemorations for the Fitzalan family the 'I' of the psalm also takes on the persona of the deceased, an identity strengthened by the fact that the opening line situates the speaker as calling "out of the deep." In her analysis of the processional hymn *Vexilla rex*, Dillon remarks on the ability of song to act as a "transformative agent," resituating the performers in an alternate time and space.[61] For the canons at Arundel, chanting the *De profundis* within sight of the memorials to the earls and their wives would have marked a moment of heightened affectivity during the daily offices, a performance during which the opulent surroundings of the Fitzalan Chapel were restaged as the dark interior of the tomb.

Situated in the center of the chancel, between the choir stalls and the high altar, the alabaster monument to Thomas Fitzalan, fifth earl of Arundel (d. 1415) and his wife Beatrice of Portugal (d. 1439) was the focal point for this vocal performance (Fig. 7.4). In a testament dated 10 October 1415, Thomas Fitzalan

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57   Fundatio et Ordinatio Collegii Arundell 1387, 10–11.
58   For examples, see Goodall 2001, 148; Luxford 2008, 115–116; Saul 2009, 128.
59   "Item statuimus, quod, singulis diebus, post magnam missam in cancello celebratam, et horas decantatas, dicant sacerdotes et clerici, qui praesentes fuerint, quorum media pars stet ex una parte chori, altera medietas ex altera, psalmum *De profundis* …" Fundatio et Ordinatio Collegii Arundell 1387, 11.
60   "De profundis clamavi ad te Domine. Domine exaudi vocem meam fiant aures tuae intendentes ad vocem deprecationis meae …"
61   Dillon 2016, 105–106.

FIGURE 7.4   Monument to Thomas Fitzalan and Beatrice of Portugal (1415–c. 1420), alabaster,
length: 253 cm, width: 146 cm, height: 106 cm, Fitzalan Chapel
PHOTO: AUTHOR

asks for his body to be buried in the choir of the collegiate chapel at Arundel
(an earlier version of the same will, written on 10 August 1415, specifies burial
before the high altar), and orders a monument to be made according to the
discretion of his executors.[62] Since the Earl's will gives no instructions regard-
ing the appearance of his monument, only stating that it should be "befitting
to his status," its design was probably overseen by his widow, Beatrice, who was
also one of his named executors. The style of the memorial suggests that it was
made by the sculptors Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton, who ran a special-
ized tomb workshop near the alabaster quarries in Chellaston, Derbyshire and
were responsible for a number of aristocratic tombs in the second decade of
the fifteenth century.[63] Whereas most other memorials linked to the Prentys

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62   "… et corpus meum sepeliendum in choro Collegii sancte Trinitatis Arundell quando ab
      hac luce migrare contigo in quodam monumento de novo faciendo iuxtam ordinacio-
      nem et discrecionem executores meos prout eis melius et honestius videbitur pro statu
      meo expedire." The two requests in the will are not incompatible: the eventual location
      of Thomas' tomb was both in the choir and in front of the high altar. Will of Thomas
      Fitzalan 1415, 1–2.
63   Prentys and Sutton are named in contracts for the monument to Katherine Clifton and
      Ralph Green at Lowick (Northants) in 1419 and the effigies of an earl and countess in
      Bisham Abbey (Berks) in 1420. In 1414 the abbey of Fécamp (Normandy) purchased un-
      worked alabaster at the Chellaston quarry from a *maistre Thomas Prentis*." Stylistic cor-
      respondences with the Lowick tomb have led scholars to assign as many as thirty-three

and Sutton workshop have angels with heraldic shields on the tomb chest, the monument to Thomas and Beatrice breaks from the standard design, replacing the angelic host with twenty-eight miniature clerics (Fig. 7.5).[64] Following medieval notions of bodily decorum, the mouths of the clerics are firmly closed.[65] Yet they are clearly associated with vocal performance: all hold open books facing outwards, representing the breviaries, missals, antiphonals and graduals the canons would have read and sung from during the offices.[66] These miniature figures situated the collegiate canons, quite literally, in a liminal position, standing between the elegant alabaster effigies of the earl and his wife lying atop the monument and their corpses buried in the vault directly below. The tomb thus figures the canons' position as living intercessors, as humanity collectively appealing to God so that the decaying, earthly bodies of the earl and his wife may be transformed into their hoped-for resurrected bodies.[67]

Performing the divine offices imparted a greater sense of temporality to the tomb of Thomas and Beatrice, allowing its significance to shift according to the changing sonic environment. As the monument was alternately immersed in sound and silence, the miniature clerics on the tomb chest fluctuated between being active and passive participants in the liturgy. Tomb and performance would have been most closely aligned during the daily recitation of the *De profundis*, when the rows of clerics on the tomb chest acted as a bridge between the two groups of actual priests standing at the high altar immediately to the east and the choir stalls immediately to the west of the monument (Fig. 7.3). In the intervals between the offices, the miniature priests took on a different function. No longer participating in actual performance, the

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monuments to their workshop, including the memorial to Henry IV and Joan of Navarre at Canterbury Cathedral. Badham and Oosterwijk 2010, 217–29; Heslop 2012, 333–46; Ramsay 1991, 31.

64   Badham and Oosterwijk 2010, 221–22; Crease 2010, 140–41; Ryde 1977, 36–49; Ryde 1993, 69–90. Ryde's measurements suggest that Prentys and Sutton used a standard (probably pricked) pattern for the standing angels on the Lowick chest, used both the right way around and reversed.

65   In the Middle Ages an open mouth denoted bestiality and cruelty, meaning that singers were almost always depicted with their lips sealed. In terms of medieval tombs I have found only two exceptions to this rule, both from the Iberian peninsula: the kneeling effigy of Pedro I of Castile, from the now-demolished Dominican convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid, and the miniature clerics on the tomb chest of Archbishop Gonçalo Pereira in Braga Cathedral. See Binski 1997, 354; Woods 2017, 17.

66   Numerous liturgical books are listed in the inventory of the Collegiate church, including five antiphonals specified as being "for the chantry priests and clerks." St John Hope 1909, 82–84.

67   For ways in which *pleurant* figures preserve and express ceremonial performance see the essay by Xavier Dectot in this volume.

FIGURE 7.5   Detail of miniature priest, monument to Thomas Fitzalan and
             Beatrice of Portugal, Fitzalan Chapel
             PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.6   Detail of miniature priests, monument to Bishop Henry Burghersh (c. 1345), Angel
Choir, Lincoln Cathedral
PHOTO: THE CONWAY LIBRARY, © THE COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART

sculpted priests became 'sonic surrogates' for the collegiate canons, continuing their songs in silence, in much the same way as speaking tombs in the Bohun Psalter-Hours carried on the reader's prayers when the book was closed.

The connection between iconography and liturgy is supported by the fact that the motif of miniature priests seems to have been particularly favored for memorials associated with a chantry foundation.[68] For instance, the north side of the tomb chest of Bishop Henry Burghersh (d. 1340) at Lincoln Cathedral— facing the altar at which prayers would be said for the Burghersh family, their associates and benefactors—is decorated with five pairs of clerics seated on a low bench either side of a lectern, their animated gestures indicating that they are engaged in chant (Fig. 7.6).[69] Each time they entered the chapel to

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68   See, for example, the memorial to Sir John Harington and Joan Dacre at Cartmel Priory (Cumbria), c. 1340; the monument of John, third baron of Willoughby d'Eresby (d. 1372) at Spilsby (Lincs.); and the tomb of William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester (d. 1404) at Winchester Cathedral (Hants.). Cameron 2011, 10–12, 24; Luxford 2008, 115; Crossley 1921, 147.

69   Barker 2017, 126; Morganstern 2000, 109–116.

perform the divine offices, the canons at Lincoln would have been confronted with their own depictions in miniature, perpetually engaged as vocal proxies for the deceased.

The image of themselves as vocal proxy clearly had such potency that many clerics chose to continue performing this role in death. A modest brass memorial set into the pavement of the Fitzalan Chapel commemorates one of the collegiate canons, John Baker (d. 1455) (Fig. 7.7).[70] A scroll rises from the mouth of Baker's effigy with the words from the response sung after the seventh lesson of Matins in the Office of the Dead, "have mercy on me Lord, and save me because my hope is in You," re-enacting a prayer that he would have recited each and every day for the Fitzalan earls and their family.[71] When vocalizing the words of the Psalmist in his lifetime Baker acted as a ventriloquist for his deceased patrons: the 'me' would have been the effigies of the earls and their wives in the chapel, pleading with God for mercy. After offering his voice on behalf of others, in death Baker sought a vocal proxy for himself, the speech-scroll acting as a prompt for the collegiate community to direct their prayers towards one of their deceased forebears.[72] A modest memorial brass performs a triple act of ventriloquism, inviting the viewer to speak in life as the dead had spoken in life for those who predeceased him. Word, image and voice thus work in unison to reaffirm the relationship between the living and the dead; the miniature clerics, carved on the tomb of Thomas of Beatrice and engraved in brass on the pavement of the Chapel, figure a connection between the collegiate community and their deceased patrons that would have been reiterated through sung and spoken prayer.

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70   Tierney 1834, 2: 635–37.

71   "Miserere mei, Deus, et salve me quia speravi in te." The order of the sentence has been changed and the final clause substituted: in the Office of the Dead it is "Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio miserere mei Deus et salva me," a less appropriate sentiment for a memorial! Proctor and Wordsworth 1879, 278. For other examples of brasses with liturgical inscriptions, see Bertram 2015, 1: 353–66, and for inscriptions specifically from the Office of the Dead, see Bertram, 2001, 196.

72   A now-lost inscription at the foot of Baker's effigy emphasized his status as a member of the college: "Hic iacet Dn'us Johès Baker nup' socius hujus collegii qui obijt xv die Martii Ao Dni MCCCCLV, cujus, aie p'picietur Deus. Amen." Elvins 1981, 63.

FIGURE 7.7 Detail of monument to John Baker (1455), stone and
            copper-alloy, length of slab: 211 cm, width of slab: 74 cm,
            length of figure: 89 cm, Fitzalan Chapel
            PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.8   Effigies of Thomas Fitzalan and Beatrice of Portugal, Fitzalan Chapel
            PHOTO: AUTHOR

3   The Corpse as Interlocutor

Monuments and liturgy did not only work to reinforce one another's mes-
sages; the juxtaposition of tomb and sound could also be used to create ten-
sions and disjunctions. There is nothing deathly about the effigies of Thomas
and Beatrice, who lie with eyes open and hands clasped in prayer, supported
by pairs of angels (Fig. 7.8). Their two bodies are encrusted with symbols of
wealth, status and power: the Earl is dressed in robes of state with a Lancastrian
collar of SS around his neck, while the Countess wears a *surcote ouverte* and
floor-length mantle, her horned headdress so extravagantly wide that it fills
the entire canopy over her head.[73] Reciting the Office of the Dead in close
proximity to the effigies of Thomas and Beatrice would have created a tension
between the visual and vocal depictions of the dead. A recurrent theme of the
liturgy is the abject situation of the dead and their utter reliance on God, as we
have seen in the reading for the fifth lesson of the office for Matins, in which
Job/the deceased cries out: "my bone has cleaved to my skin, and nothing but

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73   Unusually for an aristocratic tomb in fifteenth-century England, the earl is shown in robes
      of state rather than armor, possibly a reference to his appointment as treasurer of England
      in 1410, the only member of an ancient comital family to hold the post. Harriss 2008.

lips are left about my teeth, have pity on me, have pity on me …!"[74] Such dis-
junction cannot have been lost on the collegiate canons as they gazed upon
the idealized effigies of the Earl and his wife, while at the same time reciting
first-person laments that spoke powerfully of corporeal decay. Chanting the
words of the Office of the Dead inclined attention away from the visible, invit-
ing the canons to reflect instead on the decomposing corpses concealed from
sight in the vault below the monument. Incongruities between the visual and
vocal personae of Thomas and Beatrice also press upon paradoxes inherent
within a Biblical understanding of the material and spatial state of the dead
'person', who was simultaneously a decomposing corpse in the grave, a soul in
the process of purgation, and one of the elect in heaven, their corporeal matter
resurrected and transformed.[75]

    This tension between the visible but silent effigy and invisible, speaking
corpse is expressed in a late fifteenth-century Middle English poem, *A
Disputation Between the Body and the Worms*.[76] The *Disputation* opens with the
anonymous narrator entering a church during a "season of great mortality."[77]
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 nar-
rator pays particular attention to the effigy, a "woman's figure, fresh and fine,"
depicted in fashionable attire with long, golden hair.[78] 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").[79]
During this dream he is confronted by 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.[80] The only surviving copy
of the *Disputation* is found in British Library MS Additional 37049, a miscel-
lany of devotional writings and images most likely produced for a Carthusian

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74   "Pelli meae consumptis carnibus adhaesit os meum: et derelicta sunt tantummodo labia
       circa dentes meos. Miseremini mei, miseremini mei…." Proctor and Wordsworth 1879, 278.
75   For debates over the status of the dead body and the 'person', see Blunk 2011; Marek 2009;
       Perkinson 2009, 144–146.
76   For a translation of the poem, see Rytting 2000. For a detailed discussion of the
       Disputation, see the essay by Johanna Scheel in this volume.
77   "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." Rytting 2000, 220 lines 1–7 [transcription], 226 lines 1–7 [translation].
78   "With a fresche fygure fyne of a woman/ Wele atyred in Þe moste newe gyse/ With long
       lokkes of Þis disceyfyng." Rytting 2000, 220 lines 21–23, 226–27 lines 21–23.
79   "In a slomer I slept taken I was in syche wyse/Rapt and rauesched fro my selfe beynge."
       Rytting 2000, 220 lines 24–25, 227 lines 24–25.
80   For a discussion of the poem as a whole, see Matsuda 1997, 158–67.

community in northern England in c. 1460–70.[81] The poem is prefaced by a three-quarter-page illumination depicting a female effigy lying atop a tomb chest embellished with colorful heraldic shields and blind arcading (Fig. 7.9). Following the laudatory description in the poem, 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.[82] 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.[83] Drawing the fabric of its shroud across its groin, the corpse attempts to preserve its modesty while the remains of its flesh are devoured by the dark outlines of insects, lizards and worms.

While the miniature establishes a visual juxtaposition between the enduring, beautiful effigy and decaying, repulsive corpse, in the accompanying text this contrast operates across different sensory registers. An epitaph immediately below the miniature of the tomb begins:

> Take heed of my figure above
> And see how I used to be fresh and gay
> Now I am turned into worms' meat and corruption
> Both foul earth and stinking slime and clay …[84]

Written in the voice of the corpse, the verses instruct the viewer to gaze upon the idealized effigy while vocalizing the wretched state of the decomposing cadaver within the grave. There is thus an implicit contrast between the *body seen* and the *body heard*, a distinction that continues in the *Disputation* itself. Whereas the description of the effigy is rich in visual detail, the encounter with the corpse takes the form of a dialogue overheard: "I heard, strange to say, all manner of jawing/ Between this corpse and the worms on her gnawing...."[85] The narrator sees the woman as an eternally beautiful sculpted figure, while simultaneously hearing her voice as a worm-ridden corpse. In the *Disputation*, like the miniatures of speaking tombs in the Bohun Psalter-Hours and the performance of the *De profundis* next to the monument of Thomas and Beatrice,

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81   Hennessy 2002, 310; Scott 1997, 1: 193.
82   "Wele atyred i*n* Þe moste newe gyse …" Rytting 2000, 220 line 22, 227 line 22.
83   For a discussion of the miniature in relation to the transi tomb, see Barker 2016, 114–16.
84   "Take hede un to my fygure here abowne/And se how sumtyme I was fressche and gay/ Now turned to wormes mete and corrupcoun/Bot fowle erthe and stynkyng slime and clay …" The verses are transcribed in full in Hennessy 2002, 313 and n. 17.
85   "Betwyx þis body *and* wormes hyr frety*n*ge/ Strangly ilk one oþ*er* corespondynge/ In maner of a dyaloge it wente." Rytting 2000, 220 lines 26–28, 227 lines 26–28. The word 'fretynge' literally means 'devouring' but here is used poetically to refer to both the actions of speaking and eating.

FIGURE 7.9 *Carthusian Miscellany*, northern England (c. 1460–70), British Library Additional
MS 37049, fol. 32ᵛ
PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD

the corpse speaks but is concealed from sight. It could thus be said to possess an 'acousmatic voice', a term famously used by film theorist Michel Chion to describe voices heard off screen, and defined by Dolar as "a voice whose source one cannot see, a voice whose origin cannot be identified, a voice one cannot place."[86] Chion and Dolar describe the peculiar fascination and authority of the acousmatic voice, while at the same time elaborating its haunting and uncanny effects.[87] Disjunctions between sight and sound in the representation of the corpse might therefore be understood as a strategy to establish a particular kind of relationship between the living and the dead: heard but not seen, the voice of the cadaver was able to simultaneously command, enthrall and repulse.

And yet, there are many cases in medieval art in which the corpse is emphatically on display. One of the most famous examples is the 'transi' tomb (so-called because it depicts the deceased in a state of transition), a form of funerary sculpture that became fashionable among certain sections of the courtly and ecclesiastical elites in England and France during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[88] These monuments purport to open the tomb chest and reveal what had previously been hidden from sight: the corpse, in fact a sculpted effigy representing the deceased as a rotting cadaver.

One of the earliest examples is the monument to Cardinal Jean de La Grange (d. 1402), which was designed before 1394 and originally located in the church of St Martial, Avignon.[89] Although only fragments survive, its original form can be reconstructed from a seventeenth-century drawing in the Vatican library.[90] Occupying the entire northwest bay of the apse from pavement to vault, this grandiose monument comprised eight registers set between two pillars, crowned by a colossal canopy.[91] One of the surviving slabs is carved with an emaciated cadaver, all jutting bones and taut sinews, its prone body tipped sideways toward the viewer (Fig. 7.10). Originally the corpse was overlooked by seven heads in various states of decay, identifiable through their headgear: two cardinals, a king, a pope, a bishop, and possibly a young prince and a burgher.[92] Situated between the corpse and the heads (now reduced to scarred outlines

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86   Chion 1999, 17–29; Dolar 2006, 60.
87   Chion 1999, 24–27; Dolar 2006, 60–71.
88   The term 'transi' is first used in the sixteenth-century contract for the tomb of Philibert of Châlons. Cohen 1973, 10.
89   Morganstern 1973, 52–69.
90   Bibl. Vat., Barb. Lat. 4426, fol. 25.
91   Morganstern 1973, 54–56.
92   Morganstern 1973, 61–62.

FIGURE 7.10   Transi from the monument to Jean de La Grange (begun before 1394, complete
               after 1402), limestone, Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon
               PHOTO: © SUSIE NASH

on the surface of the stone), an unfurled scroll bears a lengthy inscription
in Latin:

> We have been made a spectacle for the world so that the older and young-
> er may look clearly upon us, in order that they might see to what state
> they will be reduced. No one is excluded regardless of estate, sex or age;
> therefore, miserable one, why are you proud? You are only ash and you
> will revert, as we have done, to a fetid cadaver, food and titbits for worms
> and ashes.[93]

According to the inscription, the moral and didactic purpose of the cadaver
operates through sight; it is the horrifying spectacle of rotting flesh that warns
viewers of their own inevitable putrefaction.[94] Nevertheless this appeal to the
eyes is made through the voice; the inscription is formulated as a verbal ad-
dress in the first-person plural, cadaver and skulls speaking to the onlooker

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93   "Spectaculum facti sumus mundo, ut maiores et minores, in nobis clare pervidant, ad
      quem statum redigentur, neminen excipiendo, cuiusuis status, / sexus vel etatis. ergo
      miser cur superbis nam cinis es, et in cadaver fetidum, cibum et escam vermium, ac ci-
      nerem sic et nos, reverteri." Morganstern 1973, 62. See also Binski 1996, 143.

94   The phrase "Spectaculum facti sumus mundo" is a quotation from Paul's first letter to the
      Corinthians 4:9, referring to the suffering and humiliation of the apostles of Christ. See
      Morganstern, 62.

FIGURE 7.11   Monument to Guillaume Lefranchois (c. 1446), Tournai marble, length: 232 cm,
                width: 103 cm, height: 32 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Arras
                PHOTO: © ANN ADAMS

in unison. As in the Office for the Dead and Requiem Mass, the 'voice' of the
deceased in the La Grange tomb oscillates between the individual and com-
munal; the "fetid cadaver" with which the speaking subject identifies is both
the singular corpse of the cardinal and a symbol for the fate of all humanity.
Such echoes between inscription and liturgy would have been amplified by
the voices of canons performing anniversary masses for La Grange in the apse
of St Martial, as instructed by the Cardinal in his will.[95] Despite its explicit ap-
peal to sight, the "spectacle" of death on the La Grange memorial operated as
much through the voice—both inscribed and performed—as it did through
the sculpted representation of bodily decay.

Carved cadavers are unusually talkative. Speech scrolls are more visually
prominent on these tombs than on other memorials, while the inscription it-
self is more often constructed in the voice of the first person, speaking directly
either to God or to the viewer. Transi tombs construct an intimate connec-
tion between body and voice, one in which the transformation of the body
is proclaimed through the spoken word, and speech itself takes on a kind of
corporeal form. A particularly striking example is the verminous cadaver of
Guillaume Lefranchois (d. 1446).[96] More putrefied than the corpse on the La
Grange memorial, the Lefranchois cadaver is depicted with its stomach split
open to reveal a seething mass of worms, the flesh on its face already dissolved
into the sharp contours of a skull (Fig. 7.11). As well as the inscription around
the sides of the slab recording the deceased's occupation and date of death, a
speech scroll issues from the mouth of the cadaver with a French inscription
adapted from the Office of the Dead: "my only hope of salvation is the mercy of

95   Paris, Arch. nat., X1A, 9807, fol. 74ᵛ. Quoted in Morganstern 1973, 55.
96   Musée des beaux-arts d'Arras, 1993, 30.

God."[97] As a canon at Saint Barthélemy at Béthune, the same church in which his tomb was situated, Lefranchois would have recited these same words—albeit in Latin—many times. Emerging deep from the corner of the cadaver's gaping mouth, the speech scroll folds back over and underneath its skull and right shoulder, wrapping around the top of its right arm, following the line of its buttocks and legs, trailing over its ankles, and finally running along the other side of its body to end beneath its left shoulder. These elaborate undulations are far in excess of the scroll's communicative function; indeed, almost half the scroll is blank, the inscribed text only beginning at the cadaver's feet. Echoing the text of the prayer inscribed upon it, the contours of the speech scroll express the Canon's hope of resurrection, literally clothing his naked and decaying flesh. Like the scrolls issuing from the 'speaking tombs' in the Bohun Psalter-Hours, the speech scroll on the Lefranchois tomb is more than a mere sign for the spoken word. It conveys the sonic qualities of the voice, its shape and direction, as well as its intimate relationship to the body.

There is also a carved cadaver in the Fitzalan Chapel: the memorial to John Fitzalan, seventh earl of Arundel (d. 1435), located in the easternmost bay between the choir and Lady Chapel, immediately to the north of the monument to Thomas and Beatrice (Fig. 7.3).[98] This memorial belongs to a category of transi tombs sometimes termed "double decker" monuments, which picture the deceased with two bodies, one intact and idealized and the other abject and decomposing.[99] Lying atop the tomb chest with his hands clasped in prayer, the effigy of the Earl is represented in full plate armor and wears a Lancastrian collar of SS, his head supported by two angels and his feet resting on a miniature horse, the heraldic badge of the Fitzalan family (Fig. 7.12).[100] The sculpted cadaver is revealed through eight large openings in the tomb chest, each formed of paired trefoil arches and a pendant.[101] Carved from limestone in contrast to the alabaster effigy and tomb chest, this wasted figure is portrayed with skin stretched taut over bones and sinews, its ribs protruding from its chest. Despite its macabre appearance, the stone cadaver is also

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97   "J'ay espéranche de mon salut en la seulle miséricorde de Dieu." The inscription on the sides of slab reads: "Chi gist maistre Guillaume Lefranchois dit Potier, docteur en médecine, baceler en théologie, natif et vies canone/de Béthune qui fist plusieurs voyages, dist le premiere messe au Sainct-Sépulchre de Jérusalem et trespassa le 6 Octobre 1446/Pries Dieu pour son âme." Musée des beaux-arts d'Arras, 1993, 30.

98   For the unusual death of John Fitzalan and the evidence for the date and patronage of his monument, see Barker 2016, 125–131.

99   Blunk 2011; Marek 2009; Panofsky 1964, 65.

100   Siddons 2009, 2: part 2, 117.

101   King 1987, 1: 80.

FIGURE 7.12   Monument to John Fitzalan (c. 1435–c. 1445), alabaster and limestone, length:
                252.5 cm, width: 113 cm, height: 121.5 cm, Fitzalan Chapel
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

depicted as curiously alive: the corpse draws the material of its shroud over its
groin, peering out through heavy-lidded eyes. There is no speech scroll accom-
panying the Fitzalan transi. Yet, in contrast with the tight-lipped effigy above,
the cadaver is represented with mouth open and teeth exposed, creating the
impression that, like the corpse in the *Disputation between the body and worms*,
it might speak to the viewer at any moment (Fig. 7.13). The monument thus
stages the revelation—or 'disacousmatization'—of the earl's corpse, exposing
the abject and penitent persona vocalized by the collegiate canons when sing-
ing the *De profundis* in close proximity to the tomb.[102]

Scholars are divided in their interpretation of the transi, exemplified in the
contrasting readings offered by Paul Binski in *Medieval Death* and Kathleen

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102   Describing the process of "disacousmatization," Dolar comments, "the ultimate stage is
        finally reached when one actually sees the orifice, the bodily aperture, from which the
        voice is coming, the mouth." Dolar 2006, 68. See also Chion 1999, 27–29.

FIGURE 7.13   John Fitzalan's cadaver effigy (c. 1435–c. 1445), limestone, length: 181 cm,
Fitzalan Chapel
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Cohen in *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*.[103] Whereas Binski argues that transi tombs represented the annihilation and decay of the body, intended to be 'read' downwards from effigy to corpse, Cohen claims that these monuments could also be understood as symbols for the resurrection, 'read' upwards from corpse to effigy.[104] Cohen does not reject the idea that the transi could be understood as a commentary on the ephemeral nature of earthly status, but rather sees this 'memento mori' function as additional—and in some cases subsidiary—to its "traditional" role as an expression of the hope for eternal life.[105] While it is certainly true that transi tombs articulated conventional pieties, Cohen's reading does not, I would argue, take sufficient account of the shift in rhetoric they embodied: transi tombs express the desire for salvation by placing an image of the hoped-for future in contest with a figure of the hopeless present. It is precisely this change that Binski emphasizes, characterizing the transi as a deliberate inversion of earlier forms of funerary sculpture:

> Transi tombs acted as representations which overcame the erasure of the body by the effigy; they performed a kind of unmasking of that which had hitherto been concealed. Viewed in context and in time, the transi tomb was a sophisticated anti-tomb, disclosing and glossing that which had been closed and denied for over two centuries.[106]

While Binski rightly stresses the novelty of the transi, I would contend that the nature of its newness lay less in the presence of the decomposing cadaver than in the medium through which it was evoked. The abject body of the deceased was a prominent theme in the liturgy long before it was represented on memorials. As discussed above, performing the Office of the Dead next to 'standard' effigial monuments, such as that of Thomas and Beatrice in the Fitzalan Chapel, would have created the same set of contrasts—corpse and body, timeless and time-bound—as expressed in the transi tomb. Considered from a sonic perspective, the transi can be understood as the visual manifestation of juxtapositions that had previously existed across sensory registers, a sculpted representation of dissonances created through liturgical performance.

Another assumption that often underlies discussions of the transi is the notion of a sequential relationship between the sculpted cadaver and sculpted

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103   Binski 1996, 139–52; Cohen 1973. For transi tombs see also Barker 2016, 114–17, 125–31; King 1987; Lawson 1974, 519–23; Panofsky 1964, 64; Perkinson 2009, 145–46.
104   Cohen 1973, 45–47, 96–119. Compare to Binski 1996, 149–52.
105   Cohen 1973, 3–4, 47.
106   Binski 1996, 149.

effigy.[107] Yet the idea of the transi tomb as a consecutive 'narrative', to be read either from top-to-bottom or bottom-to-top, collapses when the monument is reintegrated within its liturgical environment. When immersed in the sounds of the Office of the Dead performers and congregation would have been aware of the presence of both bodies—and both states of being—at the same time. As Dolar points out in *A Voice and Nothing More*, "the voice is elusive, always changing, becoming, elapsing, with unclear contours, as opposed to the relative permanence, solidity, durability of the seen."[108] These contrasting sensorial effects disrupt sequential relationships or binary juxtapositions, instead allowing for multiple, simultaneous, and even contradictory meanings.[109] While the paradox of the transi was to display the process of decomposition in the enduring medium of stone, the paradox of the Office of the Dead lay in expressing the hoped-for endurance of the soul in the transitory medium of sound. The sight of the transi tomb and the sounds of the liturgy thus combined to express the temporal paradox of the Christian dead prior to the Last Judgment, existing within and outside time, condemned to decay and yet assured of bodily resurrection, waiting for a material renewal that had already happened.

4   Death and Paradox

To picture death is to represent the unrepresentable, to give presence to that which is fundamentally absent; the juxtaposition of stone and sound was uniquely well suited to expressing this paradox. Time is one of the fundamental differences between visual and aural perception. Although both looking and listening unfold in time, each is governed by a different temporal structure: the amount of time spent gazing at a tomb is decided by the viewer, whereas the duration of the liturgy is regulated by its composition and performance.[110] The intrinsic temporality of sound was heightened by the rhythms governing the repetition of the Office of the Dead, performed according to hourly, daily, monthly and yearly cycles, allowing the meaning and significance of the tomb

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107   Binski revises his previous argument in his most recent publication, stating that transi tombs are not 'unidirectional' but rather 'propose to us a state of irresolution between states or possibilities' (Binski 2019, 233). Unfortunately this discussion was published too late to be fully considered in this essay.

108   Dolar 2006, 79.

109   In *Sense of Sound*, Dillon comments on the ability of polyphony (and prayer) to offer "a framework for experiencing semantic multiplicity simultaneously." Dillon 2012, 285.

110   See Boynton 2015, 17–18.

to fluctuate according to its sonic environment. Whereas stone was often used to express the enduring and eternal body, the voice was frequently employed to evoke the transience of the corpse and the immaterial soul. Contrasts between visible and invisible, sounding and silent bodies drew attention to the tensions between immortality and decay. These binaries were complicated by the transi tomb, which purported to reveal the source of the voice, thus allowing the viewer to see what was ordinarily understood primarily through sound. Performing the Office of the Dead in close proximity to the transi disrupts a sequential relationship between the two bodies, drawing attention to the simultaneous presence of both decay and resurrection. Although the sound of the medieval tomb is irrevocably lost, to consider funerary sculpture without attending to its sonic environment is to miss an essential aspect of how the monument would have been experienced and its significance understood by both laypeople and the clergy. The medieval tomb was the centerpiece of a performance intended to provide the dead with a surrogate voice and a surrogate body, a proxy constructed from stone and sound.

Feeding Worms: The Theological Paradox of the Decaying Body and Its Depictions in the Context of Prayer and Devotion

Johanna Scheel

A fifteenth-century middle English devotional compilation of Carthusian origin, today kept in the British Library, conveys a rather interesting piece of poetry to us: 'A disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes'.[1] It is a dialog between the corpse of a noble lady and the worms that feed on her flesh. The tone of the poem is light and sinister at the same time: the worms are quite graphic but well educated (as they refer e.g. to the Nine Worthies) and in fact cheeky about their feast on the body while the corpse is helpless and, at first, desperate.[2] Above all, the repelling, corrupt state of the corpse and the inevitability of its consumption by the vermin are emphasized.

The poem starts in a way that is rather typical of medieval debate poetry, as narration is set in a dream-vision framework where the narrator falls asleep near a tomb in a church and overhears the disputation. The dialog recalls body and soul debates but differs in crucial points: Firstly, the soul is not mentioned at all; secondly the cadaver seems to be a specific one—not a general representation of death—and, finally, it ends on a very positive note as the corpse

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1   London, BL Ms. Add. 37049 fol. 33r–35r, ca. 1460–1470. The poem is edited in Conlee 1991, a translation to modern English was done by Rytting 2000. For a complete survey of the manuscript see Brantley 2007, furthermore the British Library provides a bibliography and the digitalized version of the manuscript: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_37049.

2   E.g.: *The Body speaks to the Worms: "Worms, O worms," this body mourned. / "Why do you thus? What makes you eat? / By you my flesh is foully adorned, / Which once was a figure fresh and sweet, / Right amiable, fragrant, and always neat. / Of all creatures I was loved the best, / Called lady and sovereign, I do attest." [...] The Worms speak to the body: "For we have no way of tasting or smelling / Your horrible, rotting, stinking waste. / All creatures find you extremely repelling / Except for us worms; we're already disgraced. / If we, as beasts, could smell or taste, / Do you think that we your corpse would touch? / Nope, we'd surely avoid it, thank you very much!"*

accepts its present status while waiting for the promised resurrection and God's mercy on judgment day.[3]

Not only is the text exceptional or even unique in its execution but so are the accompanying illuminations. Next to the introductory stanzas we find the depiction of a Carthusian monk kneeling in front of a life-sized crucifix, praying to the figure of Christ that seems to bleed freshly from many wounds; a rather common iconography (Fig. 8.1).

Yet the next four folios show the cadaver of the noblewoman standing above or below four fat worms that come out of a patch of earth facing her (Fig. 8.2). The corpse is shown as a skeleton, covered only by its taut hide but wearing a fashionable headdress. The act of disputing with the worms is shown by the turning of the corpse's skull face towards its partners in dialog and in the gestures of speech with which it addresses them. Interestingly, the worms do not feed on the body in these depictions—or at least not yet, as they seem to advance on the corpse. The quite rash outlines of the drawings convey the impression that the 'artist' drafted them just after reading the poem and thus letting his innovative imagination take charge without caring about iconographic conventions.

Actually, we encounter numerous depictions of corpses in the later middle ages. They are for instance shown in medical treatises or in books on anatomy and embalming.[4] In books of hours we frequently find nude or shrouded cadavers and funeral scenes at the beginning of the office of the dead, and since the fourteenth century the transi tombs emerge to present a new stage for displaying the decaying bodies of the deceased.[5] As within the *disputacion*

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3 Cf. Jankofsky 1974, and Rytting 2000, 217f.

4 For example two "livres des simples médecines" from fifteenth-century Netherlands and France show the corpse that is already eviscerated, embalmed and lying on a mat ready to be buried: Paris, BNF Ms. Fr. 1310 fol. 23 and Ms. Fr. 9136 fol. 181v (see www.images.bnf. fr). Other manuscripts show the dissection of a corpse, as in Jacques Despars' commentary on Avicenna's *Canon Medicinae*, 1475 (London, BL Harley MS 3807 fol. 1v, see www.bl.uk/manuscripts) or as in a "Livre des propriétés des choses" (Paris, BNF Fr. 218 fol. 56).

5 Cf. the Office of the Dead and its illuminations in books of hours Bartz and König 1987. E.g. shrouded corpses in burial scenes in some French books of hours: New York, PML MS. H.3 fol. 33 (Paris ca. 1490), Ms M.0190 fol. 001r (Poitiers 1440–1450), Ms. M.0199 fol. 172 (Angers/Tours ca. 1460), Ms. M.0231 fol. 137 (France ca. 1485–1490), Ms. M.0282 fol. 190v (Paris ca. 1460), MS. M.0453 fol. 133v (Paris 1425–30), London, BL Egerton Ms 2019 fol. 142 (Paris 1440–1450), Paris BNF Ms Smith-Lesouef 9 fol. 349. An unshrouded corpse lying in an open grave in London, BL Yates Thompson Ms 3 fol. 201v (Paris ca. 1440–1450). For the transi-tombs see Cohen 1973; Oosterwijk 2005; Barker 2016; Blunk 2011 and Marek 2009. On the other hand, wall-mounted memorials—at least in the Netherlands—do not feature transi-images as Douglas Brine could show, see Brine 2015, 42. There are of course exceptions e.g. the epitaph of Saint-Omer, ibid. 19f, the brass epitaph of Bartholomäus Heisegger, 1517, Lübeck,
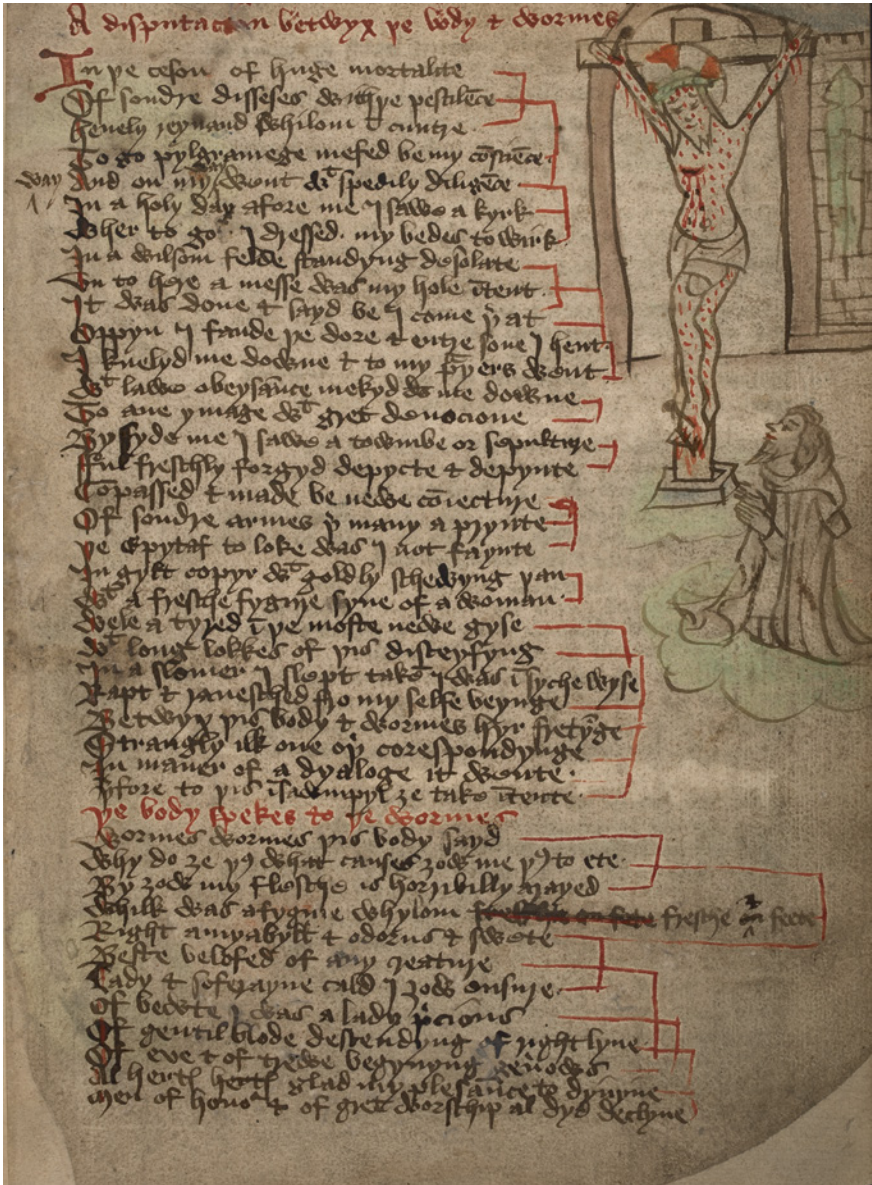
FIGURE 8.1   A Carthusian Monk kneeling before a Crucifixus; A disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes, Religious Miscellany, ca. 1460–1470. London, British Library, MS. Add. 37049, fol. 33
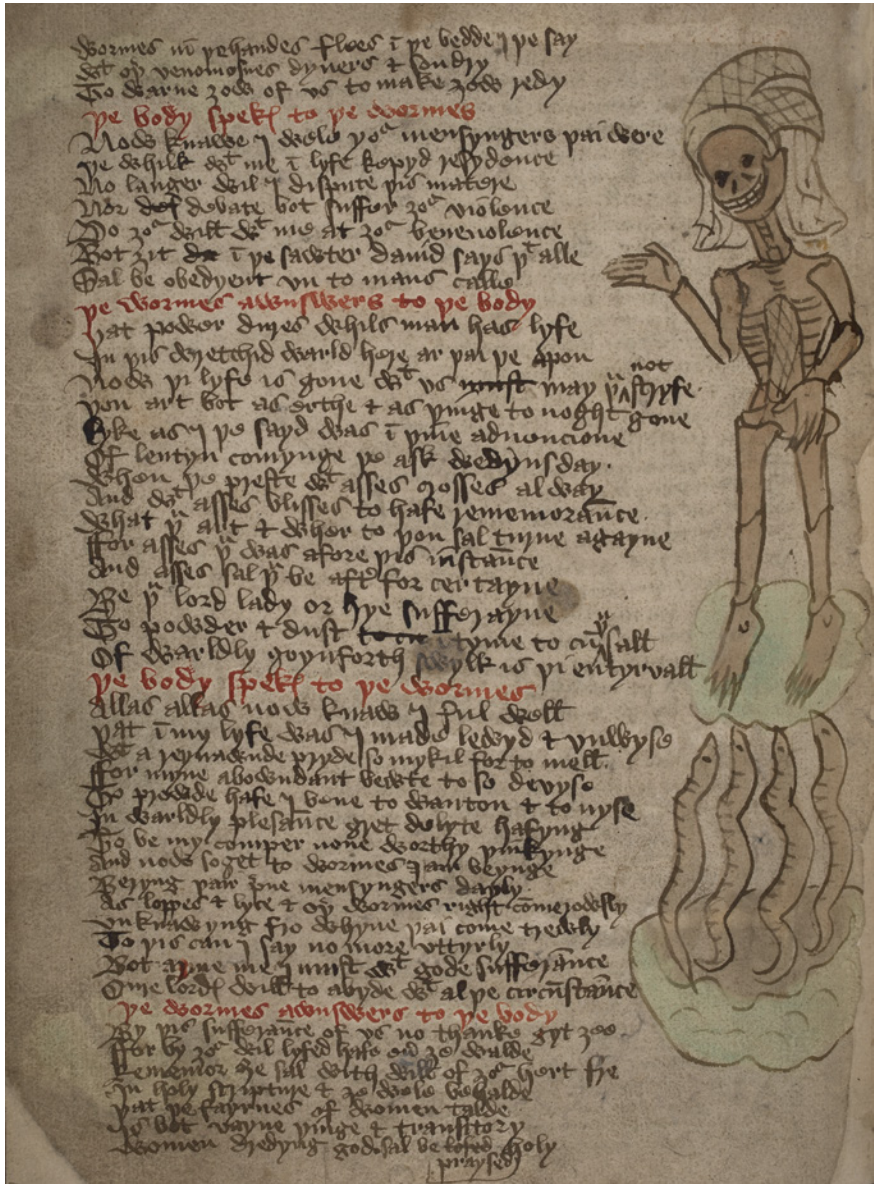
FIGURE 8.2 The Corpse of a Noblewoman disputes with the Worms The Corpse and the Worms; A disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes, Religious Miscellany, ca. 1460–1470. London, British Library, MS. Add. 37049, fol. 34v

FIGURE 8.3
Death attacking a Man over a decaying Corpse; Office
of the Dead, Book of Hours, mid. 15th century Caen,
Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 0849 (in-4° 320), fol. 117v

the cadavers sometimes are already decomposing and worm-riddled (Fig. 8.3).
This kind of iconography is to be clearly distinguished from the depiction of
Death personified.[6] The former is the depiction of the natural decay of mortal
bodies that are hence shown motionless and unanimated. Death on the other
hand is an acting "person", an entity that only takes on the appearance of a
skeleton or decaying, worm-eaten corpse. He is capable of speaking, pursu-
ing and attacking his victims with a spear or with arrows and scythe.[7] This
distinction becomes clear in this miniature that opens the Office of the Dead
in a Book of Hours: At the background a shrouded corpse is laid in his grave
while the funerary priest speaks a prayer. In the front a nude, worm-riddled
cadaver is revealed lying in his open sarcophagus. Between these two scenes
Death pursues a richly dressed man with his spear. As the attendants of the ser-
vice in the background do not notice this dramatic scene, we may deduce that

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St. Annen Museum, or the curved panel painting in the Frauenkirche, Nuremberg, the so called
'Küchenmeister-Epitaph' of Michael Raffael by Michel Wolgemut, 1489, see below note 38.

6   Cf. Kiening 1995.

7   For Death with a spear see New York, PML Ms. M.0220 fol. 81 (Rouen, ca. 1500), MS. M.0359
    fol. 123v (Paris 1430–1435), London, BL Egerton Ms 2019 fol. 142 (Paris 1440–1450), Paris BNF
    MS Fr. 9140 fol. 102v (France 1480). For Death with arrows see New York, PML Ms. M.1160
    fol. 105 (Rouen 1460–1470), Ms. M.0002 fol. 129 (France, late 15th cent.) and Ms. M.0677
    fol. 245r (Bourges 1470–1480), London, BL Add. Ms. 28962 fol. 378v (Valencia 1436–1444).
    For Death with the scythe see e.g. in the book of hours of Peter de Bretagne (1455–1457),
    Paris BNF Ms. lat 1159 fol. 98, or on a small panel German panel painting, by the Meister der
    Aachener Schranktüren that shows a young couple on the recto and to personifications of
    death that stand above a harvest of cut off heads with their scythes, Bonn, Bad Godesberg,
    Aloisius-Kolleg, ca. 1470, cf. Scheel 2014, plate 24.

Spearman Death and his victim are meant to be shown as part of another—a metaphorical or symbolic—level of reality, conveying the moralizing message of this otherwise plain depiction of an everyday procedure that a burial is to the beholder. However, Death is to be distinguished from a corpse. Even if there are several figures of Death they are still personifications of Death as in the well-known dances of death.[8]

And yet it is important to notice that Death—as a principle—is a positive figure in Christian belief as he is an assistant and messenger of God.[9] He literally lets the faithful reflect on their mortal and transient bodies and thus scares them into contrition and repentance. The body of Death presents itself to mortals as a mirror of their future appearance. Indeed, there is an iconographic motif that develops in fifteenth-century book illuminations of the Burgundian Netherlands and France: Death—represented by two rotting corpses—holding a mirror and presenting it to the living to intensify their mirroring perspective (Fig. 8.4).[10] The young man that is shown in the miniature beholds his reflection with a gesture of humility, crossing his arms over his chest and thus seems to calmly accept this fate. That figure thus presents a role model for the praying reader of that book of hours. As the devout reader and probable owner of the book is the actual addressee of the moralizing message, Death sometimes holds the mirror facing 'out' of the illumination.[11] The confrontation between Death, the depiction of a corpse and the beholder's own living and uncorrupted body is an aid to gain self-knowledge and to stir the mind to settle on immortal values and virtues. The famous story of the Three Living and Three Dead arose from this moral trope and was—even if not part of a hagiographic or exegetical text—widely spread as illumination in books of hours and psalteries at the opening of the *officium mortuorum* since the thirteenth century.[12] It is not clear whether the Three Dead are the personified

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8   Cf. note 7, the panel painting in Bonn, or the Dance of Death as a marginal illustration in New York, PML Ms. M. 359 fol. 123v–151.

9   This we see depicted e.g. in a miniature of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, ca. 1460, Paris, BNF Ms fr. 6275 fol. 1—here God the Father appears in the sky to the dark figure of Death, giving him the Three Arrows and showing him a sealed charter, presumable with his "orders".

10   Book of Hours, San Marino, Huntingon Library, HM 1165, fol. 105r and its twin illumination in another Book of Hours, Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 507 fol. 113, both ca. 1500. Cf. Marrow 1983, Scheel 2014, 380–399, Perkinson 2017.

11   E.g. New York, PML Ms. M.116 fol. 172v (Cambrai, Belgium, 1490–1500) or M.33 fol. 181r (Mons, Belgium, 1490–1500).

12   Cf. Marrow 1983, 159, and Bartz and König 1987, 514–515. Some random examples from the Bibliotheque National Paris show that the iconography is separated from the legend and works as an illustration for the office of the dead: Ms. lat. 1376 fol. 1v–2, ca. 1480–1500;

FIGURE 8.4 Death holding the Mirror for the Penitent; Office of the Dead, Book of Hours,
about 1490. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 507, fol. 113

Death, if they are just three random corpses or perhaps even the future selves of the three men they confront. If the latter was the case, we'd have a first precedent for the animated and communicating corpse in pious contexts that is similar to the one in our poem.

This is an interesting fact because the animated corpse presents a theological paradox: If it is Christian belief that the soul leaves the mortal body immediately after death, who or what is it that actually animates the corpse?[13]

The notion that death entailed the separation of body and soul was derived from patristic writing and other exegetical treatises, and is conveyed into a widespread iconography: in deathbed scenes, for instance, such as those in the *Ars Moriendi* representations, or in the depiction of burials, such as those illustrating the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours. In such imagery, the soul appears in the form of a small but sound nude body exiting the cadaver; often it is harassed by devils but finally carried away by angels. Having been separated, the soul and the body spend the time until the Resurrection of the dead at Judgment Day in different spaces. In textual descriptions, the soul is sent to purgatory to repent and to cleanse itself from its sins, while in visual depictions—as mentioned above—it is often carried off by angels either directly from the corpse or out of purgatory.[14] The cadaver, meanwhile, remains at the terrestrial burial site, where it is subject to decay. It remains a fact that

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Ms. lat. 1415 fol. 81; Ms. Nal. 3187 fol. 139v, ca. 1470–1475; Ms. Smith Lesouef 33 fol. 100v, ca. 1480; also in the following books of hours: Ms. lat. 920, 1416, 13289, 13299, 18017 and 18020, cf. Leroquais 1972, LXXII. Also in New York, PML Ms. M.0220 fol. 81 (Rouen, ca. 1500). For a short survey of the legend see Binski 2001, 134–138. Perhaps the most famous illumination is fol. 127v of the De Lisle Psalter, London, BL Arundel Ms. 83, from the first half of the fourteenth century. Cf. Parkinson 2014, also to other images of the macabre, especially in England.

13   Nancy Caciola touches on the same question with her collection and analysis of medieval stories about revenants and ghosts in medieval culture, see Caciola 1996. She notices a gap between texts concerning that phenomenon by theological theory and learned medical traditions and sources from lay society. While the theologians and learned men speak of animated bodies as demonical infestations the lay sources either do not concern themselves with that detail or they speak of a lingering of the deceased men's or women's souls. These latter revenants are characterized as vicious people in life. In contrast to our example from the Carthusian Miscellany their decay does not bother them and does not stop them. They are characterized by their vicious attempts to harry the living instead of crying for their help or looking for redemption as the Lady of our poem. Even if the Lady confesses to some sins in life such as vanity, she does not need others to buy indulgences for her or sprinkle her with holy water to put her to rest, as Caciola tells us from her examples. The Lady furthermore is not wandering or addressing a living person—the dreaming monk is characterized as a bystander and he is not terrified by his dream.

14   See some examples from France, about 1440–1450: London, BL Egerton Ms. 2019 fol. 142, BL Yates Thompson Ms. 3 fol. 201v, New York, PML Ms. M.1020 fol. 98r.

the body is of no concern to the soul until its resurrection and renewal. The soul is independent of the corruptible body. This conviction is also discussed or called for in contemporary writings, as in the Middle English poem Pearl.[15]

Nevertheless, the animated corpse of "everyone" is—aside from the Three Living and Three Dead or as part of a narrative of single legends of apparitions or ghosts—a new iconography of the fifteenth century.[16] The question is whether these corpses have other purposes or an additional benefit for the devout beholder beyond those offered by the unanimated cadaver that is shown e.g. in burial scenes and if there is a different meaning to it as to the depiction of the personified Death.

The actual state of the animated corpse, especially the ability to feel the effects of decay, remains to be determined. In theory, then, the postmortem body is mere matter, incapable of initiating action or engaging in sense perception. How then can a corpse speak?[17] If it is the soul that animates the cadaver, it consequently speaks from purgatory. The stories of the All Souls Commemoration of the Golden Legend show that visitations of the dead are in fact souls coming back from that place of redemption to scold and admonish the living. However, they are called "souls" or just by the name of the deceased

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15   In the late medieval poem *Pearl* a man has a dream vision of his perished "pearl" (his daughter or young lover) and encounters her as a transfigured being in a kind of afterlife. In speaking to her he repeatedly laments her lost earthly beauty and the body that now rots in its grave. She rebukes him and exhorts him firmly not to focus on her physical remains because only the current state of being mattered. Cf. a survey of this poem the profound publication of Terrell 2008. Perhaps *Pearl* is a response to a beginning focus of lay piety on the decaying body—probably within the iconography of the transi-tombs— that the author deemed problematic from just that theological point of view.

16   See the following for stories or legends of "ghosts" or walking dead that come back to haunt or rebuke the living or that come to their aid. Sometimes these texts are illuminated accordingly. Outside narrative contexts the animated corpse indeed emerges only in the fifteenth century. Cf. Schmitt 1998, also with depictions of ghosts, who are indeed shown as corpses sometimes. Davis 1974, 327f., on the mission of ghosts, especially towards their still living family members. For Caciola 1996 see above footnote 13; Caciola 2000, is more concerned with ghosts that are in fact restless souls that gain possession of living bodies.

17   It is clear that there is a difference between theological theory and lay or legendary approaches to the animated bodies, see Caciola 1996, 3ff—howsoever, with the Carthusian Miscellany as with most of the depictions of living corpses we are moving in at least a kind of erudite sphere, in a normative environment that books of hours or prayer books constitute. Here the theological concepts take effect and legends, like the The Living, are incorporated to match it and the moralizing aims, instead of just being a ghost- or horror-story to entertain.

while their appearances are not further described—if they don't burn with purgatorial flames.[18]

It would be logical to investigate corporal decay and being eaten by worms as a metaphor of purgatory and thus to consider the presentation of the animated corpse as a part of purgatorial iconography of the tortured soul.

Theological texts of the church fathers and authorities like Thomas Aquinas about hell and purgatory are concerned with larger scale philosophical questions rather than describing single acts of tortures, as they mostly discuss the location of purgatory, the nature of the purging fire, the actual matter of the tortured souls and the paradox of the time of redemption.[19] The very few contemporary depictions of purgatory match these concepts as they depict a mostly undefined place of flames wherein the souls are shown as nude bodies that pray.[20] We find such scenes depicted—at first and yet rarely—in liturgical manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards, later within the Mass of St. Gregory and in Dutch books of hours opening the Office of the Dead (Fig. 8.5).[21]

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18 Cf. Ellis 1900, vol. VI: *Here followeth the Commemoration of All Souls*. Popular belief also has the soul sometimes lingering in the vicinity of its place of death, as a kind of ghost. But there is no evidence that it seizes its body again. Cf. Davis 1974, 33.

19 E.g. Augustin: City of God, 21; Gregory the Great: Dialogues IV, Chap. 28 ff.; Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologica, Ia-IIae q. 87. These views are also repeated and summarized in the Golden Legend, cf. note 16. See Bynum 1995 for an overview of the concepts of the body and soul in the hereafter.

20 Cf. Matsuda 1997, 94–111, for the iconography of purgatory. As art is reliant on something corporeal to depict, the iconography of the soul from the earliest Christian times (and before) is as a small, nude body—not only in scenes of death but foremost at the creation of men. The imagination of tortures in hell and purgatory are based on corporeal punishments, thus something bodily is required and shown in artistic representations. That does not mean that art spreads a common misunderstanding of theological thought but that is works with visual metaphors of something—the soul—that even theology fails to describe without metaphors.

21 For liturgical books see Borowska 2009. For the Mass of St. Gregory: A famous depiction is the panel painted by Wilm Dedeke 1496 in Lübeck as a part of a Corpus Christi altarpiece, today on display at the St. Annen Museum: The praying souls rise from purgatory with the aid of angels in the moment of the elevation of the host. See for more examples the database www.gregorsmesse.uni-muenster.de. Examples for the Office of the Dead: There is a group of vernacular Dutch book of hours of medium artistic standard, ca. 1490–1500, that show souls in purgatory at the beginning of the Office of the Dead in the M-initial vis-à-vis full-page miniatures of the mass for the deceased. E.g. The Hague, KB, 76 F 31 fol. 138r, Ms. 76 G 13 fol. 86, Ms. 76 G 28 fol. 115, Ms. 77 L 59 fol. 130, Ms. 129 F 4 fol. 70, Ms. 131 G 3 fol. 172, Ms. 131 G 5 fol. 144, Ms. 131 G 7 fol. 133, Ms. 131 G 8 fol. 137, Ms. 133 M 23 fol. 132, Ms. 133 M 124 fol. 91, Ms. 133 M 131 fol. 197, Ms. 135 E 12 fol. 115, Ms. 135 G 12 fol. 133. Cf. Veldman 2006, 170–172, for the iconographic context of these depictions.

FIGURE 8.5   Master of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden Office of the Dead and two praying Souls in
Purgatory; Office of the Dead, Book of Hours, 1475–1500. Den Haag, Koninklijke
Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 G 13 fol. 85v–86r

The classification as purgatory and not as hellfire itself may be made through added angels that pour balm on the burning souls or even pull them out of the fire in the course of intercession; sometimes purgatory is only discernible by an inscription or its textual context.[22]

In all these representations of purgatory the burning bodies are shown sound and in one piece: There are neither worms nor signs of decay. Yet through legendary visions of hell and purgatory, as e.g. the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter and the visions of Tundale, Saint Paul or Saint Patrick, another concept

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22   A rare and ostensive illustration is shown in our Carthusian manuscript, London, BL 37049 fol. 25, where the giving of alms and the reading of the mass acts as a kind of winch that draws a basket of souls up from the purgatorial fires to Christ in the heavenly city above. Cf. note 1. Another very interesting illumination, opening the *officium mortuorum* of a Dutch book of hours shows a kneeling monk who frees souls from the purgatory through his prayer and acknowledging the power of Christ to judge justly: "*Adveniat regnum tuum*". A soul is carried of safely by an angel while a scroll pronounces: "*Anima mea erepta est*". The two souls in purgatory pray too: "*Consolationes tue letificaverunt me*" and "*Miseremini mei miseremini mei amici mei*" as an angel brings them a bucket—probably filled with cooling water. The Hague, KB, 133 D 5 fol. 86v. Prayer—both from the living and from the already deceased—is shown to bring immediate effect in helping the souls in purgatory.

of hell and following—in an adoption of hell's 'vocabulary'—purgatory as a landscape of diverse horrors is implanted early and strongly into the Christian mind. Takami Matsuda speaks of different degrees of "infernalization" of purgatory in fifteenth century art, which means that purgatory adopts hellish features not only within illuminations accompanying to the above-mentioned visions or legends, but also separately.[23] In these texts and their artistic transformation one encounters diverse processes that could be seen parallel to the digestion of the cadaver by the worms: The damned in hell and souls in purgatory are boiled, roasted on spits, chopped up and skinned as if to be eaten by the devils and demons; yet they are only devoured by the Prince of Darkness, a figure that Dante's inferno and the Vision of Tundale brought to the forefront of Christian imagination.[24] Nevertheless, the victims are captured in a never ending circle of destruction and restoration; not passively decaying but undergoing active torture by the demons. Mastication and ingestion in a monstrous maw are also present in the common iconography of the Hell Mouth that is known even from early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts around the year 1000 and afterwards in many variations.[25]

In the *Disputation*, the worms who attack the corpse of the noblewoman echo this idea of eating and digestion as a punishment for the dead, but at least in depictions of purgatory and hell we find neither worms nor bodies that putrefy or decay. The fact that worms are not depicted as instruments of torture is actually quite surprising as there is a well-known turn in medieval theological thought: the worm of remorse, or worm of conscience, that gnaws on sinners.[26] In a related vein, there are the "vermis" that are part of the nine punishments of hell in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* were not implemented as worms in depictions of purgatory or hell. Instead toads and snakes occur in these places. They are common symbols of vices like pride,

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23   Matsuda 1997, S. 100.
24   E.g. the illuminations of the famous manuscript by Simon Marmion in the Getty Museum, ca. 1475, also fully digitalized.
25   Schmidt 1995.
26   E.g. Augustinus, City of God, 21, 9 or Thomas Aquinas, Expositio super Iob, chap. 24. For the use of the metaphor *vermis conscienctiae* see Breitenstein 2017, 328, 343f, and Lau 1975. Breitenstein is able to show by means of medieval sources like Otto of Freising that the worm of conscience is something that only concerns the soul and not the body of the sinner, but the torture is as intense as the bodily punishments by hellfire. In fact, the fires of hell and the worm are complementary tortures that inflict the whole being in hell. Gustav Zamore, University of Oxford, currently does research on the personified worm of conscience, Syndereisis, in Guillaume de Deguivilles Pilgrimage of the Soul; here Syndereisis as a big worm with the head of a woman comes to the tribunal of the pilgrim's soul to testify against him and to list all his sins.

gluttony and lust, respectively of their redemption. As such they also accompany personifications of *voluptas* e.g. as the German iconography of "Frau Welt" and are part of *vanitas* imagery as we see in the representation of a couple of corpses on the verso of the famous panel in Strasbourg.[27] In this sense toads and snakes that adorn the cadavers of transi-tombs may be read as a last act of confession of the deceased, who explicitly ordered their tombs to be decorated with these symbols.[28]

At this point it is important to clarify that toads and snakes are symbols of vices but worms[29] are not. Consequently, a decaying and worm-eaten corpse may express the transience of bodily existence and the vanity of appreciating its beauties but is not a picture of actual sin or vice—or only a sign of the original sin that caused men to suffer death in the first place. Thus, natural decay has no part in the textual sources or in the iconography of purgatory and hell.

There is but one exception to that rule: In the Middle English translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul* there is a passage where the soul wanders through the hereafter and comes across its own corpse.[30] When the soul addresses it, the cadaver becomes animated and engages in an argument about its own rotting and stinking condition. Again, it is remarkable that the condition of the soul is not discussed but only the state of the body. Nevertheless, the body blames its rotting state on the sins of the soul, as it says: "The stynke that thou felyst in me is nought elles but thyne owne synne."[31] Had

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27   On the iconography of "Frau Welt" see Oosterwijk 2005, 50f, 64. The Panel in Straßbourg was painted around 1470, Germany and today is at the Musée de l'Œuvre notre Dame. The *recto* of this panel shows a couple of young lovers and is at the Cleveland Museum of Art.

28   Cf. Oosterwijk 2005; Cohen 1973. That makes the results of Oosterwijks study on transi-tombs all the more noteworthy at this point: While in France and the Netherlands decaying corpses are mostly shown with worms, German Tombs feature an "extreme variety of verminous imagery". Oosterwijk 2005, 64. She is of the opinion that earlier developments of vanitas iconography (as e.g. "Frau Welt") dispose the pious beholder to these tombs, ibid. 71. Complementing the inventory of Cohen's work she furthermore states that in England verminous cadaver effigies are altogether rare, ibid. 64 and 68. That makes the illumination in London, BL 37049, fol. 32v all the more outstanding, cf. the paper of Jessica Barker in this publication. Brine even sees a connection between the mostly lacking transi-iconography on wall-mounted memorials of the 'lower' social classes to its ostentatious display in the tombs of nobility: "For them [the nobility], the appearance of humility in the face of death's democratisation was of especial concern." Brine 2015, 42.

29   For the view on worms, how they develop in the corpse and what they are made of, from texts of antique and medieval authors see Brumlik 2012, 20ff, also elaborately in Oosterwijk 2005.

30   Here and for the following quotations cf. Book two of *The Pylgremage of the Sowle*, printed by William Caxton in 1483, of which there is an annotated digital edition by Fred van Vorsselen (http://pilgrim.grozny.nl/).

31   Ibid.

the soul governed the body with more concern for virtue it would fare better now: "And yf thou haddest also holden me short, I had nought now so fowle be corrupte. For only by thy synnes it is that I am so lothely and of so fowle sauour." Decay is explained as redemption for sins. Furthermore, the body even states that "Al that I haue desyred was but only of naturell inclinacion to the countre which I come of; that was this wretchid Erthe, wherfore in erthe I leye rotid, hauyng here my very Purgatory."

In this sentence—which I find unparalleled—decay is eventually linked with the punishments of the soul's sins in purgatory, even if it suggests rather a similar than an identical kind of torture.[32] The body experiences a degree of punishment in his bodily decay that it wants to express in relation to pain the immaterial soul experiences in Purgatory. Nevertheless this appears to be more an idea that is idiosyncratic, appearing in a unique narrative, rather than a widespread belief. As it is, exceptions meet in the Carthusian Miscellany: Of the 13 known manuscripts of the above quoted version of the *Pilgrimage* one is contained in this book, on fol. 82–83. Like most parts of the manuscript, the *Pilgrimage* is illuminated with pen drawings, in this case showing the soul as a small, nude body addressing the decaying corpse face to face.

Maybe that *Pilgrimage* inspired the unknown author of the *Disputation* but it does not account for the other varieties of animated corpses. The question remains to what end the cadavers must be animated.[33]

To read the condition of animated corpses outside such exceptional narratives one has to revert to inscriptions with which the cadavers express themselves. The works of Cohen, Brine, Binski and Oosterwijk give an abundant account of the inscriptions that are placed on funerary monuments and memorials and that are all variations of the following: The deceased remind the living that they were once like them and that the living soon will be ashes and dust as they are.[34] They counsel the living to lead a virtuous life and admonish them to pray for the departed. Sometimes the corpses lament their corruption and pray for God's mercy, borrowing from Scripture, in particular by

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32   On the other hand that thinking has its logical backup in the belief that the corpses of Saints are not subject to corruption and decay—an expression of their condition that is free of sins and vices. Cf. Leppin 2012, 99, and Reudenbach 2013. This belief is illustrated in diverse depictions of exhumations of Saints, as the Exhumation of St. Hubert by Rogier van der Weyden, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

33   The Disputation only exists in this on manuscript today—thus it was not a very successful text.

34   Cohen 1973, Brine 2015, Binski 2001, Oosterwijk 2005.

using the words of Psalms.[35] While most of these corpses that are depicted in a funerary context are not animated but lying still, sometimes wrapped in shrouds or displaying various degrees of decay, this wording also appears with representations of animated corpses in contexts of private piety. One example is the standing corps of Hans Memling's so called vanitas-panels that address the praying beholder with the following: "*Ecce finis hominis. Comparatus sum luto et assimulatus sum faville et cineri.*"[36] While this corpse is not personalized and its message a version of the topical *Cogita Mori* or *Memento Mori*, we find other examples where specific individuals are presented as rotting corpses, such as the well-known transi-portraits of René d'Anjou in his books of hours.[37] (Fig. 8.6)

Cadavers like these, then, seem to speak (in vague terms) in ways that betray an awareness of their condition as decaying, but they do not explicitly tell the beholder if they deem themselves in purgatory. Indeed, there usually is no infliction of pain or punishment implied in the motif of the decaying corpse.[38] That is in line with the views of authorities like Gregory the Great or Augustine

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35   E.g. the illumination of the manuscript London, BL Yates Thompson Ms. 3 fol. 201v, shows a graveyard scene with a corpse that speaks thus: "*Circumdederunt me dolores mortis et pericla inferni invenerunt me. Sperantem in domino misericordia circumdabit.*" (Ps 114, Ps 31). Above it angels receive its soul that the figure of a devil snatches at. Binski 2001, 137f, gives an example from a fifteenth-century German manuscript that displays a shrouded corpse at the beginning of the Office of the Dead that 'speak' to God with the words of Iob 42:5–6: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eyes seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." Binski remarks that here the "macabre lends the dead his voice." 138.

36   "Behold the end of man. I am like clay and have become as dust and ashes." Hans Memling, ca. 1494, Musée des Beaux-arts, Strasbourg.

37   E.g. Paris, BNF Ms. Lat. 1156 A fol. 113v, the figure of a cadaver is standing behind hangings with the heraldry of René, wearing a crown on his bowed head and holding a scroll that says: "*Memento homo, quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris*". The same inscription is repeated in the very similar composition in the London manuscript, BL Ms. Egerton 1070 fol. 53 (France, ca. 1442), painted by Barthélemy d'Eyck. Cf. Büttner 2002; for the broader context see Ferré 2012.

38   There seem to be almost no exceptions to that, apart from two depictions of corpses that both originate in or around Nuremberg: In a book of prayer that was painted in the workshop of Glockendon, today at Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 447 fol. 4 (ca. 1520), we see a standing corpse looking down at an hourglass, opening his mouth wide in a scream (http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg447/0009). Perhaps this depiction was inspired by the so called Küchenmeister-Epitaph, ca. 1489, in the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg: This painted panel shows the corpse of the deceased Michael Raffael that is eaten up by a variety of snakes, toads and lizards and that seems to be fully aware of it as it has open eyes and a wide-open mouth. Cf. Oosterwijk 2005, 64, also digitalized (http://museum-nuernberger -kunst.de/projects/show/418-epitaph-koeniglichen-kuechenmeister-michael-raffael).

FIGURE 8.6   Maître de Rohan: Transi-Portrait of René d'Anjou; Book of Hours, 1435/36. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1156 A, fol. 113v

who both state that the dead body has no sensual capabilities and hence no ability to suffer.[39] If no infliction of pain or punishment is implied in the motif of the decaying, animated corpse, its function cannot be just to convey fear and intimidate the pious beholder.

The translation of this iconography from a funerary context to one of personal piety thus transferred some of its associations, too, but shifted them so that they could fulfill additional functions. The corrupted and ruined corpse communicates the need for salvation ("Erlösungsbedürftigkeit") of the depicted person, either explicitly through its own 'words' of prayer or through the texts that its depictions illuminate, for instance, the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours. These cadavers convey their hope for deliverance by exhibiting their decomposition and through their gestures and postures.[40] They beg in a most accentuated way to be restored as the image of Christ on the day of resurrection, as the *imago Dei* that man once was as the animated but decaying corpse itself suggests a parallel to the martyred and destroyed body of Christ: The cadavers are sometimes shown frontally as half-figures, standing in or at their coffins or facing out of the pages and thus addressing the pious beholder like the Man of Sorrows in his sarcophagus.[41] Instead of the marks of flagellation, the nude corpses show their dark, taut and broken hide that is punctured by worms. Like the wound in Christ's side, the chest cavity of the corpse is opened up, mostly at the stomach or breast to show the verminous, rotting intestines or an empty space. Other cadavers mimic in their sitting or recumbent posture Christ in Distress.[42] In books of hours these compositional similarities may be all the more obvious if these motifs are to be found in one manuscript. Even in the Carthusian Miscellany there is a depiction of a crucifix with the martyred body of Christ as an introduction to the *Disputation* and its depictions of the nobelwoman's corpse—without an explicit part of the poem calling for that illustration (Figs. 8.1, 8.2). Another example appears in the Great Hours of Rohan as the lamentation of Christ under the cross on fol. 135 shows his corpse in a composition that is imitated by the illumination

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39   Cf. Augustine, City of God, 21, 3. Gregory the Great, Dialogues, IV, 21: A courtier's cadaver burns in its grave so that the living may know what his living and feeling soul (*anima vivens ac sentiens*) has to endure in purgatory when God even strikes the insensitive corpse (*insensibilia ossa*) with flames.

40   Büchsel 2002 also interpreted the enhanced signs of old age and sickness in the donor portrait of Canon van der Paele Jan van Eyck and in the Portrait of Löwenstein by Hans Pleydenwurff as an intentional instrument to show these donors' need of salvation.

41   Cf. the figure of death in New York, PML Ms. M.116 fol. 172v and the Man of Sorrows on fol. 37v.

42   E.g. New York, PML Ms. M.0026 fol. 46; with a more deictic gesture fol. 100v, in Paris, BNF Ms. NAL 3191 (Poitiers 1455–60).

of a dead man that lies before God the Father as judge on fol. 159.[43] The corpse, whose soul has already left it to be fought over by angels and devils, furthermore adapts the last words of Christ to God: "*In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum*." (Luke 23:46) The corpse mirrors the dead body of Christ and thus conveys the hope and belief that it will rise in resurrection like him. It is shown at the height of bodily destruction and humiliation and thus at a state of maximal humility. The more corrupt and ruined this body is shown, the bigger the miracle of restoration of that body as the image of Christ on the day of resurrection.

In fact, we find depictions of corpses quite often near or in relation to images of the Passion in media of personal piety like small panel paintings, diptychs and books of hours. In these works of arts that were commissioned specially and individually for the use of one owner and user the depicted corpse does not signify a random corpse but his or her own future body.[44] This iconographic development of the animated corpse into a kind of individualized transi-portrait outside a funerary context is prepared by a theological trend in the fifteenth century: Practices of personal, individual piety that evolved from monastic customs of meditation were adapted largely by lay people in the late middle ages, conveyed to them by religious movements like the Modern Devotion in the Netherlands or the Carthusians with their concept of individual meditation.[45] In these rapidly spreading practices a new appreciation for one's own physical body—in all its conditions—arose alongside a concentration on the passion of Christ and Christ's sacred body.

Devotion is seen as a transformation of the self through the cognitive exercise of emotions in prayer. *Timor* and *spes*—fear and hope—are raised and catalyzed by contemplating one's own physical body and its emotional

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43   Paris, BNF Ms. Lat. 9471 (Angers ca. 1430–1435).

44   This individualization was achieved by the exertion of the owner's names in prayer texts, by his or her heraldry and of course their donor portraits; for examples see Scheel 2014, 203f.

45   For the religious practices of the Carthusians see Brantley 2007. The Carthusian order attached much importance to the meditation of Christ in solitude of the monk's own hermitage. The architecture of the charterhouses reflected that demand. E.g. in the famous monastery Champmol, where the hermitages all offered a view on the Well of Moses by Claus Sluter with the crucified Christ on its top. Additionally every monk had a small panel painting in his hermitage that showed him kneeling below the cross between Mary and St. John. One of these panels, the Calvary by Jean de Beaumetz, ca. 1389–1395, is today at the Cleveland Art Museum. The depiction of a Carthusian monk below the crucifix at our Miscellany, BL 37049 fol. 33r (Fig. 8.1), can be seen in this context and effectively links the meditation of the passion of Christ to the contemplation of the own body in prayer (like the kneeling monk) and death and decay.

state in its present form and by meditating on the body's futures. As we read in a spiritual handbook of the Modern Devotion, written by Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen:

> From time to time, so that fear may crucify and purge your desires the more, turn over in your mind the way in which you will come to die. […] On another occasion, place before your eyes the image of some dying man, and carefully note the form, means, and order by which he comes in death. His whole body decays, his hide grows stiff, the eyes sink in and so on. […] Then follow the bier to the burial and see how that poor body, for which so many delights were sought, is given over to the earth, food for worms consigned to eternal oblivion.[46]

This is part of the diverse exercises to instill fear in the heart of the devout. He has to imagine how to *feel* in the different situations that will come to him in the future: Dying, death, standing before the judge, coming to hell or heaven.

This convergence is mirrored in the most important medium of personal piety—the Book of Hours.[47] Here we find, firstly, the inclusion of the Penitential Psalms, rubricated as a personal prayer and usually illuminated with the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgment, sometimes with a portrait of the manuscript owner in a kneeling posture.[48] Secondly, the Office of the Dead, also rubricated as a prayer outside the liturgical context, is adorned with illuminations of the mass for the dead, the catafalque often bearing the heraldry of the manuscript owner and thus showing in fact his funeral service. To this, thirdly, the iconography of purgatory with its burning souls in prayer is added, at least in Dutch manuscripts. Gert Groote, explains the use for the praying reader as follows:

> Here starts the vigil in Dutch that is organized to the end to help the ones that went to purgatory through the friendship of God. And to help the living that read this text so that the knowledge of what is to come is imprinted on them. So that they believe, hope and love the things that are to come in glory. And that they prepare themselves and that they are constantly afraid that their days will go quickly. Thus, that they fear, are

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46　De Spiritualibus Ascensionibus, Chap. 19. Translation by van Engen 1988, 263, but with modifications by the author of this paper.

47　Wieck 1999.

48　See Scheel 2016 for the Penitential Psalms and their illumination in books of hours as an aid for the praying beholder to gain self-knowledge.

scared, horrified and trembling for the manifold sorrow, the fear and misery, that will befall the evil, so that they will work their whole—very short—lives, to shun that doom. And the vigil is also helpful because men may see these two things—the good things in love and the evil things in fear—better, and not only see them but to understand and know them. That he thus thinks about himself and is able to pray better and that he desires and loves nothing more than to plea for the ones that are in purgatory, for their redemption and to pray for the glory of God. In this way the praying of the living helps the dead and the praying for the dead helps the living to prepare for their own death.[49]

This reciprocal benefit of the living and dead using the momentum that is produced "*inter timorem et spem*" is emphasized strongly, thus it is also the logical place inside the book of hours to insert the transi-portrait of the reader as a corpse. He humbly displays his emphasized need of salvation as he is shown in a state of decay that conveys his bodily transience at its height. It is a body that is humiliated—not tortured—by death and its verminous executors. On the other hand this same body is reminiscent of the body of Christ and will be restored as His *imago* on the day of resurrection. The rare depiction of a kneeling corpse holding a mirror reflects that thinking (Fig. 8.7).[50] The mirror iconography of the fifteenth century is a complex one as it unites the theological thought of men being created as the mirror of God with the mirror as a symbol of transience. In the acknowledgement of both aspects men may gain self-knowledge. The mirror as a motif in art reflects that, and lets the beholder reflect on himself.[51]

To cite but one example of this phenomenon, we can turn to an image (Fig. 8.8) in an exceptionally magnificent Book of Hours that was commissioned by the French courtier Louis de Laval around the 1470s. The young man is shown as a gisant lying on his tomb in a dark church interior—it is adorned with his heraldry and an inscription identifies him. In front of it Louis kneels

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49 Gert Groote wrote an Old Dutch translation of the book of hours, sometimes inserting explanations on how the texts are to be read. This citation is from this *getijdenboek* concerning the vigil of the office of the death. For the text in Old Dutch see Geert Grote 1940, 155.

50 For the mirror and Death see Marrow 1983, I want to thank James Marrow for sharing the fruits of his researches with me that concern the kneeling corpse with a mirror—e.g. he pointed me to a twin of the illumination of Fig. 8.7 in a book of hours by a follower of Jean Bourdichon, fol. 68, sold at Sotheby's, 1st Dec. 1970.

51 For the mirror as an artifact, in depictions and as a metaphor in the late middle ages see Scheel 2014, 319–447.

FIGURE 8.7   Corpse kneeling on a Tomb, praying in front of a
                   mirror; Office of the Dead, one Leaf from a Book
                   of Hours, fol. 98, ca. 1484–1500. Sold at Sotheby's
                   8th Dec 1975 (Private Owner, Brussels)

as a resurrected, perfect body in full scale on the churchfloor, hands folded in
prayer and turned to the left, so that he is joining the mass of the rising dead.[52]
That this is not a common donor portrait is apparent, but how unusual it is

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[52]   In her latest paper Jessica Barker merges the tomb sculptures, the gisants, as representa-
         tives for the decaying corpses that lay below them, with Wolfgang Kemp's concept of a
         "Blank". Barker 2016, 131: "Viewing an effigy would have prompted an imaginative associa-
         tion with the corpse […], 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." Here we may have the display of the other side
         of this association that may be evocated by the gisant: The resurrected body.

FIGURE 8.8   Jean Colombe: Louis de Laval at his grave and before Christ the Judge, Book of
hours, ca. 1480. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 920 fol. 334v–335

becomes evident when we take a look at another portrait of Louis in the same book, where Louis de Laval is shown at his real age at the time of commission—he is an very old man.[53] If this aged Louis de Laval uses his book in prayer he sees himself and comes to reflect on himself in different ways: He is depicted in a state similar to his current one—as an old, soon dying man kneeling in front of Mary, praying for her intercession at the coming judgment. His failing body—preliminary to his cadaver—with its inconveniences of age and soon to be expected death make it easy for him to think about the bodily pain that will await him if he is judged to be damned. He exercises his compunction with the fear of this fate and stirs his emotions towards penitence and a frame of mind that is agreeable to God. But it is not just fear as he also sees himself in his perfect 33-year-old, firm body before the judge and may compare it with his present wrinkling and old one that will soon rot in his tomb. He may meditate on the beatification of the body and soul in heaven—even if the scene just shows that undecided moment just before his blessing or damnation. That hope is a

53   Jean Colombe: Louis de Laval praying in front of the Madonna, book of hours, ca. 1480, Paris BNF, Ms. lat. 920 fol. 50v–51, cf. Scheel 2016, 301.

main feature of this illumination becomes apparent when we notice that the joined hands of Louis extend into the framing, crossing the inscription that is taken foremost out of the Penitential Psalms exactly at the word "*misericordia*" and his gaze up to the judge crossing it at the word "*spero*"—"*I hope*".

In the context of personal piety of the praying reader and beholder his own body has become worthy of meditation in a state of death and decay, burning in purgatory and on the day of resurrection before the judge. Thus when we encounter illuminations of a kneeling and praying corpse the owner of that book of hours will look at his own decaying but hopefully praying corpse during his own personal prayer (Fig. 8.9).[54] He will, as contemporary treatises of prayer tell us, meditate on his own still living and sound body and soul in contrast to these other bodies of his. He will associate the semantic (and iconographic) field of decay, transience, death (in its various aspects) and surely also purgatory.

With this mirroring he is thus able to put himself (in all these aspects) in relation to the *imago dei* that he was designed to be and that he strives towards again. In the end—if we look at the worm-eaten, animated corpses from this perspective of personal piety and devotional practices—the paradox seems almost to resolve.

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54   Morrison 2017, 88–90, where Morrison describes the figure as "death and reader have become one," while the caption to the figure even reads "Death personified".

FIGURE 8.9 Corpse, praying at a Prie Dieu, one Leaf from a Book of Hours,
ca. 1480–1490. Copyright: Frank Boucquillon Fund—Belgium

Not Quite Dead: Imaging the Miracle of Infant Resuscitation

Fredrika H. Jacobs

Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils …
> Matthew 10: 8

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We set our snares chiefly for unbaptized children …
> JOHANNES NIDER (ca. 1380–1438), citing a witch's confession in *Formicarius*, print-
> ed in seven editions between 1475 and 1692[1]

⦙

n March 26, 1505, Christian Pfeijssanf arrived at the site of the future Sanctuary of the Madonna of Tirano carrying a small wooden casket.[2] Within it was the body of his stillborn son. Desperate for a miraculous resuscitation that would afford time for the child to be baptized, the bereft father had traveled eight days covering a distance of some 200 kilometers to a site made sacred only months earlier. On September 29, 1504, the "miraculous and apparitional" Virgin Mary had stood beside the Adda River on the edge of the north Italian town of Tirano in Valtellina and directed Mario Homodei, a "just man" of distinguished local standing, to build a church in recognition of her efficacy in releasing the town from the devastating grip of pestilence

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1 Nider, citing a confession secured by Peter of Bern, in Stephens 2003, 241.
2 Masa 2004, 61, miracle no. 5.
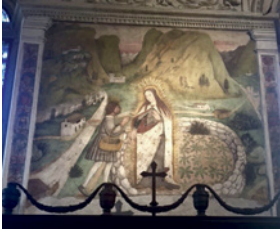
FIGURE 9.1
Unknown, *Mario Homodei Encounters the Madonna*, 1513.
Fresco. Tirano (Sondrio), Sanctuary of the Madonna of
Tirano
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 9.2
Unknown, Detail: *Mario Homodei
Encounters the Madonna*, 1513. Fresco.
Tirano (Sondrio), Sanctuary of the
Madonna of Tirano
PHOTO: AUTHOR

(Figs. 9.1 and 9.2). Within days, a provisional altar was placed on the open
ground where the Madonna had stood.[3] Six months later—one day before
Pfeijssanf arrived—the church's foundation stone was laid.[4] In the interven-
ing months, that is between Mary's visitation and Pfeijssanf's arrival, several
miracles were professed, recorded, notarized, and collected in a manuscript
that would become the sanctuary's miracle book. The resuscitation and bap-
tism of Pfeijssanf's dead baby boy (*putino morto*) was recorded as the fifth of
the Madonna of Tirano's miracles. It was also the first of what was to become
her signature *miracolo*. Between September 29, 1504, which is the date of the
Madonna's apparitional visitation, and August 1, 1519, the date of the last *mira-
colo* recorded in the shrine's miracle book, seventy-four miracles were avowed

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3   The date was October 10, 1504. Masa 2004, 61, note 96.
4   For a construction chronology, see Bormetti and Casciaro 1996, 55–103.

at Tirano. Nearly a third of them; 31.3%, were infant resuscitations. Although of brief duration, each had afforded a parent the opportunity to have their child baptized into Christ's salvific death thereby securing the infant the everlasting gift of life after death.

In the nine months following the miraculous resuscitation of Christian Pfeijssanf's son fifteen other infant boys were revived and baptized on the sanctuary's temporary altar. On one occasion the miracle book notes only, "ten stillborn infants were resuscitated" and baptized.[5] Otherwise, the scenario was recorded with descriptive regularity. Tiny, inanimate bodies were placed on the altar, prayers were intoned, then an array of physical changes attested an infant's return to life. Witnesses professed seeing ashen skin acquire a rosy hue, a trace of "living blood" issue from the umbilical cord, and tears form in a baby's eyes, which on occasion also appeared to flutter. Additionally, many claimed to have heard soft, gurgling sounds coming from an infant's lips.[6] Quickly, the infant was baptized and just as quickly the baby lapsed back into death.

Following the rash of resuscitations in 1505, the number dropped dramatically in 1506 until halting altogether in 1511.[7] Despite the miracle's absence from the written record, it nonetheless was to figure prominently in the sanctuary's decoration, appearing as ongoing construction allowed. Its first depiction was on one of the eight narrative panels Giovan Angelo del Maino carved and polychromed for the monumental Altar of the Apparition, 1519–24. Its second visualization came decades later. In 1576, Cipriano Valorsa's painting of the miracle of infant resuscitation was placed over the Aquilino Altar. While the side-chapel and its altar no longer exist, Valorsa's painting remains

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5   Masa 2004, 73, miracle no. 17.

6   The description of Pfeijssanf's son is representative. Masa 2004, p. 61, miracle no. 5. "Et stete morto per giorni octo et presentò il putino morto sopra lo altare dela prefata gloriosa Vergine Maria, et aveva la suva fazia nigra como carbon et statim, como fu presentata sopra il dicto altare, deventò colorita come scharlata et così stete tuta quella nocte sopra il dicto altare com quello colore. La matina squente cominciò a gitare sangue vivo de bombolino et lacrimare le ogi et aprire li ogi et la boca et movere la lingua et glutire il lacto et molti altri signali che ognia homo poteva videre et palpare." According to Dr. Deborah Kay, Assistant Chief Medical Examiner of Virginia, the vast majority of these physiological signs can be attributed to decomposition. General discussions about infant deaths can be found throughout Werner U. Spitz and Daniel J. Spitz, *Spitz and Fisher's Medicolegal Investigation of Death. Guidelines for the Application of Pathology to Crime Investigation*, 4th edition, Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 2006. Masa 2004, 111, miracle no. 54 adds a notable addition to the usual description. A burst of "great light like a fire" coincided with the infant's "ressucitò morte vita."

7   In 1506 the number drops to five infant resuscitations. In only two cases girls were revived. Masa 2004, 85, miracle no. 29 and 93, miracle no. 37.

FIGURE 9.3
Cipriano Valorsa, *Baptism of Christian Pfeijssanf's Son Following his Miraculous Resuscitation*, 1576. Tempera and oil on canvas. Tirano, Sanctuary of the Madonna of Tirano
PHOTO: IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

in its original location at the sanctuary's mid-point (Fig. 9.3). Unfortunately, the eight narrative panels that originally ornamented Del Maino's Altar of the Apparition were also lost when, in 1798, the altar was dismantled and much of it destroyed. Their loss is partially mitigated by two things. One is a first-hand description of the altarpiece by Simone Cabasso in his history of the sanctuary, *Miracoli della Madonna di Tirano*, 1601. The other is the replacement of Del Maino's polychrome panels with marble reliefs carved by Gabriele Longhi (1737–1820) (Figs. 9.4 and 9.5). Installed in 1802, just four years after the despoliation of Del Maino's Altar of the Apparition, Longhi's relief of the miracle of infant resuscitation appears to be a revisualization of Del Maino's panel as it was seen and described by Cabasso in 1601.

Reading Cabasso's text, looking at Longhi's relief, and then at Valorsa's painting, one is struck by the difference in the visual presentation of the miracle. While Del Maino chose to illustrate the infant's miraculous return to life atop the altar table, Valorsa elected to represent the next moment in the narrative, namely the baptism of the revived child. Such a shift in iconography is inconsistent with the imaging practices employed by healing shrines, which typically repeated imagery in order to both distinguish itself from other sites and promote a nominal saint's efficacy in healing a particular infirmity or resolving a specific situation. How, then, can the iconographical change at Tirano be explained? This paper proposes that an answer is found in Tridentine reform.

Between Del Maino's completion of the Altar of the Apparition in 1524 and Valorsa's signing of his painting in 1576, the Council of Trent convened three times; 1545–47, 1551–52, and 1562–63. On two separate occasions, June 17, 1546 and March 3, 1547, decrees concerning infant baptism were hammered out. Both were adopted and later confirmed by Pope Pius IV on January 26, 1564. Accepting Thomas Aquinas's (1224?–1274) belief that "all who are not baptized are subject to the power of demons," the Roman Catholic Church stipulated that all "infants, newly born from their mother's wombs, are to be baptized"

FIGURE 9.4
Altar of the Apparition. Tirano, Sanctuary of the Madonna of
Tirano
PHOTO: AUTHORE

FIGURE 9.5
Gabriele Longhi, *Miracle of Infant Resuscitation*, 1801-02,
Altar of the Apparition. Marble relief. Tirano, Sanctuary of
the Madonna of Tirano
PHOTO: AUTHOR

for even those who "could not commit any sin of themselves" are polluted by
original sin and thus require cleansing. Infant resuscitation enabled the griev-
ing parent of a stillborn or deceased newborn to fulfill the requirement.[8]

The signature miracle of the Madonna of Tirano had an eminent precedent.[9]
Returning an infant to life, albeit just long enough for the baby to be bap-
tized, was among the post-mortem miracles attributed to the first century
proto-martyr St. Stephen.[10] What distinguished Tirano's sanctuary were not

8   Schroeder 2011, 22–3.
9   Watt 2002, 441. Although not commonly professed, the miracle occurred elsewhere.
     See Gumppenberg 1672, 41–2 (no. 14), 399–401 (no. 290), 403 (no. 292), 422–4 (no. 312),
     550–1 (no. 452), 648 (no. 559), 750–1 (no. 693), 769–71 (no. 717), 1046–7 (no. 995), 1079–80
     (no. 1031).
10   St. Augustine 2003, bk. XXII. chap. 8, 1042–6. The resuscitation of Eleusinus's son was
     among the more than half a dozen post-mortem miracles reported to have occurred at
     Stephen's shrine. According to Augustine, the child's father "laid his infant son … on the
     shrine of the martyr," prayed, then "took up his child alive." Citing "the zealous bishop"
     Evodius's lost *Libri duo de Miraculis S. Stephani* and St. Austin's *Sermons*, 323 and 324,
     Butler 1815, 8: 44, offered another example. "A child that was a catechumen, dying, being

FIGURE 9.6   Domenico Ghirlandaio, *St. Francis Resurrects the Notary's Son*, 1485. Fresco. Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence
PHOTO: ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, NY

the wondrous revivals but, rather, the visualizations of the miracle. Despite St. Stephen's renown, his resuscitation of an insensate boy still at his mother's breast was a story that was, it seems, better told than pictured. Similarly, while fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century altarpiece predellas and chapel walls celebrated resurrections recounted in the Bible and hagiographies; Lazarus emerging from his tomb, Tabitha roused from her deathbed, the notary's seven-year-old son sitting atop a bier he no longer needed (Fig. 9.6), and even the six-month-old son of Miguccio di Giovanni Paganello (Fig. 9.7), the *miracolati* in these and similar stories were neither stillborn babies nor infants

yet at the breast, the mother seeing him irrevocably lost, ran to the oratory of St. Stephen, and said, 'Holy martyr, you see I have lost my only comfort. Restore my child, that I may meet him before Him who hath crowned you.' She prayed a great while, and at last the child came back to life again, and was heard to cry. She went forthwith to the priests: he was baptized, and received the unction, the imposition of hands, and the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist ... but God took him to himself very soon after, and his mother carried him to the grave."

FIGURE 9.7
Simone Martini, detail, *Beato Agostino Novello Alaterpiece*, ca. 1324. Tempera on panel. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale
PHOTO: SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY

who had managed to hold on to life for a few fleeting hours.[11] In fact, the miraculous resuscitation of the unbaptized dead, including the *putino morto* deposited on Tirano's altar by Christian Pfeijssanf and, just a few hours later, the son of Johanne Rodio, fell into a distinct category. Unlike those revived in biblical and hagiographical narratives, these newborns lacked a seat at what St. Augustine (354–430) called the "table of the Lord."[12] In Augustine's view, an unbaptized infant was neither innocent nor depraved but rather existed in a state of non-innocence. As yet too weak to act with perverse intent, a newborn is nonetheless stained by Adam's sin and must be cleansed in baptismal water as soon as possible.[13] Pfeijssanf, Rodio, and others arriving at Tirano carrying

11   The resuscitation of children performed both during life and after death was a staple miracle in the lives of saints. St. Martin, for example, revived a child while preaching near Chartres, St. Dominic resuscitated Napoleone Orsini, who had been trampled by a horse, and St. Vincent Ferrer returned to life a child whose crazed mother was preparing to cook her offspring. For visualized examples, see Hoeniger 2002, 318–23; and Martindale 1994, 197–232. There is no New Testament precedent for the resuscitation of a new born. The youngest individual raised by Jesus was Jarius's twelve-year old daughter (Matthew 9: 18–26, Mark 5: 22–4, 35–43, and Luke 8: 40–56). The story has received scant visual attention. Paolo Veronese's representation is a rare example (Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv.no. 141). A quatrefoil to the left of the figure of Christ on the Westminster Retable, ca. 1270, is another. Resurrection also occurs in the Old Testament, specifically through the power of the Prophet Elijah as recounted in 1 Kings. Finally, terminology often distinguishes an infant from a child. See Klapisch-Zuber 1985, 96; and Shahar 1983, 281–309. Taking Ferrini 1593, as representative of the miracle book genre, the distinction is reflected in the terms *puttino*, which designates a new or still born (miracle no. 53) versus *fanciullo*, which is used in reference to a male child six years of age (miracle no. 32).

12   Augustine 1999, 169–70.

13   Stortz 2001, 82.

infant corpses understood what had to be done in order to secure their child a place at the Lord's table. The *putino morto* had to be baptized. This, however, could be done only if the child was alive. Spiritual regeneration was contingent upon physical revival. Thus, after placing a baby's lifeless body on the altar, parents knelt and began to pray for a miraculous resuscitation.

Early in its history, Christianity embraced baptism as a second, salvific birth.[14] Although some early theologians such as Cyprian (ca. 200–258) and his fellow bishops at the Council of Carthage (252) made provisions for the baptism of children immediately after birth, others maintained that ceremonial cleansing was best reserved for those capable of comprehending its significance.[15] Despite debate, infants were nevertheless routinely baptized by the fifth century. Augustine's contention that baptism was an "antidote" against the "pestilential corruption" contracted through natural birth was undoubtedly informed by parental anxieties concerning the fate of their children in life after death and the growing popular response to those apprehensions.[16] Thus, while insisting that infants had "no righteousness to be put to the test," Augustine held that they too had been infected and therefore required baptism. Writing to Jerome, he declared that unbaptized children were condemned to the ranks of the damned, albeit to a lesser degree than errant adults.[17] Struggling in the thirteenth century "to preserve and express Augustine's doctrine of original sin without eroding beliefs in both divine justice and divine mercy" toward the physically weak and morally inchoate, Thomas Aquinas advocated the baptism of children, including those too young to comprehend its significance. In his view, spiritual regeneration was not unlike carnal birth. Just as a child receives nourishment from the mother while in the womb, so does that child receive salvation through the sacrament of baptism performed by the Church.[18]

Early Christian arguments for and against infant baptism, most notably those voiced during the Pelagian Controversy, reemerged during the middle decades of the sixteenth century. But baptism—when it was to be performed and what it meant—was not the only issue subject to dispute. Miracles reflecting the "passionate devotion" that was a critical component of religious daily life came under scrutiny.[19] Indeed, following "an intense period of heresy

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14 Ferguson 1990, 160–63; Jeremias 1962, 69–72; Cramer 1994; and Spierling 2005, 35–39.

15 Ferguson 2009, 370–71 and 856.

16 Augustine 1999, 169; Augustine and Arand 1947, 65 (*Enchiridion*, 17.64). Also see, Stortz 2001, 78–102.

17 Augustine 1999, 169–70; Sparrow-Simpson 1919, 191.

18 Aquinas 1947–48, 3: 68.9. Baptism of children also enabled a child to be raised "in things pertaining to the Christian mode of life."

19 Huizinga 1996, 203.

trials" leveled against Protestants, Rome began to rigorously examine its own. From the 1540s to the 1570s, Inquisitors investigated claims of the miraculous in search of signs of superstition and misplaced faith.

1   Imaging Infant Resuscitation & Reconstructing Tirano's First Altar of the Apparition

Today, Giovan Angelo del Maino's polychromed statue of the Madonna, a masterful melding of Marian self-reflection and intercessory engagement, still crowns the Altar of the Apparition that was raised on the precise place where Mary reportedly greeted Mario Homodei in 1504 (Fig. 9.4). Although the eight narrative panels that fronted the great altar were removed by the Cisalpine Republic in 1798, it is clear that they were not forgotten. Only four years later, a replacement altar with four marble reliefs carved by Gabriele Longhi was installed. Given the brief lapse of time between the razing of Del Maino's altar and the installation of Longhi's it is reasonable to assume that the replacement panels reproduced significant aspects of the original. Simone Cabasso's *Miracoli della Madonna di Tirano* lends credence to the assumption. That said, problems of omission are encountered when Longhi's altar is compared to Cabasso's description of its predecessor. Not only does the replacement altar have half the number of narrative panels Cabasso claimed to have seen on the original but for unstated reasons Cabasso chose to describe only three of the eight he saw in 1601. One, he wrote, represented the sanctuary's foundational miracle, Mary's apparitional visitation to Mario Homodei on September 29, 1504. Another depicted the infant "resurrections" on March 26, 1505. The third, he wrote, commemorated the resuscitation of a drowned three-year old boy on April 20, 1511.[20] If Cabasso's decision to describe only three of the eight panels cannot be explained, his choices can be.

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20   Cabasso 1601, 35–36. "… nella quale Ancona si vedono scolpiti otto miracoli, in una parte la resurrettione delli duoi fanciulli resuscitati alli 26. & 27. Di Marzo dell' anno 1505. In un' altra parte intagliato il miracolo della resurrettione del figliuol di Mario, quando s' affogò nell' acque alli 20. Aprile dell' anno 1511. In alter parti parimente diversi miracoli della liberation di molti infermi, & stroppiati; & è pur credere, che non saria mai permesso, che in una tal' Ancona vi fussero veri; l'esservi dunque intagliati miracoli tali, se quelli non fussero veri; l' esservi dunque intagliati in tal Ancona fatta in quelli istessi tempi, incominciata l' anno 1519. & finita l' anno 1524." Earlier in the text, 10–13, 28, Cabasso described respectively the two resuscitations that took place in late March 1505 and the drowning that happened in 1511.

A self-proclaimed doctor of theology and parish priest of Tirano between 1586–1607, Cabasso can be characterized as a fervent advocate for the efficacious presence of the divine on earth. Confronted by skeptics and admitting that miracles of the sort recounted in the Bible and chronicled in the sanctuary's miracle book no longer happen, Cabasso deemed it necessary to assert the veracity of what once occurred routinely on Tirano's outskirts. Composing *Miracoli della Madonna di Tirano* was, he claimed, an idea born of the need to protect the true faith.[21] His celebratory defense is divided roughly into four sections. It begins with a retelling of Mary's apparitional visitation and concludes with something like a registry of authentication, a list of those respected individuals, including bishops, cardinals, and popes, who attested and affirmed the many miracles enacted by Tirano's Madonna. Repeating much of what is recorded in the shrine's miracle book, the first of the two middle sections recounts the wondrous on-site resuscitations and cures that took place in the wake of Mary's visitation. The second central section describes the sanctuary and its ornamentation, including Del Maino's Altar of the Apparition and a painting "of the miracle of the resuscitated boys." Although Cabasso failed to identify the painter responsible for the work representing "the miracle of the resuscitated boys," he located it precisely where Cipriano Valorsa's canvas remains prominently displayed.[22]

Cabasso's description of Del Maino's altar is as frustrating as it is useful. Not only is there no indication of the arrangement of its narrative panels but five of the eight are summarily dismissed as illustrating "various miracles of liberation from many kinds of infirmity and crippling conditions." Perhaps this was enough said, after all the list of miracles meticulously inscribed in miracle books throughout Europe between roughly 500–1500 was remarkably consistent.[23] Again and again and at site after site, we read that the crippled regained mobility, the blind acquired sight, and the possessed were liberated from the clutches of demons. Moreover, these recorded miracles were increasingly corroborated by an array of images. Gentile da Fabriano's Quaratesi Altarpiece predella panel, for example, illustrates pilgrims steadied by crutches approaching the tomb of St. Nicholas, 1425 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) (Fig. 9.8). Similarly, the lower right vignette of the St. Margaret, or Vanni, Altarpiece, ca. 1400, which pictures St. Margaret's dedicants gathered around

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21 Cabasso 1601, 2v (dedication). Additionally, 41–2, he cites the sanctuary's miracle book, taking pains to list the notaries and other officials who determined the truth of the miracles professed therein.

22 Cabasso 1601, 36.

23 Park 1992, 72–3.

FIGURE 9.8   Gentile da Fabriano, *Miracle of the Pilgrims at the Tomb of*
               St. Nicholas, predella panel from the Quaratesi Polyptych, 1425.
               Tempera on panel. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,
               Samuel H. Kress Collection. Photo: National Gallery of Art,
               Washington, D.C.
               PHOTO: IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

her tomb, includes those unable to walk as well as a man freed from posses-
sion by a black, impish demon pictured above his head. Popular imagery, such
as Baccio Baldini's woodcut of St. Anthony Abbot framed by eleven scenes
from his life and a growing number of votive panel paintings, redoubled the
message.[24] Why, then, did Cabasso choose to describe only three of the eight
reliefs on Del Maino's altar? In all likelihood, it was a calculated maneuver, a
strategy aimed at distinguishing Tirano from other thaumaturgic sites.

To be sure, foundational miracles are marked by trope. Mario Homodei was
certainly not alone in his claim to have encountered the Madonna in a lonely

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24   Zucker and Bartsch 1980, cat. no. 130; Jacobs 2013, 22–84.

field. Nonetheless, it was of critical importance for Cabasso to single out a representation of the site's foundational miracle, which was the sanctuary's very raison d'être.[25] Concerning the other two reliefs cited, each had special importance to the sanctuary, its *fabbrica*, and promoters, albeit for different reasons. In the first instance the showcasing of infant resuscitation, a miracle that was relatively rare, made economic sense. It was a form of marketing, attracting despairing parents to an area that was just beginning to experience economic growth. After returning home, pilgrims to the sanctuary would have described to family and friends the varied images they had seen, such as Del Maino's altar, and recounted the events they witnessed, including on-site resuscitations. Word-of-mouth and promotional souvenir prints would then spread news of the particular remedial strengths of Tirano's miracle-working Madonna. For Tirano the Madonna's purported capacity to resuscitate dead infants had monetary consequences. As was the case with visitors to all sacred sites, pilgrims reaching Tirano required food and lodging, but those who arrived carrying tiny corpses came prepared to pay fees for other services as well.[26] These supplicants not only brought vowed gifts of goods and coin, they carried enough money to pay for special masses, a baptism, and an internment, which, according to the sanctuary's miracle book, was often done "cum grande honore."[27]

The final altar relief Cabasso chose to identify clearly, namely the revival of a drowned boy, was perhaps a choice born of pragmatism.[28] Not only was the *miracolato* the young son of Mario Homodei, the favored individual to whom the Madonna had made her visitation, but the miracle that corroborated the efficacy of the Virgin Mary at this site involved the Homodei family. Moreover, the revived child's uncle, Gregorio Homodei, was among the dignitaries who laid the sanctuary's founding stone the day before Pfeijssanf and Rodio arrived on site. Given the prominence of the Homodei within the community and in

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25   Verses dated 1513 inscribed on the anonymously painted fresco were obliterated in 1627 when a confessional was set in place. Bormetti and Casciaro 1996, 23 and 26.

26   As at other sites, hostelries and taverns sprang up to accommodate pilgrims. For comparative examples, see Cipriani and Cipriani 2005, 341–54; and Grimaldi and Sordi 1990, 77–90. It is important to recognize that regional competition was growing. Pfeijssanf could have traveled half the distance to Aldeno (Trentino) where the same miracle was professed.

27   Documents make this abundantly clear, referencing an assortment of bequests and offerings of impressive quantities of wine (for example, Sondrio, Archivio di Stato, AMT 438/5, class 1.1., perg. 795) mills and ovens, the endowment of masses, and the like (M 704, class 1.1., perg. 835).

28   Cabasso 1601, 28.

light of their role in the establishment of the sanctuary, the attention paid to this miracle is not surprising.[29]

Cabasso's failure to identify the subjects of five of the eight relief panels on the Altar of the Apparition is not the only frustration presented by *Miracoli della Madonna di Tirano*. The priest's text also fails to provide enough information to allow the reader to visualize Del Maino's handling of the three specified subjects. Fortunately, other images assist in this endeavor. It seems likely, for example, that Del Maino's depiction of the meeting of the Madonna and Homodei followed an iconography established only a few years earlier. The encounter was celebrated on a sanctuary wall as soon as was physically possible, predating the commissioning of the Altar of the Apparition by approximately six years and the consecration of the church by fifteen. Reconstructing the two resuscitation scenes is more problematic. If visual precedents existed for either they have not survived. How, then, are we to proceed? It is tempting to look to Longhi's replacement reliefs but are we right to do so? An early engraving touting the efficacy of Tirano's Madonna suggests it is (Fig. 9.9).

Among the few surviving seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints promoting Tirano as a pilgrimage destination is an engraving formatted in the tradition of duecentesque *paliotti* that includes eight vignettes illustrating some of the Madonna's many miracles. Significantly, it post-dates the publication of Cabasso's *Miracoli della Madonna di Tirano* yet pre-dates the installation of Gabriele Longhi's altar. Whether or not the eight vignettes repeat the eight reliefs on Del Maino's altar cannot be asserted with certainty. Cabasso was simply too vague concerning what, exactly, the nature of the infirmities and conditions represented on five of the panels. It can be stated, however, that two of the engraved episodes not only match two of Longhi's reliefs but also correspond with two of the subjects Cabasso took pains to specify. The first is positioned at the sheet's top center. According to the vignette's inscription, the scene commemorates "two brought back to life; [one] four days after death, another eight."[30] Correlated with the sanctuary's miracle book, the inscription identifies the miraculous resuscitation of Christian Pfeijssanf's son, dead for "giorni octo," and that of Johanne Rodio, dead "zorni quatro."[31] The second episode counter-balances the first, repeating the resuscitation theme in the print's bottom, center vignette. Here too the inscription allows the engraved image to be equated with one of the narrative panels on Del Maino's altar. "Two

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29   Masa 1999, 89–108. The family also assumed an active fundraising role. Archivio storico del Comune, Tirano, M634 class. 1.2.1, b. 2, fasc. 3.

30   The inscription reads: "Reuiuiscunt duo; alter quatriduum ab obitu, alter octiduum."

31   Masa 2004, 61, miracle no. 5; 62, miracle no. 6.

FIGURE 9.9 Unknown, Promotional Print advocating the efficacy of the Madonna of Tirano.
Collezione privata PM, Tirano (Valtellina), Italy

were snatched away from death, one of whom had been overcome by a mass of water [Mario Homodei's young son], and the other [a little girl] crushed by the wheel of a mill."[32] Again, the printed scene corresponds closely with Longhi's replacement relief, suggesting both print and relief had a common source that allows us to envision the imagery on the original Altar of the Apparition.

2   Imaging Resuscitation: Awakening versus Baptism

As a place, the altar is prominent in Tiranese representations of infant resuscitation and child resurrection. In the case of the former, it functions as the stage on which the miraculous happens. It is where grieving fathers lay their dead infants so that they might come back to life. In the case of the latter, the altar forms the backdrop against which the miraculous is acknowledged. It is where grateful parents fulfill their vow. Above all, the altar is a site of Eucharistic transformation, a place of passage from one state of being—lifeless, absent— to another—living, present. Each time the priest stood before Tirano's provisional altar, elevated the bread and wine, and said *Hoc est enim corpus meum* the ascendant Christ was made symbolically immediate. Bread became His Body, wine His Blood. Attending mass, which was a requisite part of votive offering, chanting the *Resurexit sicut dixit alleluia*, which Rodio is recorded as having done, parents rife with anxiety witnessed the most profound of miracles. Recalling the *Transitus*, Christ's passage through death to life, and hearing reports of the consecrated Host bleeding on the altar, turning into bloodied corporal, and even changing into a small child must have weighted the paschal mystery with a profundity that affirmed the rightness of the long journeys to Tirano made by every pilgrim in search of a miracle. Cabasso recognized the relevance of the *Transitus* for the parents who placed their dead infants on the altar, stating that the resuscitated infants "were regenerated in Christ."[33]

A connection between the Incarnation and Eucharist had been forged since the Christological controversies of the fourth century. Analogies between the Manger of the Nativity and the altar on which the ascended, living Christ was made present through the consecration of the Host soon followed. For example,

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32   The inscription here is especially difficult. In order to make it sensible, Ruth Noyes generously suggested the following alterations and insertions. "Duo morte [instead of morti] eripintur; quorum alterum aquarum moles [insert another presserat here for meaning], et [insert another alterum here] molae [instead of moloe] presserat rota [instead of rola]." The passage would then read as "Duo morte eripintur; quorum alterum aquarum moles presserat, et alterum molae presserat rota." The reference relates to an event in October 1505. Masa 2004, 78 (miracle no. 24).

33   Cabasso 1601, 13.

FIGURE 9.10   Ugolino di Prete, Miracle of the
Saracens, 1364. Fresco. Orvieto
Cathedral, Chapel of the Corporal
PHOTO: IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

in a Christmas sermon Guerricus (d. ca. 1157) assured his monastic brothers,
"you too will find the infant wrapped in swaddling clothes and placed on the
manger of the altar (*in praesepio altaris*)."[34] Imagery on altar frontals, in manu-
script illumination, and on painted chapel walls, including one in the Chapel
of the Corporal in Orvieto's Cathedral, reinforced the equation. The three fres-
coes comprising the Miracle of the Saracens, 1364, on the lowest register of the
Gospel Wall painted by Ugolino di Prete (ca. 1330–ca. 1404) illustrate the point
(Fig. 9.10). As the imagery in the first scene shows and as an inscription ex-
plains, the Christians flee as the Saracens present an ultimatum to a captured
priest. He is to demonstrate the truth of the sacrament or face execution. In the
next episode, the priest stands before the altar and consecrates the Host, the
supreme *locus divinitatis*. The truth of the sacrament could not be demonstrat-
ed with greater clarity. Visualized as neither wheaten bread nor an unleavened
wafer, the Host is, as the inscription states, "Christ in the form of a small boy."
In the third scene, which depicts the consecration of the wine, Christ again
appears as a little boy. Here, however, the infant Christ acknowledges His own

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34   Guerricus, *De nativitate Domini, sermo V*, cited in Lane 1975, 479.

death and His salvific rebirth. "Holding a crucifix and walking," He is literally on the altar, identifying it as manger, tomb, and sacramental table.[35]

More than a century after Ugolino completed work in the Chapel of the Corporal, Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–94) began painting Francesco Sassetti's family chapel in Santa Trinita, Florence (Fig. 9.11).[36] Commemorating the life of St. Francis, the *alter Christus*, Ghirlandaio's decorative program took full advantage of the altar's multivalence through a well-considered repetition of the rectangular shape of the chapel's altar. Ascending from the altar table, to the altarpiece, to the fresco illustrating a miraculous resuscitation, the symbolic significance of the rectangular form is underscored by the prominently placed Roman sarcophagus in Ghirlandaio's depiction of the Virgin and shepherds adoring the newborn Christ. It is again replicated by the bier in the above fresco representing Francis's resuscitation of the notary's son. Viewed together, the repeated shape forms a compelling sequence of stacked equivalences that connects birth to death to rebirth through well-established traditions. As in Christmas liturgy and the staging of Latin Magi plays, the altar is the Manger of the Nativity and, as in the plays *Quem Queritis* performed at Easter, it is also Christ's earthly sepulcher, a place that signals His imminent resurrection.[37] Aligning the chapel's altar with the Roman sarcophagus in the altarpiece and the bier in the fresco above, Ghirlandaio melded motifs to amplify one miracle against another.[38] Reflecting the actions of Pfeijssanf, Rodio, and others who had laid their dead sons on the altar as if it was both cradle and casket, the

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35   The middle inscription reads, "Quomodo sacerdos ex preceptor egis saracenorum cel-
      ebravit, ex un parte astantibus illis, ex altera vero Christianis, et facta consecration hostie,
      Christus in figura pueri visibiliter demonstravit cunctis veritatem Sacramenti." The in-
      scription accompanying the consecration of the wine reads, "Quomodo eodem in altari
      presbitero consecrate calicem apparet inambulans, puer crucem tenems: quo facto, et
      Christiani sunt liberati et multi Saraceni credidere." Surh 2000, 136–37.

36   Cadogen and Ghirlandaio 1985, 93–101, and for the chapel's altarpiece, *Adoration of the
      Shepherds*, 1485, 253–55.

37   One such example was the Magi play staged in 1336 in the Church of Sant' Eustorgio,
      Milan. See Kehrer 1908, 1: 66ff. The Miracle at Greccio at Christmas in 1223 can be seen in
      this context. At that time, St. Francis celebrated mass at a portable altar set-up within a
      temporary manger. Nilgen and Franciscono 1967, 311, n. 6. As Nilgen and Franciscono, 314,
      noted, the "altar-like character" of mangers reflected not only "the brick-built or block-
      and box-shaped mangers," but also the "greatly elevated architectural structure whose
      altar-like character is further emphasized by the symmetrical arrangement of the kneel-
      ing figures of Mary and Joseph on either side." Also see, Lane 1975, 476–86.

38   As Langmuir 2006, 88, has noted, "Death and resurrection are fitting themes for a funer-
      ary chapel. But the juxtaposition of the Nativity and a dead child's resuscitation had a
      particular significance for the Sassetti, whose first son died between late 1478 or early 1479
      and whose second son was born on 12 May 1479."

FIGURE 9.11   Overview Sassetti Chapel, 1483-86. Florence, Santa Trinita
PHOTO: ALINARI/ ART RESOURCE, NY

miracle of infant resuscitation imaged on the Altar of the Apparition resonates with this tradition. Why, then, was the imagery changed from a miraculous re-awakening to the rite of baptism when, in 1576, Cipriano Valorsa memorialized the very same incident? The most likely answer is Tridentine reform.

3   The True Miracle: Baptism

On March 1, 1547, the bishops assembled at the seventh session of the Council of Trent to hear and debate, among other issues, a list of canons presented by Cardinal Marcello Cervini. Thirteen of the proposed canons dealt with the sacraments in general. Fourteen focused on baptism, including two advocating the anathematization of anyone who denied the legitimacy of infant baptism. "Directed against the Anabaptists as [much] as anyone else," the canon stated that baptized children, regardless of their ability to comprehend the sacrament's meaning, were "to be numbered among the faithful."[39] Approved unanimously on March 3, the Church's approved stance on baptism reasserted a position taken by the Council of Florence in February 1442. As decreed by that council, children were to be baptized "as soon as is convenient" (*quam primum commode*). If death appeared imminent the rite was to be done "straightaway without any delay." Deferring the ceremony forty or eighty days, as was the common practice, was deemed unsafe. It placed infants in danger of being "snatched away" by the devil.[40]

The risk of satanic seizure articulated by the Catholic Church was quite literally illustrated in images of the fabled life of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr credited with miraculously returning a dead infant to life. According to legend and as depicted by Martino di Bartolomeo (1389–1434), Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–69), and other fifteenth-century painters, Satan had plucked the infant Stephen from his cradle leaving behind a demonic changeling as substitute (Fig. 9.12).[41] In popular lore, Satan's predilection for the unbaptized was shared

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39   The two are canons thirteen and fourteen. Schroeder 2011, 54; O'Malley 2013, 120–21.

40   https://www.ewtn.com/library/COUNCILS/FLORENCE.HTM#5. Accessed January 20, 2017. The relevant canon reads, "With regard to children, since the danger of death is often present and the only remedy available to them is the sacrament of baptism by which they are snatched away from the dominion of the devil and adopted as children of God, it admonishes that sacred baptism is not to be deferred for forty or eighty days or any other period of time in accordance with the usage of some people, but it should be conferred as soon as it conveniently can; and if there is imminent danger of death, the child should be baptized straightaway without any delay …"

41   The story is told in *Fabulosa vita S. Stephani Protomartyris*, the earliest extant copy dates to the eleventh century. Gaertringen 2002, 318. For additional representations of the story, see Kaftal 1973, 295–300.

FIGURE 9.12   Martino di Bartolomeo, *Substitution of the Infant Saint Stephen with a Changeling by the Devil*, ca. 1415. Tempera on panel. Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut
PHOTO: STÄDEL MUSEUM-U. EDELMANN-ARTOTHEK

by his minions and the wild men thought to inhabit the remote valleys of the Italian Tyrol, including areas in the Valtellina in which the town of Tirano was located.[42] Indeed, in a region described in 1518 as a place "inhabited by a people who are largely ignorant [and] goitrous … lacking all the finer points of civil society," tales of diabolical abduction fell on especially fertile ground.[43] Coupled with the theory that baptism left a mark on the human soul that enabled God to distinguish the saved from the unsaved, stories of the disappearance of children perhaps can account for a heightened compliance with Trent's position on baptism. They do not, however, explain the arrival in Tirano of Pfeijssanf, Rodio, and others. The infants placed on Tirano's provisional altar did not need prophylactic protection from either fantastical peril, such as satanic abduction, or a safeguard against the potential hazards of life, such as falling into a well. A stillborn was already beyond the reach of earthly danger. The harrowing challenges that lay beyond the grave were another matter yet these too could be mitigated if, through a miraculous resuscitation, the dead returned to life long enough to be baptized.

The dependency of a post-mortem baptism on the miracle of resuscitation brings to the fore the notable change in representations of the most famed of the Madonna of Tirano's many miracles, namely the shift from depicting a child's physical reawakening to his regeneration through baptism. Although not exclusive, two explanations for the change can be advanced. The first reflects a desire on the part of the *fabbrica* to relate the miracle in its entirety thereby maintaining full accordance with the sanctuary's *libro dei miracoli*. In essence, Cipriano Valorsa's painting and Giovan Angelo del Del Maino's relief each presented half of the story. Del Maino visualized the infant's return to life on earth. Valorsa represented the infant's baptism, a sacrament that assured the child eternal life in heaven. Significantly, the two segments of the story are visible from a single vantage point within the sanctuary. Standing at the church's center, one sees the soaring Altar of the Apparition in the northwest corner of the sanctuary. Pivoting 180° to face south-east, the sanctuary visitor sees Valorsa's canvas, which completes the narrative of the events of March 26, 1505. Given the visual connection between the two it seems likely that Valorsa's painting was devised to complete the story begun in Del Maino's polychrome panel. But beyond narrating in full the story of the miraculous resuscitations of the sons of Christian Pfeijssanf and, only hours later, Johanne Rodio, the change in iconography relating what happened on March 26, 1505, can also be seen to point to the post-Tridentine climate in which heresy trials

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42   Gaiffier 1967, 2: 169–93; Finucane 1997, 161–63; and Stephens 2002, 241–76.

43   Bowd 2008, 136.

gave way to prosecutions of magical transgressions and superstitious offences by the *popolo*.

On the afternoon of December 4, 1563, the 235 voting members of the Council of Trent listened to a reading of doctrinal decrees that had been formulated since 1545 and then voted their approval. Confirmed by the pope on January 26, Trent's position on infant baptism was thereafter to be implemented throughout the Catholic world. Another Tridentine decree to be enforced concerned "On the Invocation, Veneration of Saints, and on Sacred Images." Reflecting concern about the popular devotional practices taking place in, around, and with sacred images and holy relics, the issue had been introduced on the council's final working day, December 2, 1563, and approved without discussion. If reform of the episcopacy and pastorate left no time for the veneration of relics and images to be discussed by those assembled at Trent on that December day, the topic was soon explicated by various provincial councils charged with elucidating doctrine and enforcing orthodoxy on the local level.

In a series of four assemblies held in Milan between 1565 and 1576, prelates supplied the clarifying details that the Council of Trent had not. Under the exacting leadership of Milan's archbishop, Charles Borromeo (1538–84), the Milanese assembly fixed its attention on the Tridentine decree passed in haste on December 2. Henceforth, images, the cult of relics, and the professed presence of supernatural forces were to be scrutinized for evidence of error and misplaced faith. In addition to demanding that images conform to scriptural truth, traditions, and ecclesiastical histories, Borromeo and other reformers stressed the importance of fulfilling Trent's "earnest desires to root out utterly any abuses that may have crept into these holy and saving practices, so that no representations of false doctrine ... [might] give occasion of dangerous error to the unlettered.... All superstition must be removed from the invocation of saints, veneration of relics, and use of sacred images."[44] Beyond a host of questionable actions by the *popolo* at sacred sites, Borromeo, who visited Tirano's Marian sanctuary in August 1580 and who was named as a proponent of the Madonna of Tirano by Cabasso, understood this to mean that nothing that is "uncertain, apocryphal [or] superstitious" was to be depicted.[45] Miracles, whether recently professed or visualized, began to be reviewed by local offices of the Roman Inquisition.

Whether Protestant or Catholic, the despondent parents of stillborn infants and children who had died when only days old were desperate to secure their

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44 Tanner 1990, 2: 774–76. For Borromeo's visit see Simonelli 2004, 161–62.

45 Charles Borromeo, 1962. *Instructiones fabricate et supellectilis ecclesiasticae libri II* [1577], in Barocchi, 3: 44–45. Cabasso 1601, 46.

babies a seat at the Lord's table, a dwelling place in God's heaven. Fearing for the souls of their unbaptized children, many residents of Genevan territory went to great lengths to have the salvific rite performed. In some cases, they traveled to Catholic Savoy. In others, they walked only as far as Geneva's edge, to the Augustinian monastery of Notre-Dame de Grâce. But on May 11, 1535, the latter trek came to an abrupt halt. Condemning the revivals as a hoax perpetrated on the desperate and the ignorant by opportunistic old women, Geneva's Small Council forbid further resuscitations.[46] Despite crackdowns by Genevan consistories, options remained reasonably close at hand. In addition to Savoyard France, the Italian peninsula had numerous sites where a resuscitated infant could be baptized before burial; Tirano, Alden, and perhaps most notoriously the Dominican monastery of San Daniele in Trava nestled in the mountainous region of northeastern Italy. At Trava, as in Geneva, monks were accused of turning a blind eye to and even collaborating with "wicked women" who colored an infant's cheeks, blew air into deflated lungs so that it might appear to exhale, and otherwise manipulated tiny corpses to produce signs of life.[47]

These frauds must be seen in context. From the 1540s to the 1570s, the local offices of the Roman Inquisition had focused its attention on heretical activity before shifting its energies to the prosecution of superstition, then understood to be "superfluous and vain religion, pursued in a defective manner, and in wrong circumstance" by the Catholic *popolo*.[48] In the post-Tridentine climate, the *fabbrica* of the Sanctuary of the Madonna of Tirano might very well have deemed the shift in imagery a wise move. The decision to represent the miracle of infant resuscitation as sanctioned rite, rather than wondrous incident, placed the sanctuary and its images beyond reproach. For good measure, Valorsa granted clergy a central place in the composition. In doing so, he distanced Tirano's miraculous resuscitations from the spurious revivals occurring at Trava and elsewhere. More importantly, the miracle of resuscitation was recast as spiritual resurrection. The true miracle was Baptism.

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46   Eire 1986, 140; Watt 2002, 440–43.

47   Cavazza 1994, pp. 1–31.

48   The definition, current in 16th century Italy, is that of Martino of Arles. See O'Neil 1987, 89. By this date Tirano had a Protestant community with its own church. Archivio Storico del Santuario della Beata Vergine di Tirano, M 860, class. 1.2.1, b. 3, fasc. 20. Moreover, for the Tiranese, the Protestant threat was very real. Although its sanctuary withstood attack by "heretici sopra la terra di Tirano" on September 11, 1620, the town was overrun. Cornacchi 1720, 21.

PART 3

The Macabre, Instrumentalized

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Dissecting for the King: Guido da Vigevano and the Anatomy of Death

Peter Bovenmyer

A decaying body stands before us. Its pale skin stretches taut across a scaffold of bones: joints knobby, ribs protruding, fingers and toes emaciated to brittle fragments, eyelids thinly sealed, dreaming of a past life (Fig. 10.1). From behind, an anatomist cradles the body and boldly carves open its chest with a surgical knife. Though the stroke is violent, the anatomist emanates a strange tenderness for the corpse; his labor seems caught somewhere between butchering and embracing. Through a crimson gash in the chest, the anatomist inserts his hand and prepares to peel back the skin; in a moment the body will open.

This uncanny scene comes to us from a fourteenth-century anatomical treatise designed by an Italian physician named Guido da Vigevano. Now held in the library of the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France (MS 334),[1] it is one of eighteen such images that illustrate this short work, titled the *Anothomia Philippi Septimi*, dedicated in 1345 to Guido's patron King Philip VI of France.[2] Though unique in many respects, Guido's treatise is most notable for scenes of human dissection (fols. 273r–280r), which present the contents of the three *venters*, or principle cavities of the body (abdomen, chest, and skull). Each of these

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1 The *Anothomia* is a work authored by Guido as a conclusion to a much larger medical compendium that he compiled under the title of *Liber notabilium Philippi septimi Francorum regis, a libris Galieni extractus*. In addition to the anatomical treatise, the manuscript contains a cache of Galenic works (fols. 17r–254v) and a health manual or *Regimen sanitatis* (fols. 255r–270v) composed by Guido for Philip VI that councils on travel in the Holy Land for the king's planned crusade.

2 Guido's rather puzzling reference to Philip VI as "Philippi Septimi" is not unknown in the fourteenth century. Guido was employing an alternate genealogical system that included an extra Philip, Philip II (1116–1131) son of Louis VI (1081–1137), who co-reigned with his father. See Wickersheimer 1913, note 2.

FIGURE 10.1   Guido da Vigevano, *The Anatomist Opens the Chest*, figure seven from
                Anothomia Philippi Septimi, 1345. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, f. 278
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

demonstrations begins with the image of a physician in academic attire cutting open a suspended body. The proceeding images present the underlying regions of flesh and organs, layer-by-layer, as they would be encountered during dissection. Further anatomical and medical subjects follow these scenes including: a rare image of Galen's seven-chambered uterus (281v); a collection of severed heads seated precariously on the edge of a table (283v–284r); a study of the spine (285v); and two prognostic illustrations showing a physician palpating the stomach and taking the pulse (286r and 286v).

Created in fourteenth-century France where dissection was officially forbidden, Guido's manuscript was a provocative work that challenged taboos around the corpse. In this essay I argue that Guido's drawings show the art of "bodily division," a French practice of opening the noble dead and acted more specifically as a *memento mori* to king Phillip VI, foreshadowing the fate of the royal body. Though clearly linked to the art *macabre* of the fourteenth century such as the popular tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead, I argue that Guido presented the dead body to the king in a different way, emphasizing the power of the gaze over the cadaver. Grimly experimental, Guido's *Anothomia* spotlights the growing role of visual demonstration in fourteenth-century anatomical studies as well as the emerging relationship between anatomy and the *macabre*, which remains largely unexplored.[3]

Predating the so-called "anatomical renaissance" of Andrea Vesalius in the sixteenth century, Guido's *Anothomia* has been largely dismissed as an obscure work of medical history of "only the most minor significance."[4] A 1926 monograph by Ernest Wickersheimer remains the most comprehensive study of the *Anothomia*, providing a biographical sketch of Guido, a transcription of his treatise, and full-page reproductions of the illustrations.[5] Wickersheimer's short

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3   For studies on death and anatomy that touch on the late-medieval and early modern periods see: Sappol 2017 and Sawday 1996, 66–74.

4   Quoted in O'Malley 1965, 18. Roberts and Tomlinson have one of the harshest critiques of Guido's work, writing that the "ludicrous nature of his [Guido's] representations make clear that these illustrations are very largely symbolic in nature, and are based on written, not visual anatomy." See Roberts and Tomlinson 1992, 38.

5   Wickersheimer 1926. It must be noted that Wickersheimer incorrectly cited the manuscript's shelf number and made errors in its foliation, which are amended in this essay. For these reasons, my citations of the manuscript will appear differently than most publications, which follow Wickersheimer. The codex is often incorrectly cited as MS 569 but should be cited as MS 334 as confirmed by the library of the Musée Condé. Wickersheimer's foliation is also at odds with the library catalog. It excludes the first seventeen folios of the prologue and rubrics and commences instead with the first treatise of the codex, Galen's *De ingenio sanitates* on folio 17. My work follows the catalog's foliation rather than Wickersheimer 1926. See *Chantilly, le cabinet des livres* 1900, 1:271–73.

interpretive essay presents Guido as a minor imitator of Mondino de' Luzzi, an influential physician at the University of Bologna where Guido had studied.[6] In the years after Wickersheimer, few studies emerged on Guido's *Anothomia* beyond short entries in historical surveys of medical illustration, which were generally dismissive of the manuscript's importance. However, in 1994, an image from the *Anothomia* (Fig. 10.2) was prominently featured in Michael Camille's influential essay "The Image and the Self." Camille recognized the novelty of Guido's illustrations, which he argued constructed a new identity for the body that exceeded textual description and opened "like the pages of a book to be analyzed and read."[7] Camille returned again to the *Anothomia* in 1996 in his *Master of Death*, framing the images of dissection in relation to the Church prohibition against opening the corpse. In this vein, Camille presented Guido's drawings as illicit speculations on the cadaver, "taken outside of society and analyzed."[8] Since Camille, interest has grown in Guido's work, especially his illustration of the uterus, which continues to animate discussions on identity, gender, and sexuality in studies by Katherine Park, Elina Gertsman, Karl Whittington, and others.[9] This study, however, returns to Camille's original questions concerning Guido's presentation of the cadaver and their relationship to death and visual culture in fourteenth-century France.

Guido's *Anothomia* is a relatively short work comprised of sixteen folios appended to the end of a larger collection of Galenic treatises collectively titled the *Liber notabilium*. Following a brief prologue introducing the study of anatomy, the treatise opens with eighteen full-page drawings showing the art of dissection and other medical scenes. These were executed by two Parisian artists; the first illuminator painted the initial seventeen images while the second completed the final image of the pulse-taker. The folios were specially prepared to accommodate the images with small boxes ruled for explanatory texts in the upper left corners. The first nine figures, which Guido describes as "traced" figures (*figuras designates*), all loosely follow the same design, possibly provided by Guido.[10] Each figure has been retrofitted to a specific topic:

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6   Wickersheimer viewed Guido as a person of minor importance whose work offered only an emulation of his professor Mondino de' Luzzi's research. Wickersheimer's study ultimately centered on Mondino's *Anathomia corporis humani* (written in 1316), known to us only through unillustrated copies. Believing that de' Liuzzi's treatise must have been illustrated at some point, Wickersheimer urged the reader to inspect Guido's images "to get an idea of what the illustrations were like when it was written." See Wickersheimer 1926.

7   Camille 1994, 62, 93 and Camille 1996, 152.

8   Camille 1996, 152.

9   Park 2005; Gertsman 2016; Whittington 2018.

10   Ponam anothomiam figuratam per figuras designates, sed quia durum erit cuilibet medico transcribi facere hanc anothomiam, tum propter expensas, tum quia non de levi inveniuntur pictores scientes ipsas figuras designare, ideoque sufficit eis solum ipsas figuras anothomie sepe videre et mente incorporari. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, f. 17.

FIGURE 10.2   Guido da Vigevano, *Opening the Abdomen*, figure three from *Anothomia Philippi Septimi*, 1345. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, f. 275
PHOTO: AUTHOR

the first six (273r–277r) treating the abdomen and the next three (278r–280r) examining the thoracic cavity.

While anatomical figures, such as the so-called "Nine-Figure Series," had circulated Europe since at least the twelfth century (Fig. 10.4), Guido's work was part of a new wave of illustration inaugurated by the school of Henri de Mondeville in Montpellier at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[11] According to contemporary accounts, Mondeville used life-sized figures painted on scrolls in his classroom to substitute for actual cadavers since anatomy was officially prohibited by a papal ban (*detestande feritatis*) issued in 1299 by Boniface VIII, which forbade the dissection or dismemberment of a corpse.[12] Now lost, echoes of these large-scale paintings can be found in manuscript miniatures in Cambridge and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[13] Though Guido's project echoes many of Mondeville's designs, his work is far more ambitious in both its scale and in its claim to provide an accurate account of the art of dissection. His prologue states:

> Because it is prohibited by the church to make an anatomy in the human body and because it is not possible to know the complete art of medicine without first studying anatomy … I Guido … demonstrate the anatomy of the human body, clearly and plainly, through correctly drawn figures, just as they are in the body and can be seen better than the body because

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11   On the "Nine-Figure Series" see especially: McCall 2017; McCall 2016; O'Neill 1977; Sudhoff 1907.

12   On Detestande feritatis see Brown 1981 and Schäfer 1920. The bull reads: "Detestande feritatis abusum, quem ex quodam more horribili nonnulli fideles improvide prosecuntur, nos, pie intentionis ducti proposito, ne abusus praedicti saevitia ulterius corpora humana dilaceret mentesque fidelium horrore commoveat et perturbet auditum, digne decrevimus abolendum. Praefati namque fideles hujus suae improbandae utique consuetudinis vitio intendentes, si quisquam ex eis genere nobilis vel dignitatis titulo insignitus, praesertim extra suarum partium limites debitum naturae persolvat, in suis vel aliis remotis partibus sepultura electa, defuncti corpus ex quodam impio pietatis affectu truculenter exenterant ac illud membratim vel in frusta imaniter concidentes ea subsequenter aquis immersa exponunt ignibus decoquenda. Et tandem ab ossibus tegumento carnis excusso eadem ad partes praedictas mittunt seu deferunt tummulanda, quod non solum divinae majestatis conspectui abominabile plurimum redditur, sed etiam humanae considerationis obtutibus occurrit vehementius abhorrendum...." Quoted in Schäfer 1920, 497.

13   Bibliotèque nationale de France, MS. fr. 2030/Col. 4478 and Trinity College, MS O.2.440. See MacKinney 1962, 233–39 and McCall 2017, 140–43.

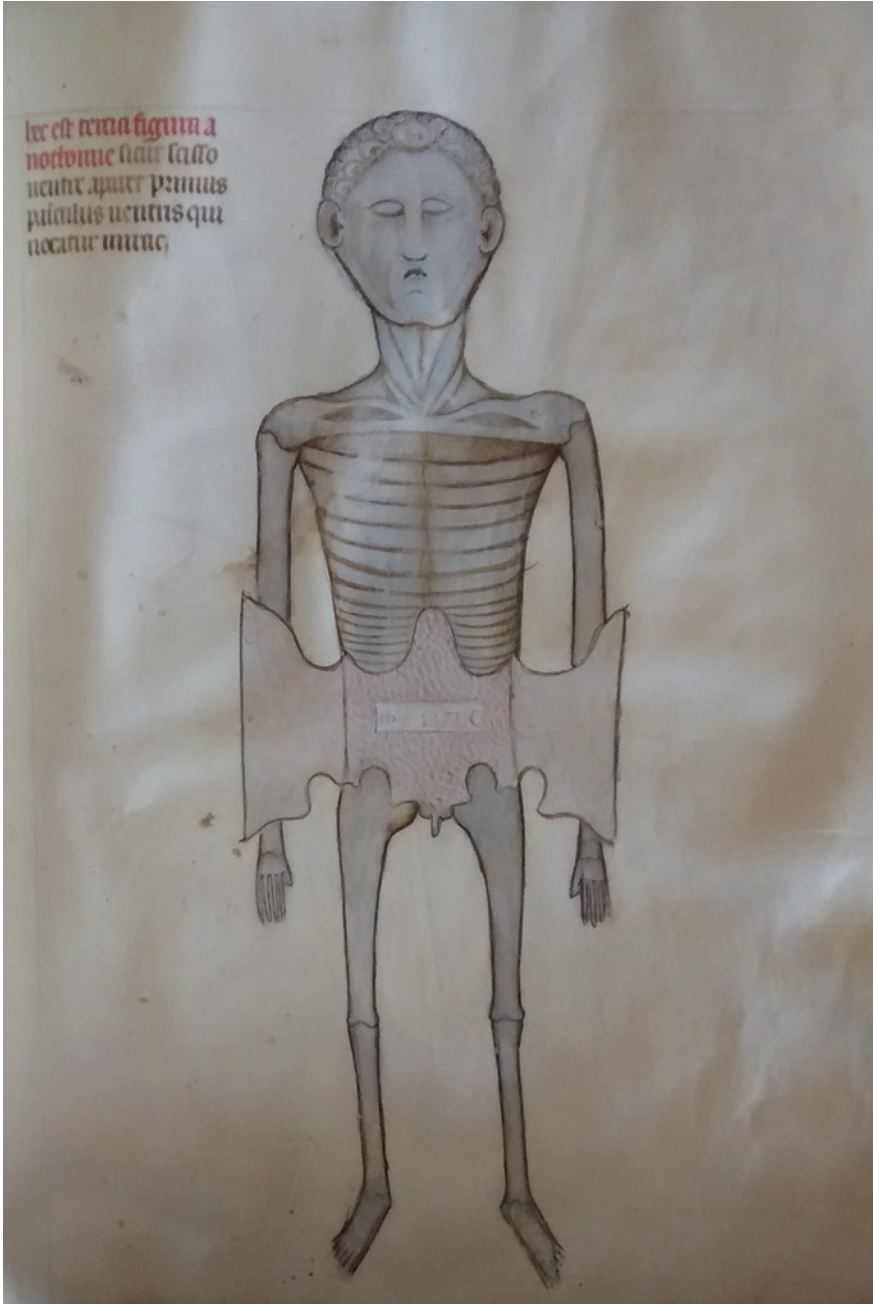FIGURE 10.3   Guido da Vigevano, *The Thoracic Cavity*, figure eight from
               Anothomia Philippi Septimi, 1345. Chantilly, Musée Condé,
               MS 334, f. 275
               PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 10.4   Unknown, *Artery figure*, from *Historia incisiones* (nine-figure series), 1292.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 399, f. 18
PHOTO: AUTHOR

when making an anatomy in the human body, we must hurry because of the stench.[14]

Trained most likely in Bologna, Guido's images reflect the teachings of Mondino de' Luzzi whose methods of dissection were codified in the *Anathomia corporis humani* of 1316.[15] Fleeing to France for political asylum sometime before 1323 following his service as a physician to Emperor Henry VII, Guido brought Mondino's methods of dissection with him as well as the Italian tradition of anatomical illustration.[16] While Mondino's work was never illustrated, Guido's figures were likely copied from Italian surgical drawings. A mid fourteenth-century manuscript of Guglielmo da Saliceto's *Chirurgia* from Lombardy now held in the Biblioteca Marciana (Cod. 58 membr. lat. VII, XXXII, f. 40), contains

14 "Quia prohibitum est ab ecclesia facere anothomiam in corpore humano et cum ars medicine complete sciri non potest nisi quis prius sciverit anothomiam … ego Guido suprascriptus … demonstrabo anothomiam corporis humani patenter et aperte per figuras depinctas recte sicut se habent membra in corpore humano, ut inferius per figuras manifest apparebit et satis melius quam in corpore human videri poterit quia cum facimus anothomiam in homine oportet nos cito expedire propter fetorum." Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, 271r. Transcribed in Wickersheimer 1926, 72.

15 While there are no records of Guido at Bologna, Settia 2016 notes that it was common for Pavia doctors to seek training at the university. For instance, In his *Liber de laudibus civitatis ticinensis*, Opicinus de Canistris boasts about the number of doctors from Pavia who studied medicine at the University of Bologna, "Multi sunt in civitate peritissimi medici tam phisici quam cyrurgici; nam inter alias civitates illarum partium de ista plures mittuntur ad scolas Bononiam, que illinc minus quatuor dietis distat, de qua veniunt periti et docti in legibus, decretalibus et medicina multi et quidam in hiis conventati." Quoted in Maicchi and Quintavalle 1903, 30. Settia does note that Pavia also had its own small medical college, so it is possible that Guido studied there rather than Bologna. This *scuola superiori* does not seem to have been a leading center of medicine and was supplanted in 1363 by foundation of the University of Pavia. On Mondino see: Carlino 1999, 9–20; Giorgi and Pasini 1992. For an English abbreviation of Mondino's *Anathomia* see Wallis 2010, 231–47. For an overview of medical education in fourteenth-century Italy see: Siraisi 2001.

16 For Guido's biography, including his academic study and works of military engineering see: Hall 1978; Hall 1982; Ostuni 1993; McGee 2004; Settia 2016; Settia 2006; Sarton 1947. Guido may have had the opportunity to dissect the body of Henry VII following the emperor's death during his ill-fated Italian campaign between 1310–1313. According to the *Gestis Henrici* of Albertino Mussato, Henry fell ill after crossing a river and deteriorated rapidly, dying suddenly at a small Dominican monastery in the village of Bonconvenuto. As his troops transported the body toward Pisa, the stench of the corpse became unbearable. The army stopped at Pagnanicum were they dismembered the corpse and boiled the remaining flesh off the bones for easier transport. An autopsy of some kind was performed along the way. Mussato states: "Triplex illi interitus causa deprehensa est: una in nate sub genu lethalis ulceris, quod physici antras vocat; altera scisse abe stringuria vesice, quod morbo assidue laborabat; tertia pleuresi, quam misso iam spiritu vomuisse constitit." See Mussato 1636, 93.

a similar image of a full-length figure standing upright with arms at his sides with a gaping incision displaying the organs of the abdomen (Fig. 10.5). The body is reminiscent to Guido's not only in posture, which abandons the sitting position found commonly in older drawings, but also in the naturalistic style that gives the body weight and dimension. Combining naturalism with the serialized designs of Mondeville, Guido's work created a unique hybrid between the French and Italian schools of medical illustration.

Finding qualified medical illustrators in Paris, however, posed a challenge for Guido who notes in his prologue that his designs will be impossible to duplicate "both because of the expense," and because one could not "easily find knowledgeable painters to paint such pictures."[17] This last statement might reflect on the artistic struggles present in portions of the manuscript such as the verso of folio 282, were a table leg was drawn so far out of perspective that the artist had to abandon the drawing after being unable to satisfactorily scratch out the mistake. Gross anatomical errors are also seen throughout the manuscript, such as the eighth figure (Fig. 10.3), which has been generously endowed with three lungs, suggesting that the illuminator was either unfamiliar with human anatomy or was unable to decipher the model provided by Guido.

Despite these mistakes, the *Anothomia* is nonetheless remarkable for its experimental demonstration of anatomy, proposed "clearly and openly through pictures."[18] Purporting to show actual dissections that Guido had conducted ("credatur mihi expert" he implores), they document a cadaver as it exists in a specific place and time much like the "counterfeit" scientific image of the sixteenth century, discussed by Sachiko Kusukawa, whose truth was based on direct experience.[19] The figures indexed and quantified the body in the vein of modern information design, or what Edward Tufte has described as "the defining elements of the idea of information" that help viewers analyze, compare, and differentiate through visual thinking.[20] The body opens in a narrative sequence providing a schematic aid for the viewer's comprehension.

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17   "Ponam anothomiam figuratam per figuras designates, sed quia durum erit cuilibet medico transcribi facere hanc anothomiam, tum propter expensas, tum quia non de levi inveniuntur pictores scientes ipsas figuras designare, ideoque sufficit eis solum ipsas figuras anothomie sepe videre et mente incorporari." Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 334, fol. 17r.

18   Guido's statement here echoes that of Mondeville who writes in his prologue: "Première des 13 figures qui suivent, lesquelles suffisent pour pouvoir démontrer très clairement toute l'anatomie et l'histoire du corps humain, aussi bien de l'homme que de la femme, aussi bien entier au'ouvert, aussi bien de la partie antérieure que de la postérieure … diversement présenter à l'intelect humain." Quoted in Nicaise 1893, 18.

19   Kusukawa 2012, 9.

20   Tufte 1997, 105.
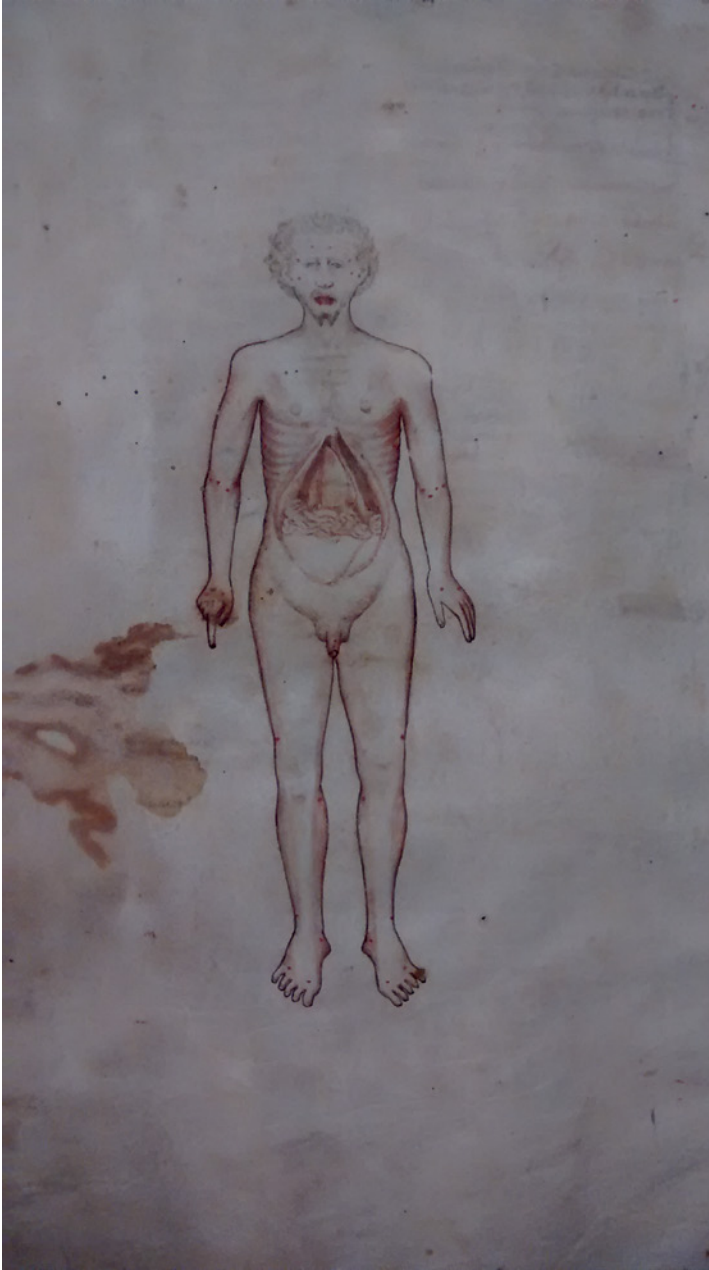
FIGURE 10.5   Unknown, *Standing Anatomical Figure*, from *Chirurgia* of
Guglielmo da Saliceto, ca. 1350. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana,
Cod. 58 membr. lat. VII, 32, f. 40v
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Figures are carefully indexed with labels and numbers corresponding to both a textual gloss written in the upper left corner of each illustration and a more detailed account within the main body of the treatise, enabling the viewer to move easily from image to text with minimal confusion. These features endow the body with a visual mnemonic that bridges what Jonathan Sawday has defined as the fundamental confrontation of anatomy "between an abstract idea of knowledge and the material reality of a corpse."[21] As an organizing principle, the image, in Guido's words explains anatomy "better than the body" because it preserves its material properties from decay. Though many of Guido's contemporaries, such as the French physician Guy de Chauliac, continued to distrust anatomical illustration,[22] Guido grasped the potential technology of images and urged his viewers to "look readily at these anatomical figures and incorporate them into your mind."[23]

The most curious feature of Guido's *Anothomia*, however, is the depiction of the corpse in images two through nine, which abandons the "living" appearance of the anatomical model found in the Italian tradition and instead renders the body as a decaying cadaver in the French fashion of the *macabre*. While the opening image maintains the traditional iconographic figure of the "living man" (*homo vivo*) (Fig. 10.6), in the very next image the *homo vivo* transitions into an ashen corpse, cradled in the arms of a physician who leans his face uncannily close to the lifeless cheek (Fig. 10.7). This veneer of decay is applied only to images that show the dissection of the thoracic and abdominal cavities, whereas the dissection of the cranium takes places rather bizarrely on a living man. The decay visualized in the thoracic and abdominal figures could not be an attempt at naturalism since anatomists could never open a body in this state, as Guido reminds us, "because of the stench."

The reason for the appearance of the corpse, I argue, is related to Guido's patron, King Philip VI to whom the manuscript was dedicated. The two segments showing the process of thoracic and abdominal dissection are in fact directly connected to the French practice of "bodily division," performed by royal physicians on the bodies of the elite.[24] As Elizabeth Brown has demonstrated, the

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21   Sawday 1996, 3.
22   In his *Chirurgia magna*, de Chauliac states that anatomy should be learned by reading the works of qualified physicians and observing human dissection first hand; a student should learn exclusively from dissection "et non par les peintures, comme a fait le susdit Henric, qui auec treize peintures a semblé monstrer l'Anatomie." See Nicaise 1890, 30–31.
23   "Ideoque sufficit eis solum ipsas figuras anothomie sepe videre et mente incorporari." Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, fol. 17.
24   The custom of dividing and embalming the royal body was especially popular north of the Alps and was practiced as early as the tenth century. One of the earliest recorded instances
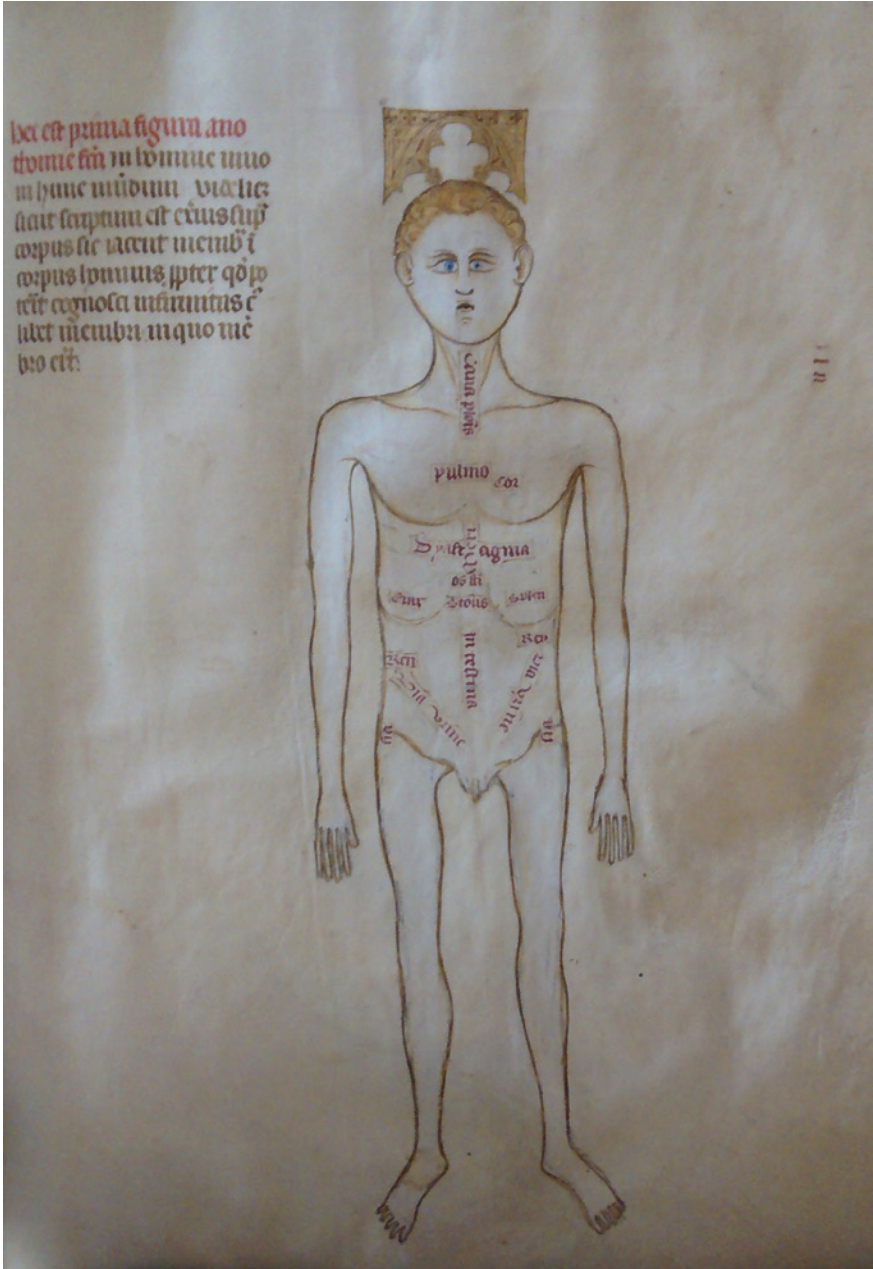
FIGURE 10.6   Guido da Vigevano, *Anatomy of a Living Man*, figure one from *Anothomia Philippi Septimi*, 1345. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, f. 273
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 10.7   Guido da Vigevano, *The Anatomist Opens the Abdomen*, figure two from
                Anothomia Philippi Septimi, 1345. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 334, f. 275
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

division of the corpse became particularly vital to French royal identity by the thirteenth century, enabling the monarchy to disperse their bodies as relics of political authority as well as maximize their proximity to various holy sites and family graves.[25] Katherine Park has shown further that the procedure of bodily division was frequently described as *anatomia*, which meant simply "correct division" (*ana*=correct, *thomos*=division), and in France, there seemed to be practically no distinction between a medical and a royal *anatomia*.[26]

A fourteenth-century illustration from a *Chirurgia magna* of Guy de Chauliac now in Montpellier (Musée Atger, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médicine, MS H. 184 f. 14v) demonstrates the method of preparing an *anatomia* (Fig. 10.8). Here, a recently deceased noblewoman lies prone on a table surrounded by a physician, his assistant, and host of spectators. Opened only moments before, the woman's body bears an immense incision, running from throat to her pelvis. Hovering above the wound, the assistant stares at his handiwork, his knife still perched at her throat. Stooping over her body, the physician unloads her intestines into a canopic jar held by a young assistant on the bottom left. These entrails are undoubtedly destined for burial in a designated church or convent where they will become relics of royalty, absorbing prayers and radiating political power. The physician is surrounded by a crowd of nobles, officials, and family members, who, according to some accounts, were present during

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of post-mortem dissection is Emperor Otto I who died on the seventh of May 973 in Memleben but was buried nearly two weeks later on the twentieth of May in Magdeburg Cathedral. To preserve the cadaver for this period of time, the body was opened the night of his death, the viscera were removed, and the corpse filled with aromatics. Theitmar of Merseberg reports: "Seqenti vero nocte viscera ejus soluta in ecclesia sancte Mariae sunt tumulata; corpus autem ejusdem aromatibus conditum ad Parthenopolim translatum est ibique honorabiliter atque lacrimabiliter succeptum marmoreoque inpositum sarcophago sepultum est." Quoted in Schäfer 1920, 478.

25   Brown 1990.

26   Park 1994; For example, following the death of King John of England, Ralph of Coggeshall described the division of the king's body as an "anatomia" in his *Chronicon Anglicanum*. In France, anatomical dissection and bodily division also began to occur simultaneously. In 1407 the medical faculty at the University of Paris performed a private autopsy on the body of Jean Cannard bishop of Arras. After describing the contents of his body in remarkable detail, the faculty then removed and preserved his heart and viscera. His body was later transported to a Celestine convent while his heart was carried back to Arras and buried in the cathedral choir. See Wickersheimer 1910, 162–63. "Anatomia" is often defined as "correct division" by medieval anatomical treatises, such as the twelfth-century Anatomia Magistri Nicolai Physici, which explains: "The word is derived from *ana*, meaning straight, and *thomos*, meaning division; whence anatomia, that is to say, correct division of the members." Quoted in Corner 1927, 67.

FIGURE 10.8   Unknown, *Anatomia or Bodily Division*, from *Chirugia magna* of Guy de
                   Chauliac. Montpellier, Musée Atger, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médicine,
                   MS H. 184, f. 14v
                   PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE MUSÉE ATGER

the royal anatomy.[27] Following the dissection, the interior of the body would
be rubbed with heavy applications of salt, then flowers, herbs and spices to
mask decay.[28]

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27   After the death of King Charles VI in 1422, for instance, the anonymous chronicler of the
      Regne de Charles VI recounts that a number of lords, counselors, and members of the
      university went to see the king on his bed where they apparently witnessed the removal
      of his heart and liver. "Et tantost après sa mort l'allèrent voir en son lit les seigneurs de son
      conseil, de la chambre de parlement, des comptes, de l'Université de Paris, le prévost et
      college de Chastelet, le prévost des marchands, sechevins, bourgeois, manans et habitans
      d'icelle ville et pluiseurs aultres officiers et serviteurs d'icelui roy. Et fut trouvé qu'il avoit
      le cuer et le foye net." Quoted in Douët d'Arcq 1866, 6:324.
28   An impressive list of embalming ingredients is provided in Nicaise 1893, 572–73: "Rp. Myrrhe,
      Mumie, Aloès, et autres épices empechant la corruption et réprimant la puanteur, telles que
      Roses, Violettes, Camphre, Santal, Muse, en qualities que l'on voudra, du Sel autant que tout
      le reste; on remplira d'herbes odoriférantes toute la cavité don't on a extrait les viscères,

The incision used to open this woman's body follows the same route as the one picture by Guido (Fig. 10.1): downward from the top of the throat through the thoracic wall into the abdominal cavity halting at the pelvis. This maneuver was described in 1312 by Mondeville in his *Chirurgia* dedicated to Philip IV.

> When the body must be preserved for longer than four nights, and when granted dispensation by the Church of Rome, open the abdominal wall with an incision from the neck to the pubis in men and with a double incision from the substernal notch along both flanks in women, and then fold back the flap connected to the pubis. Through those incisions, remove all the abdominal viscera down to the anus.[29]

Mondeville states that he had personally performed this task on two French kings and while he does not employ the term *anatomia*, the similarities between his manual and Guido's treatise are readily apparent.[30] Since anatomies were reserved exclusively for the elite of France, Guido's images did not simply analyze an anonymous cadaver but rather showcased the royal body subjected to the art of bodily division. It is no coincidence then that Guido's eight figures that detail the art of *anatomia* have been rendered in exaggerated decay, recalling *memento mori* popular in religious and moralistic literature. Dedicated to Philip VI, they provoke an intimate meditation on the king's death, presenting: a double portrait of Guido and Philip VI embraced in an ominous funeral rite.

Combining the emerging science of anatomy with the moralizing picture of death, it is difficult to classify Guido's series of images or to provide a singular, comprehensive reading. In one respect they anticipate future figurations of the medical *macabre*, such as the grinning anatomical skeleton commonly found in printed books of hours from the late-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth

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Camomille, Melilot, Pouliot, Menthe, Mentastre, Balsamite, Mélisse, etc., jusqu'à réttablir la forme habituelle et décente du corps: ensuite on recoudra et on procédera comme il est dit plus haut. S'il faut conserver longtemps les viscères extraits, on les saupoudrera abondamment avec la poudre susdite, puis on les déoisera dans un vase scellé d'argent ou de plomb ou dans un urne choisie entourée d'un grand nombre de toiles cirées."

29   "Si les cadavres doivent etre conservés plus de quatre nuits et qu'on ait un privilège spécial de l'Église romaine, on incisera la paroi antérieure du ventre du milieu de la poitrine au pubis s'il s'agit d'un homme, chez les femmes on incisera de la fourche ou orifice de l'estomac en descendant suivant la forme d'un bouelier renversé jusqu'aux deux flancs ou ilions; puis on renversera sur les parties sexuelles toute la paroi comprise entre les deux incisions et on extraira tous les viscères jusqu'à l'annus." Quoted in Nicaise 1893, 572–73.

30   While Mondeville doesn't specify which kings he embalmed, the most likely candidates are Philip the Fair (d. 1314) and Louis X (d. 1316). Henri's treatise was likely written around 1316; this precludes Philip V who died in 1322. See ibid, 569, note 2.

centuries in Paris.[31] Prefacing the calendar, these figures provided a medical definition for the body while simultaneously contemplating its transience in preview of the Office of the Dead.[32] But here in the middle of the fourteenth century, the figures of Guido are strongly idiosyncratic. It is also worth considering how studies of anatomy, both illustrated treatises and the physical art of dissection, were both impacted by and contributed to the growth of the visual culture of the *macabre* in the latter Middle Ages. Did the act of opening a cadaver alter representations of death? These questions require a more exhaustive study, but a brief sketch of the visual language found in Guido's *Anothomia* provides several points of entry. I conclude here by examining how Guido's figures both engage and modify contemporary *macabre* imagery, utilizing familiar iconography while simultaneously reformulating the relationship between the viewer and the image of death.

The figures from Guido's *Anothomia* undoubtably draw from contemporaneous sources found in devotional imagery such as the infamous "Tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead."[33] The poem was extremely popular among the French elite and was frequently illustrated in books of hours and other devotional literature. By the mid fourteenth century, as Christine Kralik has shown, the story's iconography was so recognizable that it even began to circulate separately without any poetic accomplice.[34] One example, the Prayerbook of Bonne of Luxemburg (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 69.86) painted in Paris before 1449 by Jean le Noir and his daughter Bourgot (Fig. 10.9), visualize the decaying body through similar means.[35] The set of paintings illustrate the poem's climax when three nobles on a courtly hunt encounter their deceased doppelgangers who have returned from the grave to waylay the living. The three nobles react in terror and surprise to the ambush. One rider turns his face from the apparition, unable to endure spectacle; another covers his nose to ward away the stench. The dead, in contrast, stand confidently upright in varying states of abjection, upon a stack of coffins from

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31   Possibly first introduced in a 1492 edition of the hours published by Parisian printer Philippe Pigouchet, although further research is needed. See Goehring 2008, 197–204.

32   On skeletal figures in books of hours see Roberts and Tomlinson 1992; On the introduction of anatomical figures to books of hours see: Goehring 2008, 197–204 and As-Vijvers 2018, 47.

33   The earliest and most popular version of the poem was written by Baudouin de Condé. It was first illustrated in 1285 in a compendium made for Marie de Brabant (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142). See Kralik 2011, 133–154; Gertsman 2010, 23; Binski 1996, 134–40. Chihaia 1988.

34   Kralik 2011, 134–35.

35   On this manuscript see: Lermack 2008; Lermack 2005; Krieger 1998; Land 1984; Deuchler 1971.

FIGURE 10.9   Jean le Noir and daughter Bourgot, *The Three Living and the Three Dead*,
                from the Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxemburg, before 1349. New York,
                The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection 1969, acc. no. 69.86,
                ff. 321v–322
                PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

which they have just emerged. The animated corpses are arranged in a se-
quence of decay. On the far left, the freshest of the three, gazes forlornly at his
body mourning his corruption. The other two, who show much greater decom-
position, turn their maniacal attention on the living with unnerving grins. The
moral of the poem, of course, is that no one, no matter their power or wealth,
will escape their mortality; therefore, each must live with a mind oriented to-
ward death so that fate will not take them unprepared.

    The image of the cadaver in the Tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead
is intended to provoke the anxiety of decay and the abjection of the body. As
Nancy Caciola has shown, the return of the dead spotlights the popular medi-
eval belief that the body could not truly die until it had fully decayed.[36] As the
body putrefied, its alteration was thought to simultaneously mirror the cleans-
ing of the individual's soul within purgatory, an idea that ultimately envisioned

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36   Caciola 1996.

decay as a form of purification.[37] In this regard, the image of the decaying corpse becomes a motif for penance in preparation for the physical loss of self. "Death transforms the body into a sign that is directed toward the gaze of the living," Joseph Koerner writes, "and this spectacle, the cadaver, mediates certain fundamental knowledge about the nature of our *postlapsarian* existence that would otherwise be inaccessible. It is the sight of the corpse that enables us to regard life in its proper relation to death."[38] Because death is ultimately a state of oblivion—an absence of knowledge, sensation, and the self—the image of the cadaver becomes its proxy. The corpse is the border of the living being, in Julia Kristeva's terms and the viewer is propelled from "from loss to loss" until the "entire body falls beyond the limit—*cadere*, cadaver."[39]

Within the *mise-en-scène* of Bonne's prayer book, the viewer scopes the theater of death as a voyeur. This vantage point moderates the force of the corpse's address, offering "the capacity for self-examination," in Paul Binski's words, "and so contributes to the construction of the subject's sense of self."[40] Balanced on opposite pages, the living and the dead present dueling expressions of the body and form a circuit that resists closure, for the living and dead each refract the gaze into a "hall of mirrors" where the viewer's identity ricochets in regress.[41] Juxtaposed in Bonne's prayer book, the illustrations of the Three Living and the Three Dead thus solicit repeated views—tempting to reveal death but ultimately casting its shadow into a pool of reflections.

While drawing its iconography from *macabre* imagery such as the Tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead, Guido's *Anothomia* reconfigures the relationship between knowledge and the body through a program of rational observation and medical curiosity. The decaying corpse is not a sign of purgation or the erasure of knowledge but rather an invention to know the dead body in its most abject state. Dissected and displayed, Guido examined death through the theoretical exercise of *anatomia*, while also addressing the fate of his patron. Held by the gaze, the corpse does not move, speak, or sermonize but instead is paralyzed by anatomical procedure. Opening the surface of this mirror through its suite of illustrations, Guido arrested power from the corpse and awarded it to the audience; as the pages turn, the viewer performs as dissector,

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37   Ibid. A quick decline was thus highly preferable, and in some cases, as Jakov Dordevic has observed, decomposition was hastened through burial in miraculous earth imported from the holy land said to decompose a body in only a few days' time. See Dordevic 2017 and also Chihaia 1988.

38   Koerner 1985, 53.

39   Kristeva 1982, 3.

40   Binski 1996, 138.

41   Ibid.

sequentially dividing the innermost regions of the cadaver through precise medical techniques.

While his methods remained unrefined, Guido presaged the alliance between science, images, and observation that would facilitate the "empirical verification of anatomical knowledge," in the sixteenth century.[42] His investigation of the corpse creates what Michael Sappol terms "the anatomical image of self," an internalized projection "that divides us into regions and territories, with internal place names and borders and topographical features."[43] While this anatomical self was largely inaccessible in fourteenth-century France, Guido's figures provided this privileged knowledge to Philip VI. They affirmed the ideology of the king's body and its sacred organs destined for political and spiritual internments. Cast within the familiar terminology of bodily division, the images promised a measure of apotheosis for the royal body through the rational authority of *anatomia*. The power of death is momentarily usurped by the power of the royal gaze, which witnessed the preservation of the king's body and its afterlife as a political relic.

Philip VI died at Nogent-le-Roi, on 22 August 1350, a mere five years after Guido produced his treatise. His corpse was carried to Notre Dame in Paris, and on the following Thursday buried in the royal necropolis of Saint Denis on the left of the great altar. Before burial, however, his body was divided. His bowels were interned at the Jacobins in Paris and his heart sent to a Carthusian convent in his native Valois.[44] Who performed these tasks remains unknown, but in any case, we might say that Guido did embalm his patron in another way by crafting a book of cadavers bearing Philip's name. His images are thus another kind of mummy maker, which—like the resins, salts, and spices used by the physician—suspended the corpse in time.

42   Carlino 1999, 1.
43   Sappol 2006, 6–8.
44   Froissart 1844, 20.

Covert Apotheoses: Archbishop Henry Chichele's Tomb and the Vocational Logic of Early Transis

Noa Turel

n February 5, 1424, the celebration of Mass at Canterbury Cathedral was gravely interrupted. A young goldsmith by the name of Bernard Oswyk escaped the bailiffs and "an undisciplined multitude of the city" and entered Christ's Church to seek sanctuary.[1] Its roots traceable to Old Testament law, the custom of sanctuary offered criminals asylum within the church, especially in capital cases, where the punishment was often commuted to exile and forfeiture of one's assets.[2] While they remained within the prescribed sanctuary grounds, the offenders' protection was sacrosanct—at least theoretically. This method of evading justice was evidently widely used, so much so that by 1624 the public outrage led to its abolishment. Oswyk certainly got a taste of such outrage; the prior had to shield him from the crowd while absorbing harsh insults for harboring such "thieves, murderers, and robbers."[3]

This rather common event has earned a minor foothold in art history thanks to Oswyk's reaction to the mob's threat. In his moment of distress, the goldsmith ran towards, and latched onto, the metal fence surrounding the elaborate tomb monument of the then-current Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chichele, in the south-east transept of the church (Figs. 11.1–11.4).[4] In contrast with several other projects he commissioned at Canterbury during his long tenure from 1414 to 1443, Chichele's tomb is not directly documented. The Oswyk incident is in fact one of the pieces of indirect evidence pointing to the fact that it was completed between 1424 and 1426, long before the Archbishop's 1443 death, which

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1   Jacob 1979, 388–89.
2   Shoemaker, Karl, Drucilla Cornell, Roger Berkowitz, and Kenneth Michael Panfilio. *Sanctuary and Crime in the Middle Ages, 400–1500*. Fordham University, 2011.
3   Jacob 1979, 389.
4   On Chichele's tomb and its context see Cohen 1973, esp. 6–46; Binski 1996, 142–49; King 1987; Welch 2013; Barker 2016; Oosterwijk 2010. On its location, see Lang-Sims 1979, 75–77.

FIGURE 11.1   Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, c. 1425 and 1887–89. Canterbury
Cathedral, Kent, United Kingdom
PHOTO: ANGELO HORNAK / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

FIGURE 11.2   Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, c. 1425 and 1887–89. Canterbury
                Cathedral, Kent, United Kingdom
                PHOTO: CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY

FIGURE 11.3   Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, c. 1425 and 1887–89. Canterbury
                Cathedral, Kent, United Kingdom
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 11.4   Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, c. 1425 and 1887–89. Canterbury
                Cathedral, Kent, United Kingdom
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

makes it the first *transi* tomb in England. Transi, or cadaver tombs as they are
sometimes called, are funerary monuments that feature corpse-shaped effi-
gies or carvings of the deceased. Chichele's monument currently comprises
four key elements: a top effigy, a faux-sarcophagus, a transi, and a canopy. The
heavily restored top effigy is fully polychromed and presents the Archbishop
in the robes of his office, his head supported by pillows and flanked by two
angels, while two figures kneel with a book at his feet to recall the chantry he
endowed for his Salvation. Chichele's eyes are wide open and his hands, un-
likely original, are ungloved and held together in prayer gesture. Below the top
gisant, set underneath a stone arcade evoking an open tomb-box, is another
effigy, likewise painted, but in much subtler tones, of an emaciated corpse laid
on a shroud bunched at the top and bottom (Fig. 11.2). The tonsure on this
lower effigy leaves little room for doubt that this is not a personification—
some sort of generic representation of the concept of death—but indeed the
corpse designated to (eventually) go underneath the faux sarcophagus: Henry

Chichele's corporeal remains.[5] The tomb features many inscriptions, at least one of which, surrounding the bottom edge, is indeed definitively speaking as Chichele's corpse: "I was a pauper born, then to Primate raised / Now I am cut down and ready to be food for worms. / Behold my grave. / Whoever you may be who passes by, I ask you to remember / You will be like me after you die: All horrible, dust, worms, vile flesh."[6]

The literature on transi tombs is still dominated by Kathleen Cohen's comprehensive 1973 study, *Metamorphoses of a Death Symbol*.[7] Cohen traces the transi to the late fourteenth century and identifies "a number of complex interrelated factors" behind the popularity of these tombs, ranging from "the interest in alchemical symbolism" to "the climate of anxiety generated by the conflict between the traditional ascetic demands of the church and the emergence of nationalism and the accumulation of great wealth."[8] This "cleavage between the growing worldly interests of the late Middle Ages and the traditional demands of religion" was particularly poignant, Cohen argues, in the case of Cardinal Jean de Lagrange (d. 1402) and Archbishop Chichele, who commissioned one of the earliest transi tombs in France and the very earliest in England, respectively.[9] She sees the innovative tomb monuments as attempts by these "proud and powerful, but also religious" men to process their anxiety about this cleavage.[10]

Cohen is thus outlining what essentially amounts to a psychological argument. These monuments are so striking—to commission an effigy of one's own future cadaver is quite a bit more disturbing than purchasing generic *memento mori* imagery—that I think some such analysis is warranted. However, I believe that in seeking a rationale for this macabre vogue, a distinction should be drawn between the—as it were—manifest and latent strata of signification. The context and *memento mori* inscriptions of Chichele's tomb, as well as other early transis, leave little room for doubt as to the manifest aspirations, which are essentially pedagogic: these monuments produce for churchgoers a simulated live version of the story of the Three Living and Three Dead, an edifying encounter with the prospect of one's own mortality.

The advertised pedagogic rationale, which legitimized such innovative monuments in the public sphere, however, was not necessarily the reason that

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5   On generic representations of death, a phenomenon posterior to early transi tombs, see Oosterwijk 2008.

6   Transcribed and translated from the original Latin in Cohen 1973, 16 and 9n.

7   See also Barker 2016; Welch 2013; Blunk 2011; Marek 2009; Binski 1996, 139–52; King 1987; and Panofsky 1964, 63–66.

8   Cohen 1973, 4.

9   Ibid. 5–6.

10   Ibid. 7.

actually prompted Chichele to commission it. While there is little reason to doubt that the Archbishop and his French predecessors in the transi mania were indeed proud, powerful, and sincerely religious, I think the paradox inherent in macabre imagery in general—the lush materiality of these public pleas to renounce the world—touches a key vulnerability of Cohen's argument. While she is certainly right to see diversity of cause in such a complex and (eventually) widespread phenomenon, I do believe she left out a number of important motivating factors. Notably, in the case of prominent ecclesiastics and later monarchs, who, carefully and with great expenditure, set out to shape their posthumous plight—and legacy—through such monuments, I argue that a certain vocational logic, a desire to pictorially distinguish themselves as extraordinary individuals, also directed their interest in such public displays of their corpse. The Oswyk anecdote pointed me to this reading.

Sensing his protection about to be illegally violated, which would have been far from unheard of—in fact at some point in the confrontation the mob did succeed in dragging the young felon down the nave—Oswyk made a less-than-evident choice. Of all the objects he could have latched onto in the Cathedral complex, he gravitated towards this empty tomb. At the risk of stating the obvious, if ever a *memento mori* image is utterly unneeded, it is whilst one is actively escaping the law for a (likely) capital offense. The actual reason that compelled Oswyk to choose, of all the options at Canterbury, the grille surrounding the two-decade premature tomb of a living Archbishop is unknowable. The answer is possibly as mundane as the grille's proximity to the fleeing felon or its relative apparent sturdiness. However, there are also two other, intriguing possibilities. Oswyk may have actually targeted this particular monument in his flight, with the specific intent to appeal for Chichele's protection. Alternatively, he may have had no idea what he was desperately grasping, but it seemed to him, instinctively in that split moment he had to make such a life-or-death decision, an appropriate choice. These two last possibilities led me to consider the phenomenon of early transi tombs under new light. If Oswyk's choice was agnostic and instinctive, it suggests that Chichele succeeded in creating a monument that immediately advertised itself, visually, as exceptionally sacred—establishing a lineage to altars of holy martyria and, ultimately, the Arc of the Covenant. If Oswyk was less frantic and more cunning—targeting the living archbishop's monument on purpose—he may have hoped to curry favor with Chichele by implying such a reading. Whatever the unknowable historic truth behind Oswyk's choice may be, it is a useful exercise to consider what may have caused this tomb to stand out as a vested monument in the rather competitive environment of Canterbury Cathedral.

I propose that the answer lies in the pictorial semantics of these large-scale macabre tombs in their ecclesiastical setting. Much as any prominent tomb,

Chichele's monument claims its subject's earthly and spiritual prominence through costly materials and artistry. As Joel Rosenthal surveyed in his 1972 *The Purchase of Paradise*, by the early fifteenth century there was a well-established trend of trading worldly goods for Salvation amidst upper-class English men and women, exercised through devices such as charitable donations and, more directly, foundation chantries. English transi tombs, which start from Chichele's and spread rapidly amongst the upper clergy and the aristocracy, were, I propose, also such a vehicle for transferring distinction from this world to the next. Chichele and his followers in this macabre fad claimed privilege not merely through costly ostentatious displays (as in any other monumental tomb), but also by virtue of conspicuous suffering that visually aligned them with Christ and the saints in the competitive visual space of the cathedral.

Death, both actually present, as in the form of graves as well as sacred bodily relics, and represented, as in images of the Passion or martyrdoms, was a key element in sanctifying the medieval church and building its community. The dead in any given church were the interred and the exemplary sacred. By opening his sarcophagus, Chichele had ostensibly upgraded from the former to the latter category, effecting a covert apotheosis of sorts. The startling visual presence of Chichele's emaciated, nude corpse in his seat of power for nearly two decades was surely a public display of humility—mortification, even—but, at the same time, nearly every visual element of the unusual tomb also evoked Christological and saintly imagery.

The present state of Chichele tomb is quite removed from the original one. The monument suffered extensive damage at the hands of Puritan iconoclasts in 1642.[11] The current condition of a comparable earlier monument (Figs. 11.5–11.6), the tomb of Archbishop John Stratford (d. 1348) is, in the words of the unnamed curator who composed the object file at Canterbury: "Appallingly battered, with much of the damage deliberate. The effigy lacks its nose, both hands, one foot, the top of the staff, and the heads of both little dogs underfoot." Evident restorations, notably in some awkward passages around the mitre, the angels, and the staff, among others, indicate that this was likely the state of Chichele's tomb in the wake of the Puritan riot as well (note, for instance, the difference between the angel's two hands in Fig. 11.3). Chichele, however, had the foresight to care for his effigy from the hereafter. The foundation deed of All Souls College at Oxford, dated 1438, stipulated that its fellows

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11   Much of the information about the condition and material history of the tomb is derived from documents, mostly unpublished, currently housed at the Canterbury Cathedral archives.

FIGURE 11.5   Tomb of Archbishop John Stratford, d. 1348. Canterbury Cathedral, Kent,
United Kingdom
PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA/CREATIVE COMMONS

FIGURE 11.6   Tomb of Archbishop John Stratford, d. 1348. Canterbury Cathedral, Kent,
United Kingdom
PHOTO: AUTHOR

are responsible for the regular maintenance of the tomb in fifty-year cycles.[12]
The fellows have upheld their commitment continuously, most recently in-
vesting £9,500 in 1999.[13] The most extensive of these restoration campaigns
occurred in 1663–64 (in the wake of the attack), and between 1887 and 99. On
the latter, an 1899 edition of *The Kentish Gazette & Canterbury Press* reports:

> the re-decoration of the tomb of archbishop Chichele in Canterbury
> Cathedral, the main portion of which was recently carried out by All
> Souls' College, Oxford, has just been completed by the erection in posi-
> tion of some twenty figures of various kings, saints, and others, exqui-
> sitely executed by Mr. J. E. Kemp, one of the best-known exponents of this
> class of work. They have been executed in wood, and most exquisitely

12   Information derived from the Canterbury Cathedral archives. For Chichele's foundation
of All Souls college see Horden 2010, 301–308.

13   Documentation for this latest round of restorations is not yet available in the Canterbury
Cathedral archives.

coloured and gilded, in keeping with the highly ornate appearance which the tomb now presents..... The tomb was greatly marred by the Puritans and the figures upon it disappeared. Later, the figures of our Lord and the twelve Apostles were placed there, but these were quite unsuitable and have now been erected in the position which it is believed they originally occupied over the choir screen on the nave side.[14]

One of the conclusions that can be drawn, by omission, from this description is that the elaborate Gothic canopy housing the (now-lost original) sculptures may in fact be original, comparable to the one framing Stratford's and other dignitaries' late-medieval tomb monuments.[15] Located at the transept and bridging the east aisle and nave between the choir and the high altar, Chichele's well-placed tomb faced two chapels, which may have accentuated the visual parity inherent between such elaborately framed funerary ensembles and Gothic altars. The effect is likewise discernable in Stratford's fourteenth-century tomb, but it is important to note that this monumentality was a somewhat new phenomenon. As Georgia Sommers-Wright noted in her analysis of the royal tomb program at St. Denis, the audacious transition to three-dimensional tombs—elevated sarcophagi and effigies in the round—garnered serious momentum in Western Christendom only in the thirteenth century and, even then, initially only in the very specific, privileged context of ecclesiastic guardianship of royal remains.[16] The St. Denis drive to more prominently encase the ever-prominent dead, traced by Sommers-Wright, bears no trivial similarities to the competitive collection of relics and reliquaries throughout the Middle Ages, possessions that likewise promoted the prestige, power, and economic success of ecclesiastical communities.[17]

Largely due to its rich, comprehensive nature, Cohen's book obscures the fact that, aside from one outlier (which is also essentially different), the transi tomb phenomenon first emerges in the concentrated context of the French court under Charles VI le Bien-Aimé or, in the less euphemistic version of the sobriquet, le Fou—the Mad. The earliest example of such a tomb to survive belongs to Guillaume de Harcigny, the Laon-based physician who was called in

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14   Saturday, 22 April 1899, p.4.
15   This conclusion is bolstered by an unverified image of an old albumen silver print, attributed to the photographer Frank Mason Good (1839–1928) and dated to about 1866—that is, well before the 1887–89 restoration—in which Chichele's tomb, in the background, seems to be incased in the same structure. See Alamy.com, image ID: W527EJ.
16   Sommers-Wright 1974.
17   For a broad overview of these phenomena, see the essays compiled in Geary 1994 as well as Hahn 2010.

FIGURE 11.7   Transi tomb sculpture of Guillaume de Harcigny, 1394, Laon, France
PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA/CREATIVE COMMONS

to treat the king's (likely) schizophrenia, and who had the monument erected in 1394, a year after his death, based on instructions in his will (Fig. 11.7). The French cardinal and statesman Jean de Lagrange seems to have adopted the idea, integrating a transi into his ambitious, multi-register tomb monument in Avignon (Fig. 11.8).[18] This too was stipulated in a will and completed posthumously, and it is the likely inspiration for Chichele's tomb, which was, by contrast, executed decades before the Archbishop's passing. The English cleric traveled to the Continent many times; for instance, on March 22, 1406, King Henry IV commissioned him to lead a diplomatic embassy to France, and there is reason to believe he had a hand in negotiations between Rome and Avignon during the Great Schism.[19] Anne McGee-Morganstern and Pamela King each argued that Lagrange's and Chichele's tombs, respectively, emerged out of a particular courtly context, as the two princes of the Church had each a close working relationship with a monarch—Charles V in the case of Lagrange and Henry V in that of Chichele.[20]

18   See Cohen 1973, esp. 12–38; Morganstern 1973.
19   Jacob 1943, xxvi–xxvii.
20   Morganstern 1973; King 1984.

FIGURE 11.8   Fragment of transi from the tomb monument of Cardinal Jean de Lagrange,
                 d. 1402, Musée du Petit Palais à Avignon, Avignon, France
                 PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA/CREATIVE COMMONS

As Ernst Kantorowicz and many others have noted, there are formal parallels between late-medieval and Early Modern royal and bishopric funeral rites and so-called "double-decker" transi tombs such as Chichele's.[21] Notably, they both feature two bodies: the actual corpse (which in tombs, as in funerals, was usually covered or encased and thus conspicuously invisible) and an effigy or manikin presented as alive and dressed in the full regalia or pontificals of the deceased's office.[22] This duality, according to Kantorowicz, represented the clear conceptual separation between the person and the office they held—"the incumbent of a Dignity may decay, but the Dignity itself is nonetheless forever, it does not die."[23] It may be (and certainly has been) debated whether such a neat distinction can be drawn between the individual and their role in life in a monument designed, in part, to cement their legacy. What is clear, however, is that the specific choice to include a transi in the elaborate tomb monument is superfluous to that fraught distinction between social and personal identity. Consuming these monuments through modern photographs may obscure the

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21   Kantorowicz 1957, 433–5; Cohen 1973 40–41.
22   On this phenomenon see Giesey 1960; Harvey and Mortimer 1994.
23   Kantorowicz 1957, 435–6.

fact that any standard tomb effigy inherently at once confronts the viewer with the social identity of its deceased subject and the haunting reality of death and decay.[24]

It seems rather more likely that these early transis, in addition to their other layers of signification, actually served to amplify the privileged position of the individuals who commissioned them. They were a logical extension of an ongoing process of highlighting the prominent dead. One clear indication of this is indeed the royal connection—a fad that first caught on amongst high-powered statemen-ecclesiastics evolved into a conventional mode of commemoration for European sovereigns by the sixteen century.[25]

Strikingly novel to its early viewers (such as Oswyk), Chichele's lower effigy is, at the most basic level, a representation of a nude, tormented body (Fig. 11.4). The Archbishop lays limp over a shroud with his eyes slit open, as if involuntarily. The flesh of his emaciated body has sunk right down to his protruding bones, ligaments, and blood vessels, remarkably still plump. Ambiguity as to his state extends to the position of the hands; rigor mortis may have arched the right wrist, but the left one is somewhat active, dutifully clenching the shroud to cover Chichele's genitals. The archbishop is dead, but not quite dead. The unblemished skin of his cadaver indicates that Chichele, much like his prominent followers in England and the Continent alike, chose to have his remains represented as "a recently deceased person; a fresh rather than a decomposing corpse," as Christina Welch observes.[26] His remains, as was common in other early transis, were in the "wet corpse" state, which, conceived as indeed a transitionary phase between life and full death (associated with the completely de-fleshed skeleton), was understood to coincide with the in-betwixt status of Purgatorial torment. Welch notes that "although theologically post-mortem sentience was incorrect, it would be of benefit [to patrons] to present a transi as a naked, emaciated and in-a-state-of-discomfort corpse," because it served as "a powerful pedagogical symbol that reinforced the horrors of purgatory," which in turn accounts "as to why the higher echelons of society were commissioning *transi* tombs."[27] While Welch is correct in drawing a connection between the "wet corpse" and purgatorial mortifications, I believe a pedagogical function would actually be better served by a corpse with a much more advanced state of decomposition, one that is not merely "*ready* to be food for worms" (as the Chichele inscription confirms) but that is visibly already "all horrible, dust, worms,

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24   On that see also Marcoux's essay in this volume.
25   See Panofsky 1964 75–81; Bass 2017.
26   Welch 2013, 135.
27   Ibid. 142.

FIGURE 11.9   Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb*, 1521–22, Kunstmuseum,
                Basel, Switzerland
                PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA/PUBLIC DOMAIN

vile flesh." This is yet another indication that lurking underneath said manifest
pedagogical explanation lay a much more calculated, self-serving rationale,
aided by the relative intactness of Chichele's corpse. In the visual culture of
the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, images of tormented bodies, especially
nude ones, as well as representations of highlighted human remains are most
notably associated with Christ and the martyred saints.

   Peering through his open sarcophagus, limp on his shroud, Chichele is
clearly reminiscent of Christ in his tomb. Renaissance paintings by Mantegna
(*The Lamentation of Christ*, c. 1480, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) and Hans
Holbein the Younger (Fig. 11.9) facilitate an eerie close encounter between
viewer and the historic tormented corpse of Jesus. They also evoke a differ-
ent type of encounter, namely one with life-size medieval and Renaissance
sculptures of Christ placed in a tomb-like structure either seasonally, mostly
as part of the Easter liturgy, or year-round, such as the extant example from
the Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges (Fig. 11.10).[28] The visual parity with Jesus would be
highlighted by the structure of many of the so-called "double-decker" (more
accurately, multi-level) transi tombs. As Jessica Barker notes, some debate lin-
gers on the actual practice of sarcophagus burial in the Middle Ages, intimated
by Chichele's and other early transi tombs.[29] What is certain, however, is that
conceptually and iconographically, such Ancient-style burial (as opposed to
subterranean or wall interment near the monument) was very much associ-
ated with Jesus and his sacred, temporary corpse.

   It is hardly surprising that Chichele sought the visual analogy. The imi-
tation of Christ and, by extension, the martyred saints, was the oldest path
to Salvation in Christian thought. In considering how the presentation of
Chichele's and Lagrange's tormented corpses was also a method of distinc-
tion, it is important not to espouse the modern tendency to regard political
savvy as inherently cynical. These men rose through the ranks by virtue of their

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28   On these see Kopania 2011, esp. 120–145.
29   Barker 2016, 117–120.

FIGURE 11.10   Chapel with Jesus Christ statue, 15th century. Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges, Belgium
PHOTO: MAURITIUS IMAGES GMBH / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

capacity for strategic thinking, but that does not imply quasi-sacrilege. Rather, the ambition and self-promotion seamlessly extended from the material to the spiritual realm. The transis' nudity points to the conceptual framework that facilitated this double privileging by design. As Thomas Kren noted, early Renaissance Christian art inherently instrumentalized the nude, deploying its "heightened appeal to the senses" to impress on the viewer the "humanitas Christi"—a reflection on the human condition (indeed, mortality) and the link to the divine.[30] The proliferation of imagery featuring nude bodies, which interestingly coincided with the emergence of macabre imagery, has been as-cribed, much like Renaissance-art trends ranging from emotive art to realism, to the impact of Franciscan thought and preaching.[31] Lagrange, Chichele, and their followers in the Christ-like tormented-corpse transi fad were indeed in some sense following the example of St. Francis in making their body a site and focal point of sacred performance and contemplation. This, in turn, points to an even more accurate contextual framework for these covert apotheoses.

30   Kren 2018, 16–17. On the multivalent meanings of nudity in medieval art see the various essays in Lindquist 2011.
31   Ibid. 18–19.

Chichele's decision to start on the monument in his lifetime is an interesting one. His costly public exposition of his near-nude would-be remains, with all the humiliation and humility it loudly intimated, was quite on trend c. 1400. Placing one's nude cadaver on display decades before death was a bold act of ostentatious contrition, to use an apt oxymoron. In addition to evoking purgatorial suffering, the completed monument may have actually constituted advanced payment, so to speak, on the archbishop's moral debt. To be officiating an institution where one's emaciated, nude body is on display creates a dynamic of penance through humiliation. This choice corresponds to a new type of sanctity, as indeed exemplified by many mendicants. While early Christian saints suffered gruesome martyrdom at the hands of pagans, late-medieval saints were often the instrument of their own sacred torments. Figures such as St. Catherine of Siena (died in 1380, canonized in 1461), for instance, earned their status by being rewarded with visions following a regiment of acetic practices and torture ranging from extended fasts to self-flagellation.[32] Chichele's contemporary, St. Bernardino of Siena, staged live reenactments of the road to Calvary as a form of mortification, replete with naked disciples.[33] By the 1420s, Chichele's tormented effigy was clearly in good company. In the same way that more traditional effigies, such as Chichele's seemingly living upper *gisant*, at once solicited and depicted Salvation, the archbishop's transi seems to both effect penance and reflect its joyous outcome by visually aligning him with Jesus and the tortured saints, who already inhabit heaven.

McGee-Morganstern in fact compared the monumental tomb of Lagrange and his Avignon predecessors to "giant reliquaries."[34] Certainly, the grand ensemble of Chichele's tomb, replete with evocative Gothic tracery and likely fully polychromed, likewise evokes the aesthetic of precious vessels for precious remains. In this, however, the transi is but a literalizing element. As Cohen notes, traditional effigies were already appropriating such privileged forms: "canopies like those used above the heads of saints on cathedral portals were often placed above the heads of tomb effigies."[35] The transi vogue thus emerges as neither aberration nor negation of the escalating pomp of burial monuments for Europe's elite, but rather as their logical extension, tapping into an established visual grammar of sanctity and distinction. This is strongly indicated by the motif's trajectory; a vogue that first caught amongst high-ranking ecclesiastics almost immediately spread to lower clergy and the privileged lay. Other

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32   Moerer 2005.
33   Kren 2018, 23–24.
34   Morganstern 1973, 56.
35   Cohen 1973, 1.

FIGURE 11.11   Germain Pilon, Henri II and Catherine de Medici, 1573. Abbey Church of
St. Denis, France
PHOTO: AUTHOR

examples from England, clearly related to Chichele's pioneering monument, emerged as early as the 1430s.[36] Extant monuments in St. Denis, such as the 1573 tomb of Henri II and Catherine de Medici (Fig. 11.11) reflect the potential of the transi motif to articulate and cement social and spiritual distinction. An unrealized monument from the French court speaks of the trends' instant popularity amongst the nobility, in the wake of Lagrange's example: in his 1403 will, Duke Louis d'Orléans specified that "the effigy of my face and hands should be made in the guise of Death on my tomb."[37] Such royal monuments similarly had to do less with uneasy Christian consciences in an age of materiality and worldliness and more with establishing hierarchies of Salvation, amplifying the message conveyed by their sheer grandeur and opulence.

The *memento mori* inscriptions on these tombs elicit analogous types of attention, demanding contemplation of the corpse in much the same way that the images of sacred torment demanded meditation on Jesus' or the saints'

36   On English transi tombs see King 1987, Welch 2013, and Barker 2016.

37   The will is reproduced in Gaude-Ferragu 1999, 343. This tomb was unrealized; a more traditional *gisant* effigy for Louis, executed in the sixteenth century, is now in St. Denis.

FIGURE 11.12   Transi of François I de la Sarra, d. 1363. Chapel at La Sarraz, Vaud, Switzerland
                PHOTO: NICHOLAS HERMAN

exemplary life through vivid visualization of their sufferings. The end is also telling. Like many other phenomena explored in this volume, the English transi fad instigated by Chichele will terminate after the Reformation. From defrocking of actual priests to the mutilation of their images, a whole host of clerical privilege came under attack at that moment, transi tombs included.

A key design choice that supported the clerical and royal claim to spiritual superiority was the intactness of the corpse. The outlier example I alluded to above is the tomb of François I de la Sarra, who died in 1363, and whose tomb, featuring very prominent vermin in very prominent placements, was erected by his heirs not based on any extant documented wish on his part (Fig. 11.12).[38] Traditionally, such creatures were associated specifically with sin, as evinced by

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38   Cohen 1973, 77–95.

FIGURE 11.13   *The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, late 13th century, copy of an
                original. Strasbourg Cathedral (south aisle portal), France
                PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA/CREATIVE COMMONS

the morally and physically corrupt "Mr. World" from the Strasbourg Cathedral
portal (Fig. 11.13).[39] By contrast, the transis of the high clergy and royalty only
suffered mild, seemingly unassisted decay. Preserved for posterity not merely in
their pomp and regalia, but also as fresh corpses, untainted, they are, amongst
the dead, forever whole, exceptional, and present. And that, I propose, is their
key, if latent, message.

39   Ibid. 80–81.

Into Print: Early Illustrated Books and the Reframing of the *Danse Macabre*

Maja Dujakovic

On September 28, 1485, Parisian printer Guy Marchant published the first known illustrated edition of the *Danse Macabre* (Dance of Death), thus adapting the famous late-medieval visual and literary theme to the new medium of print (henceforth *Danse*).[1] From the early fifteenth century, versions of the Dance of Death were frequently portrayed in a variety of mediums, from mural paintings and illuminated manuscripts to sculpture and stained-glass windows.[2] Featuring seventeen woodcuts, Marchant's book portrayed a procession of thirty male characters, arranged according to their station in secular and ecclesiastic hierarchies, being led to death by dancing and grimacing cadavers (Figures 12.1 and 12.2). The striking array of figures was flanked on either side by two different woodcuts depicting the Author/Authority (*L'Acteur*), a preacher-like figure who narrates the moralizing prologue and the epilogue but does not otherwise participate in the dance. The illustrations were accompanied by verses in vernacular, written in a form of a satirical dialogue between the living and the dead, which were placed directly below the woodcuts in double columns. Such layout, in which equal space on the page was given to both text and image, encouraged the reader to engage with the book interactively, by simultaneously looking at the pictures and reading the verses (Figures 12.1 and 12.2).

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1   The only extant copy of this edition is preserved at the Bibliothèque municipale in Grenoble (I.327 Rés). For a discussion of the first edition see Fein 2000, 1–11; and Fein 2014, 225–238. In this essay, I will utilize the term *Danse Macabre* to refer to the titles of the printed editions. To identify the theme in general or reference examples in other mediums, I will use the term Dance of Death.

2   Scholarly literature on the Dance of Death is extensive, for recent studies on the subject see especially Gertsman 2010; and Kinch 2013.

FIGURE 12.1   The Pope and the Emperor, *La danse macabre
nouvelle*, illustrated book, printed by Guy Marchant,
Paris, 1486. Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Rés. Ye. 189.

Occurrunt alo pereundi mille figure. Mors ez min⁹ pene ꝙ mo̅ra mortis habet
Vado mori presul: baculum.
sādalia. mittram. Nolens siue
volens desero: vado mori.

Vado mori miles: belli certami
ne victor. Mortem non didici
vincere: vado mori.

Le mort
Que vous tires la teste arriere
Archeuesque: tire vous pres.
Aues vous peur quon ne vo⁹ fiere
Ne doubtez: vous venres apres.
Nest pas tousiours la mort epres
Tout home: et le suit coste a coste.
Rendre conuient debtes. et prestz.
Vne fois fault compter a loste.

Larcheuesque
Las: ie ne scay ou regarder
Tāt suis par mort a grant destroit
Ou fuiray ie pour moy aider:
Certes qui bien la congnoistroit
Hors de raison iamais nistroit:
Plus ne gerray en chambre paincte
Morir me conuient cest le droit.
Quāt faire fault cest grāt cōtraincte.

Le mort
Vous qui entre les grans barons
Aues eu renom cheualier:
Obliez trompettes. clarons.
Et me suiues sans sommellier.
Les dames solies reueillier:
En faisant danser longue piece.
A autre danse fault veillier
Ce que lun fait lautre depiece.

Le cheualier
Or ay ie este autorise
En pleuseurs fais: et bien fame.
Des grans. et des petis prise.
Auec ce des dames ame.
Ne onques ne fus diffame
A la court de seigneur notable:
Mais a ce cop suis tout pasme
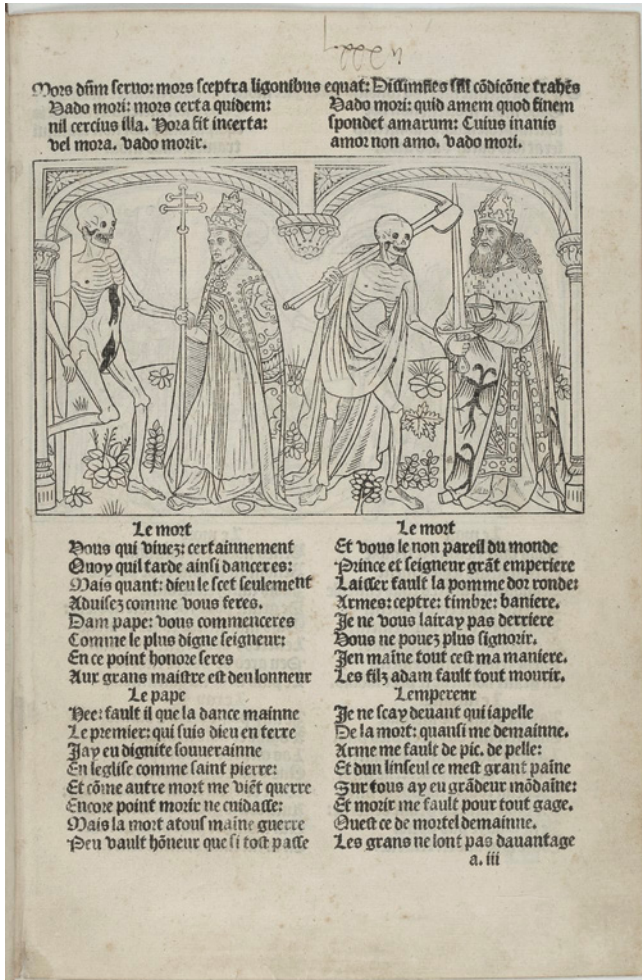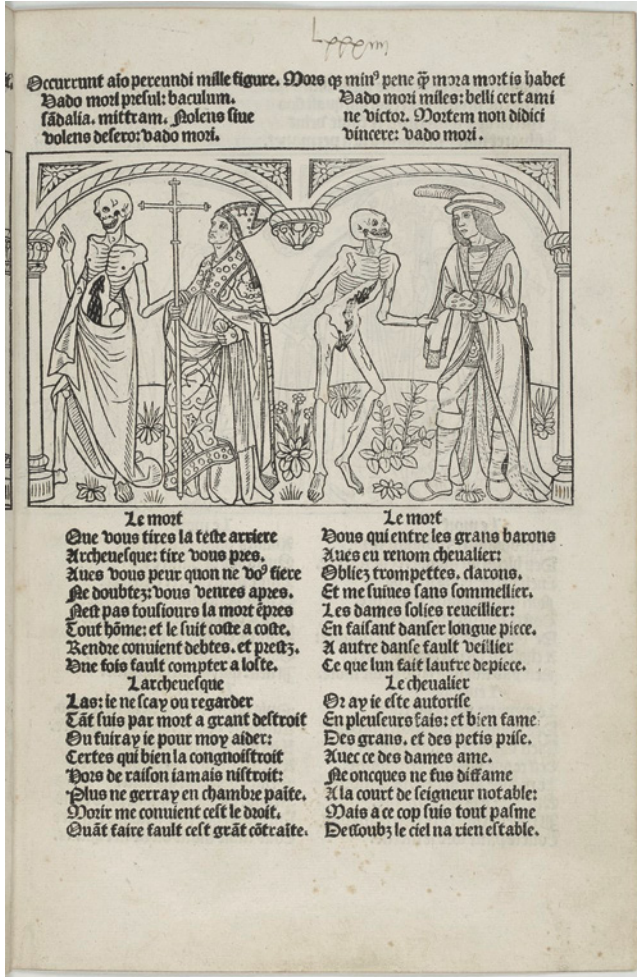Dessoubz le ciel na rien estable.

FIGURE 12.2   The Archbishop and the Knight, *La danse macabre
nouvelle*, illustrated book, printed by Guy Marchant,
Paris, 1486, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Rés. Ye. 189.

At the time when Marchant issued the first edition of the *Danse*, illustrated books were still a novelty in France.[3] Lagging behind the more advanced centers of European printing, the first illustrated book was not published in France until 1478. Printed in Lyon, the *Mirouer de la Rédemption de l'humain lignaige*, was published by Martin Huss using woodcuts borrowed from German editions of the same title.[4] In Paris, where early printers initially focused on disseminating humanistic and religious treatises, the first illustrated edition came even later, in 1481, four years prior to Marchant's first publication of the *Danse*.[5] By printing an illustrated edition in the 1480s, Marchant was therefore at the forefront of an emerging new medium and the accelerated rate with which he produced the subsequent versions of the *Danse* suggests that the market for illustrated books in France was rapidly growing.[6]

Marchant published another edition prior to June of 1486 when he issued an augmented version of the *Danse*, expanded with ten new characters and the illustrated poem of the Three Living and the Three Dead, another popular macabre theme (henceforth the Three Living). In order to publish the expanded version, Marchant had to hire an artist to design the new illustrations and a writer to compose the accompanying verses, requirements that significantly raised the cost of the production.[7] He must have known that the editions would sell because just a month later, in July of 1486, Marchant published another adaptation, the *Danse macabre des femmes*, which featured solely female

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3   As a whole, the printing industry came to France rather late. The first press opened in Paris in 1470, almost two decades after Johannes Gutenberg had begun printing in Mainz. Erected in the precincts of the old Sorbonne, the first French press catered primarily to the humanist scholars at the University of Paris and printed a selection of classical texts by Sallust, Cicero and Virgil. For a historical account of the opening of the first French press see Claudin 1898; and Veyrin-Forrer 1987, 161–187. Although slow to arrive, printing spread quickly in France and by the end of the fifteenth century about 40 French towns had working presses, with Paris and Lyon being the main centers. On the social and cultural impact of early printing see Febvre and Martin 1976. For a recent comprehensive study of French vernacular books published before 1601 see Petegree, Walsby and Wilkinson 2007. Important sources on early French printing include Claudin 1900–1914; Renouard 1965; Chrisman 1982; Dureau 1982; and Martin 2000.

4   Febvre and Martin 1976, 91. The German editions of the book were printed in Cologne in 1474 and in Basel in 1476.

5   Ibid. 92. The first illustrated book printed in Paris was the *Missel de Verdun* published by Jean du Pré on September 22, 1481. Du Pré was both a printer and a bookseller. He was active between 1481 and 1496 and his workshop specialized mainly in printing liturgical titles.

6   The best and most comprehensive account of Marchant's career and printing strategies is found in Hindman 1991. For additional information on Marchant's workshop and publications see Claudin 1900–1914, 1:335–406; Renouard 1898, 256–258; and Blum 1928, 20–27.

7   Febvre and Martin 1976, 109–127.

characters.[8] Although versions of the Dance of Death of women poem were
known from manuscripts dating from the early 1480s, Marchant's book was the
first instance in which the verses were accompanied by illustrations.[9] Featuring
dialogue of thirty-four female characters, the 1486 edition, however, was only
partially illustrated (Figure 12.3). The full set of woodcuts was included in the
edition from April of 1491, when Marchant also added two more female figures,
bringing the final number of characters to thirty-six.

There are nineteen known editions of the *Danse* books printed between
1485 and 1501 and the title continued to be published through the sixteenth
century, though with less frequency.[10] It is very likely that more than nine-
teen editions were printed in the fifteenth century, but early illustrated books
were often lost, destroyed or cut up, especially by collectors in later periods.
Nevertheless, within the category of illustrated devotional works in vernacular,
the *Danse* books are among the more frequently published texts in the early
years of printing in France.[11] While Marchant released the highest number
of editions—seven in total—the books were also published by other noted
printers and publishers including Antoine Vérard, Matthias Husz, Jean Belot,

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8   Champion 1925, 1–15. Champion's book includes reproductions of both the June and
     July 1486 editions of the *Danse* published by Marchant.

9   Harrison 1994, 1–14. The earliest known manuscript that includes a version of the Dance
     of Death of women poem dates from 1482 (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds. français
     1186). It is also featured in three other manuscripts from the fifteenth and early sixteenth
     centuries (Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises 10032; Bibliothèque
     Nationale ms. fonds. français 25434; and Arsenal, ms. 3637). The women's poem is also
     studied in the following texts: Wemple and Kaiser 1986; Harrison 1989; and Wisman 1993.
     Save for the Arsenal manuscript, all other books contain both the male and the female
     version of the Dance of Death poem. In addition, the Dance of Death with male charac-
     ters is featured in the borders of the two illuminated Books of Hours probably created
     during the period of the English occupation of Paris, 1422–1453 (Pierpont Morgan Library
     ms. M. 359 and Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Rothschild 2535). Discussion of the Dance of
     Death in these manuscripts is found in Oosterwijk 2009b, 58–98; and Kinch 2013, 185–226.

10   The complete list of editions is available in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC),
     online catalogue of early printed books managed by the British Library. The term 'incu-
     nabula' is used by book historians to define any book, single sheet or broadside that was
     printed, not handwritten, and produced in Europe before the sixteenth century. Notable
     editions of the *Danse* books from the 1500s include Nicolas Le Rouge, Troyes (1531), Denis
     Janot, Paris (1540s) and Pierre de Sainte Lucie, Lyon (1555). For a discussion of these edi-
     tions see Leclerc, Quéruel, and Robert 2004; and Petegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson 2007.

11   For comparison, the *Ars moriendi* tract, thematically close to the Danse was published
     in at least 26 editions, not all of which were illustrated. The *Mirouer de la Rédemption
     de l'humain lignaige*, mentioned above went through at least 12 editions. The allegorical
     poems, *la Roman de la Rose* and *le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* were printed in 10 and
     8 editions respectively.

La morte

Noble royne de beau courſage
Gente et ioyeuſe a laduenant:
Jay de par le grāt maiſtre charge
De vous en mener maintenant
Et comme bien choſe aduenant
Ceſte dance commencere3,
Faite3 deuoir au remenant
Dous qui vine3 ainſi fere3.

La royne

Ceſte dance meſt bien nouuelle
Et en ay le cueur bien ſurpzins
Dee dieu: quelle dure nouuelle
A gens qui ne lont pas apprins
Las en la mort eſt tout compzins
Royne.dame.grant ou petite
Les plus grās ſōt les pmiers pzinſ
Contre la mort na point de fupte

La morte

Apzes ma dame la ducheſſe
Dous vien querir et pourchaſſer
De penſe3 plus a la richeſſe:
A biens ne ſoyaulx amaſſer.
Auiourduy vous fault treſpaſſer.
Pour quoy de voſtre vie eſt fait
Folie eſt de tant embzaſſer.
On nempozte que le bienfait.

La ducheſſe

Je nay pas encoze trente ans
Delas: a leure que commence
A ſauoir que ceſt de bon temps
Mozt me vient tolly ma plaiſance
Jay des amis. et grant cheuance.
Soulas.eſbas. gens a deuis
pour quoy moig3 me plaiſt ceſtdāce
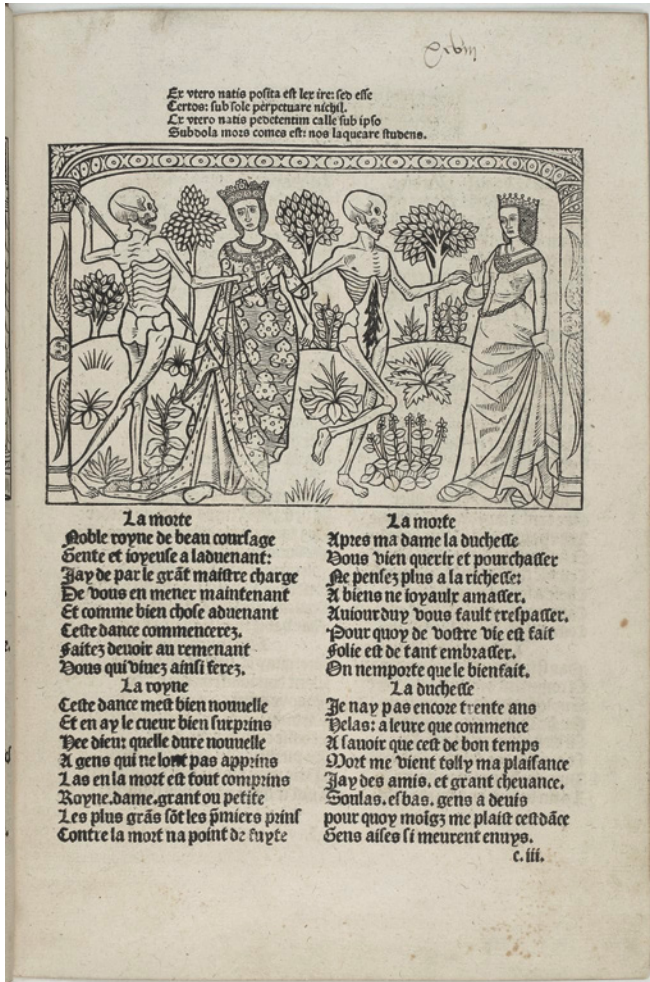Gens aiſes ſi meurent enuys.

c. iii.

FIGURE 12.3   The Queen and the Duchess, *La danse macabre des femmes*, illustrated book, printed by Guy Marchant, Paris, 1486, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Ye. 189.

Nicole de la Barre and Pierre Le Rouge.[12] These individuals, together with other printers of illustrated books in France, constituted a small, tight-knit community whose members relied on partnerships and collaborations with

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12   The best and most comprehensive study of the illustrious career of Antoine Vérard can be found in Winn 1997. For an interesting discussion of Vérard's publishing strategies, including the possibility that he was initially working as a scribe, see Edmunds 1991, 37–40. On the Le Rouge family of printers, woodcutters and calligraphers see Monceaux 1896.

publishers, booksellers, woodcutters and scribes to produce and market their works.[13] Such publishing strategies strengthened the emerging market for illustrated books and helped to popularize works like the Dance of Death in the new format.[14]

The purpose of this essay is to discuss the illustrated book as an important medium for the dispersal of the Dance of Death theme at the end of the fifteenth century. While editions of the *Danse*—especially Marchant's 1485 book—are frequently discussed in the literature on the subject, the illustrated books are not typically studied in detail or considered within the context of early printing in France. Yet, once it was taken up in print, the Dance of Death theme was continually adapted and reconfigured—a point evident from the fact that there is not much uniformity in terms of content, size or even medium among the extant editions. Although most books are printed on paper, there are also editions printed on vellum.[15] Some paper copies are further adorned with color and there are also Vérard's hand-painted editions that are made to simulate illuminated manuscripts.[16] A few editions contain only the Dance of Death, but many feature additional texts on the themes of death, dying and the ultimate fate of the soul. In fact, it is possible to argue that the inherent adaptability of the Dance of Death and its propensity for polyvalent interpretation were features that attracted the printers to the theme in the first place since they suited the taste of the emerging market for printed books. The

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13 On the entrepreneurial nature of early printing industry see Febvre and Martin 1976, 109–127; and Tedeschi 1991, 41–67. On collaborations and exchanges between scribes and printers see Delaunay 2000; Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:303–323; Booton 2010; and Reinburg 2012, 26–52.

14 While printers and publishers borrowed heavily from scribal tradition, the printing industry was also beneficial for illuminators, as it provided new opportunities for their work and awarded them more prominence. On this issue see Taburet-Delahaye and Lepape 2001, 163. Moreover, the illustrated books were not only modeled after scribal examples, but also, occasionally, served as prototypes for manuscript copies. This was the case with a famous Dance of Death manuscript created at the end of the fifteenth century, probably for a royal patron, which was entirely based on the illustrated editions of the *Danse* (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 995). For an analysis of the miniatures in the manuscript as well as the transcription and translation of the women's poem see Hindman 1994, 15–32; and Harrison 1994, 45–134.

15 For example, an edition created for Vérard by Gillet Couteau and Jean Menard after June 26, 1492, was printed on vellum. Two extant copies are known (Bibliothèque Nationale Vélins 579 and Lambeth Palace Library 279).

16 A copy of the *Danse macabre des femmes* published by Marchant in 1491 features woodcuts that have been hand painted after the book was printed (Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. Ye. 86). A copy of the *Danse* printed by Nicole de la Barre on July 23, 1500 includes hand coloring over the printed text of the poem (British Library IA 40884). An edition printed by Pierre Le Rouge for Vérard c. 1491–92 contains hand painted woodcuts (Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. Te 8).

insistence on novelty was the driving force in much of the early printing in France as presses competed with one another by publishing works that were marketed as newly edited, newly translated, augmented or modified in other ways.[17] The push toward reinvention was partially market driven—printers continually attempted to expand their audience and assure the return of their investment—but it was also a way to showcase the possibilities of the new technology and distinguish it from earlier modes of production, most notably illuminated manuscripts, which at the end of the fifteenth century were still the dominant form of making books in France, especially in Paris.[18]

Related to the didactic literature of the *contemptus mundi* tradition, the Dance of Death was the final of the three main categories of macabre art.[19] The earliest known visual rendition of the theme was painted on the interior cloister wall of the Paris Cemetery of the Holy Innocents in 1424–25.[20] A work of an unknown artist, the mural stretched some twenty meters along the cloistered wall and featured figures that were nearly life-size. The mural likely served as the model for the woodcuts featured in Marchant's first edition though it is impossible to know how closely the prints copied the painting since the latter

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17   Chang 2009, 29.

18   The transition from scribal to printing culture was a long and an entangled process. Printing did not instantly replace manuscript production and, in fact, the two forms of making books continued to coexist well into the sixteenth century, and even beyond. In his engrossing study of the transition from script to print, David McKitterick argued that changes associated with printing were gradually absorbed over 400 years, from the invention of printing to the early nineteenth century see McKitterick 2003, 47. On this issue see also Trapp 1983; Eisenstein 2011, 2–33; Boffey 2013,who considers the transition from manuscripts to printed books in the context of London.

19   Binski 1996, 123–159. The other two categories being the *transi* tombs, effigies that feature a portrayal of a decomposing corpse, and the visual and literary theme of the Three Living. The latter is closely associated with the Dance of Death and often portrayed alongside. From June of 1486, all Marchant's editions of the *Danse* (and most of the ones published by other printers) featured the woodcuts and the poem of the Three Living. The image is also included in the two French murals of the Dance of Death painted in c. 1500 and located in Meslay-le-Grenet (Eure-et-Loire) and in La Ferté-Loupière (Yonne, Burgundy). Both murals were likely based on the woodcuts from editions of the *Danse*—a point that highlights an important role the printed image had in the process of exchange and dispersal of models during the period. On the artistic practices in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century in France, and especially on the issue of artistic exchange of models in multiple media see Nettekoven 2004; Wolff 2011; and Baker 2013. For a recent discussion of the Three Living see Kralik 2013; and Kinch 2013, 109–144.

20   The most in-depth analysis of the complex social and political circumstances surrounding the making of this Dance of Death mural is found in Oosterwijk 2004; and Oosterwijk 2009b, 56–98.

was destroyed in the seventeenth century during the remodeling of the city.[21] Nevertheless, the translation of the theme, from the monumental wall painting to the illustrated book, required major adjustments to comply with the requirements of the new medium. Since Marchant could not reproduce the long sequence of figures featured in the mural in a single printed image, the procession had to be severed and broken into two pairs per page, a move that may have weakened the impact of the image.[22] Marchant had also updated the costumes of the living figures in woodcuts to match them to the fashion of the 1480s, a point especially evident in the depiction of the square-toe shoes, as oppose to the pointed ones, or *souliers à la poulaine*, which were worn in the first part of the century (Figures 12.1 and 12.2).[23]

The principal purpose of the Dance of Death is to emphasize the equalizing power of death and the transient nature of life and material possessions. Like other macabre imagery, the shock of seeing the dead and decomposing bodies, was meant to instill in the viewer feelings of piety and repentance. The theme is predicated on several binaries, most obviously, the striking difference between the living and the dead. Each cadaver is a future mirror image of the living protagonists, but also, importantly, of the viewer as well. The plump bodies of the living are juxtaposed to the emaciated frame of the dead (Figures 12.1, 12.2 and 12.3). The elaborate costumes, shiny jewels and fancy headdresses are contrasted to the nude (or semi-nude) cadavers whose rotten flesh and gaping torsos reveal the horror of putrefaction. In the Dance of Death, the binaries are also cleverly reversed: it is the dead who are dancing, hopping, twisting and

21   Although Marchant's woodcuts may not be identical copies of the mural, the verses of the Dance of Death poem reproduced in his first printed edition closely resemble the verses transcribed from the mural that are found in two manuscripts dating from the late 1420s (Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 25550 and Ms. lat. 14904).

22   Oosterwijk 2009b, 65. In the monumental wall painting, all dancers, the living figures and the animated cadavers, are linked together through physical touch. As Sophie Oosterwijk explains, in the printed editions, not only did the designer of the woodcuts split up the figures into pairs, he may have also taken "further liberties with the poses of the characters, especially at the start or end of each arcade, for whereas there is usually physical contact between the figures in each arcade there is nothing to link them to those in other arcades. Instead, the dead dancers at the start of each arcade are either turned towards their next victim or are shown holding a large dart or grave-diggers' attribute, such as a spade and a coffin-lid," 65. Likewise, in an article on the social implication of the Dance of Death, Ashby Kinch has argued that the translation of the theme from murals into printed book lessened the impact of the work, particularly "the scope and comprehensiveness of the monumental form" Kinch 2002, 185.

23   Mâle 1986, 330–339. For a recent analysis of the late fifteenth century fashion, including the types of shoes and outfits worn by women in the *Danse* woodcuts see van Buren 2011, 248.

moving their bodies vigorously to bring the living into the procession. Their facial expressions are also more animated, the dead frequently grimace and grin flashing teeth at their horrified dancing partners. In contrast, the living appear to be stiff and immobile. While most living protagonists seem paralyzed with fear, some refuse or attempt to flee the dance: the Knight crosses his arms defiantly, the Squire turns his body away from the dead and raises his hand in rebuttal (Figure 12.2). However, the composition of the Dance of Death does not play out solely on the binary level—as an antithesis between the living and the dead—but also on ternary one as well, implicating the "third-party viewer directly," as Paul Binski explains the dynamic.[24] The image is a warning, an admonition directed primarily at the viewer who could be, and at one point in the future certainly will be, summoned into the dance. That this is the case is also obvious from the opening verses of the Dance of Death poem in which the Author, addressing the viewer, describes the image as a visual lesson ("*doctrine notable*").[25]

Despite its intended purpose, the verses and the composition of the Dance of Death can often be construed as ambiguous and even paradoxical.[26] Elina Gertsman has recently shown that one of the issues with the Dance of Death is embedded in its narrative structure.[27] As Gertsman explains, narrative is based on concepts of transformation—a story has to lead to some form of conclusion or resolution for there to be any story at all.[28] Yet, neither the printed image of the *Danse* nor the mural examples actually tell a story; rather they depict for the viewer a series of replicating encounters, albeit with different protagonists (Figures 12.1, 12.2 and 12.3). In a way, each encounter between the living and the dead reads as a mini narrative: Death seizes the man or the woman, the living character usually complains and dialogues with Death, the man or the woman joins the dance.[29] Since there is no narrative progression in the composition, figures can be added or removed from the procession without compromising the main moralizing theme—a feature that, I would argue, must have made the Dance of Death especially appealing to the early printers.[30]

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24   Binski 1996, 138.

25   The first four verses from Marchant's 1486 edition read: "*O creature roysonnable. Qui desires vie eternelle. Tu as cy doctrine notable: Pour bien finer vie mortelle.*"

26   For discussions of different paradoxes in the Dance of Death see Binski 1996, 153–159; and Gertsman 2010.

27   Gertsman 2010, 13.

28   Ibid. 34.

29   Ibid. 34.

30   Ibid. 34. In her discussion of the narrative structure (or lack thereof) in the Dance of Death, Gertsman considered the mural examples, not the printed books. It is also worth noting that in the printed versions, the addition of figures does disrupt the original

Paradoxically, the Dance of Death does not portray an act of dying per se.[31] Save for the verses, which imply that the living figures are about to die, the image does not reference dying specifically: there is no deathbed, no mourners, there is no priest to administer the Last Rites and no hint at a proper burial that is to follow.[32] In the context of late-medieval beliefs and burial customs, the composition of the *Danse* actually brings forth several frightening notions. In the image, the dead take the living by surprise; they pull them into the dance without warning and kill them instantly. No figure—however pious—is given a change to repent or confess and no one is anointed by a priest. This is in stark contrast with the advice given in the popular manuals on good dying, the *Ars moriendi*, which emerged at the end of the fourteenth century and were frequently published in France in the early years of printing. In the illustrated versions of the tract, such as the one printed for Vérard in 1493, the dying man, Moriens, is shown lying in bed and surrounded by a priest, family and friends (Figure 12.4). The bedside drama is made even more complex by the inclusion of demons who cluster around Moriens and the holy presence of Christ, the Virgin and the saints who also surround him. At the moment of his death, Moriens is tempted and must ponder the paths set out for him by demons and Christ. According to Binski, in the *Ars moriendi*, the dying man is given a choice and therefore a chance to manage the outcome of his passing.[33]

Not only are the living in the *Danse* not given the same choice as Moriens, the composition is devoid of any real sign of salvation or an afterlife. Although the Author's verses read like a sermon, the dialogue in the main section does not make clear reference to salvation or the Judgment.[34] In her excellent analysis of the Dance of Death poem, Jane Taylor has shown that the verses contain very little information that can "make sense of death."[35] In 540 lines of the dialogue, God is mentioned only ten times and three of those are exclamatory references ("*A Dieu*", "*Hee Dieu*"), Heaven is mentioned only once, hell and purgatory not at all and the Judgment only three times.[36] Even the social customs and expectations that have shaped the world of the living are annulled in the

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hierarchy of classes. While the mural from the Cemetery of the Innocents concluded with the figures of the Cleric and the Hermit, Marchant augmented edition from 1486, ended with the Halberdier and the Fool (Fig. 12.7). He also added the four dead musicians, at the beginning of the procession, the Papal Legate, the Duke, the Schoolmaster, the Man-at-Arms, the Proctor, the Jailer, the Pilgrim and the Shepherd.

31 Gertsman 2010, 33.
32 Ibid. 33.
33 Binski 1996, 40.
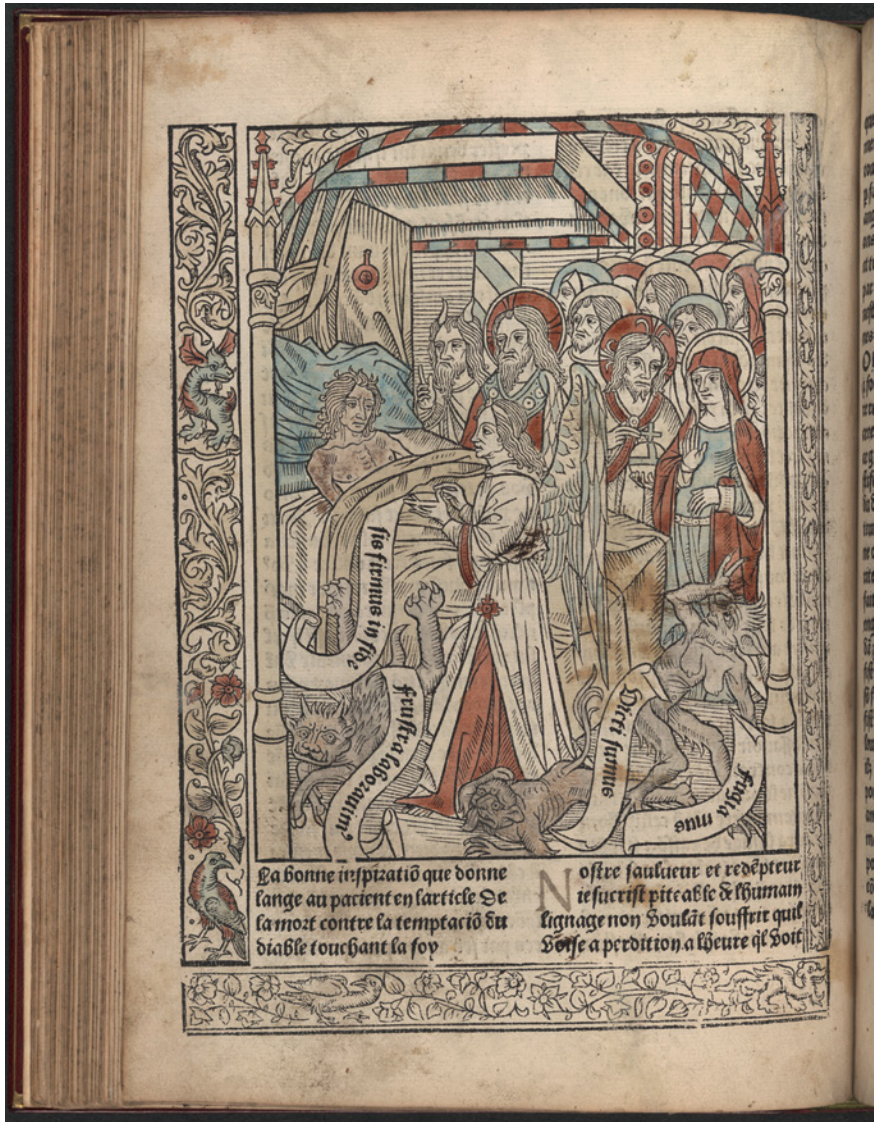34 Taylor 1988, 149.
35 Ibid. 149.
36 Ibid. 149.

FIGURE 12.4   *Lart de bien vivre et de bien mourir*, illustrated book, printed by André Bocard
             for Antoine Vérard, Paris, 1493/94. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special
             Collections Division, Incun.1494. A75.

verses: bravery and strength are trumped over by the dead, status and wealth devoid of meaning and science and knowledge deemed impotent.[37] In other words, salvation is not promised or even directly mentioned and the worldly order is emptied of meaning, leaving the audience very little to feel hopeful about.[38]

Outside of specific theological teachings that could endow the composition with the things it is missing, the Dance of Death could become an image that is not very Christian. As scholars have noted, the intense focus on the gruesomeness of death and decomposition could trigger in the viewer an opposite reaction: not a desire to live piously, but on the contrary, a need to embrace the earthly life in its fullest.[39] The potential ambiguities of the image were typically remedied in fresco examples by placing them in Christian churches and cemeteries and inserting them into a carefully prescribed religious narrative.[40]

In illustrated books, however, curtailing the inherent ambiguity of the theme was the responsibility of the printer assembling the book. Marchant, in particular, had a knack for bringing together texts and images from disparate sources and shaping them into new and cohesive units.[41] While his first two editions feature only the Dance of Death, the augmented versions from June and July of 1486 showcase his full editorial input. Marchant renamed the expanded edition, *La danse macabre nouvelle*—no doubt as a strategic nod to the market's interest in novelty discussed earlier. Moreover, in lieu of a prologue, he provided a cleverly worded colophon that identifies the purpose and the audience for his book. According to Marchant, the expanded edition is titled

37   Ibid. 149.

38   Ibid. 149.

39   Davis 1956, 97. As Davis suggested in the article "the pictures alone" have only one comment on death, which is that everyone dies, good or bad, pious or sinful. In his study on the development and causes of Western guilt culture, Jean Delumeau examined several macabre themes, including the Three Living, the Triumph of Death and the Dance of Death. Analyzing the famous Triumph of Death fresco from the Cemetery of Camposanto in Pisa created c. 1340s, Delumeau argued that because the image is set next to the scenes of the Last Judgment and Hell, the moralizing, Christian consequence that follows physical death—the Judgment, the separation between sinners and the pious, and the punishment of Hell—are all clearly demarcated in the composition and made meaningful for the viewer, Delumeau 1990, 57. In contrast, the Dance of Death offers no clear didactic portrayal, and while it mocks those who believe themselves protected from death age, status or wealth, the hierarchical composition of the image nevertheless reinserts the very social structure it seeks to usurp, Delumeau 1990, 136.

40   Gertsman 2010, 125–159; Gertsman has shown that each painted example, though depicting the same theme, actually functioned in a unique manner depending on its setting and the surrounding pictorial program.

41   Hindman 1991, 71–72.

the *Miroer Salutaire* (Salutary Mirror), which is intended for all people who desire to obtain salvation.[42] By using the word "*Miroer*" in the title, Marchant was elevating his work and relating it to the many *Speculum* compendia popular through the Middles Ages, while at the same time emphasizing the intended meaning of his edition.[43] In the latter Middle Ages the verb "*se mirer*" was not typically used to denote an act of looking at oneself in the mirror, but to imply a type of meditation or contemplation, which is precisely what Marchant is suggesting in the colophon.[44] For him, the book was an instrument for the betterment of the reader and the texts that he assembled were therefore purposely chosen to lead his audience on their path to salvation. It is not incidental therefore that Marchant had expanded his editions with a selection of texts and images that help to correct the paradoxes of the Dance of Death for the devout reader. The illustrated poem *le Debat dun corpse et dune ame* (the Debate between the Body and the Soul), takes place in the moment immediately following physical death and presents the viewer with the image of the deathbed missing in the *Danse*, while *la Complainte de lame dampnee* (the Complaint of the Damned Soul) captures the ramifications of sinful living through a striking image of torture and the Mouth of Hell (Figures 12.5 and 12.6).

In contrast to medieval compendia—manuscripts containing selections of varied and often disparate works collected by a scribe—editions of the *Danse* should be understood as anthologies or compilations, terms that imply a conscious effort on the part of the printer or publisher to intervene with the material and arrange it in a specific manner.[45] The penchant for assembling miscellaneous contents in cohesive units or even reframing popular works in new ways were publishing strategies widely used by early printers—approaches that have only recently been recognized in the literature.[46] In the context of the *Danse* books, the traditional scholarship rarely allowed printers

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42   The full text in the colophon of Marchant 1486 edition of the *Danse* reads: "*Ce present livre est appelle Miroer salutaire pour toutes gens: et de tous estaz. Et est de grant utilite: et recreacion. Pour pleuseurs ensengnemens tant en latin comme en francoys lesquelx il contient. ainsi compose pour ceulx qui desirent acquerir leur salut: et qui le voudront avoir*".

43   On different manuscripts and editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* see Wilson and Wilson 1985.

44   Taylor 1984, 30.

45   The idea that the early printed books, specifically those that include several different texts, should be viewed as anthologies and understood as products of a careful editing by the printer or publisher, was first suggested by Jane Taylor in an article discussing a book of poetry, *Le Jardin de plaisance*, assembled and published by Antoine Vérard in the early sixteenth century, see Taylor 2007, 229–291.

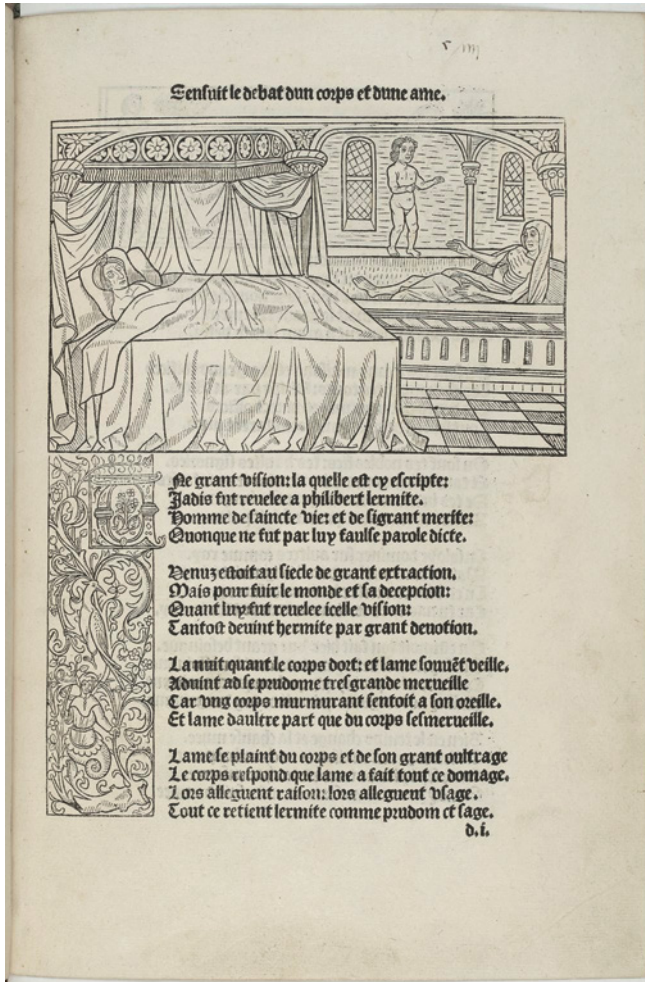46   Taylor 2007, 229–291; Schoff 2007; and Walters 2010, 47–63; and Taylor 2014.

Senfuit le debat dun corps et dune ame.

Me grant vision: la quelle est cy escripte:
Iadis fut reuelee a philibert lermite.
Homme de saincte vie: et de sigrant merite:
Quonque ne fut par luy faulse parole dicte.

Venus estoit au siecle de grant extraction,
Mais pour fuir le monde et sa decepcion:
Quant luy fut reuelee icelle vision:
Tantost deuint hermite par grant denotion.

La nuit quante le corps dort: et lame sonnet veille.
Aduint ad se prudome tresgrande merueille
Car vng corps murmurant sentoit a son oreille.
Et lame daultre part que du corps sesmerueille.

Lame se plaint du corps et de son grant oultrage
Le corps respond que lame a fait tout ce domage.
Lors alleguent raison: lors alleguent visage.
Tout ce retient lermite comme prudom et sage.
                                          d. i.

FIGURE 12.5   The Debate Between the Body and the Soul, *La danse macabre des femmes*, illustrated book, printed by Guy Marchant, Paris, 1486, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Ye. 189.

much agency over the work they published.[47] However, as examples of editorial choices discussed below will demonstrate, printers had a fundamental role

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47   Kürtz [1934] 1975, 48–69. Although Kürtz lists many editions of the *Danse*, he does not discuss their printers and publishers in any detail. Clark 1950, 22–40. Clark discusses examples of the Dance of Death murals in France and while he mentions Marchant, Vérard and "provincial printers at Lyons and Troyes," he does not study their work specifically.
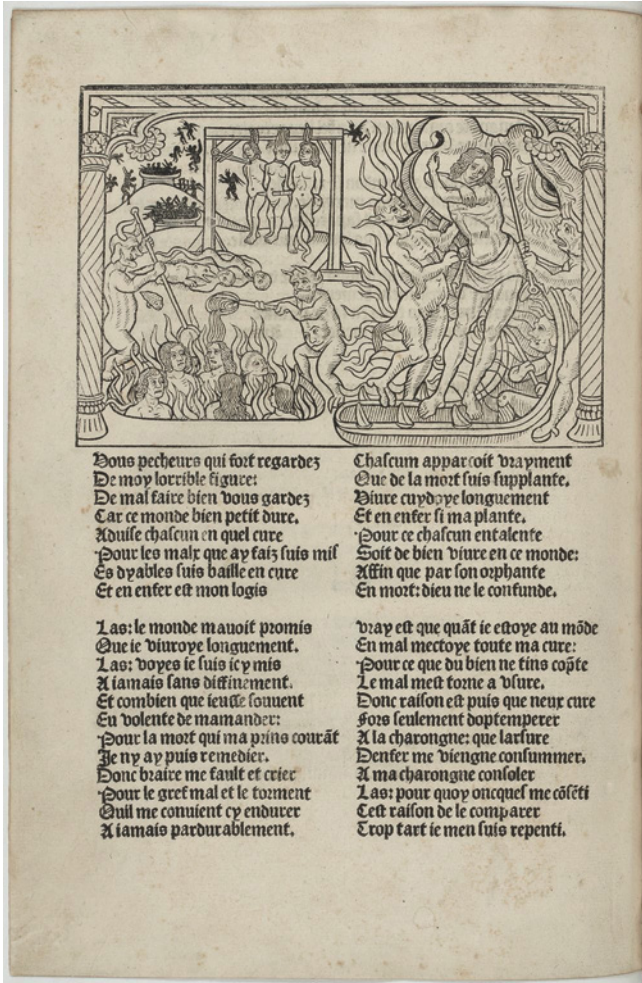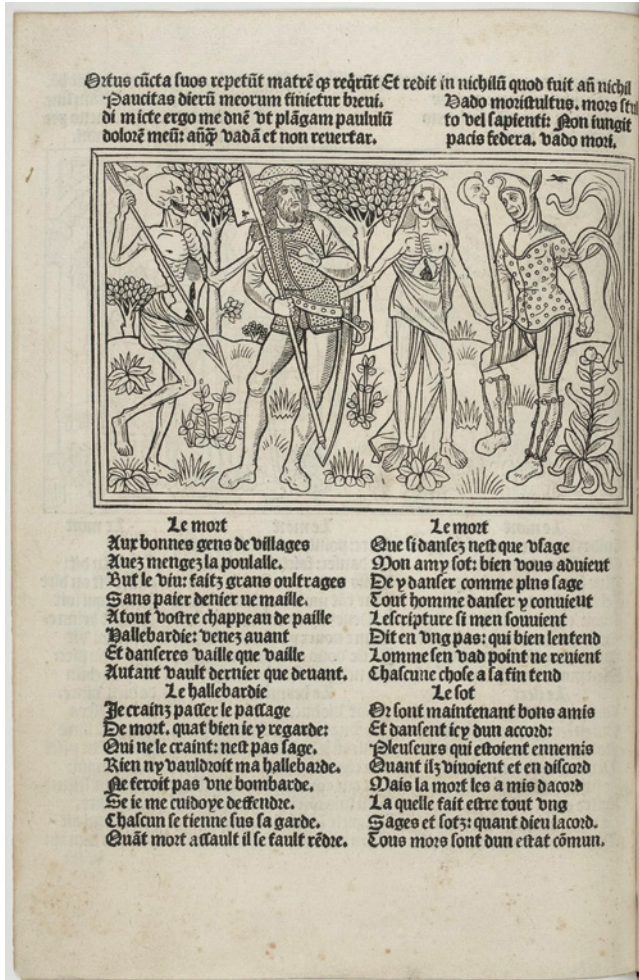
FIGURE 12.6   The Complaint of the Damned Soul, *La danse
macabre des femmes*, illustrated book, printed by
Guy Marchant, Paris, 1486, Bibliothèque nationale de
France, Rés. Ye. 189.

in shaping the Dance of Death theme in the medium of illustrated books. Their
choice of material (paper or parchment), design of woodcuts and the selec-
tion of figures and content had a bearing on how the theme was presented to
the viewer.[48]

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48   Areford 2010, 14.

Ortus cūcta suos repetūt matrē qz reqrūt Et redit in nichilū quod fuit ā nichil
Paucitas dierū meorum finietur breui.   Vado moristultus. mors stul
di micte ergo me dnē vt plāgam paululū   to vel sapienti: Non iungit
doloꝛē meū: āqz vada et non reuertar.   pacis federa. vado moꝛi.

Le moꝛt   Le moꝛt
Aux bonnes gens de villages   Que si dansez nest que vsage
Auez mengez la poulalle.   Don amy sot: bien vous aduient
But le vin: faitz grans oultrages   De y danser comme plus sage
Sans paier denier ne maille.   Tout homme danser y conuient
Atout vostre chappeau de paille   Lescripture si men souuient
Hallebardie: venez auant   Dit en vng pas: qui bien lentend
Et danseres vaille que vaille   Lomme sen vad point ne reuient
Autant vault dernier que deuant.   Chascune chose a sa fin tend

Le hallebardie   Le sot
Je crainz passer le passage   Oꝛ sont maintenant bons amis
De moꝛt. quat bien ie y regarde: Et dansent icy dun accoꝛd:
Qui ne le craint: nest pas sage.   Pleuseurs qui estoient ennemis
Rien ny vauldꝛoit ma hallebaꝛde.   Quant ilz viuoient et en discoꝛd
Ne seroit pas vne bombarde.   Mais la moꝛt les a mis dacoꝛd
Se ie me cuidoye deffendre.   La quelle fait estre tout vng
Chascun se tienne sus sa garde.   Sages et sotz: quant dieu lacoꝛd.
Quāt moꝛt assault il se fault rēdre.   Tous moꝛs sont dun estat cōmun.

FIGURE 12.7   The Halberdier and the Fool, *La danse macabre nouvelle*, illustrated book, printed by Guy Marchant, Paris, 1486, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Ye. 189.

To broaden the appeal of the theme and make it relatable to the literary preferences of the period, Marchant added the figures of the Fool (*le Sot*) and the Female-Fool (*la Sotte*) in the 1486 and 1491 editions respectively (Figure 12.7). The Dance of Death was always about the foolishness of the human kind, about the way men and women continually fault by clinging on to their status, beauty or material possessions while disregarding their soul and their chance of salvation. For this reason, an inclusion of the Fool into the roster

of figures in the *Danse* may not be so surprising.[49] However, whereas in medieval morality discourse—especially in treatises on vices and virtues—Folly held a position opposite Prudence and signalized moral failing, at the end of the fifteenth century in Northern Europe, the theme of folly began to take on an all-encompassing meaning, which up until then was mainly reserved for Death.[50] Referencing the Dance of Death, Michel Foucault had argued that in the last years of the fifteenth century "the mockery of madness replaces death and its solemnity."[51] Although Death did not really disappear at the end of the century, the Fool did begin to challenge Death's position as a common allegorical figure in art and literature of the period. Marchant's inclusion of the Fool and the Female-Fool, and especially, his decision to place them at the end of the dances, standing as the last 'living' figures, reveals the printer's interest in adjusting the theme of the *Danse* to fit the new moral and didactic concerns.

In the late-fifteenth century France, the pairing of Death and Folly was frequently exploited in manuscripts, while the Fool emerged as an important allegorical character in theatre and performance.[52] In particular, the development of the *sottie*—a short comical play performed by actors dressed as jesters—flourished in the period.[53] Sebastian Brant's famous allegorical treatise on the Folly, *Das Narrenschiff* (the Ship of Fools), was written in Basel in 1494 and it was translated into Latin in 1497 by Jacob Locher. A year later, in 1498, Brant's text was translated into French and first printed in Lyon.[54] That same year, the Flemish humanist and a noted printer-bookseller, Josse Bade, wrote a supplement in Latin to Brant's treatise and named it *Stultifere naves* (the Ship of Female-Fools).[55] Bade's supplement was then translated into French (*La Grant nef des folles*) and published in 1499 in an illustrated edition.[56] Like the *Danse*, versions of the Ship of Fools were printed in editions featuring solely female protagonists—a publishing strategy that seems to have been particularly

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49   One of the most interesting discussions of the Fool in the Dance of Death is found in Oosterwijk 2009a, 20–32.

50   Pinson 2008, 2.

51   Foucault [1965] 1988, 15.

52   Grössinger 2002; and Oosterwijk 2009a, 21–23.

53   Arden 1980, 14. Per Arden, one third of the 61 plays that belong to the genre of the *sottie* were written between 1480 and 1500, the same period in which the Dance of Death books were most frequently published.

54   Pinson 2008, 69. The book was translated by Jehan Drouyn as *La nef des Folz du Monde*. The first edition of Drouyn's translation must have sold quickly because the second edition was published the following year, in 1499.

55   Ibid. 69. Drouyn was also responsible for translating Bade's supplement into French.

56   Ibid. 69.

popular in France.[57] Given their similar allegorical and moralizing implications, the Dances of Death and the two versions of the Ship of Fools also shared a common audience and were published and distributed through the same network of printers and booksellers.[58]

Marchant's willingness to experiment with the *Danse* is especially evident from the work he published in the late 1490s. Collaborating with the leading *libraire*-publisher of the period, Jean Petit, Marchant printed an edition of *le Compost et kalendrier des bergeres* (the Shepherdesses' Calendar) in 1499 and then again in 1500.[59] Another example of the French proclivity for male and female editions of early printed books, the Shepherdesses' Calendar was meant to complement Marchant's other successful illustrated title *le Compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (the Shepherd's Calendar). Featuring sections on the calendar and religious lore as well as prominent chapters on astronomy and astrology, the Shepherdesses' Calendar included a full version of the Dance of Death of women in the final part of the book. By inserting the *Danse* in the book, Marchant was not only exposing the theme to a larger and potentially more varied audience, he was also manipulating the overall implications of the work. Placed within the context of astrology and the movement of stars, death and the *Danse* are now aligned with larger cosmic orders that govern the human life. If Marchant's 'original' version the Dance of Death was a contemplative mirror for the betterment of the reader, then the Shepherdesses' Calendar was Marchant's attempt to explore the subjects of astrology and morality. The book was also unusually topical, referencing Paris and France of the 1490s, a strategy that was perhaps detrimental to the success of the work. In contrast to the Shepherd's Calendar, which remained a bestseller through the

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57 Ibid. 70. The version with female protagonists was published as *La Grant nef des folles* and it differs considerably from Bade's original supplement. For a recent critical edition of *La Grant nef des folles* see Duhl 2013.

58 The Ship of Fool, the Ship of Female Fools and editions of the *Danse* were sold by the de Marneff brothers who had a store in Paris and outposts in different towns in France. Marchant was familiar with Brant's treatises having printed the Dutch translation of the work for Geoffroy de Marnef in 1500 (*Der zotten ende der narrenscip*). On this edition see Sinnema 1949; and Claudin 1900–1914, 1:335–408. In 1490, Marchant also collaborated with Geoffroy on a Latin edition of the Dance of Death (*Chorea ab Eximio Macabro versibus alemanicis edita*). A copy of this edition is preserved at the Library of Congress (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection 344). On the Latin edition see Ivins 1946; and Hindman 1991, 82–86.

59 Hindman 1991, 83; and Engammare 2008, 23–24. For further information on the Shepherd's Calendar see Driver 2003, 199–214. Between 1491 and c. 1597, at least 58 editions of the title were published in France. For a full list of imprints see Pettegree, Walsby and Wilkinson 2007, 242–243.

sixteenth century, the Shepherdesses' Calendar was likely printed only twice, possibly due to a lack of interest.[60] The example also reveals the entrepreneurial and fickle nature of the early printing industry, which impelled the bookmakers to continually modify their works and 'test the market' with new titles in their search for audience and profit.

While Marchant explored the didactic implications of the *Danse*, the famous Parisian publisher and bookseller, Antoine Vérard, highlighted the potential of the illustrations by focusing on, what Michael Camille has termed, "technicolor flashiness" in his editions of the title.[61] As the inventor of the printed Books of Hours, Vérard's publishing enterprise popularized the production of 'printed manuscripts'—illustrated books that were printed on vellum and extensively hand-painted in order to simulate illuminated manuscripts.[62] Vérard's hybrid copies are objects that perfectly capture the transitional nature of book production in the late-fifteenth century France, where scribes, illuminators, and printers frequently collaborated and exchanged designs and images.[63] This is also true for his two editions of the *Danse*, printed in 1491–92 by Pierre Le Rouge and in June of 1492 by the presses of Gillet Couteau and Jean Menard respectively.[64]

The principal difference between Vérard's vellum copies and the more common editions of the *Danse* is the overwhelming dominance of the visual over the textual components. The cruder aesthetic of the black and white woodcut is purposely altered in Vérard's versions and replaced and improved upon by the hand of the skilled illuminator.[65] Whereas in Marchant's editions equal amount of space on the page was dedicated to both text and image, impelling

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60 Petegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson 2007, 242–243.

61 Camille 1991, 267. In this article Camille analyzed woodcuts and miniatures of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. Editions of the work were published by Vérard and Mathias Husz.

62 Thus far, two studies on Vérard's work and career have been published Mcfarlane 1900 and Winn 1997; the latter being a more recent and critical assessment.

63 On this topic see Delaunay 2000. This is an unpublished dissertation that considers the exchange of images in printed Books of Hours and illuminated manuscripts created at the turn of the fifteenth century. See also Rouse and Rouse 2011, 321–323; Wolf 2011; and Taburet-Delahaye and Lepape, 163–181.

64 See footnote 15. It is likely that Vérard published another edition of the *Danse* on June 26, 1492. Also printed by the presses of Couteau and Menard, the only copy of this edition is preserved in the library of the Petit Palais in Paris, Dutuit 301. For a brief discussion of this book see Barbier 2007, 88; image 35.

65 Camille 1991, 283; Dackerman 2002, 1–6. While the earlier scholarship tended to view color in prints as inherently corruptive, Dackerman's work on the fifteenth and sixteenth century colored prints demonstrates that the presence of color is often integral in promoting the viewer's compositional or symbolic understanding of the work.

the viewer to simultaneously read the verses and look at the picture, the colorful illustrations in Vérard's copies directs the viewer's eye toward the image and away from the text. The result is a striking series of hand painted woodcuts that highlight the juxtaposition between the decomposing, vermin-infested bodies of the dead and the clothed and adorned figures of the living more effectively than in the black and white editions. At the same time, the illustrations revel in the opulence of color and the details of costumes and faces, which, it could be argued, further dilutes the importance of the text.[66] In the context of the Dance of Death, which emphasizes the futile nature of earthly life and material possessions (including ownership of luxurious books), the celebration of art and the visual was to an extent in opposition to the central premise of the theme. In contrast to Marchant's stern didactic guidance in the Salutary Mirror, Vérard does not present his readers with additional religious or eschatological texts, save for the illustrated poem of the Three Living. He also never expanded the procession of figures in the *Danse* nor published a version with female protagonists. Where Vérard's editions demonstrate the period's interest in modification of the theme is, again, in the realm of the visual. Vérard's vellum copies are highly customizable and reflect the tastes and preferences of his clientele. The two extant vellum copies of the *Danse* printed by Couteau and Menard feature such varied color application that they no longer even seem to be a part of the same edition.[67] The existence of Vérard's books alludes to a broader context in which the printed image of the *Danse* circulated in the period. It was not only immersed in the moralizing and religious discourses, but also marketed to the audience interested in the lure of the visual and in the new technology that offered mechanically reproduced and hand-made images.[68]

The printers' continual adaptation of the *Danse* culminated in an unusual woodcut included in Matthias Husz's 1499/1500 edition of *La grãt danse macabre* printed in Lyon (Figure 12.8).[69] Placed on folio b1 and inserted in the men's Dance of Death, the image portrays two separate places, the interior of the printing workshop and the bookstore. The dead storm into the spaces and capture the printers and the bookseller at their places of work while the living figures still perform their daily tasks: the compositor on the far left is arranging a line of text, the printers pull the printing press, and the bookseller stands behind the counter piled high with bound volumes.

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66   Camille 1991, 272.
67   Dujakovic 2015, 218–220.
68   Camille 1991, 272.
69   Husz's last name is also spelled Huss. Two extant copies of Husz's 1499/1500 edition are known (the British Library IB. 41735 and Scheide Library 43.2, Princeton University).
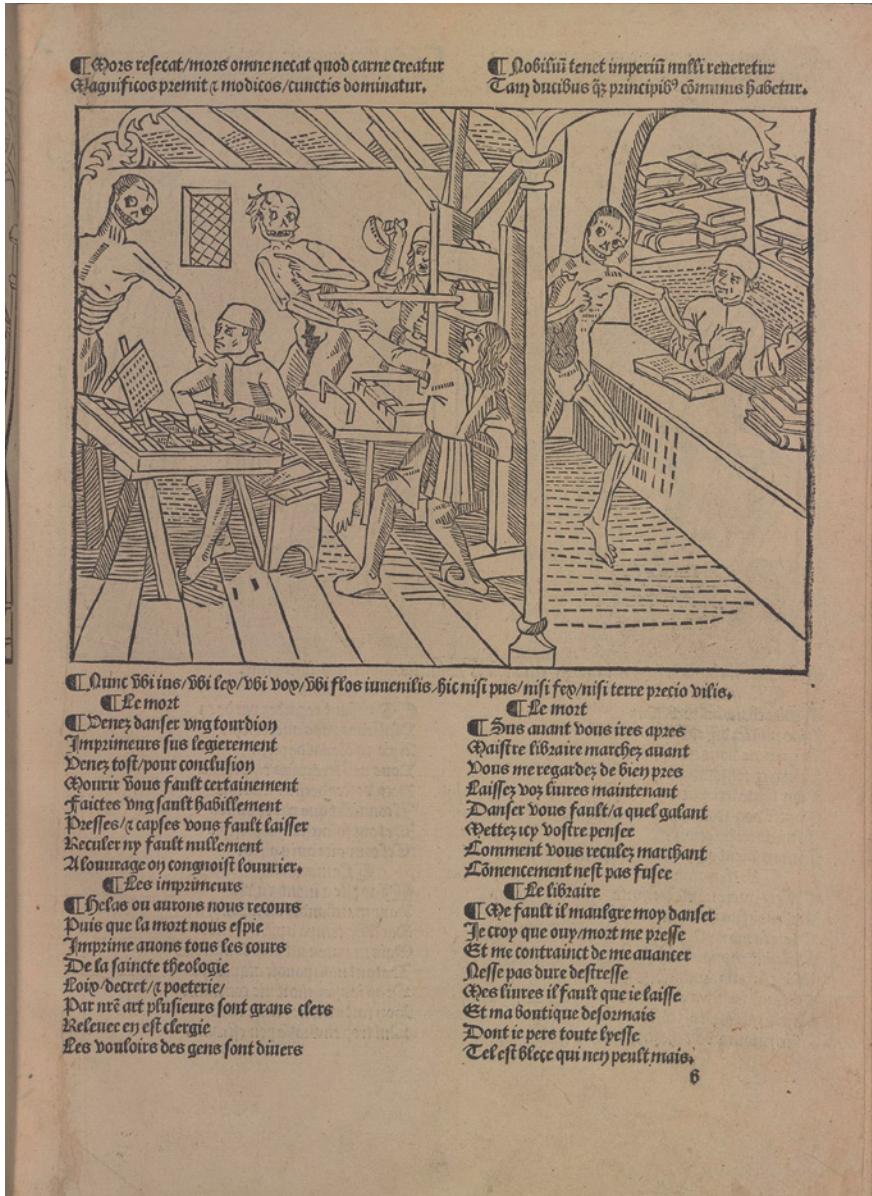
FIGURE 12.8   The Printers and the Bookseller, *La grãt danse macabre des homes y des femes*, illustrated book, printed by Matthias Husz, Lyons, 1499/1500, William H. Scheide Library 43.2, Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Since the woodcut does not appear in any of the known editions that pre-date Husz's, it was likely designed specifically for his book. As is the case with most macabre images, the woodcut functions on multiple levels. It is at once satirical and didactic, but also demonstrative of Husz's entrepreneurial skills and the pride he took in his profession. The image is the first known visual de-piction of the interior of an early printing workshop and the printing press and it introduces the viewers to the steps in the process of mechanical reproduc-tion. Husz provides not only visual clues to assist the viewer in understanding the sequential process of printing—assembling the lines of the text, pulling the press, selling the books—but the verses placed below the woodcut also reference the words associated with the new technology of printing such as "*presses*", "*capses*" and "*les imprimeurs*". Likewise, the text of the poem praises to the scope of printers' work as they publish books on a variety of disciplines: law, theology and poetry.[70] Husz therefore comments not only on how the printed books are made, but also what printers can produce and in so doing inadvertently (or intentionally!?) advertises his profession and his shop.

More significantly, however, Husz's image proposes a major change in the composition of the Dance of Death. In contrast to the earlier renditions of the theme, which feature a procession of figures dancing together in the same unspecified exterior locale, Husz positions his protagonists in specifi-cally composed interior spaces and shows them working rather than dancing (Figures 12.1, 12.2, 12.3 and 12.8). Such arrangement interrupts the sequential procession of figures in the Dance of Death, a point especially obvious when the reader is leafing through the book. In fact, compositionally, Husz's woodcut is closer to the later reiterations of the theme, especially Hans Holbein's printed series *Les simulachres et historiées faces de la mort* (Pictures of Death), than to a traditional representation of the *Danse* (Figure 12.9). First published in Lyon in 1538 by the Trechsel brothers, Holbein's series is typically regarded, even by scholars of macabre art, as the work that completely reinvented and eventually replaced the medieval image of the *Danse*.[71] Undoubtedly, Holbein's work is of incredible importance—artistically, it is far superior than any edition of the *Danse* and it offers radically new ways of representing the theme. At the same time, despite the technical advances of Holbein's *Les simulachres*, there is not much difference between his work and Husz's woodcut (Figures 12.8 and 12.9). Both relocate the Dance of Death from an unspecified exterior location to a particular place: a printing workshop, a busy harbor or a nun's room. Both do

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70   "*Imprime avons tous les cours. De la saincte theologie. Loix decret y poeterie.*"

71   Gertsman 2010, 169–180. It is likely that the Holbein's images were first published in the mid 1520s, with short captions in German and no accompanying text. See Müller 2006.

Eſt via quæ videtur homini iuſta: nouiſſi-
ma autem eius deducunt hominem ad
mortem.
         PROVER.   IIII

Telle uoye aux humains eſt bonne,
Et a l'homme treſiuſte ſemble.
Mais la fin d'elle a l'homme donne,
La Mort,qui tous pecheurs aſſemble,
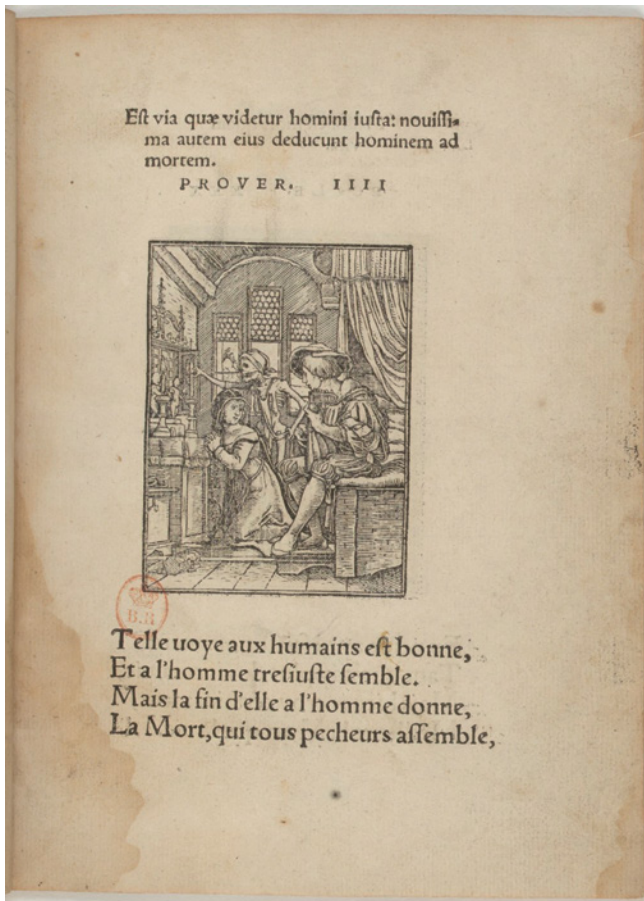
FIGURE 12.9   The Nun, *Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort*,
                 designed by Hans Holbein, Lyons, 1538, Bibliothèque
                 nationale de France, Rés.-Z-1990.

away with the dance and depict figures caught by Death as they are completing
their everyday activities. Finally, both Husz and Holbein created autonomous
images that can function independently outside of the series in which they are
placed. Husz's woodcut is part of the Dance of Death, but it is also spatially and
perhaps also temporally divorced from it because the figures do not occupy
the same environment as the rest of the dancers. Holbein's engravings are even
more fundamentally disconnected from one another because each character
is structured within his or her uniquely composed scenes. In Holbein's work,
Death is no longer merely a dead companion that pulls the living into the
Dance, but Death personified—a singular frightening and omnipresent threat.

What is different between Husz's image and Holbein's series is that the latter splits the image from the text—the verse are biblical and not directly related to the prints—and *Les simulachres* is not nearly as didactic as the *Danse* and it is thus even more prone to diverse interpretations.[72]

Illustrated editions of the *Danse* thus form a link between the traditional mural examples and the sixteenth century adaptations of the theme. Despite being the products of mechanical reproduction, each edition is unique and reveals specific concerns in representing the Dance of Death on the part of the printer or publisher. While Marchant's first edition replicated the mural from the Cemetery of the Innocents and translated the visual form into the new medium, subsequent editions sought to expand the traditional framework of the Dance of Death by including new figures or additional didactic texts thereby distancing the illustrated book from the painted model out of which it emerged. Being more than mere distributors of illustrated books, printers and publishers had a pivotal role in articulating aspects of the *Danse* through their choice of format and content. The variety of editions in which the Dance of Death was presented—from black and white copies to richly painted and printed manuscripts—allude to the transitional nature of making books at the end of the fifteenth century while also emphasizing the diverse tastes of readers in the period. Whereas some were drawn to Marchant's vision of the *Danse* as the Salutary Mirror and used the book as a self-help guide, others may have been attracted to it for entirely different purposes. In their quest for audience, the printers and publishers continually experimented with the theme and modernized the Dance of Death by paying attention to contemporary fashion, social customs and trends in art and literature of the period. While relying on an established tradition of macabre art in a medium that was still novel, printers of illustrated books reframed the *Danse* and, ultimately, offered new ways of understanding and representing death.

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72   See Davis 1956, 97–130; Parshall 2001,83–95; and Gertsman 2010, 169–180.

Death Commodified: Macabre Imagery on Luxury Objects, c. 1500

Stephen Perkinson

In 1538 at the eastern French city of Lyon, the brothers Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel published what was to become one of the most celebrated books of the sixteenth century: *Les Simulachres et historiees faces de la mort*.[1] The fame of this book today rests on the fact that it included a set of remarkable woodcut images ascribed to Hans Holbein (Figs. 13.1, 13.17, and 13.18). The images constitute Holbein's contribution to the "Dance of Death" theme—images that had, by Holbein's day, been appearing for over a century on cemetery and church walls and, more recently, in the form of printed books.[2] Working with the block carver Hans Lützelberger, Holbein had originally designed these images in the 1520s while residing in Basel, probably in response to a commission from the Trechsels. In 1538, the Trechsels combined Holbein's images with additional texts, including a dedicatory epistle by

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1 The book is available as a facsimile: *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger: A Complete Facsimile of the Original 1538 Edition of 'Les simulachres & historiees faces de la mort'*, ed. Werner L. Gundersheimer (New York: Dover, 1971); the facsimile is paginated, but also includes the page numbering system of the original, and both are provided in the references that follow. Natalie Davis, "Holbein's Pictures of Death and the Reformation at Lyons," *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956): 104–5; *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*, ed. Christian Müller et al. (Munich, Berlin, London, and New York: Prestel, 2006), 471–77, cat. D.21; Stephanie Buck, "International Exchange: Holbein at the Crossroads of Art and Craftsmanship," in Mark Roskill and John Hand, eds., *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception*, Studies in the History of Art, 60 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001), 54–71.

2 For a recent overview of the (quite large) literature on the Dance of Death theme, see Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2010). For printed editions, see Maja Dujakovic's essay in this volume.

FIGURE 13.1   Hans Holbein and Hans Lützelburger, *Skeletons Making Music*, from the
Simulachres et historiees faces de la mort (Lyon: Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel,
1538), Cii verso [Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-4509C(R)]

the Lyon preacher Jean de Vauzelles.[3] Collectors and scholars today acclaim
Holbein's images for their artistic virtuosity—their exquisite detail, plunging
perspectives, and narrative subtlety, executed within a minute space measur-
ing only about 65 millimeters in height. While their artistry is superb, their
subject matter is gruesome—the images depict the personification, or cadav-
erification, of Death, appearing in the form of hideously decayed but remark-
ably cohesive bodies apprehending unsuspecting living humans to escort
them to their demise. In this respect, these miniature masterpieces echo the
visual strategies adopted by certain other sixteenth-century images that ap-
pear to have been designed to provoke two seemingly contradictory reactions
on the part of their audiences. On one hand, images like these prompt wonder
and marvel at the image-makers' achievements, while on the other hand, their
macabre details seem calculated to engender horror and revulsion.

Jean de Vauzelle's dedicatory letter makes it clear that he and the Trechsels
anticipated that viewers would see Holbein's images as being both wondrous
and chilling. Vauzelles' epistle is addressed to the abbess of a local convent.
He begins by considering the possibility that the abbess might find the imag-
ery to be upsetting, referring to "these appalling simulacra of death (*ces espou-
vantables simulachres de Mort*)," and he rushed to reassure her that they were
not to be received as a "bad augury (*maulvais augure*)" of her own imminent
fate. He gently reminded the abbess that she need have no fear of death, hav-
ing already effectively abandoned her life to religion, and having embraced
the teachings of the Church concerning the path to ultimate salvation.[4] But at
the same time, Vauzelles sought to temper the unsettling nature of the images
by suggesting that they were worthy of praise in aesthetic, as well as spiritual
terms. He described the images as being of a marvelous quality—warranting
comparison with the work of the great ancients, Appelles and Zeuxis. He re-
fers to the images as "elegant," "graciously drawn" with "audacious lines, per-
spectives, and shading." And he concludes that one might derive from them
a "*delectable tristesse, et une triste delectation*"—"a pleasurable sorrow and a
sorrowful pleasure."[5]

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3   Vauzelles' introduction epistle appears in *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger*,
    3–8; in the original printed edition, it appears on pages Aii to A[iv] verso. On Vauzelles'
    career, see Elsa Kammerer, *Jean de Vauzelles et le creuzet Lyonnais: Un humaniste catholique
    au service de Marguerite de Navarre entre France, Italie et Allemagne (1520–1550)* (Geneva:
    Droz, 2013).

4   *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger*, 3; in the original printed edition, page Aii.

5   *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger*, 6; in the original printed edition, page Aiii
    verso.

Vauzelles thus anticipated that viewers of these images would respond to them in two distinct ways: disgust and fear at the gruesome figure of Death, but also admiration and wonder in the face of an artist's remarkable talents. In fact, Holbein was not alone in designing images that could elicit such a divergent response; as we will see, the strategies deployed in Holbein's marvelous simulacra parallel those found in a considerable body of *memento mori* objects carved from an exotic and expensive material that was becoming once again available in Europe: ivory.[6] The coexistence of these seemingly antithetical functions was facilitated by image-makers' clever manipulation and merger of iconographic formulae and evocative materials—strategies that they adopted to suit the needs of an "on spec" market in luxury commodities.[7] Part of what makes these pieces so clever is the fact that their function relied on being set in motion through the active participation and physical engagement of viewers.

As a starting point, we can examine an engraving that bears eloquent witness to the ways its pre-modern maker and owner grappled with the fact of human mortality (Fig. 13.2).[8] It displays a strikingly gruesome scene: a bony cadaver bursts from the soil, as flesh-eating vermin tumble from its cavities. Apart from its macabre imagery, the engraving is also brimming with words. A pair of Dutch inscriptions are part of the engraved matrix. The first is raised aloft on a twisting banderole above the corpse's head with an exhortation addressed to its viewers: "Mirror yourselves, people, on the mud of the earth; I am as you must become." A second Dutch phrase, this one a mirthless rhyme, appears on a horizontal panel at the bottom of the image: "Fear the Lord and honor him / the day of dying is fast approaching." But another set of inscriptions make this print truly extraordinary. They were written by hand by an

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6   For the newfound availability of ivory in the years around 1500, see most recently Katherine Baker, "'La Chambre aux dentz d'yvoire': An Introduction to the Inventory of Chicart Bailly," in Catherine Yvard, ed., *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and Context* (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2017), 68–75; https://courtauld.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/cb0/Ch5 .GothicIvorySculpture.pdf (accessed 13 October 2018).

7   For an interesting recent overview of the ways in which sixteenth-century art-making practices intersect with the emerging art market, see Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), esp. 1–15. Although Silver's analysis focuses on Antwerp and the market for prints and paintings, many of his points can be applied as well to a broader spectrum of material.

8   On this print, see also Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," in ibid., *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and Brunswick: Yale University Press and the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 2017), 44. The translations of this inscription is based on information provided by the dealer from whom this engraving was purchased, contained in a document in the museum's files, with additional refinement by the author.

FIGURE 13.2   *Memento mori,* hand-colored engraving with manuscript inscription,
Netherlands, c. 1500–1530 (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 2012.3)

early—and perhaps the original—owner of the piece, at a time when the print
was pasted down inside of a book, as evidenced by the fact that one of these
inscriptions trails off of the paper on which the print is impressed and onto
a backing sheet, now retained as a stub.[9] These inscriptions are in Latin, and

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9   For the insertion of prints into books—often manuscripts rather than printed books—
     see Sandra Hindman, "Cross- Fertilization: Experiments in Mixing the Media," in Sandra

are marked in a casual yet graceful Humanist script. At the top of the print is a simple admonition: "*cogita mori.*" At the bottom of the sheet, a longer inscription ruminates on the ways that the desires and pleasures of the body can fail or mislead us. It begins with a rapid-fire list of the parts, organs and apertures associated with corporeal senses and appetites: "Mouths, a head, nostrils, eyes, and arms, a stomach." It continues, urging us to renounce their temptations: "Look, how filthy is the fate they shall give you." Finally, a third inscription runs vertically along the right edge of the image. This one betrays the writer's highly learned background: it quotes an epigram from the ancient poet Martial, sternly imploring the reader to recognize that "God himself commands that you remind yourself of death."[10] Clearly this print summoned profuse thoughts and associations in the mind of its original beholder.

This print has been tentatively related to a group of images produced in the Netherlands in roughly the first third of the sixteenth century.[11] The precise relationships between the prints in the group as a whole remain to be sorted out; it appears likely that they emerge from a loose network of workshops, rather than from a single artist's hand.[12] But the engraving at Bowdoin is clearly closely related to a second image with a *memento mori* theme, witnessed in an impression in London (Fig. 13.3).[13] This second image is considerably more ambitious, but despite its obvious differences, it offers compelling stylistic parallels to the slightly smaller image at Bowdoin. The structures of the skull are understood—or perhaps better, misunderstood—in nearly identical ways. The

Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing* (College Park: University of Maryland, 1977), 101–156. For the use of prints from this specific circle in such contexts, see Rich, *The Mystery of the Monogram AC at the Margins of Early Printmaking* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2018), 82–88.

10 Martial, *Epigrams, Volume I: Spectacles, Books 1–5*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library 94 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 166–67.

11 Information provided by the print dealer, preserved in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art's files on the print.

12 Rich, *Mystery of the Monogram AC*, 72; see also Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie L. Stepanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and His Contemporaries* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1983), 306.

13 London, British Museum, 1845, 0809.1756. This print is either identical or closely related to another impression that has been described in scholarship, but whose whereabouts are uncertain. The Berlin image, which was evidently incorporated into a manuscript dated to 1526, is described as being in a medallion; see Rudolf Weigel, *Kupferstecher- und Holzschneidekunst und Ihre Geschichte. Im Vereine mit Künstlern und Kunstfreunden Herausgegeben von Robert Naumann* (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1857), 3:34, no. 35; Johann-David Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur* (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1860–1864), 3:82, no. 287. For the challenges in locating this manuscript and its prints today, see Rich, *Mystery of the Monogram AC*, 85 n. 187.

FIGURE 13.3   Master S(?), engraving, Netherlands, c. 1525–1550 (London, British Museum,
                1845, 0809.1756)

methods of modeling these skulls through a blunt use of crosshatching and
an abrupt shift to stippling are comparable. The conception of the snakes or
worms—with their expressive, almost grouchy faces—that afflict the corpses
also unite the prints. The visual centerpiece of the larger print is its depiction
of three skulls placed atop the tomb, one of them balanced precariously upon

the other two. With this artfully contrived arrangement, we enter into a web of allusion and associations. This motif has a visual antecedent, in that it is based upon an earlier engraving by Israhel van Meckenem.[14] The skulls in the later engraving are positioned as in van Meckenem's print, but have been reversed in copying, and the original inscription reappears in abbreviated—and partially inverted and reversed—form on a banderole in the later print.

The triad of skulls in both prints evokes a wildly popular textual source: the venerable tale of *The Three Living and Three Dead*.[15] These artists were not alone in boiling the earlier tale down by using the skulls as synecdoche for the corpses of the Three Dead: sometime before 1506, the Scottish author Robert Henryson wrote a poem titled *The Thre Deid Pollis* (*The Three Dead Skulls*), in which the skulls of three anonymous dead people speak collectively to a viewer, whose subject position is elided with the reader of the poem.[16] Just as with *The Three Dead Skulls* and the earlier encounter of the *The Three Living and Three Dead*, the message for the living is harsh: the living are to see themselves reflected in the corpses—to understand the bones as predictive of their own corporeal fate.

With their shared framing conceit suggestive of a niche, the prints by van Meckenem and the anonymous artist had also sought to evoke the experience of contemplating skulls stacked in an ossuary alongside a burial ground. The practice of gazing upon the anonymous skulls stacked in ossuaries and the lofts of charnel houses is referenced in numerous late medieval images and texts (Fig. 13.4); it is worth noting that Holbein's series of *Simulachres* is imagined as an eerie reassembly and reanimation of those jumbled piles of remains (Fig. 13.1). Passersby were exhorted to pray for the souls of the nameless dead

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14   As Rich notes, Israhel van Meckenem was a source for several of the prints emanating from this circle; (Rich, *Mystery of the Monogram AC*, 74). For a judicious consideration of the relationships between this circle of prints and those of other shops, see ibid., 74–82.

15   Helpful recent treatments of this theme include Christine Kralik, "Dialogue and Violence in Medieval Illuminations of the Three Living and the Three Dead," in Sophie Oosterwijk and Stefanie Knöll, eds., *Mixed Metaphors: The 'Danse Macabre' in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 134–154; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 134–38.

16   For the poem, see Robert L. Kindrick, *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), available at the TEAMS Middle English Texts online project: http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/kindrick-poems-of-robert-henryson -shorter-poems#deid (accessed 1 September 2018). For an analysis of this piece, see Emma Maggie Solberg, "The Poetry of Death," in Stephen Perkinson, ed., *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and Brunswick: Yale University Press and Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 2017), 237–238.

FIGURE 13.4   Book of Hours, Northern France, c. 1500 (Oxford, Bodleian
                Library, MS Buchanan e.4, fol. 164v)

whose remains they viewed there. Books of Hours of the period, for instance, often included an indulgenced prayer, *Avete omnes fideles anime*, to be recited on behalf of the souls of the dead "whose bodies lie here and everywhere in dust" in graveyards.[17] At times, illustrations accompanying this prayer make it clear that the individual doing the praying should think of him or herself as an inevitable future subject of the prayer. The rubric to the prayer generally makes it plain that the prayer is aimed at the "the deceased who lie in the cemetery," but in the case of a manuscript in the Morgan Library in New York, the image suggests a different target: the viewer him or herself, as the cadaverous figure of Death aims a dart into the viewer's space while holding up a mirror and urging the viewer to "*cogita mori*."[18] The illustration to this prayer in a manuscript in Oxford takes a different, and in a sense more subtle, tack (Fig. 13.4). It refrains from the blunt symbolism of the figure of Death brandishing a dart and mirror, replacing the overt message with a complex interplay of gazes. Prayerful figures kneel in a cemetery. Some peer towards the tombs and bones scattered on the ground; others direct their eyes toward the galleries that embrace the burial ground. On the lower level of the arcade, additional figures clasp their hands in prayer, peering out to the burial ground; above them, neat ranks of skulls direct their empty stares in the same direction. It is difficult to be sure who prays for whom here. What we seem to be seeing is a visualization of a network of relationships—the strands of obligation and duty that, in the later Middle Ages, bound together the community of the living with that of the dead.[19]

Israhel van Meckenem's print references such funereal gazes and prayers, while also, through its visual distillation of many skulls to three, linking the scene to the popular "Three Living and Three Dead" theme. In the print, the skulls appear in an untidy heap, but one is positioned to mirror our gaze with

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17 For the text of the prayer, see Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: [s.n.], 1927), 2.341. On the appearance of the prayer in Books of Hours and its occasional association with an indulgence, see Robert N. Swenson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 251–252, and Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 204.

18 Book of Hours, Cambrai, Belgium, c. 1490–1500 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.116, fol. 172v). For the image, see http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/37/77038; accessed 31 May 2020.

19 The bibliography on the reciprocal relationship between the communities of living and the generations of the dead is vast. For two particularly useful studies that consider the role of imagery in establishing and promoting the networks of that relationship, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 338–376.

its own vacuous stare. The artist of the later print (Fig. 13.3) transformed the simple ossuary niche into a grandiose tomb fit for a nobleman. But were this actually a magnificent, Italianate tomb of this period, we would expect to find its upper surface adorned with a sculpted representation of the person buried here. The engraver replaces that figure with a view into an ossuary, driving home the connection to the burial ground by cluttering the tomb's surface with a spray of loose bones, while replicating the baleful regard of the upper skull he found in his model.

The engraving at Bowdoin similarly establishes a network of embodied gazes and conceptual allusions. Its exhortation to us, through the inscription, urging us to look upon it as a reflection in a mirror seems like an invitation to the viewer to respond in a personal and demonstrative way. Here the engraving's visual and textual rhetoric echoes that found in other artworks of the period—like a rendition of *The Three Living and Three Dead* in a Book of Hours at the Huntington Library from approximately the same date (Fig. 13.5).[20] In the illumination, the encounter between the lively young trio and their ghastly doppelgängers is constricted to a primary confrontation between one elegantly-dressed young man and a corpse trailing its shroud. The corpse holds up a mirror, reflecting back the young man's own image; he responds by folding his arms across his chest in an indication of humility, a gesture that parallels what we see in the print.

During the same period, a group of ivory objects adopted similar themes. It is easy to forget this when we encounter them pictured in books or in a museum display case, but these objects were designed to be set in motion—even now we can detect evidence that, like the prints and prayers discussed above, these objects demanded actions and responses on the part of their viewers.[21] An

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20   See Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 24–26. A closely related image is found in
      Paris, See Scheel, fig. 8.4. I am grateful to Sonja Drimmer for her comments in response
      to an early version of this paper; her thoughts greatly sharpened my own understanding
      of this image's visual rhetoric. Her discussion of this image is forthcoming in chapter 3
      of Sonja Drimmer, *The Art of Allusion: Illuminators and the Making of English Literature,
      1403–1476* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

21   A number of studies have particularly informed my thinking about the ways seemingly
      static images can activate their own responses, even to the point of prompting the
      movement of the beholder's own body: Whitney Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of
      Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press,
      1992); Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture: Movement and Apprehension
      in the South Transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the Chartreuse de Champmol in
      Dijon," in *Mobile Eyes: Peripatetisches Sehen in den Bildkulturen der Vormoderne*, ed. David
      Ganz and Stefan Neuner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 132–63 ; ibid., "Dynamic Bodies
      and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild*

FIGURE 13.5   Book of Hours, Northern France, early 16th century (San Marino, California, the Huntington Library, MS HM 1165, fol. 105)

ivory pendant from the Victoria and Albert Museum is an excellent example of this (figs. 13.6–13.9).[22] Its exotic and expensive material invites its beholder to cradle it in his or her hands, and its scale and intricate detail enjoin the viewer to peer closely at it. On doing so, the viewer discovers four distinct figures that are bound together in a narrative addressing themes of youthful folly, earthly pleasures, and mortality. The story begins with the figure of a foppishly dressed young man (Fig. 13.6). He clutches an imported wine glass in one hand; with his other, he toys with the sumptuous fur lining of his robe. As we rotate the piece, we encounter a second figure: a skeleton, vermin writhing across the surface of his skull, and an hour glass pressed to his ribcage (Fig. 13.7). Compositional devices alert the perceptive viewer to the fact that this is no generic depiction of the abstract concept of Death. Rather, it is the future state of the young man we have just seen: the position of his bony arm mirrors the young man's gesture in holding the wine glass. As one proceeds around the piece, the dance of gesture becomes even more complex in its intertwining: the skeleton contorts his arm to grasp at the chest of another figure—probably the same young man, now on his deathbed—as he struggles to draw his last breath (Fig. 13.8). Finally, a hairy demon arrives, reaching through the dying man's other arm to brush the skeletal fingers as the fiend hauls the man off to postmortem punishment.

This reciprocity of gesture thus underpins a chronological structure—"this, then this, then this"—that binds the figures on the pendant together in a narrative. In doing so, it relies on its audience's participation. The viewer must cradle the piece, rotate it this way and that, and seek out patterns and implications. The minute scale of this piece assists in encouraging this form of engagement: as Susan Stewart and John Mack noted some years ago, pieces that are miniaturized can encourage a profoundly absorptive response, even to the point of attenuating the beholder's perception of time.[23] This insistence on the role of the viewer also underlies the function of textual inscriptions on the piece. As noted above, the young man appears to be a *bon vivant* obsessed with pleasures of life. A banderole beneath him confirms this, identifying him

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    und Körper im Spätmittelalter, ed. Kristin Marek, Raphaèle Preisinger, Marius Rimmele and Katrin Kärcher (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 135–60; Michael Viktor Schwarz, "On the Construction of Reality and Imagery in Jan van Eyck and Woody Allen," *Artibus et Historiae* 25:49 (2004): 19–31.

22   Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 26–27; Paul Williamson and Glynn Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings, 1200–1550*, 2 vols. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2014), 1:472–473.

23   Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 37–69 (with the comments on the perception of time appearing especially on 65); John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (London: The British Museum Press, 2007).

FIGURE 13.6   *Memento mori pendant*, Southern Netherlands or Northern France, 1520–1530
            (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2149-1855)

FIGURE 13.7   *Memento mori pendant*, Southern Netherlands or Northern France, 1520–1530
(London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2149-1855)

FIGURE 13.8 *Memento mori pendant*, Southern Netherlands or Northern France, 1520–1530
(London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2149-1855)

as representing "*amor mundi*"—"love of the world" (Fig. 13.9). His doppelganger on the other side bears an inscription across his brow which reads, "*vado mori*"—"I go to die," and the demon that grabs at him exclaims, "*sequere me*"—"follow me"—in a banderole beneath him.

These inscriptions are all relatively straightforward, but one beneath the skeleton is different. As we've seen, the skeleton appears to represent not just Death in the abstract but the young man's own death specifically, his future self. The inscription beneath is short and abrupt: "*ego sum*" or "I am." This, of course, is a short fragment of a longer phrase: "I am as you must become," a phrase that derives from the tale of the *The Three Living and Three Dead* and its larger tradition. Its discontinuous nature on the ivory demands that the viewer fill it in himself, enunciating its words from both his position as a living subject and a future dead self.[24] Another terse inscription on the piece may be a similar, "fill-in-the-blanks" style phrase: The upturned brim of the young man's cap displays a simple capital "W" (Fig. 13.6). In its placement, it approximates the badges one finds often in portraits of the period; such items served as emblems of the wearer's devotion to a saint, a political leader, or another person. The "W," by contrast is a puzzle. Paul Williamson has plausibly suggested that it is an abbreviated version of the noun, "wi," an archaic spelling of a portion of the words, "aujourd'hui," or "today."[25] If this is correct, it would be another case in which the piece is prompting the reader to complete a thought, in this case piecing together an understanding that the young man is possessed of a quasi-religious devotion to living in the moment.

A two-sided pendant in Detroit (figs. 13.10 and 13.11) presents another instance in which a *memento mori* ivory was designed to induce the active engagement of its viewer.[26] This object is a masterpiece in miniature—a remarkably sensitive rendering of the face of a man who has just this moment died. His features record the traces of the effects of death's arrival as they were catalogued in texts of the period. In the *Visions of Tondal*, for instance, when the main character seems to suddenly expire at dinner, his companions carefully examine his features in an effort to determine whether he is in fact dead. "His eyes rolled, his nose was pinched, his lips grew thin, and his chin receded,"

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24   For the tradition, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1973), 24–26.

25   Williamson and Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, 1:472.

26   *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. Peter Barnet (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), 277–78, cat. 78; Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 57–58 and 61–62.

FIGURE 13.9   *Memento mori pendant*, Southern Netherlands or Northern France, 1520–1530
            (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2149-1855)

the narrator tells us.[27] In the ivory, the eyelids droop and the irises roll downward, the nose appears to pull inward at its tip, the lips tighten and pull apart, exposing meticulously rendered teeth, and the chin slackens and droops. Here we begin to see clear signs of yet another function of these images: they are, in effect, study tools, allowing you to closely examine and enumerate the visual symptoms of death.

An inscription on this ivory implies that it is meant to be read according to a simple narrative—"first this, then that," or "before and after." The inscription begins on the side depicting the recently deceased man (Fig. 13.10). "Oh Death, how bitter is," it says. The side with the vermin-infested skull (Fig. 13.11) completes the thought: "the remembrance of thee." This might seem like a sorrowful lament on the end of life—an expression of earth-bound regret for the losses entailed in death. Indeed, we might be tempted to read it as an encouragement to avoid unpleasant thoughts of death, rather than as an exhortation to think of our mortality. But a viewer steeped in knowledge of the Bible will recognize that this is only part of longer phrase. Such a viewer will realize that the words come from the first verse of Ecclesiasticus, chapter 41. In its entirety, that verse makes it clear that the remembrance of death is only bitter to "a man that hath peace in his possessions"—in other words, to people who take too much comfort in the earthly pleasures of material goods. This then is a luxury good encoded with its own self-critique—a commentary on wealth and possessiveness that would be accessible to an erudite audience capable of filling in the blank.

The Detroit pendant and a cluster of other similar objects appear to have originated in the workshop of Chicart Bailly—a Parisian ivory carver known from archival sources to have been active from 1490–1533.[28] Many of these pieces bear inscriptions that bind the two sides together in a narrative. Sometimes this is the abbreviated passage from Ecclesiasticus that we've

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27   For the "signs of death" tradition, see Ashby Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in late Medieval Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 6; Kinch cites further sources discussing the roots of this tradition in monastic culture of the earlier Middle Ages. The passage in the Visions of Tondal appears in the manuscript preserved in Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 30, fol. 9v. I am grateful to Roger Wieck for providing me with a translation of this passage. On that manuscript, see Thomas Kren and Roger S. Wieck, *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Trust, 1990), and Thomas Kren, *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal: Papers Delivered at a Symposium* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Trust, 1992).

28   Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," in ibid., *The Ivory Mirror*, 61–62 and passim; Katherine Baker, "Chicart Bailly and the Specter of Death: *Memento mori* in a Sixteenth-Century Estate Inventory," in ibid., 106–119.

already seen; other times it is the even more direct phrase, "Thus shall we be / today or tomorrow."[29]

On a small but significant scale, therefore, these inscriptions function as a means of involving the viewer in the task of constructing a meaning for the objects that bear them. They require the viewer to search through his or her memory. Having recognized a context for the phrases, the viewer can then turn to a contemplation of otherwise submerged implications of these pieces—the ways that their figures should be understood as mirror images of the person holding them, or the ironies in their status as both luxury objects and as critiques of material possessions.[30]

Sixteenth-century images were at times designed to be perplexing even to their original audiences, intending to provoke debate and dialogue rather than leading directly to an obvious, easily-defined meaning. Macabre subject matter could at times provide a vehicle for such conversation pieces. For instance, Mark Meadow has proposed that Dürer's macabre *Promanade* of circa 1498 was designed to summon up a shifting and ultimately indeterminate set of associations and concepts in the minds of its original audience.[31] He proposed that this print and others like it were, in fact, designed specifically to involve the viewer in an effort to construct meaning from a web of complex, and occasionally contradictory or unclear, visual references—an effort that could be, for its audience of Humanist collectors, frustrating and pleasurable at the same time.

This is not to say that the *memento mori* ivories operated in precisely the same way as Dürer's prints. It is safe to say that Dürer was particularly self-conscious in considering—and even playing with—the ways in which his images would be received by his audience, despite the fact that, as prints, that

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29   For pieces with the former inscription, see: Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. 1959.84; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William E. Nickerson Fund, 57.589. The pieces displaying the latter inscription are: Toronto, The Art Gallery of Ontario, The Thomson Collection, 29272; a piece presently owned by the Phoebus Foundation and sold at Sotheby's London, 5 July 2016 ("Old Master Sculpture and Works of Art Including Splendors from a Mantuan Palace"), no. 38; a piece sold at auction by Pierre Bergé & Associés, 22 June 2018 ("Haute Époque & Curiosités"), no. 58.

30   For the mirror image, see Ritamary Bradley, "Backgrounds of the Title *Speculum* in Medieval Literature," *Speculum* 29:1 (1954): 100–115; Denis Hüe, "Miroir de mort, miroir de vie, miroirs du monde," in *Miroirs et jeux de miroirs dans la literature medievale*, ed. Fabienne Pomel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 39–61; Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 21–26.

31   Mark A. Meadow, "The Observant Pedestrian and Albrecht Dürer's *Promenade*," *Art History* 15:2 (1992): 197–222.

audience would be both large and distant from him.[32] But these ivories do appear to operate in a similar manner. The "fill-in-the-blank" aspect of the inscriptions is one such way. Furthermore, these images were intended to convey information that went far beyond the simple *memento mori* message that appears at first glance to be their primary theme. Elsewhere, I've noted that works such as the Detroit pendant functioned in part as vehicles for state-of-the-art anatomical knowledge.[33] In the Detroit pendant (Fig. 13.11), for instance, one can clearly see its depiction of *foramina*—the pairs of small openings above and below the eye sockets that served as conduits for nerves and veins.

A spectacular piece in Cologne shares many of those details (figs. 13.12 and 13.13).[34] In addition to the *foramina*, it carefully records the most common locations of cranial sutures between the bony plates that make up the skull. It also offers a remarkably detailed accounting of the vertebrae that constitute the neck. The artist has captured the intricacy of these skeletal structures, paying careful attention to, for instance, the bony forms known as "processes" that project from each vertebra.

In this respect, these *memento mori* objects move beyond any simple function as reminders of mortality. Instead, through the virtuosity of their carvers, they offered their viewers lessons in human anatomy that would appeal to anyone with interests in cutting-edge scientific knowledge. In this respect, they are not that different from images appearing as illustrations in contemporary anatomical treatises. We find an example of this in the 1538 Greek edition of Galen's treatise "On Bones," which concludes with a pair of images (Fig. 13.14).[35] On the righthand side of the opening, a skeleton is displayed as if laid out to be seen from the front and back. On the left of the opening is an image that

32   See for instance Shira Brisman's remarkable recent study of the ways in which Dürer's work is predicated on his awareness of, and thoughtfulness about, the challenges presented by the capacity of print to spread ideas across vast distances; *Albrecht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

33   Stephen Perkinson, "Anatomical Impulses in Sixteenth-Century *Memento Mori* Ivories," in *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and Context*, ed. Catherine Yvard (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2017), 76–92; http://courtauld.ac.uk/research/courtauld-books-online/gothic-ivory-sculpture (accessed 13 October 2018).

34   Perkinson, "Ivory Mirror," 60–65. For studies of this piece published recently but prior to the attribution to Chicart Bailly, see *Zum Sterben schön: Alter, Totentanz und Sterbekunst von 1500 bis heute*, 2 vols., ed. Andrea Hülsen-Esch. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen and Stefani Knöll, eds. (Cologne and Regensburg: Museum Schnütgen and Schnell and Steiner, 2006): 2:42–44, cat. 15; *Vanitas vanitatum! Das Tödlein aus der Sammlung Ludwig, Todesdarstellungen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Christine Vogt (Oberhausen: Ludwiggalerie, 2012); and Stephen Perkinson, "Anatomical Impulses."

35   Galen, *De ossibus*, in *Opera Omnia* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1538), 3: n.p.

FIGURE 13.12   Chicart Bailly(?), *Memento mori*, Paris, c. 1530 (Cologne, Museum
                Schnütgen, B 160)

FIGURE 13.13   Chicart Bailly(?), *Memento mori*, Paris, c. 1530 (Cologne, Museum
                Schnütgen, B 160)
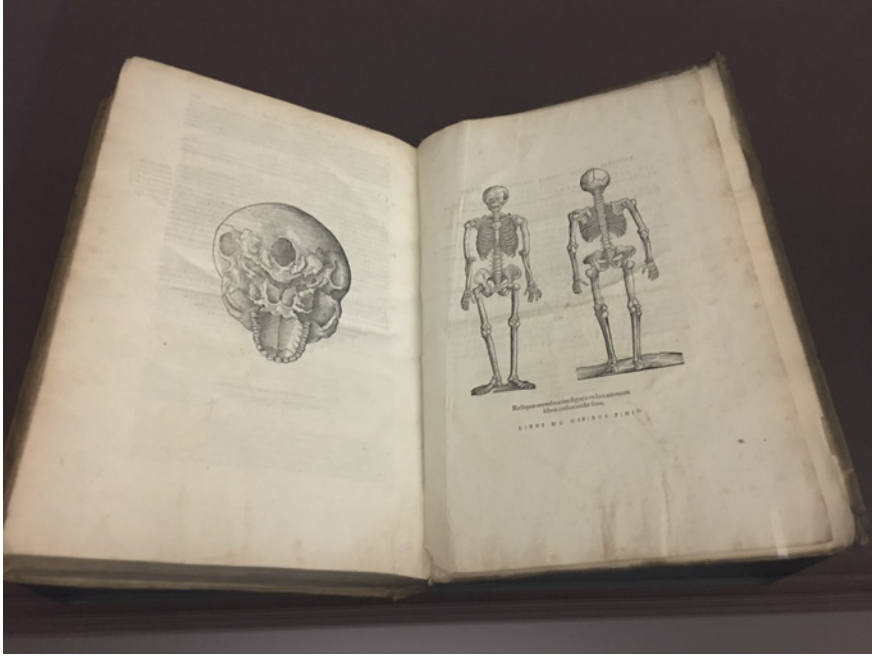
FIGURE 13.14   Final opening of Galen, *De ossibus* (*On Bones*), in his *Opera omnia* (Basel:
                Andreas Cratander, 1538) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University,
                Houghton Library, Typ 564.38.415)
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

carefully maps the complex underside of the human skull. On one hand, these
images might be seen to function as diagrams, explicating the text that they
follow. But they are not truly diagrammatic—they are unaccompanied by any
sort of numbering system or table identifying the bones, and they are not in-
voked in the preceding text itself. Instead, they float free on these final pages.
They are objects for study, but also for contemplation, hovering between a sta-
tus as anatomical diagram and *memento mori* image.

The *memento mori* theme is carried over into the pages of Galen's text itself.
Andreas Cratander, the printer of these luxurious volumes, was faced with the
task of finding appropriate initials to mark the beginnings of important sec-
tions of the book. Given that the text was in Greek, Cratander could not simply
rely on the Latin woodcut initials he already had in his shop. He therefore ap-
pears to have commissioned a new set of seven initials for his impressive Galen
edition. One of those initials—the omicron (Fig. 13.15)—could conceivably
have been repurposed later in a Latin text, but six of the initials were Greek let-
terforms. To varying degrees, these initials drew upon Hans Holbein's so-called

Alphabet of Death series (with Galen's omicron based on Holbein's P), which
had first appeared 14 years earlier.[36] With their minute renderings of popular
"Dance of Death" scenes, these initials are an interesting choice for this work.
Why would an anatomy text have called out for *memento mori* imagery?

Part of the answer to that question lies in the fact that anatomical knowl-
edge was potentially suspect in the eyes of strict moralists of the day. By the
late fifteenth century, a wide range of readers appear to have shared a keen
interest in the structure of the human body. We see that interest being catered
to in Guy Marchant's 1493 publication that he called the *Shepherd's Calendar*.[37]
While the book's title gestures at modesty, this small but densely illustrated
volume was clearly aimed at an affluent clientele.[38] It contained troves of in-
formation consistently presented as constituting the wisdom possessed by
peasants—seen in the eyes of the comfortable reader as being uninterested
in the pursuit of worldly goods and power, and thus more spiritually pure. The
Shepherd's Calendar features an anatomical diagram of a skeleton (Fig. 13.16),
which appears immediately after a section containing information about the
medical practice of blood-letting. The text frames that medical information
as if it were based on a common peasant's simple, but unsophisticated, un-
derstanding of the body as a microcosm of God's plan for the macrocosm, the
entirety of Creation. The text then proceeds to link medicine to astrology, pro-
viding a list of zodiac signs that govern the different parts of the body and that

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36   On the *Alphabet of Death* images, see *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*,
      ed. Christian Müller et al. (Munich, Berlin, London, and New York: Prestel, 2006), 486–
      487, cat. D. 25.

37   *Le Kalendrier des Bergers* (Paris: Guy Marchant, April 18, 1493) (Paris, Bibliothèque
      nationale de France, Rés. Vélins 518; accessible via: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/
      btv1b86267664/f1.image).

38   Martha W. Driver, "When Is a Miscellany Not Miscellaneous? Making Sense of the
      'Kalender of Shepherds,'" *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 199–214.
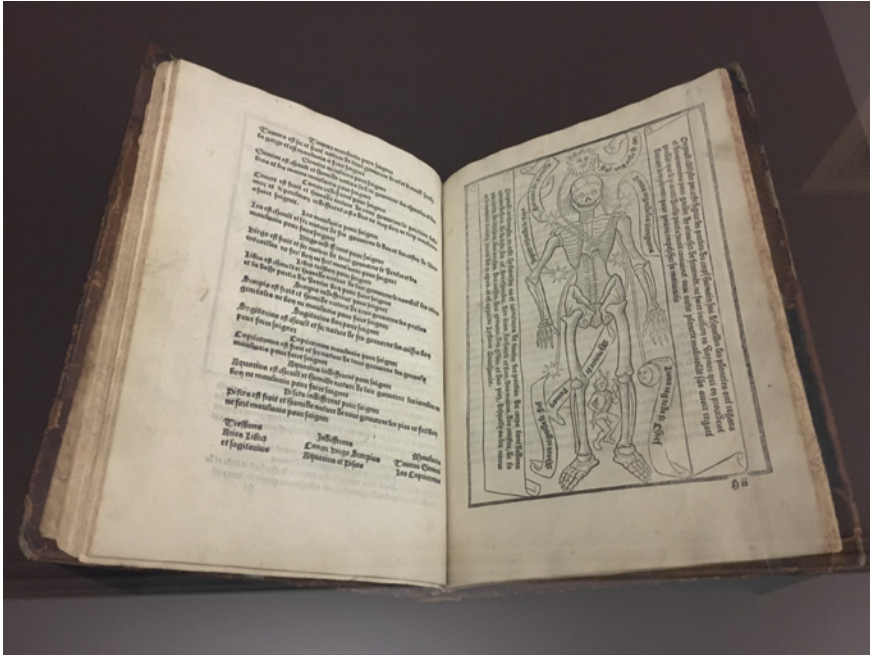
FIGURE 13.16   *Anatomical Illustration* from *Le Kalendrier des bergers* (*The Shepherds'*
Calendar) (Paris: Guy Marchant, 1493)
PHOTO: AUTHOR

are good or bad for blood-letting.[39] But then comes an interesting section—
marked with this dramatic image of a skeleton—that the text describes as "the
story of anatomy." This image marks that transition, depicting a standing skel-
eton with banderoles indicating a few of the significant associations between
astronomical and human bodies. On the verso of the page with the skeleton,
the reader discovers a meticulous catalogue of the bones contained within the
human body. In one dense, page-length paragraph, the author provides names
for each of those bones, and furnishes the reader with a total count of them—
he says there are 148 of them all told. This information on the skeleton is not
connected in any obvious way to the bloodletting practices the book had just
been describing; instead, it's presented without comment as information that
is self-evidently interesting. In other words, the *Shepherd's Calendar* seems to
assume that anatomical structures might be the focus of curiosity on the part
of its readers.

39   *Kalendrier des Bergers*, Hi-Hi verso.

For much of the Middle Ages, curiosity was in many respects a sin. This explains the presence of the Fool between the legs of the skeleton—it reminds the reader of the folly entailed in seeking this knowledge simply for its own interests. In the early thirteenth century, for example, the French theologian Jacques de Vitry had railed against the pernicious effects of "vain curiosity." Notably, he worried that people might be distracted from proper pursuits—pious devotion and the study of theology—due to excessive interest in "questions about the natural world."[40] Astronomy and astrology often appear as examples of this sort of human folly in Gothic art. We encounter that claim presented visually in the thirteenth-century *Moralized Bible*, for instance, where astrologers are derided for "teach[ing] false doctrine" and for being "blinded and confused."[41] Skepticism about the propriety of astronomical and astrological knowledge appears in sixteenth-century art as well. We find it, for instance, in Holbein's *Simulachres* (Fig. 13.17), in his image of an astrologer in his study. On the astrologer's desk are the tools of his trade: a quadrant, a substantial scholarly tome, and a sundial bowl, which was in fact the latest time-keeping marvel at this moment.[42] Sitting at his desk, the astrologer stares upwards, with a foolish, slack-jawed expression on his face. He gazes towards yet another instrument: an armillary sphere. His folly is laid bare by the other figure in the scene: Death, who gleefully, but ineffectively, urges him to pay attention to the more important matter of his own mortality by thrusting a skull towards his oblivious victim. In the refrain added to the print in the 1538 Lyon edition, Death mocks the ability of the astrologer to use his knowledge to predict with accuracy what is of utmost importance: "Tell me therefore by Astrology / When you shall come to me."[43]

In Holbein's print, then, the skull serves as an antidote to the vain curiosity that appears so distracting to the astrologer. A similar purpose must have been served by the *Dance of Death* initials in the copy of Galen (Fig. 13.15). There, the initials would have quickly reminded the reader of his own mortality, ensuring that he did not become completely consumed by curiosity. At the same time, because they so visibly expressed the *memento mori* theme, luxury

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40   Katherine Tachau, "God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*," *The Art Bulletin* 80:1 (1998): 7–33, esp. 27.

41   Tachau, "God's Compass," 13.

42   Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and New Haven: Harvard Art Museums and Yale University Press, 2011), 296, no. 69.

43   *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger*, 42; Fi verso in the original.

FIGURE 13.17 Hans Holbein and Hans Lützelburger, *The Astronomer and Death*, from the *Simulachres et historiees faces de la mort* (Lyon: Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel, 1538), Fi verso [Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-4509N(R)]

commodities such as the ivories could also sneak in some anatomical information for the—dare we say it?—curious eyes of their beholders.[44]

These objects are undeniably stern in many ways, and the sense of humor of the past is notoriously elusive. But I nevertheless think we can perceive a sense of play, and even a dark humor, in these objects if we look closely enough. In the group of ivories associated with the Chicart Bailly shop, one begins to notice some patterns to the placement of the vermin that infest the cadavers. Salamanders crawl up along the throat beneath the jawbone and out of the mouth (Fig. 13.11), serving as grotesque replacements for the esophagus and tongue. Viewed from the side, we discover that the mandible is no longer attached to the skull by ligaments; those bands of tissue have been replaced by worms who lace themselves between the bones to lash them tight. The spectacular piece in Cologne reveals a similar sense of bleak humor, even going so far as to replace the heart with a fly.[45]

In short, then, works such as these were designed to absorb their beholders in wide-ranging rumination on their meanings. They leavened moral sermonizing with an appeal to curiosity; Biblical references with a dash of Humanist learning. They functioned as desirable commodities, fashioned from an alluring and exotic material, while also posing a self-critique of their own status as commodities, much as Holbein imagined the bony jewelry that Death strings around an oblivious noblewoman's neck (Fig. 13.18). And through it all, objects such as these were encoded with subtle hints of dark humor, ensuring that Death always had the last laugh.

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44   For ways in which the *memento mori* theme may have played a role in an illuminated manuscript that is often described as containing the earliest "proto-scientific" anatomical illustrations, see Peter Bovenmeyer's essay in this volume.

45   For more on this fly, and the ways that its out-of-scale inclusion here may have been intended to prompt reflection on classical tropes of artistic excellence in achieving a *trompe-l'oeil* level of naturalism, see Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 61–64.

FIGURE 13.18   Hans Holbein and Hans Lützelburger, *The Countess*, from the *Simulachres et historiees faces de la mort* (Lyon: Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel, 1538), G(i) (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19.57.33, Rogers Fund, 1919)

PART 4

Departure and Persistence

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Coemeterium Schola: The Emblematic Imagery of Death in Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus*

Walter S. Melion

This chapter examines how a discourse on image-making is woven into Jan David, s.j.'s emblematic treatise about the Christian forms, functions, and meaning of death. This treatise within a treatise constitutes the closing section of his magnum opus, the *Veridicus Christianus* (*True Christian*) of 1601 [Fig. 14.1].[1] How were David's primary readers—youthful catechumens—taught to apprehend death in the form of vivid and compelling images fashioned in word and image, and ascribed to their hands and hearts. David (1545–1613), a brilliant apologist, preacher, pedagogue, and emblematist, ministered mainly within the Jesuit *Provincia Belgica*, where he served as rector of the Jesuit College in Ghent between 1594 and 1602. In addition to numerous anti-Lutheran, -Mennonite, and -Calvinist tracts and treatises, he composed four of the order's earliest emblem books: *Veridicus Christianus* (*True Christian*, 1601), *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* (*Occasion Seized, Shirked*, 1605), *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae et Pancarpium Marianum* (*Paradise of the Bridegroom and Bride and Marian Garland*, 1607), and *Duodecim specula* (*Twelve Mirrors*, 1610).[2] Both genres of text—apologetic and emblematic—contain extensive

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1 On David, who was founding rector of the Jesuit College in Kortrijk (1586–1590), superior of the Jesuit residence in Brussels (1590), rector of the Jesuit College in Ghent (1598–1602, 1611–1612), and the Belgian Province's foremost catechist and polemicist, see De Allegambe, s.j. 1643, 234; Geerts van Roey 1954; Geerts van Roey and Andriessen, s.j. 1956, 113–155; Andriessen, s.j. 1963, 220–224; and Andriessen, s.j. 1964, 378–384. On the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Insolera and Salviucci-Insolera 1996, 141–145; and Imhof 2014, I 229–234.

2 Anti-Lutheran polemic permeates the *Veridicus Christianus*; in particular, David opposed Luther's later teachings against the doctrine of purgatory. On the fundamental separation between the living and the dead upon which Lutheran and Reformed attitudes to the death of the body and the soul were premised, see Koslofsky 2000, 17–77, 175–187; and Tingle and Willis, "Introduction: Death, Dying, and the Quest for Social Control in the Palatinate, 1547–1610," in *eidem*, 2015, 1–24. By contrast, David's community of the faithful, since it encompasses souls

FIGURE 14.1   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Title-Page to Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus*
(Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving,
in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

reflections on what an image is and what sorts of moral and spiritual effects it can produce.[3] Along with Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* of 1595, David's *Veridicus* established a template for the order's soon to be copious production of emblem books.[4]

Addressed to a sophisticated, Latinate audience, his first emblem book, the *Veridicus Christianus*, explores in word and image the pivotal role that *imagines* played (and continue to play) in evincing the covenant of Christ and promulgating the doctrine of salvation. Published by Jan Moretus, head of the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp, the book consists of one hundred emblems, each comprising an engraved picture, motto, and epigrams—in Latin, Dutch, and French—followed by a lengthy commentary that explains the relation amongst the emblem's three parts.[5] David conceived it as a supplement to the Tridentine Catechism: the sequence of emblems is meant inexpugnably to impress the key principles of the Christian life and faith. As he puts it in the dedicatory epistle to his good friend, the Right Reverend Petrus Simons, Bishop of Ypres, the book's point of origin were the one hundred distichs he had written in Brussels for the use of catechists; the engraved images will allow their catechumens "to apprehend what they have just read, as if they were seeing these points of doctrine placed before their eyes."[6] Simons for his part, in a letter published as part of the book's front matter, astutely compares the *Veridicus Christianus* to Horace's *Epistula* 1.1 (especially the claims made in verses 33–40

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in purgatory, closely resembles the "system of solidarity of the living and the dead" endorsed by Jean Gerson in his sermons on the *corpus mysticum ecclesiae*, on which see Scott L. Taylor, "*Pro defunctis exorare*: The Community of the Living and the Dead in Jean Gerson's *Sermones de omnibus sanctis* and *de mortuis*," in Classen, ed. 2016, 297–309.

3 On David as an exponent of Jesuit image theory, see Dekoninck 2005, 194–196, 286–297, 312–324, 339–349; and Walter S. Melion, "Introduction: The Jesuit Engagement with the Status and Functions of the Visual Image," in De Boer, Enenkel, and Melion, eds. 2016, 1–49.

4 On David as emblematic theory and practice, see Dekoninck, Guiderdoni-Bruslé, Van Vaeck, *et al.*, eds. 2006, 29–31, 55–62; Daly 2014, 126, 192; Walter S. Melion, "Introduction: Scriptural Authority in Word and Image," in Brusati, Enenkel, and Melion, eds. 2011, 22–37; and Walter S. Melion, "Meditative Images and the Portrayal of Image-Based Meditation," in Melion, Dekoninck, and Guiderdoni-Bruslé, eds. 2012, 32–60.

5 The *Veridicus Christianus* was first written in Dutch, then translated into Latin by David himself, who enriched his text, making it more exegetical; on the *Christeliicken waerseggher* and its relation to the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Werner Waterschoot, "*Veridicus Christianus* and *Christeliicken Waerseggher* by Johannes David," in Dekoninck and Guiderdoni-Bruslé, eds. 2007, 527–534; and Imhof, 2014, I 234–236. On the joint involvement of the publisher Jan Moretus and printmaker Philips Galle in the production of the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Manfred Sellink, "Joannes David, *Veridicus christianus*," in Imhof, ed. 1996, 88–89.

6 David 1601, fol. +2r: "Ea ipsa deinde scholiis quibusdam, atque adeo centum in aes incisis iconibus illustrare visum est; ut, qui lecta intelligerent, eadem quasi subiecta oculis viderent."

for the restorative properties of poetry): he animadverts that David's Christian *cultura*, in its ability to quell carnal passion and provide a lenitive to human misery, trumps the pagan poet's self-proclaimed power to civilize even the most savage and wayward of men.[7] In truth, David's hundred emblems narrate the clash between Christian *cultura* and the sinful passions, beginning with the opposition of *timor Dei* (fear of God) to godless obstinacy and ending with the opposition between constancy of faith and inconstancy, in the face of the four last things (death, judgment, hell, and heaven).

Each of the *Veridicus*'s one hundred chapters centers on an elaborate engraving (in emblematic parlance, the *pictura*) co-designed by David and the draughtsman Theodoor Galle, and engraved by Galle, probably with the assistance of his brother Cornelis. The final subset of twenty emblems—David's *ars moriendi*—focuses on the inevitability of death, on the contingencies and uncertainties that beset the dying Christian, and on the prophylactic functions of emblematic image-making, which David adduces as the chief means whereby death may be meditated and, paradoxically, propounded as a rule of life.[8] These death-centered chapters can be seen to provide the capstone to David's *doctrina imaginis* (image doctrine), systematically interwoven throughout the *Veridicus*. Throughout his writings, he construes sacred images as the chief means of fixing the life and teachings of Christ within the votary's mind, heart, and spirit, so indelibly that his soul is re-formed in the Lord's image, as if it were a panel painting or copperplate ("aere").[9] The emblems on death begin by restaging a master trope adapted from Augustine's *Confessions*—the story of the future saint's conversion, precipitated by his audition of a child's voice mysteriously chanting the phrase "Take up [the book] and read." David emblematically transforms this

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7   Ibid., fol. ++1r–v.

8   Implicit throughout David's chapters on death is the conviction that these emblematic spiritual exercises constitute a kind of *ars moriendi*, a therapeutic for healing the sick and suffering soul; on the late medieval *ars moriendi*, see Binski 1996, 29–50; and Chaunu 1978, 275–287. David was surely arguing against Luther's transformation of the *ars moriendi* in key works of sacramental theology such as the *Sermon on Preparing to Die* of 1519 and the *Babylonian Captivity* of 1520, on which see Reinis 2007, 47–82.

9   The analogical term "aere" derives from Philippe de Allegambe, S.J.'s entry on David in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, which recounts his urgent desire to undo the effects of apostasy in the order's Belgian Province, comprising Brabant, Flanders, and the United Provinces, the so-called *Missio Hollandica*; David's renowned sermons stand proxy for his lifework of renewing the country's lost sacred images: "By the sermons he gave in Ghent, he caused to be restored in bronze / in copper (*aere*), both publicly and privately, the images of the saints that the iconoclasts had toppled everywhere." See De Allegambe 1643, 234: "Gandavi concionibus suis effecit, ut Imagines Sanctorum passim per urbem ab Iconomachis deturbatae, publico privatoque aere reponerentur."

incident, substituting the image of a cemetery for the book, and close viewing of this deathly image for the action of scriptural reading. At the heart of this cemetery, as we shall see, David implants another image—more particularly, an effigy in the image—the crucifix.[10]

The nineteen emblems that follow introduce other kinds of image—illustrative, parabolic, typological, specular, and allegorical—in order fully to explore the lineaments of death and reflect on the psychology of dying. The sequence then climaxes in an analogy that tropes the constituent parts of a drawn or engraved image, comparing death to the final stroke in a set of hatched lines or to the final outline that completes a picture drawn on a panel or engraved on a copperplate ("penicillo in tabula ducit"). In addition, the various image-kinds deployed throughout the sequence are layered one upon the other as a way of fixing mnemonically a densely imbricated *symbolum* (symbolic image) of death as the Christian *modus vivendi* (mode of life). From the full set of twenty *emblemata*, this chapter, in the brief format available, investigates the uses to which David puts the trope of image-making in just six—Emblems 81, 82, 89, 92, 99, and 100—asking why image doctrine proves crucial to his emblematic project of describing and regulating the art of living for death [Figs. 14.2–14.3, 14.7, 14.9, 14.12–14.13].

1 Emblems 81, 82, and 100: From Cemetery to Final Judgment

Emblems 81 and 82 are pendants: the former launches the embedded treatise on death by introducing the image of a cemetery, described simply, if not rudimentarily, in the *pictura*; the latter, anchored in a more detailed *pictura*, elaborates upon this image, providing a more descriptive account of the cemeterial imagery to be meditated, within which the crucifix is now inserted

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10   David's subseries on death markedly differs from the Dance of Death imagery codified by Hans Holbein the Younger in *Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort* 1538. Holbein personifies and personalizes Death, yet describes death as a remote event that affects each person differently. David construes death as integral to every man's life, not least the reader-viewer's, and specifies that its presence is best discerned as a spiritual or, better, dispiriting effect upon the mind, heart, and soul. On Holbein's *Simulachres* and its divergence from earlier Dance of Death cycles, see Gertsman 2010, 169–180. David also eschews the trope of the topsy-turvy world associated with the *Danse Macabre*, on which see Suzanne Wardo, "Dance, Music, and Inversion: The Reversal of the Natural Order," in Oosterwijk and Knöll, eds. 2011, 73–100; and Cerchio, "Alcune considerazioni sul simbolismo della Danza Macabra," in *idem* 1997, 89–117.

COEMETERII LECTIO; MVNDI DESPECTIO. 81.

Stoica quo valeam capere hæc paradoxa Magiſtro ?
Eia, Sepulchreti ferales adſpice campos .

Wie ſal my deſe leer, ten beſten doen verſtaen ?
Gh'en moet maer eenen keer, met ſin op tkerchof gaen.

Faites moy entendre, Ce point a comprendre, Sy treſdifficil .
Va au cemitiere, Ou ceſte matiere, S'apprend au docil .

FIGURE 14.2 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 81, "Coemeterii lectio; mundi
despectio" ("The lesson of the cemetery is contempt for the world"),
in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana
apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The
Newberry Library
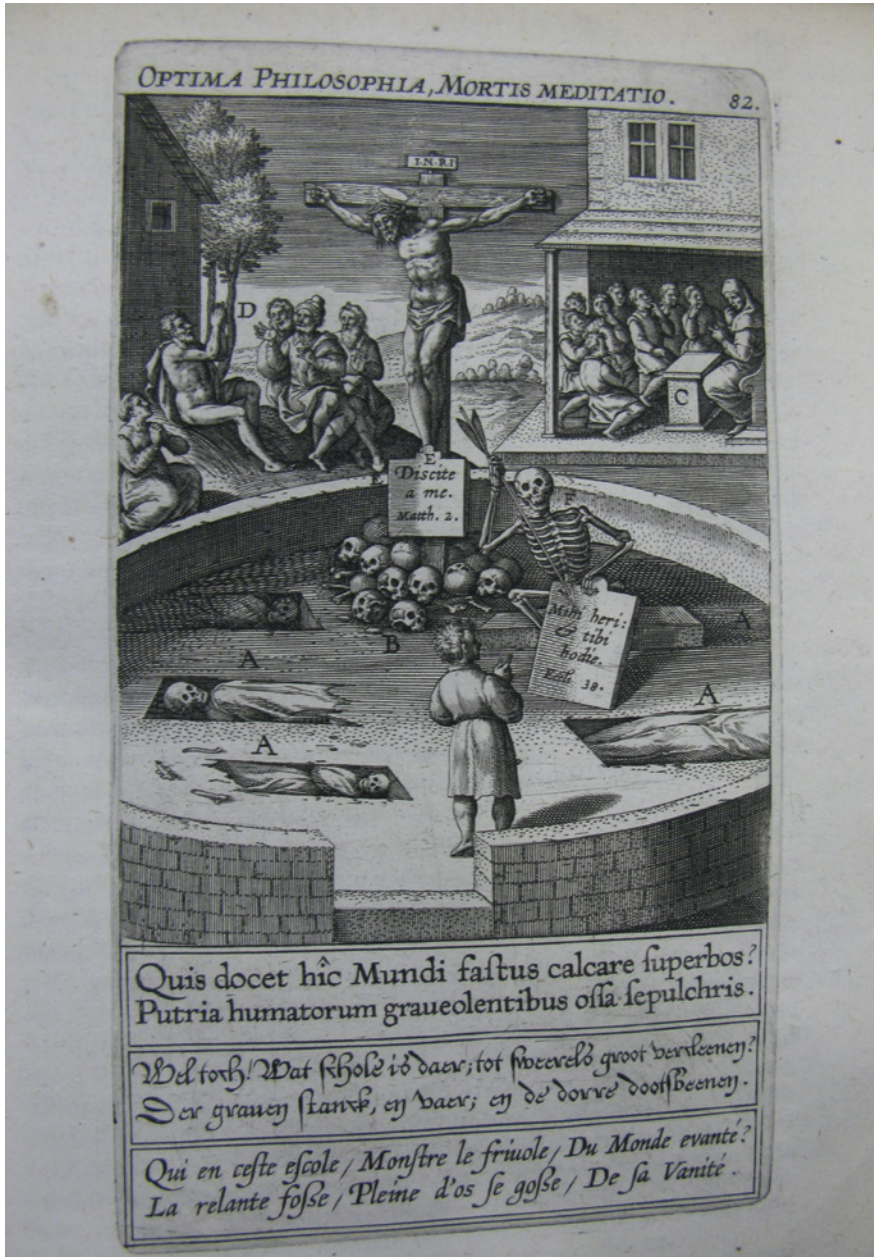
FIGURE 14.3 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 82, "Optima philosophia, mortis meditatio" ("The most excellent philosophy, to meditate death"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

[Figs. 14.2–14.3].[11] The transition from a simple to a complex *pictura* signifies the process whereby the exercitant comes to grips with the newly introduced thematic of death by deploying increasingly vivid and fully-formed mortuary imagery. Like all the engravings in the *Veridicus*, *pictura* 81 includes roman capitals that correspond to designated passages, likewise lettered, in the respective commentaries. The alphabetical order not only sets the sequence of viewing, but also the corollary sequence of textual argumentation. In addition, the *pictura* is framed above by a motto—here, "The lesson of the cemetery is contempt for the world"—and below by an epigram that amplifies upon the relation between motto and *pictura*—in Latin, "By what teacher shall I be able to grasp these Stoic paradoxes? Ah! Behold the mortuary fields of burial."[12] The question and answer format derives, of course, from David's starting point, the catechism.

In *pictura* 81, 'A' marks the entry to a churchyard, where a well-dressed woman, her foot poised on the first step, stops to gaze at skulls, bones, crosses, and a freshly dug grave [Fig. 14.2]. This threshold stands for the transition between our desire to dwell on the beauty of temporal things, and our dawning recognition of the Stoic paradox that living is a form of dying, bodily beauty a prelude to bodily corruption. The woman, whose position before the churchyard stands proxy for ours before the *pictura*, is caught on the horns of this dilemma, having only just begun to discern the truth bodied forth by the cemetery. Her relation to the image we see is tentative or, better, interrogative, as the commentary makes clear:

> The question is thus posed, by what teacher are we to master Stoic paradoxes such as these, which in previous chapters have been adduced as contempt for the world and, finally, as the neglect of semblance: in a word, beauty is like a fine flower whose fragrance soon turns into a foul smell. For I know that this [paradox] appears the mere likeness of a dream to those who greatly incline toward bodily beauty, apply themselves to

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11   On the cemetery as a place of private and communal devotion in the Low Countries between the late fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "The Place of the Dead in Flanders and Tuscany: Towards a Comparative History of the Black Death," in Gordon and Marshall, eds., 2000, 17–43; and Jan de Geest and Koen Goudriaan, "Het kerkhof als plaats van herinnering en devotie. De zusters van Sint-Agnes te Amersfoort en hun begraafplaats," in Bitter, Bonenkampová, and Goudriaan, eds. 2013, 205–220.

12   "Coemeterii lectio; mundi despectio." "Stoica quo valeam capere haec paradoxa Magistro? / Eia, Sepulchreti ferales adspice campos."

cultivating it, and thereby often put themselves at risk of playing the fool; not to mention those who endanger themselves for the mere sight of beauty.[13]

The cemetery, "B," provides the answer to this question, more precisely the image of the cemetery that must be visualized on the model of the parabolic analogy, promulgated in *Jeremiah* 18:2–6, between the potter's clay and the mortal substance of man. David emphasizes the importance of this scriptural prophecy, which teaches by means of a visual analogy, that is, the comparison between sinful human flesh and the potter's friable clay, or rather, between the image of a man and the image of a broken pot being turned on a wheel. As Jeremiah, in his prophetic vision, learns to liken himself to malleable clay in the hands of the *Deus Artifex*, so we must learn to discern that humankind, "formed of the slime of the earth," is composed of the cemetery's mud and mire.[14] This analogy, like the analogy whence it derives, consists of a set of paired images, and this dual structure—the one analogy juxtaposed to the other—is modeled on the juxtaposition of elements "A" and "B" in the *pictura*, to elements "C" and "D," the prophet Jeremiah's image of himself entering a potter's workshop and seeing the potter turn a shattered vessel. The benedictory gesture made by the potter's right hand indicates that he is an image of God. Indeed, the visual logic of the prophecy dictates that prophetic vision itself be construed as a species of divine image-making: the artisanal analogy is in the last analysis an analogy for God's crafting of the parabolic images seen and reported by the prophet Jeremiah. David explains the parallel structure of the *pictura* as follows:

> And so the Lord God, wishing to teach his people in a new and efficacious way, which would be capable of helping them, raising them when they had fallen, and as it were restoring them when they were contrite … said to the prophet Jeremiah: "Arise, and go down into the potter's house, and there thou shalt hear my words. And I went down [says the prophet] into

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13   David 1601, 284: "Interrogator igitur, quo magistro tam Stoica paradoxa, qualia iam superioribus aliquot Capitibus in contemtum mundi tradita sunt, & postremo de neglectu formae, addiscere valeamus: nominatim pulchritudinem instar floris excellentis & bene redolentis, mox in foetorem teterrimum converti. Scio etenim, istud somnij speciem referre, iis qui tantopere erga corporis pulchritudinem afficiuntur; eique curandae ita incumbent, ut amentiae etiam periculo se non raro exponant: ut eos omittam, qui solo formae aspectu eo se discriminis quoque coniiciunt." All translations from David's *Veridicus Christianus* are mine.

14   Ibid., 285: "… nos lutum & limum terrae esse, formam autem testeam & figlinam esse.…"

the potter's house, and behold he was doing a work on a wheel. And the vessel was broken, etc." By the breaking of the vessel and its immediate repair, the prophet learned from the Lord and heard him say, on behalf of all the people: "Cannot I do with you as this potter, O house of Israel, saith the Lord? Behold, as clay is in the hand of the potter, so are you in my hand." Therefore, the response [viz., in the epigram] despatches us to the cemetery, where we may learn the needful doctrine to be applied with respect to bodily beauty, strength, and adornment … and to the fleeting, fragile, and momentary things, so fraught with danger, on which mundane men place such emphasis. For in that place is seen what must be made of all these.[15]

More important than the image of this earthen vessel, however, is the interior image of God that it allows us to discern, if we look past bodily *formam* (visual beauty) to what the body enshrines. By considering the "terrestrial *figmentum*" ("image," but also, "anything fashioned," as in the vessel turned by a "figulus," viz., a "potter"), we may glimpse the light of God that this "little bodily vessel" ("corpusculus"), since it was fashioned by him, contains, as David states by reference to 2 *Corinthians* 4:7: "But we have this treasure [the light of God shining in our hearts] in earthen vessels, that the excellency may be of the power of God, and not of us."[16]

It will already be apparent how David, in meditating death, in fact meditates the process of image-making that makes death discernible to the eyes, mind, and heart. He adverts to *Jeremiah* 18 in order to affirm that this process is divinely sanctioned by prophetic and exegetical precedent. Emblem 82 enlarges upon the mortuary image broached in Emblem 81, implanting within it, as a

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15   Ibid., 285: "Ita Dominus Deus volens populum suum novo efficacique modo docere, quod potens esset eos adiuvare, collapsos erigere, & quasi contritos restaurare, dummodo saniora consilia sequerentur: dicebat Hieremiae Prophetae: *Surge, & descende in domum figuli; & ibi audies verba mea. Ed descendi* (inquit Propheta) *in domum figuli, & ecce, ipse faciebat opus super rotam. Et dissipatum est vas, etc.* Per vasis confractionem, eiusdemque statim reparationem, didicit Propheta, audivitque nomine totius populi Dominum dicentem: *Nunquid sicut figulus iste, non potero vobis facere, domus Israël: ait Dominus: ecce, sicut lutum in manu figuli, sic vos in manu mea.* Ita remittit nos Responsio ad coemeterium, ubi discamus quod scitu est opus, quoad pulchritudinem, robur, & corporis ornatum … temporanea, fragilia, momentanea, vana, periculorum plenissima, in quibus mundani homines tantum momenti ponunt. Ibi siquidem videre est, quid de his omnibus sit sentiendum."

16   All Bible references are taken from the Clementine Vulgate, as translated by the English College of Douai between 1582 and 1610, and revised by Bishop Richard Challoner between 1749 and 1752; see Challoner, ed. 2000.

comparandum, the effigy of Christ crucified [Fig. 14.3]. This secondary image, an epitome of the willingness to die, originates from the first, as if taking shape from its lineaments. The presence of the crucifix concretizes David's argument that the cemetery is the breeding ground whence the certainty of death and the need to embrace it become fully known, in a sense come to life, in the form of a fully embodied sacred image. He urges us to linger in this place, to sit at the foot of the cross, our eyes fixed on Christ, in the manner of Job's true friends, who sat with him for seven days, sharing in his affliction:

> We read that the friends of Job came by common consent to visit and console him. "And when they had lifted up their eyes afar off, they knew him not, and crying out they wept.... And they sat with him on the ground seven days and seven nights, and no man spoke to him a word: for they saw that his grief was very great." What is seen here? Does it not behoove us, with greater reason, to bring these and more things to pass in this public place of instruction, sitting beside the sepulchers and bones of the dead, especially when these are heaped around the effigy of Christ crucified, gathered there in a certain order? For the thing to be seen there is worthy of greater admiration, a greater occasion of sorrow, a greater cause of silent horror. Truly, there is greater reason here to ruminate, to marvel, to weep, to mourn....[17]

In *pictura* 82, this passage, marked "E," coincides with the plaque inscribed "Learn from me," from *Matthew* 11:29: "Take my yoke upon yourselves, and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart" [Fig. 14.3]. The arrow held by Death ("F") connects Christ crucified to the proverb, likewise inscribed on a plaque, from *Ecclesiasticus* 38:23: "Yesterday for me, and today for thee." The young catechumen in the foreground attends to this visual analogy that teaches him to compare Christ's fate with his own. Inclined to the right, head and one hand raised, he resembles the silent figure of Job ("D") and the young students ("C") who point at their closed mouths, learning that attentive silence is the

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17   Ibid., 286: "Legimus, amicos Iob venisse ex condicto, ut visitarent eum, & consolarentur. *Cumque elevassent procul oculos suos, non cognoverunt eum, & exclamantes ploraverunt.... Et sederunt cum eo in terra, septem diebus, & septem noctibus; & nemo loquebatur ei verbum: videbant enim dolorem esse vehementem.* Quid videtur? Nonne maiori ratione, nos haec & plura facere conveniat, in hoc publico gymnasio, secus sepulchra & ossa mortuorum desidentes, praesertim ubi illa in acervum, circum Christi crucifixi effigiem, certo ordine congesta sunt? Ibi namque rem maiori admiratione dignam videre est; maior ibi doloris occasio, maior horroris & silentij causa. Maior enim cogitandi, obstupescendi, flendi, ingemiscendique ratio...."

first step toward eloquence. The silence of Job, his friends, and of the students underscores David's point that the primary instrument of instruction is the silent *pictura* and what it describes as food for thought: "In this school of mortal men, silence and silent inspection are necessary above all: not only for the purpose of speaking prudently hereafter, but also of weighing more attentively, judging more righteously, and living more justly."[18] The exercitant, unlike his predecessor in *pictura* 81, has now entered the cemetery, where he more fully engages in the meditative exercise at hand: he visualizes this place—indeed, to such an extent that he appears as if comprised by the meditative image issuing from him, subsumed into it, one might say. He is shown young to indicate that the impressionable votary, like a child, must open himself to the instructive effect of the visual images he meditates. Whereas he is younger, the cemetery has grown larger: it expands to fill the viewer's field of vision, its threshold coterminous with that of the *pictura*. All these devices are symptoms of the reflexive project initiated by Emblems 81–82: the exercitant is tasked with learning how one meditates death by means of images, and he fulfills this task by visualizing himself in the act of calling forth the requisite images and dwelling upon them. These are images of the votary learning to produce potent, panoptic, and habitable images of death.

David further calls attention to the reflexive nature of *pictura* 82 in his commentary on "A" and "B," which identifies the cemetery as a *schola* ("school") or *ludus* (place of instruction), wherein one may see oneself learning how to exchange images of death for those of worldly beauty. This exchange takes place as a function of the revisualization of Emblem 81's *coemeterium* that becomes Emblem 82's *schola* [Figs. 14.2–14.3]:

> Since we are thereupon sent to the cemetery by indication of the former chapter, here to learn this lesson rare, useful, and sublime, and this philosophy of neglect for beauty and worldly ornament, the cemetery can justly be called a school, where consequently, any person may lay open ("quempiam ibi ludum aperire") a place of instruction, teaching to tread under foot the exponents of the world's pride. And so [the epigram] asks: "Who is that [teacher]?" [It also] replies: "The putrefying bones of the dead and the gaping, stinking sepulchers…. For whatsoever the world is

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18   Ibid., 286: "In hac etiam mortalium schola, primum silentio opus est, & tacita inspectione: non solum ad postea prudentius loquendum, sed etiam ad attentius expendendum, & de his omnibus rectius iudicandum, meliusque vivendum."

wont to aggrandize, praise, and love, we see here shown to the eye as vile, vain, and altogether nugatory."[19]

The phrase "where any person may lay open" empowers the exercitant to become his own teacher: he is not merely death's pupil, but may also teach himself. As such, *pictura* 82 is doubly reflexive, for in illustrating the reflex of learning, it also implicitly encourages the exercitant to teach himself. David puts this very succinctly in his call to the votary to attend this school as if it were a Pythagorean house of learning: "Thus let us go to this public school, and in the first place learn how to learn. Previously, in chapter 46, we heard about the quinquennial silence of the Pythagoreans, who learned from the start that it is better to learn silently than volubly."[20]

Throughout chapter 82, David keeps returning to the point that silent images, not spoken words, are the cemetery's medium of instruction. He refers to its sights as *spectacula* and embroiders upon their visual impact: we shall fall justly silent, he avers, when confronted by the spectacle of a cadaver, its bones gnawed-upon by scavengers, its vestigial flesh worm-eaten. Such *spectacula* must be called up as if they were mirror-reflections, images whose clarity and vividness will induce affective contemplation. Moreover, it is incumbent upon us to keep this mirror-image fresh, not allowing the affective charge to fade, as occurs with most visual novelties.[21] David also instructs the viewer to attach the mirror-image to pertinent biblical passages, thus infusing them with the particularity and affective intensity that such an image can confer, and conversely, bestowing scriptural authority on this same image. In the case of "F," the pericopes would be *Genesis* 3:19: "Remember, man, that thou art dust, and into dust thou shalt return"; and *Ecclesiasticus* 38:23: "Remember my judgment, for also shall be so. Yesterday for me, and today for thee." So great is the power

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19   Ibid.: "Cum igitur ad coemiterium praecedentis Capitis indicio mittamur, ut raram hanc, utilem, ac sublimem lectionem & Philosophiam neglectus formae ac mundani ornatus addiscamus, potest merito coemeterium schola appellari, unde & consequens est, quempiam ibi ludum aperire; qui doceat superbos mundi fastus calcare. Quaeritur itaque, quis ille sit? Respondetur, Ossa putria mortuorum, & sepulchra patentia ac foetentia…. Quidquid enim magni facere, laudare, & amare solet mundus; hic illud vile, & vanum, & nihil prorsus esse, ad oculum videmus."

20   Ibid.: "Eamus igitur ad scholam hanc communem, & in primis modum discendi discamus. Iam antea, Cap. xlvi. audivimus quinquennale Pythagoricorum silentium, cum primum inciperent, ut silentio melius loqui tandem discerent."

21   Ibid., 287: "… res magni motus & affectus est … ossa defunctorum in speculum rite comparata expositaque contemplari…. At consuetudine & assiduitate tam patheticum vilescit spectaculum."

of this silent scriptural image spiritually to transform the beholder, that its potential effect is likened to that of the divine voice that converted Augustine, urging him, "Take up and read [the book]":

> Frequent this place of instruction, perform this labor diligently and with affection, read and reread these books. Let there come into mind and hand, [the words that] divinely resounded at the divine Augustine's conversion, as the cause of his transformation to a better life: 'Take up, read; take up, read'…. And what sort of show, pray, is here to be seen? With what voice do the dry bones speak?… Truly this is the highest Philosophy, the meditation on death, which transmits the art that surpasses all other arts, namely the art of living well and dying well…. For through frequent meditation on death and beholding of these lessons, one comes through death to eternal life.[22]

How does David propose to keep such scriptural mirror-images span-new? By contemplating them with "attentive eyes and spirits" and jointly imagining, in a corollary series of descriptive images, the beauty of face and form and the sumptuary splendor that once adorned the now sorry and indeterminate vestiges of these self-styled "Venuses" and "Junos": "Say now, pray, if you can, which of all these piled-up corpses once cultivated their appearance exceedingly, as if they had been Venuses, Junos, and similar diabolical goddesses. Which of them exulted so pompously, so royally, that the wide ways seemed small to their scornful pride?"[23] By contrast, this visual exercise, by turns contemplative and imaginative, will restore the very different sort of image—the *imago Dei* (image of God, viz., of Christ)—impressed upon every soul; this divine image, made indiscernible by the failure to recognize our death-prone

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22   Ibid., 287: "Hunc ludum frequentate, his studiis operam navate, hos libros evolvite & revolvite. Hic illud in mentem manumque veniat, quod divo Augustino sub conversionem caelitus insonabat, eique causa mutandae in melius vitae fuit: Tolle, lege: tolle, lege…. Et quisnam ludus hic nobis videtur? Quae illa vox, quam ossa arida proloquuntur? … Haec est vere summa Philosophia, mortis meditatio, artem tradens quae omnes artes superat, bene scilicet vivendi, & moriendi bene…. Nam per frequentem mortis meditationem, harumque lectionum observationem, venitur per mortem ad vitam aeternam." Cf. Aurelius Augustine, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans., Edward B. Pusey (New York: P. F. Collins & Sons, 1909–1914), Bk. 8, ch. 12, parag. 27–28.

23   Ibid., 288: "… intentis oculis animisque contemplemur, ut doctiores tandem melioresque evadamus…. Dic iam, quaeso, si potis es, quaenam ex omnibus hic congestis cadaveribus illae fuere, quae tanti suae formae cultum fecerunt, ac si Veneres, Iunones, & similes deae diabolicae fuissent? Quaenam illae inter ista cadavera, quae tam pompatice vel basilice incesserunt, ut platearum laxitas angusta eis esset prae fastu?"

and sordid humanity, can be rediscovered by way of meditative immersion in the *coemeterium schola*'s deathly images.

The final chapter of the *Veridicus*, Emblem 100, develops the theme of agency, comparing the votary to a draftsman or painter, the sum total of his life to a drawing or painting, the four last things, and death above all, to the constituent hatches or brushstrokes of such a drawing or painting [Fig. 14.12].[24] The epigram augments this comparison by adding a reference to engraving: "I bear [the image of] these selfsame things; wherefore I shall continuously reflect upon them engraved in my spirit: Death, Judgment, Hell, the Kingdom of Heaven."[25] David insists upon the pictorial status of this eschatological imagery: in treating the final things as if they had been drawn, painted, or engraved, David drives home the point that the *novissima* are meditative images manufactured by the person who recalls and peruses them. He avows that every effort must be made to render these images in as lively and compelling a manner as possible, since their function is to "furnish spirit and life," that is, spiritually to renew the person who fixes them in memory and lives (and dies) while holding them in view.[26] They are comparable, states David, to the living images of the four wheels envisioned by the prophet in *Ezechiel* 1:16–20 and 10:9–19: "And therefore, they are likened not unsuitably to those four, mutually entwined wheels full of eyes, and somehow constitutive of a single wheel, seen by the prophet Ezechiel. By which we should understand that for every Christian who conforms his life to the testimony of the evangelists, the memory of each and all [of the *novissima*] ought to be furnished with eyes, as if made present [to him] ('oculatam ac quasi praesentem')."[27] These ocular attributes hearken back to the earlier comparison of the *novissima* to mirrors in which we see ourselves portrayed and, as it were, returning our own gaze. The peculiarity of the image, enforced by the term *oculatam*, strongly implies that the four last things are mnemonic in form and function, and for this reason, memorably strange in appearance. Indeed, the presence and immediacy of such images brings to mind the example of Jerome, whose "powerful memory" ("efficax …

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24   On this emblem and its relation to the "Orbita probitatis," which functions an appendix to the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Göttler 2010, 196–203.

25   "Ipsa refer, quo iuge animis incisa revolvam? / Lethum, Iudicium, Infernus, caelestia regna."

26   David 1601, 342: "… qui homini animum & vitam suppeditat ad recte vivendum, vitamque aeternam consequendum."

27   Ibid.: "Ideoque, non male haec quatuor illis rotis assimilet, quas Propheta Ezechiel vidit, quae sibi invicem implicitae, unam quasi rotam constituebant, erantque plenae oculis. Quo intelligamus, omnium & singulorum oculatam ac quasi praesentem debere esse memoriam homini Christiano, iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum testimonium vitam suam instituenti."

recordatio") of the *novissima* was "so indelibly imprinted, that they seem never to have deserted him".[28]

Pictura 100 aligns with the emphasis on image-production in David's epigram and commentary. The devout man perched atop Ezechiel's wheels within wheels ("A"), his arms crossed to indicate that he bears in mind the image of Christ crucified, actively memorializes the four last things ("C," "D," "E," "F"), which are to be seen as emanating from him. The proverbial text, "Be mindful of your final end" (*Ecclesiasticus* 7:40), inscribed on the banderole, as if spoken by him, confirms what his gesture and heavenward gaze likewise certify—that he keeps the image of his future salvation ever in view. Similarly, the epigram's opening phrase, "Ipsa refer" ("I bear," or alternatively, "I represent the selfsame things"), identifies scenes "C"–"F" as representational images engraved ("incisa") upon the man's memory and consciousness.[29] Positioned above and below, to his left and right, these scenes encircle him like the compass points described in commentary "A"; they thus illustrate how fully he appears to inhabit the immersive images of the *novissima* that he himself has generated:

> We come to know the whole world through the earth's four points or regions—East, South, West, and North; so too, one might say that the whole of the human race is comprised by these four final things. Wheresoever a man finds himself, he has in view the four quarters of the world; in the same way, whosoever lives, ought to keep the four final things before his eyes, as if he were seeing himself encircled by them. And so, he may liken them, not without cause, to those four wheels which the prophet Ezechiel saw mutually entwined....[30]

The association of the eye-strewn wheels ("B") with prophetic vision implies that the man—who is, of course, an image of ourselves—looks to the future, seeing the *novissima* not with bodily eyes, but with the eyes of the mind ("oculis

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28   Ibid.: "… infixa fuerit Novissimorum memoria, ut nunquam eum destituisse videatur."

29   Ibid., 342: "Ipsa refer, quo iuge animis incisa revolvam? / Lethum, Iudicium, Infernus, caelestia regna."

30   Ibid.: "Per quatuor terrae angulos sive regiones, Orientem, Meridiem, Occidentem, & Septentrionem, universum semper Orbem terrarum intelligimus: ita etiam dici possit, his quatuor Novissimis totum genus humanum comprehendi. Sicuti namque ubicunque est homo, quatuor mundi plagas in conspectu habet; ita quisquis vivit, haec quatuor extrema ante oculos habere debet, quibus se quasi circumseptum conspicit. Ideoque, non male haec quatuor illis rotis assimilet, quas Propheta Ezechiel vidit, quae sibi invicem implicitae...."

mentis"). He is the antithesis of the negative exempla adduced in commentary "C" as images of an improvident death:

> And yet it is certain that the day of death shall seize the living in such wise, as unexpectedly as the hand of the judge or executioner seizes a man fit soon to be hanged, who, thinking less than nothing about it, and abounding in joys, is borne under full sail toward his pleasures. Like unto an ox led to slaughter, unaware of the mallet's impending blow, caressed all the while by gentle hands and a soothing voice....[31]

Instead, David proclaims the man's providence: perched upon the prophet's wheels, he is likened to ancient effigies of the goddess Wisdom, which were set upon a stable quadrate base, just as he sits upon the prophetic symbols of divinely-inspired circumspection and foresight. A quadrate base retains its shape and orientation, whichever way it falls; so too, the spherical wheels ("semper sibi simile est").[32] This is to say that assiduous meditation on the *novissima* provides the perfect foundation for a well-considered life. Such a life, led in constant view of one's final end, resembles a set of wheels, for it issues from a heart that constantly meditates—turns over—the four last things.[33]

Every Christian, if he is wise, will fix his eyes on death, the first of the *novissima*, as if his life were a drawing or painting, or for that matter a map, and death the drawing's final line, the painting's final stroke, or the map's final border. This analogy originates from the premise, stated at the start of Emblem 100, that the four last things consist of discernible *extrema*—"outermost things" or "farthest borders" ("haec quatuor extrema ante oculos habere debet").[34] A drawing's lines, a painting's strokes, and a map's borders are its extremities, its outermost parts, in the sense that the drawn, painted, or cartographical image arises from these primary elements, as from its irreducible constituents, or conversely, resolves into them. David paraphrases Horace's *Epistle* I 16:79:

> In truth, death [is called *extrema*] because it is the final line of things. Whether by ready analogy to lines set down in a certain order, the last of

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31   Ibid., 343: "Certum est tamen, mortis diem taliter viventes tam inopinato comprehensum, ac si iudicis aut tortoris manus quempiam mox suspendendum arripiat, qui nihil minus cogitans, plenis velis per suas voluptates ferebatur, affluens gaudiis. Quemadmodum etiam bos ad mactandum ductus, nihil minus quam ictum mallei imminentem expectat, interim dum blanda voce & mollibus manibus demulcetur."

32   Ibid., 346.

33   Ibid.: "Raro enim ista versantur in cordibus hominum."

34   Ibid., 342.

which death occupies, bordering all the rest; or by analogy to the paint-
er's strokes rendered with brush on panel, the last of which completes the
whole work. For all our actions, like various lines, are brought to a close
by death, and the painted panel of the whole of life is perfected by death's
final stroke, and the final application of the hand; so that nothing further
remains to be achieved or endured.[35]

Since the term *linea* jointly signifies a "region, tract, or boundary," the second
sentence can also be translated: "by analogy to tracts or regions set down in a
certain order, the last of which death occupies, bordering all the rest." Be that
as it may, the trope of picturing, like that of mapping, construes death as a
pictorial subject that must first be imaged if it is properly to be meditated or
surveyed.[36]

The artisanal analogies that permeate every aspect of Emblem 100 serve to
clarify the meditative exercise it puts forward, which involves the orderly ap-
plication of the *novissima* to the matter at hand—the imagined end of a per-
son's life—by means of an extended visual similitude.[37] The process requires
the exercitant to elaborate upon the initiatory *pictura* by generating alterna-
tive, complementary pictorial images. The purpose of these visual comparan-
da is to make the images of the four last things—more precisely, the primary
image of a votary ("A") propagating images of the *novissima* ("C"–"F")—more
lucid and memorable: "But after these two [viz., death and judgment], there
follow a great sundering and an admirable separation of the good from the bad
[viz., the saved from the damned]: whereby one looks to the other two *novis-
sima*. These [two] can be more clearly observed and more deeply imprinted

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35   Ibid., 344: "Mors quidem, quia ultima linea rerum est. Sive a lineis ordine ductis accepta
      similitudine, quarum postremam mors occupet reliquasque conterminet: sive a lineis
      quas Pictor penicillo in tabula ducit, quarum ultima totum opus absolvit. Morte enim &
      omnes actus nostri ut lineae variae terminantur, & picta totius vitae tabula ultimo mortis
      tractu perficitur, atque extrema adhibetur manus; ut hic nihil amplius restet faciendum
      patiendumve."

36   The Tridentine definition of Extreme Unction as the rite of anointing, perforce adminis-
      tered by the priest's assured hand, undergirds the association between *extrema* and *linea*,
      the "final line of things" and the skilled "painter's strokes." On the Council of Trent and its
      decree on Extreme Unction, see Palmer, s.j. 1959, 310–314; on administration of the sacra-
      ment, as defined in the *Catechism by Decree of the Council of Trent* of 1567, see 314–316.

37   Ibid., 345: "… iam quatuor Novissima ex ordine, similitudini coeptae insistentes, ad rem
      applicemus." For a parallel case of engaging with death through artisanal analogy, see
      Albrecht Classen, "Death, Sinfulness, the Devil, and the Clerical Author: The Late Medieval
      German Didactic Debate Poem *Des Teufels Netz* and the World of Craftsmanship," in *idem*
      ed. 2016, 277–296.

on the mind by means of an extended visual analogy ('similitudine prolata')."[38] David then pictures the analogical image, describing it in great detail: whoever we are, whether good or bad, our perishable bodies imprison us, imposing the penalty of death upon sinful humankind; bound and fettered for the crime of lèse-majesté against God our king, we depend upon the mediation of the king's son, Christ, for our pardon. If we embrace the reconciliation he offers, both directly and through his Church, then salvation shall be ours; if we refuse to be reconciled, then our passage through the portal of death ("per portam carceris") shall lead to irredeemable perdition. The supplementary images of death as a doorway and a passageway ("transitus") subtend the courtly and judicial images of Christ and his Church as mediators.[39]

These images lead to other associative images, in a cascading stream of images upon images, many of which circle back to the thematic of artisanship, calling attention to their status as fabricated. Take, for instance, the closing analogy of the four last things to the four rings that God commanded Moses to manufacture at the four corners of the arc (*Exodus* 25:12). As the arc is to Christ, the living arc, so the four rings that allow the arc to be carried are to the four last things that assist the Christian to uphold the faith, reminding him to live for Christ, that he may be united with him in death. As the arc was borne from place to place, so the meditative image of Christ, along with its corollary images—the *novissima*—must accompany the votary, whithersoever he goes:

> In like manner the true Christian, exhibiting to himself the image of the living arc, ought to be furnished with these four rings, whereby he shall be ever ready to render every manner of service to God, whether he stands amongst the living or advances toward death. And as he shall see, so great is the assistance furnished by these [four], that possessed of them, he may scatter and pulverize the devil's every machination, if the memory of those [*novissima*] is at all times prompt and powerful.[40]

The image of the four rings then mutates into another artisanal image: the *novissima* are compared to the four smiths or carpenters ("fabri") prophesied by the prophet Zechariah, who demolish the four horns—viz., the four

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38   David, 1601, 344.

39   Ibid., 345.

40   Ibid., 347: "Sic verus Christianus, arcae vivae prae se ferens imaginem, quatuor hisce annulis munitus esse debet, quo semper ut praesto ad omne Dei obsequium, sive sistant in vivis, seu pergat ad funus. Tantumque norit horum esse praesidium, ut omnis quoque generis machinamenta diaboli solvat atque confringat his praeditus; si praesens eorum semper fuerit & efficax recordatio."

kingdoms—that have persecuted Juda, Israel, and Jerusalem (*Zechariah* 1:20–21).[41] Finally, David superimposes upon the typological images of the smiths and the rings, the allegorical image of an elaborate contraption fashioned by the art of memory, as if by human hands: the chariot of memory rides on wheels comprising the four last things; drawn by the horses of good intention and honest effort, its carriage conveys the votary heavenward, along with his recollected thoughts, words, and deeds.[42] This allegorical device clearly derives from the image of the man riding the prophet Ezechiel's living wheels and recalling the *novissima* in *pictura* 100. Like the reflexive images that have preceded it—the image of ourselves entering a cemetery and viewing its *spectacula*, of ourselves treasuring the soul as if it were a Praxitelean masterpiece, of ourselves gazing into the quadripartite *speculum* of our final end and picturing its four parts—the chariot, in that it paradoxically contains the person whose memories also call it into being, is an image about imaging. But the chariot of memory differs in degree of reflexivity from the precedents described in Emblems 81–99, since it forms part of a chapter that places greater emphasis on the trope of picturing and even dwells on the symbolic value of a picture's *extrema*—its constituent lines, strokes, and borders. Moreover, chapter 100, as we have seen, is replete with artisanal tropes of all kinds. As such, this final image, the last in the *Veridicus*, provides a fitting conclusion to David's argument that death, as a meditative subject, is best approached through the reflex of image-making.

2   Emblems 85 and 88: On the Necessity of Fashioning Images of Death

Emblems 85 and 88 reflect on the reasons why such images of death must be conjured up in the first place [Figs. 14.5–14.6]. They are, David argues, a crucial antidote to our inborn aversion to dying and a lenitive to human obliviousness. In Emblem 88, he invokes the example of Christ, comparing and contrasting to ours his attitude toward death: by nature, no-one dies willingly, not even Our Savior, but in spite of his innate aversion—deeply rooted in his humanity and most fully expressed during the agony in the garden—Christ nevertheless determined to die, by a supreme act of the will. On the contrary, the sinful man exerts his deliberative faculties of will and judgment to achieve just

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41   Ibid.

42   Ibid.: "quisquis omnem suum cogitatum, sermones omnes & actus, & se pariter super curru Memoriae collocat.…"

the opposite effect, putting out of mind the image of impending death that his guilty conscience insistently raises up. Such a man does more than succumb to the natural dread of death; he exaggerates it and, as a result, makes every effort to suppress his natural power of visualizing sin and its dire consequences. The image of sin intensifies the fear of death, and so, along with his sins, the sinner also effaces the image of death. Using a term that derives from Aristotelian psychology by way of scholastic moral philosophy, David designates the image-making mnemonic faculty against which the sinner labors so mightily *synderesis*:

> But I am not inquiring here about this kind of fear of death, the reluctance of the dying to die, which naturally befalls even those who die most willingly and religiously, as we have just seen with reference of Our Lord, who died and was offered up, as he wished, even though he dreaded to die; for the will to die is something different from natural propensity. But I am investigating him who not only shows himself reluctant by nature, but willfully and by deliberative judgment: ... namely, when he sees in earnest that [death] approaches, and no hope of life remains.... Who, then, is it, who is thus fearful and perplexed when he realizes that he must die. The answer is: he whom the consciousness of wicked deeds justly marks out for hell.... And though conscience is properly taken for an act of the intellect, whereby knowledge or cognition is applied to some particular which we must either do or refrain from doing, yet as generally employed, it is taken for *synderesis*.[43]

In order to combat this repressive impulse and liberate the synderetic faculty, David proposes that we imprint images such as *pictura* 88, in which the natural capacity to discern the presence of death and, concomitantly, to distinguish good from evil are restored or, better, liberated [Fig. 14.6]. David conceives of such images as bifurcated, both as a whole and in their parts:

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43   Ibid., 304: "At non quaeritur hic de tali pavore mortis, vel reluctamine moribundorum, quae naturaliter etiam sanctissime & maxime voluntarie morientibus obveniunt, ut iam in ipso Domino nostro ostendimus, qui oblatus & mortuus est, quia ipse voluit, & tamen mori horruit; alia est enim voluntatis determinatio, alia naturae propensio. Sed quaeritur, quis non solum natura, sed voluntate & iudicio deliberato invitus moriatur:.... Quis igitur sic pavidus & turbidus tumultuatur, quando iam moriturum se arbitratur? Respondetur, quod ille quem mens scelerum conscia merito ordo devovet.... Et licet Conscientia proprie sit actus ille intellectus, quo applicatur Scientia seu cognitio ad aliquid particulare, an agendum sit vel non: tamen large sumendo, pro sinderesi accipitur." In scholastic moral philosophy, *synderesis* is the human faculty that distinguishes innately between good and evil.

The *Book of Wisdom* [*Ecclesiasticus* 15:17–18] makes this point very aptly, using the simile of water and fire: "He hath set water and fire before thee: stretch forth thy hand to which thou wilt. Before man is life and death, good and evil, that which he shall choose shall be given him." By which manner of speaking is signified the interior trial of conscience, whereby a man can discern what is good, and what is evil, as if he were seeing set before his eyes water and fire, death and life, nay rather, hell and heaven. By this same operation, free will is expressed, which leads a man to exercise the free election of will, and to undertake one thing or another. [...] And so *Wisdom* says: "A troubled conscience always pictures to itself grievous things."[44]

Pictura 88 recuperates this endangered image, restoring the skeletal presence of death ("A") to the center of consciousness [Fig. 14.6]. Death divides the picture in two, his pose mimicking that of the richly attired young man and woman ("B" & "C") whom he grasps and thereby ironically conjoins, even while sundering them. The picture's bipartite structure, with death as its initiating wedge, is augmented by the attributes cast aside by the young couple—flowers, lute, recorder, part-book, and feathered hat ("G" & "H")—and by their bathetic analogy to a hen and a pig that protest fearfully at the moment they are slaughtered ("E" & "F"). For his part, Death is compared to the swordsman who executes Samuel's sentence against king Agag in 1 *Kings* 15:32; the quotation, "And Agag said: 'Doth bitter death separate in this manner?'," serves to emphasize what it is that Death, or rather, the image of Death, accomplishes: it forces apart what has been elided, insisting on the free play of conscience, repairing its power to separate life and death, the good from the bad, to visualize them as if they were fire and water, hell and heaven. Drawn from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, scene "I" depicts the soldier who refused to keep death in view and finally died in a state of despair, his sins unconfessed. Such are the consequences, warns David, of failing to instill the message that *pictura* 88 purveys. In fact, many of the *picturae* in David's *ars moriendi* share the template of *pictura* 88: *pictura* 89, for instance, contrasts St. Martin ("B"),

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44   Ibid., 305; "Declarat istud & Sapiens valde accommode, assumta ad id aquae & ignis similitudine. *Apposuit tibi aquam & ignem: ad quod volueris porrige manum tuam.* Deinde: *Ante hominem, vita & mors: bonum & malum; quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi.* Quibus loquendi modis significatur interior illa conscientiae cognitio, per quam homo bonum a malo potest discernere; atque si ante oculos aquam & ignem, mortem & vitam, immo infernum & caelum constituta videret. Liberum arbitrium eadem opera declaratur; cuius ductu homo, libera voluntatis suae electione, unum aut alterum suscipiat.... Sic Sapiens ait: *Semper enim praesumit saeva, perturbata conscientia.*"

who acceded to the Lord's will, living a long life in service to the Church, even though he longed to die, with the Christian ("C"), who claims to be ready for death, but then anxiously importunes God to extend his life at the moment of dying [Fig. 14.7].

Emblem 85 explains further why picturing death is so crucial. Since it is common knowledge that the man who recognizes death's inevitability is more likely to fortify himself against the many evils that constantly threaten, why do so few men, wonders David, refuse to make use of this "shield of memory and foresight".[45] Given that the "excellence and efficacy of the living memory of death," by which David means an efficacious image capable of vivifying the process of recollection—an image such as *pictura* 85—"alone has the power to convert sinners' souls" ("sola ad convertendas peccatorum animas sufficiat"), the devil endeavors ever to entangle and ensnare our hearts and senses, causing us to give hardly a thought to our future death, even when we witness the deaths of those around us. The devil therefore makes a "practice of effacing the memory of death from the eyes of mind," which is to say, of "erasing" this mnemonic image from conscience and consciousness.[46] David compares the apotropaic images of death, with which he strives to counteract the devil's stratagems, to a "most sure *tessera* of death" that "we ought always to meditate".[47] The term *tessera* refers to a small tablet, properly square or rectangular, bearing a sign, token, or watchword—to an analogue, in other words, of the engraved plates that anchor his emblemata. The context for this analogy is his closing anecdote, taken from Book I, chapter 8 of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (*Memorable Words and Sayings*), about the philosopher Gorgias Epirota, who was born from his dead mother's womb just before her corpse was placed on the funeral pyre. The moral of the grisly tale, condensed into an indelible image—as it were, into a *tessera*—is that our mortal birth is as sure a token of death as it is of life. As Gorgias drew sustenance from his dead mother's body, so we can draw spiritual sustenance from the image of death discernible at every infant's birth.[48] *Pictura* 85 is another such *tessera* [Fig. 14.5]: "pallid Death" ("D") swings his scythe remorselessly ("E"), cutting down every station of men: "Neither the wisdom nor glory of Solomon, or the strength of Samson, or the sanctity of all the saints renders them immune

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45   Ibid., 298: "... nunquid mirum est, homines tam parum doc clypeo recordationis & praevisionis uti?"

46   Ibid., 299: "Novit inimicus noster diabolus praestantiam efficaciamque vivae mortis memoriae; quae etiam sola ad convertendas peccatorum animas sufficiat, si menti infigatur.... Haec praxis diaboli, memoriam mortis semper ab oculis mentis nostrae amolientis."

47   Ibid.: "... veluti certissimam mortis tesseram, semper animo voluamus."

48   Ibid.

to the sting of death; nor the subtlety of philosophers, nor the fierceness and violence of tyrants, nor the whole world's favor and riches."[49] Moreover, the *pictura* gives pictorial weight and specificity to scriptural passages about ineluctable death, that themselves assist to proverbialize this theme, conveying it to memory. Death's crown is an hourglass that alludes to *Hebrews* 9:27 ("A"): "And as it is appointed to men once to die." The corpses body forth *Psalm* 88:49 ("B") and 2 *Kings* 14:14: "Who is the man that shall live, and not see death?"; "We all die, and like waters that return no more, we fall down into the earth."

3 Emblems 83 and 89: Prophylactic Functions of Deathly Image-making

It is worth noting that David conceives of the soul itself as imageable—more exactly, he compares it to a work of art whose preciousness derives from both its design and execution. This is the subject of Emblem 83, which argues that the rational soul, made in the image of God, can encompass the whole of Creation—viz., the image of every single thing created by him—and yet not be filled to capacity, for it is capable of containing God himself, and whatever is less that God could never fill it completely ("repleri omnino non potest: capacem enim Dei") [Fig. 14.4].[50] *Pictura* 83 depicts the particular judgment of a virtuous soul ("B") that outweighs the whole world, tipping the scales held by the hand of God ("D"), but it conveys as well how highly God values each and every soul, as Christ's eschewal of the devil's offer of worldly riches and dominion demonstrates ("C"). David's commentary makes clear that "C" refers not only to the final temptation of Christ in *Matthew* 4:8–10, but also to *Matthew* 16:26: "For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul." David then concludes with an analogy taken from the visual arts: the soul's value is comparable to the price elicited by a work of high artifice ("artificium ad pretium rei eliciendum").[51] Explicit in the invocation of artifice as the *tertium comparationis* is the notion that the soul is malleable: it may be shaped, refined, and refashioned by its owner's thoughts and deeds, his prayers and good works. In this respect, the soul resembles Praxiteles's beloved *Satyr*

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49   Ibid., 298: "Neque contra eam valet Salomonis sapientia & Gloria, neque Samsonis fortitudo, neque omnium Sanctorum sanctimonia eos a mortis aculeo reddit immunes: neque subtililtas Philosophorum, nec Tyrannorum saevitia aut violentia, neque omnis mundi amicitia aut opulentia."

50   Ibid., 291.

51   Ibid., 293: "Artificium ad pretium rei eliciendum." This observation is inserted in the form of a marginal gloss summarizing the argument of commentary "E."

FIGURE 14.4   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 83, "Praestantissimum hominis pignus, anima" ("Man's most excellent gage, the soul"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

STATVTVM EST HOMINIBVS, SEMEL MORI. Hebr. 9. 85.

Mors sceptra ligonibus æquat.

Quid fixum firmumq; semel mortalibus heret?
Stat sua cuique dies: et ineluctabile fatum.

Wat staet elck mensch ter noodt, sekerlyck te gheschieden
Dat hy die bitter doodt, gheensins en mach ontblieden.

Quel est l'axiome, Si certain, que l'homme, N'en puisse douter?
La mort a son heure, C'est chose tresseure, Te viendra donter.

FIGURE 14.5   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 85, "Statutum est hominibus, semel mori. Hebr. 9" ("For men one thing is ordained, but once to die. Hebr. 9"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

FIGURE 14.6   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 88, "Mortem timet, quem
terret conscientia" ("He whom conscience dismays, fears
death"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina
Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4.
Chicago, The Newberry Library

FIGURE 14.7   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 89, "Optat mori, cui mens
               est conscia recti" ("He whose heart knows righteousness, desires
               to die"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina
               Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4.
               Chicago, The Newberry Library

and Cupid, the statue he valued above all his other creations. Amusingly, the comparison of the soul to a Praxitelean masterwork issues from a preliminary reference to the fires of purgatory ("E"):

> From all this, we see how various are the reasons for valuing the soul at so high a price. As Seneca stated truly: "A good soul can neither be loaned nor purchased; and I reckon that were one for sale, it would have no buyer." So be it. I, too, believe that no adequate price would present itself. Let that selfsame fire teach us whether we ought to hold the soul most dear— from out of which, if placed in so critical a position, we should wish above all else that the soul be plucked. For thus formerly did Praxiteles reveal which of the works made by his hand was most dear to him, after having promised the most beautiful of them all to Phryne, and yet concealing it from her in his workshop. Now she, to elicit the truth, suborned one of his servants into going to the marketplace where Praxiteles had gone to sell his works, and saying that his house had perished in a great conflagration. In response, Praxiteles at once asked whether the *Satyr and Cupid* had survived. And similarly, it is agreed that the soul is most precious, for if nothing else, we would preserve it alone from a conflagration, like Bias of Priene [who was wont to say: "All that is mine, I carry with me."] All that a man hath, he will give for his soul [*Job* 2:4]; therefore must the soul be valued more than everything.[52]

How is the soul fashioned into a Praxitelean masterwork? Through the image-making process set forth in Emblem 89, which argues that the image of one's impending death must be pictured at every moment of life [Fig. 14.7]. If the votary wishes to ensure that he is not overtaken by death—in the manner of scene "F"—before he has adequately prepared, through constant prayer and

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52 Ibid.: "Ex his omnibus videmus, quam sint variae rationes, ob quas animae pretium nobis magni est faciendum. Ut vere dixerit Seneca: Bona mens nec commodatur, nec emitur: & puto si venalis esset, non haberet emtorem. Ita ille. Et crederem ego quoque, quia non suppeteret pretium condignum. An merito nobis debeat charissima esse anima, incendium ipsum doceat, ex quo prae omnibus illa erutam desideraremus, in eo discrimine constituti. Sic enim olim Praxiteles, quondam ex operibus quae fecerat, esset ei charissimum, prodidit, quod alioqui Phrynem celabat, cui pulcherrimum omnium quae in officina habebat, promiserat. Illa enim ut veritatem eliceret, servum subornavit, qui Praxiteli in foro sua vendenti diceret, domum suam maximo flagrare incendio, & pleraque iam incendio consumta esse. Praxiteles igitur statim interrogat, an Satyrus & Cupido superesset. Inde constitit quid omnium esset praestantissimum. Ita haud dubie constat, animam esse pretiosissimam omnium, quia si nihil aliud, illam saltem cum Biante ex incendio servaremus. Omnia dabit homo pro anima sua; ergo pluris omnibus aestimanda."

a plenitude of good works, to die well—in the manner of scene "B," the death of St. Martin—then he must imitate St. Paul ("A"), who desired always, in the words of *Philippians* 1:23, "to be dissolved and to be with Christ." Inscribed on the banderole issuing from Paul's mouth in *pictura* 89, this passage is marked 2 *Corinthians* 5, to associate it with collateral sayings such as verse 1 of this epistle: "For we know, if our earthly house of this habitation be dissolved, that we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in heaven." The motto, "The soul conscious of rectitude desires to die," and the epigram, "Who is it whom death's unforeseen dangers leave unshaken? He whose soul [alternatively, whose mind or heart] Virtue, self-aware of sweetness, fills full," alert us to the function of the antithetical scenes "B" and "F": they are to be seen as emanations of Paul, who, ever conscious of the imminence of death, visualizes such scenes to himself, thus ensuring that he is ready to die, ever in a state of grace.[53] Sub-scene "E," the distant view of heavenly glory, signifies that a death well anticipated in this way is like the gateway to heaven that St. Stephen saw when he was martyred.[54] *Pictura* 89, properly understood, is yet another image of an image, or, more particularly, of an image-making exercise that David considers essential for the exercitant's future salvation.

For David, only the soul (or alternatively, the soul's faculties of mind and heart) that knows itself by such visual means can hope to meet death readily and confidently. He makes this case very explicitly:

> Here then is the state of those who go to meet death with alacrity of will and security of conscience. In whom is to be found what Christ, by nature fearful of death, attested about himself and his followers, namely, that the spirit is indeed willing, but the flesh weak. But the security of a soul [mind, heart] that knows itself well ("mentis sibi bene consciae securitas"), gives to the dying such promptitude and good cheer, that they neither fear death's bitter sting, nor even appear to feel it; but rather, they welcome it as if it were for them the key wherewith to open the portals of the heavenly palace.[55]

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53 "Optat mori, cui mens est conscia recti." "Quem neque concutient inopina pericula leti? / Conscia cui Virtus mentem dulcedinis explet."

54 Ibid., 309: "… videt siquidem cum Stephano caelos apertos. Adeo ut talis homo mortem velut caeli portam consideret.…"

55 Ibid., 310: "Hic igitur status, mortem alacri voluntate & secura conscientia opetentium. In quibus, quod Christus ipse de se & suis testabatur, spiritus quidem promtus est, caro autem infirma, naturaliter a morte abhorrens. Sed mentis sibi bene consciae securitas, illam dat morientibus promtitudinem & hilaritatem, ut acerbum mortis aculeum nec

There are three other prophylactic images that David encourages the provident Christian to conjure up as aids to this salutary process of self-knowing. One consists of the ten commandments: in preparation for death, which is never distant, one must cast one's spiritual eyes upon the commandments, construing them as a spotless mirror wherein we see ourselves reflected, and descry, as if looking at a portrait, the countenance of our unstained conscience.[56] Assuming, of course, that we have kept the surface of this mirror free from damage and our complexion unblemished by sin. The image of ourselves keeping the commandments in view and, in every sense of the term, observing them, will help to insulate us from the ravages of sinful transgressions.

The next defensive image adumbrates the subject of Emblems 99 and 100: it involves representing to oneself the day of judgment, as if it were imminent or already dawning [Figs. 14.12–14.13]. The person best prepared to be judged by Christ, avows David, is he who never ceases to portray the Last Judgment to himself.[57] And finally, the votary should call forth the hopeful image of himself visualizing at the very moment of death a typological image in two parts: on the one hand, the type, Moses climbing Mount Abarim, from where he glimpsed the land of promise; and then, the antitype, Christ climbing Mount Calvary, where the promise of salvation would be fulfilled: "For happy in his sort is the man who climbs Mount Calvary of Christ and with Moses climbs Mount Abarim of the mercy of God, in order there securely to die."[58] This is the man who anticipates death by calling up the image of his deathbed, in imitation of Paul in *pictura* 89, and further, imagines himself, from within this self-image, educing the exegetical images of the deaths of Moses and Jesus, the former in anticipation of the latter [Fig. 14.7]. The result is a *mise en abyme*, in which the exercitant's image of himself anticipating death is mirrored by the anticipatory image of Moses's death, which adumbrates Christ's. And one might well add that viewed in light of Emblem 82, Christ's death on Calvary constitutes a further adumbration of the exercitant's [Fig. 14.3]. This layering of images about image-making drives home the point that for David the good death is perforce steeped in reflexive images: dying well entails the production of images in and through which the manner and meaning of one's dying may be meditated.

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timeant, nec etiam sentire videantur; sed illum accipiant velut clavem qua sibi calestis aulae portas aperiant."

56   Ibid., 309: "Et sine dubio magna cordis consolatio, quando aliquis in mandata Dei, ut in speculum sine macula, oculos mentis coniiciens, conscientiae suae faciem in eo contemplans, nihil invenit quod illam maculet, Deoque displiceat."

57   Ibid., 311: "Qui semper … postremum diem sibi instare, immo iam venisse, proposuerit."

58   Ibid., 310.

The theme of judgment leads David to pose another question about the meditative exercise of picturing one's final end. How are we to deal with the terror provoked by the words of final judgment to be spoken by God at the end of days? How are these curt words—"Render account" ("Redde rationem") and "Depart" ("Ite")—voiced by Christ in *Luke* 16:2, the parable of the unjust steward, and in *Matthew* 25:41, his account of the Last Judgment—to be assimilated constructively, rather than as an incitement to despair. In *pictura* 92, these commands, written on banderoles and juxtaposed to emblematic distillations of the Last Judgment—the trumpet blast that announces the second coming ("A") and the fiery sword that permanently sunders sinners from paradise ("B")—appear to either side of the word "Eternity" ("Aeternitas") encircled by the ourobouros ("C") [Fig. 14.9]. All three emblematic devices are held by the hand of God, who also appears to the boy prophet Samuel in scene "D," taken from 1 *Kings* 3:1–14, in which God is heard to communicate his irrevocable, and, in this sense, eternal judgment upon the priestly house of Heli. His word is heard, but he is not seen, as the clouds encircling him indicate, and as Samuel's response, "Speak, Lord [for thy servant heareth]," and by implication, 1 *Kings* 3:1, import: "And the word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no manifest vision." Below, the figures at left and right respond fearfully, even despairingly to the Lord's words, one covering his ears, the other his eyes. The middle figure, however, gestures toward his heart: his realization that God's final judgment will be irrevocable has deeply stirred him, and his pose portends resolution, suggesting that he is now primed to take action, presumably constructive.

David's commentary explains how this figure's positive response is to be achieved: the answer lies in visualizing the distinction between the harsh, unappeasable God of Samuel and the mercy and forebearance of Christ, and moreover, in reflecting upon the difference between the former's words, as condensed into the short texts and cryptic symbolic images of "A" and "B," and the latter's incarnate personhood, which is given us to be heard *and* seen, and even more crucially, to be introspected. Christ is not portrayed in the *pictura*, since the commentary instead argues that his image may be found deep within the heart, where its presence is potentially discernible to anyone who seeks to find it. Moreover, his image, as impressed upon the votary in Emblem 82, and again in Emblem 83, may easily be recollected; and in addition, he will soon reappear in Emblem 93, an elaboration upon the parabolic injunction "Redde rationem," where he lords over the judgment scene ("A"–"D"), as the living fulfillment of the parables of stewardship recounted in *Luke* 16:1–12 [Figs. 14.3–14.4, 14.10]. For David, the fully realized image of Christ internal to each of us, and specifically, the beneficent image of the Holy Face that answers our inward-turned gaze, supplies the only efficacious antidote to the fearsome words and forbidding

symbolic images displayed in *pictura* 92 [Fig. 14.9]. His commentary, read in light of the *pictura*, and conversely, the *pictura*, seen in light of the commentary, distinguish between the mimetic, approachable image of Christ to be found within, and these elliptical emblematic devices; whereas the meaning of the former is easily discoverable, that of the latter, like many Old Testament types and prophecies, is less forthcoming and requires a measure of decoding. The collateral distinction that he draws pictorially between the two kinds of image, and textually between the justice of the Father and the mercy of the Son, emerges from the underlying disparity between the word of the Law and Christ the Word. What is more, this disparity arises from the fact that the Word has been made apprehensible in Christ, indeed observably manifest, through the mystery of the Incarnation:

> The words of God are sweet like honey, if one is disposed to hear and observe them for the salvation of one's soul, the end for which they have been made known to us. Hence the prophet royal, aroused to admiration, as if anointed by this sweetness, exclaims: "How sweet are thy words to my palate! More than honey to my mouth [*Psalm* 118:103]." And is there anything strange about this, if we but gaze inwardly? Since for that same cause, for which Christ the Son of God came forth into the world, so too was the Word of God made known and promulgated. Namely: for the sake of humankind, for our salvation. So that Christ, who is called, who is the Word of the Father, also became visible as the sweetest, kindest, and dearest of mortal men. "Beautiful in form, above the sons of men (says [King] David). Grace is poured abroad in thy lips [*Psalm* 44:3]." Is there any fountain so delightful as this one, which causes honey-sweet words to flow, and the water leaping unto life eternal.
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> But truly, if now we avoid to hearken to these sweet and delightful words, if we give no place to them in our heart: then surely we shall have to hearken to harsh, disagreeable, and bitter words, about whose intolerable severity can be said what God formerly uttered to Samuel, when he was still a boy: "Behold, I do a thing in Israel, and whosoever shall hear it, both his ears shall tingle."[59]

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59   Ibid., 316: "Verba Dei mellis instar suavia sunt; si illa ad salutem animae nostrae audire & observare est animus, sicut eum ob finem nobis proferuntur. Hinc Propheta regius quasi dulcedine hac delibutus, in provocationem admitationis exclamat: *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua! Super mel ori meo.* Et quid mirum, quando penitius introspicimus? Nam eandem ob causam, ob quam Christus Dei filius in mundum venit, ob eam etiam Verbum Dei nobis nunciatum & promulgatum est. Hos est: Propter nos homines; & propter nostram salutem. Adeo ut Christus, qui Verbum Patris vocatur, & est; etiam suavissimus,

4   Emblems 90, 98, and 99: Incertitude and the Novissima

Emblem 99 introduces the problem of agency, more fully treated in Emblem 100, by connecting it to the allied problem of incertitude, addressed in Emblems 90 and 98 [Figs. 14.8, 14.11–14.13].[60] The question David poses is how does one achieve a salvific death, given that God alone is capable of judging who has truly died in a state of grace or otherwise. On the contrary, the sure determination of this blessed state exceeds the limits of human knowledge, and nor can it simply be willed into existence.[61] *Pictura* 90, for instance, portrays a dying man surrounded by his family ("A"): they pray fervently for his salvation, but as David points out in the commentary, noone can know for certain—by reference to external signs—whether the death he witnesses is beatific or not [Fig. 14.8]. Many who seem to have died salutarily are in fact damned, and conversely, many whose deaths seem sudden, singular, or disordered, will actually have died in a blessed state. Furthermore, as David argues in Emblem 98, the condition of sin likewise imposes incertitude, and so too does the perennial imminence of death [Fig. 14.11]: first, because one can never presume that God shall inwardly take hold of the sinner's heart before he dies ("timendumque ne non"); second, because death impends at every moment, so that the sinner can never be certain that he will not suddenly die ("puncto mors imminet omni"); third, because amendment brooks no delay, whereas evils of every kind increase when repentance is forestalled ("malum ingravescit per moram").[62] And at any event, we are all subject in this life to the devil's stratagems. In *pictura* 98, the first point correlates to counter-example "H," Paul's deathlike conversion at the hands of Christ; the second point to example "C," the fearful man pursued

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mitissimus, & dulcissimus mortalium exstiterit. *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum:* (inquit David). *Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis.* Ecquid tam amoenus fons aliud, quam dulcem mellitorum verborum scaturiginem, & aquam salientem in vitam aeternam profundat?

  "Verum enimvero, quod si nunc verba ista mellita & dilecta audire refugimus, si iis in corde nostro non dederimus locum: certo nobis aspera, inamoena, & acerba verba erunt audienda; de quibus prae intoleranda severitate illud dici potest, quod Deus olim Samueli adhuc puero dicebat: *Ecce, ego facio verbum in Israel, quod quicunque audierit, tinnient ambae aures eius.*"

60   On printed images of the *novissima* mainly produced in Antwerp, see Göttler 2010, 157–215; on this emblem in particular, 192–196.

61   David 1601, 312: "Certum vero iudicium, aut indubitata determinatio morientium in statu gratiae vel secus, non ab hominum pendet arbitrio aut scientia; sed solius Dei est certo dignoscere."

62   Ibid., 339: "Primum, quia incertum est, an Deus sit alias adhuc ita cor eius tacturus intrinsecus; timendumque ne non. Secundum, incertitudo vitae; quia ut in Responsione additur: puncto mors imminet omni…. Tertium est, magnitudo periculi ex omni parte. Nocuit differre paratos."

FIGURE 14.8   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 90, "Qui in statu gratiae moritur, caelo asseritur" ("He who dies in a state of grace, is claimed by heaven"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library
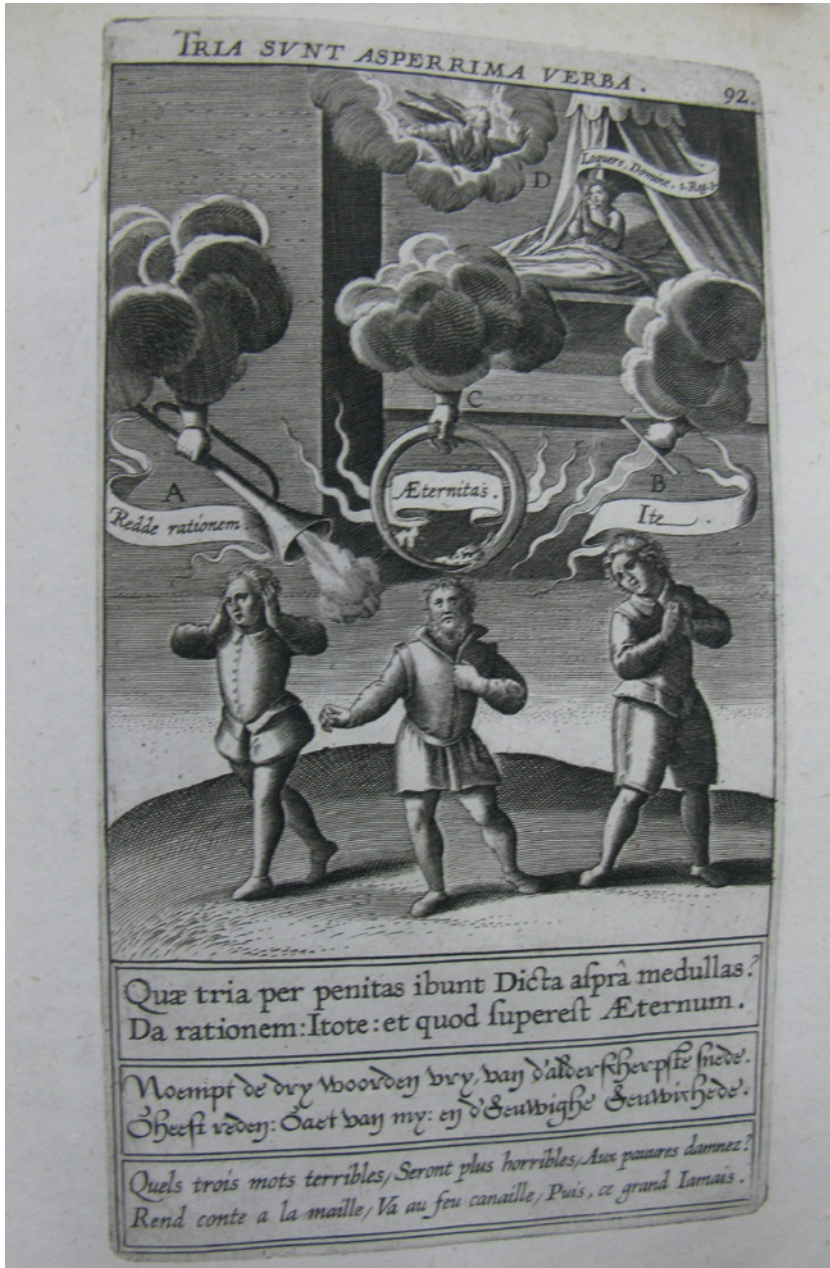
FIGURE 14.9   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 92, "Tria sunt asperrima verba" ("Three words are most bitter"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

FIGURE 14.10 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 93, "Quo plus acceperis, hoc maior reddenda ratio" ("The more you shall receive, the more you must render account"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

FIGURE 14.11   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 98, "Ne tardes
converti ad Dominum" ("Lest you delay to turn toward
the Lord"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp:
Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601).
Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The Newberry Library

by a serpent; the third point to examples "A," the man trapped in quicksand, "B," the ass caught in a ditch, "F," the recalcitrant crow that caws "tomorrow, tomorrow" ("cras, cras"), and "G," the provident dove that coos "soon, soon" ("cito, cito"). Just as the man and the ass sink ever deeper, if they are not soon rescued, so the fallen sinner sinks ever lower, if he does not soon lift himself out of sin. He resembles the devilish crow, rather than the virtuous dove. The moral is simple: since the power to avoid sin sometimes eludes us, even when our will is strong, we must strive all the more to identify every occasion of sin, and strenuously cultivate the desire to extricate ourselves from it.[63] We should imitate Paul who threw the viper—the image of viperous sin—into the flames at Malta ("D"), and the Magdalene, who seized the opportunity of confessing her sins to Christ in Galilee ("E").

Emblems 90 and 98 provide the context for Emblem 99, which asks how one is to become the agent of one's purgation, and, concomitantly, the proponent of one's longed-for salvation, when faced with doubts of the sort raised in the previous emblems [Figs. 14.8, 14.11–14.12]? Even if no living person can judge whether he is truly saved, he can still take steps to combat the innately human tendency to die an injudicious death. Since sin magnifies the sinner's incertitude, he must endeavor mightily to repent every transgression and refrain from sinning further, if he wishes to nourish the fervent hope of being saved. The incontrovertible fact that certainty is unavailable makes this the only available option worth exercising. Visual images and, specifically, images of the *novissima*, the four last things—death, judgment, heaven, and hell—are the chief means to this end, for when placed before the eyes, as if reflected pellucidly in a mirror ("veluti in speculo … ob oculos"), they kindle desire for the rewards of eternal glory, instill terror of eternal damnation, and thereby motivate us to behave rightly.[64] More accurately, as *pictura* 99 shows, the votary is required to fashion a reflexive image of agency, picturing himself as an image-maker who stares at self-made images of his death, judgment (both particular and final), and ultimate salvation or damnation ("A") [Fig. 14.12]. These images are comprised by convex mirrors that reflect his facial features (lightly traceable on their surfaces), thus implying that he projects himself into this quartet of scenarios. Additionally, David construes him as a Christian epitome—indeed, as an antitype, an exegetical image—that fulfills the Mosaic type adumbrated in *Deuteronomy* 32:5, 28–29:

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63   Ibid., 336: "Quia enim non semper facultas evadendi conceditur, quando voluntas adest: ideo occasio & temporis opportunitas arripienda est."

64   Ibid., 340.

FIGURE 14.12   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 99, "Memorare novissima:
                nec peccabis" ("Remember the four last things: you shall not
                sin"), in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Officina
                Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4.
                Chicago, The Newberry Library

FIGURE 14.13   Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 100, "Quatuor hominis
                novissima" ("Humanity's four last things"), in Jan David,
                Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana apud
                Ioannem Moretum, 1601). Engraving, in-4. Chicago, The
                Newberry Library

The power and efficacy of these remembered things is likewise confirmed by the example and testimony given and spoken by Moses …: "They have sinned against him and are none of his children in their filth; they are a wicked and perverse generation…. They are a nation without counsel, and without wisdom. O that they would be wise and would understand; and would provide for their last ends."[65]

So the mnemonic image of the man is seen to enact the action of image-making; it is also an exegetical image that answers to the Mosaic call for re-formative images of the *novissima*. And last but not least, it functions as a mirror-image of the votary, that prompts him to gaze into the quadripartite *speculum* of his final end. The emphatically reflexive status of image "A" bolsters the overall argument of Emblem 99, namely, that meditative images have the power to incite both thought and action; they are the chief instruments through which we become, as much as is humanly possible, self-aware agents of our life, death, and eventual redemption. Such images, states David, enable us to emend ourselves, while there is still time [Fig. 14.12]:

No doubt, he should emend his life, and not entangle himself in faults of any kind. But how can anyone undertake a goodly manner of life, without recalling the past attentively, or engaging intelligently with the present, and using it according to the judgment of right reason, or anticipating the future, and directing all his actions accordingly? For the damage caused by past errors does not make such a person wiser, nor does he shun present evils, having failed to comprehend them; and for the same reason, he fears neither imminent nor future adversity, having foreseen neither. And so he lives and conducts himself, according as fortune has led him. He keeps no due measure in happy and prosperous circumstances, nor knows how to maintain the mean when an ill wind blows. Instead, just as by the former he is exalted without measure, so by the latter he is cast down immeasurably. And living thusly, without law, without king, without God and conscience, after a dissolute and negligent life, and a lamentable death, he arrives at the place of horror and misery.[66]

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65   Ibid.: "Vis & efficacia memoriae horum, etiam exemplo testimonioque eius quod Moyses dixit & egit, copmprobata est …: *Peccaverunt ei, & non filij eius in sordibus: generatio prava atque perversa…. Gens absque consilio est, & sine prudentia. Utinam saperent, & intelligerent; ac Novissima providerent!*"

66   Ibid.: "Dubium non est, quin vitam suam emendarent; neque ullo pacto tot criminibus se implicarent. Qui enim fieri potest, ut quis bene vitae suae rationem instituat, qui nec praeteritorum ulla cum attentione recordatur, neque praesentia ullo cum intellectu

In allowing us to visualize, lay claim to, and implement a measure of agency, the *novissima* license the production of other kinds of meditative image, as David makes clear by guiding the reader-viewer through these subsidiary visual similitudes, after first quoting *Psalm* 76:6–7: "I thought upon the days of old: and I had in my mind the eternal years. And I meditated in the night with my own heart: and I was exercised, and I swept my spirit." The things that threaten our salvation must be viewed as if they were wild animals assailing us.[67] Conversely, the four last things can be compared to a horse's tail that flicks away wasps and horseflies, just as the *novissima* avert sins ("C"); to a rudder that steers a ship safely to port ("D"); to the tail of a fish or a bird that allows it to swim or fly clear of danger ("D bis"); to the feathered end of an arrow that guides it to its target ("D ter").

The *novissima* beget other kinds of image as well, some of which are temporally complex: like the saints, who perennially beheld every aspect of their life and death through the lens of the four last things, we may choose to live our lives for the future, constantly asking ourselves whether our current behavior tallies with the image of such behavior that we should wish to adduce upon our death, when called to account by God. David asks us to imagine how the things we think and do in the present, might look in the future, when they will be recollected in the form of images, and evaluated from the vantage point of our death and final judgment: "Setting the presence of the four *novissima* before their eyes, they have thus led the whole of their lives for the future, as each of them shall certainly wish to have behaved, when, encompassed by the four last things, they will see that there is no further room for flight or for taking counsel."[68] This proleptic image once again casts the votary in the role of an image-maker, calling upon him to picture to himself how he visualizes the four last things at the moment of his death and judgment. David reintroduces the theme of

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complectitur, neque illis secundum rectae rationis iudicium utitur; neque quae ventura sunt praevidet, ut secundum illa omnes suos actus dirigat? Neque enim is praeteritorum errorum damno fit prudentior; neque praesentia mala devitat, ut quae non intelligit; neque futura ob id venientiaque adversa formidat, ut quae non praevidet: atque ita vivit, itaque habet, prout sors tulerit. Neque in laetis ac prosperis modum servat; neque cum ventus ei contrarius est, novit mediocritatem tueri. Sed sicut in illis citra modum elevabatur; ita in istis immoderate deiicitur. Atque ita vivendo, sine lege, sine rege, sine Deo & conscientia, post laxam discinctamque vitam, per lamentabilem mortem, venit ad locum horroris & miseriarum."

67 Ibid., 340–341: "Sicut omnia animalia videmus apprehensione discriminum."

68 Ibid., 341: "Qui quatuor Novissima sibi ut praesentia ante oculos statuentes, ita se in posterum toto vitae suae tempore gesserunt, qualiter certum est quemque optaturum se fecisse, quando ab illis circumventus, videbit nullum esse amplius effugij vel concilij capiendi locum?"

doubt at this point, not as a possible impediment to our motivating desire for salvation, but as an object of immersive contemplation. We are urged to close the eyes of the body, and to open the eyes of the mind; and then, having curtailed the remembrance of present affairs, we must fashion an image of ourselves lying upon our future deathbed, awash with doubts as we await the weighing of our souls, either for good or ill, in the equable scales of Christ the judge.[69] Torn between two prospects—hope of celestial glory and fear of eternal damnation—we shall see ourselves striving all the more to be saved, even as we lie dying, if the four last things are kept ever in view. With equal intensity, the desire to die well and the aversion to dying badly will rightly seem to have arisen from our efforts to marshal meditative images of the *novissima*.[70] Only by meditating death, as David urges us to avow, can we confidently be assured of transcending its mortuary embrace.

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69   Ibid.: "Claudi igitur oculos corporis, & apertis mentis oculis, abstractus ab omni praesentium rerum recordatione, quarum fieri potest, te quasi in lecto aegritudinis tuae stratum considera: iustissimi iudicis tribunali adesse pensa; tuamque causam aequa bilance trutinari; teque ancipitem expectare, in quam sit partem propensura, quamque sortem tibi adscriptura, cui aeternum manciperis."

70   Ibid: "… qualem autem te mors inveniet, talem sistet iudicio; mors vero bona vita sequitur bonam; ergo iuxta horum intuitum est vivendum."

A Protestant Reconceptualization of Images of Death and the Afterlife in Stephen Bateman's *A Christall Glasse*

Mary V. Silcox

"And so the end is death" warns the first emblem in Stephen Bateman's *A Christall Glasse* (B1ᵛ). But of course death is not simply the end in Christian theology. It is a carefully constructed concept, and in sixteenth-century England the question of what happens after death became a crucial site of conflict and religious identity between Catholic and Protestant. This paper examines that conflict over the meaning of death through Bateman's *A Christall Glasse*, an emblem book, anti-Catholic polemic, patriotic support for England, and handbook on the vices and virtues. The full title, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme*, reveals much about the work the reader is about to encounter: clear sight is opposed to deceitful trickery, the question-able Roman Catholic past is opposed to the Reformation present, and the godly is opposed to the sinful.[1] Throughout Bateman's thirty-eight emblems, images of death are used to warn readers of the evil they must learn to avoid in this world if they hope to enter heaven in the next. That is of course not an unusual tactic in late-medieval and early modern Christian culture. Bateman's work, however, differs from earlier treatments of the relationship between death, sin, and virtue in that he integrates a sustained visual and textual critique of Catholicism into his images: Catholic leaders, from the pope on down to friars, engage in acts that reveal their lethal partnership with Satan and betray the vulnerable laity to error and destruction. The Catholic doctrine of purgatory

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1 There is no modern edition or reproduction of *A Christall Glasse*. Its STC number is 1581; readers should note, however, that the Early English Books microfilm (reel 912) is missing the quire I-I4, which contains two emblems of pride. For an excellent description of the illustra-tions in *A Christall Glasse*, see Luborsky and Ingram 1998, 57–61.

was considered by sixteenth-century reformers to be acutely perfidious and is treated by Bateman with particular care. This repudiation of Catholic practices and claims surrounding sin, virtue, death, and the afterlife was essential to the sixteenth-century establishment of the new belief system of the English Protestant church and the formation of a distinctly English Protestant identity and perspective on death and life.

The publisher and publishing date of Bateman's book are significant for its place as a specifically English and Protestant emblem book. It was published in 1569 by John Day, who also published a greatly expanded edition of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in 1570, and the illustrated French and Dutch editions of Jan van der Noot's fiercely anti-papal emblem book *Het Theatre oft Toonneel* in 1568.[2] All these works contained both illustrations and anti-Catholic material. Margaret Aston has argued convincingly that the years 1568 to 1573 were a particularly fraught period for English Protestants, containing as they did a number of incidents, such as the Papal Bull excommunicating Elizabeth, that enflamed fears that the pope was directly interfering in the affairs of England. This perceived threat gave rise to a flurry of visual and textual works that combine anti-Catholicism, more specifically anti-papal polemic, and iconoclasm.[3] Bateman's *A Christall Glasse* is part of that response.[4]

Raised swords, clashing armies, men stabbing each other and themselves, devils clawing at humans, and wolves devouring lambs abound in *A Christall Glasse* (e.g. Figs. 15.1, 15.3). To Bateman, images of death—always violent except in the emblem for Love—are a powerfully effective way to teach his readers to see the world as it truly is. And it is of supreme importance that his readers choose the right side in the war between good and evil that Bateman sets out in terms of the individual's understanding of and choosing between the virtues and the vices. *A Christall Glasse*'s desire to urge the individual reader to shun the seven deadly sins and embrace the eight virtues seems quite traditional, harkening back to abundant medieval Catholic teachings, until one actually looks at how the representations of the sins and virtues function in this morally educational emblem book.[5] In doing so one discovers that the sins are repeatedly, in at least half of the emblems, brought before the reader's eyes in images that transform positive Catholic icons into depravity, sin, and

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2 The English version of van der Noot's work, with the poems translated by Edmund Spenser, was published by Henry Bynneman in 1570.

3 Aston 1993.

4 For information on the relationship between *A Christall Glasse*, John Day and Archbishop Matthew Parker see Aston 1993, 164–172; Evenden and Freeman 2011.

5 A great deal has been written about the medieval tradition of the deadly sins: see Newhauser 2005.

The description

Are lyke such dogges in fury,
That at stones doe barke and bite.

¶ *The signification.*

THe Pope is oppression : the mã which killeth is crueltie:
those which are a killing constant religion : the three
kneeling loue furtherance and truth to the Gospell. &c.
Amongst

FIGURE 15.1   "Wrath," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme*, D1ᵛ

FIGURE 15.2
"Church Hierarchy: Pope, Archbishop, Cardinal,"
woodcut by Tobias Stimmer and L. Fly (second half of
the sixteenth century), German History in Documents
and Images

FIGURE 15.3   "Envy," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian*
reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured
abuses used in this our present tyme, H2ʳ

viciousness, while the virtues become specifically English and Protestant, again reinscribing familiar Catholic images with new significance. Emblems, employing both pictures and words and used by Catholics and Protestants alike, are the perfect form to combine Catholic images and Protestant signification.[6] They draw on the old tradition of visual religious symbols yet also require the intellect to interpret the image through the written word.

Each of the seven sins in *A Christall Glasse* has four, or in the case of covetousness five emblems, composed of a motto, a woodcut *pictura*, a "Signification" (as Bateman titles it) and on the following page, an untitled prose description or amplification.[7] The sins are, in Bateman's order: covetousness, wrath, lechery, gluttony, sloth, envy, and pride. The virtues are love, faith, hope, charity, justice, verity, wisdom, and peace. Each of the eight virtues has just one emblem (with an extra illustration for Love), but the prose amplifications for the virtues are much longer than those for the vices, running to several pages. The Signification and prose discussion for each emblem together fulfill the role of the *subscriptio* or epigram in a more typical emblem book, interpreting the often puzzling symbolism of the *pictura* and applying the revealed significance. Once he reaches the discussion section of each emblem Bateman rarely refers overtly back to the *pictura*, preferring instead to open up his exploration of the behavior through biblical and classical examples. The difference in the number of emblems for vices as opposed to virtues can, I think, be put down to vices appearing in many different disguises in this world, while virtues are clear absolutes and need only the one image. Each of the four emblems on a sin covers a different aspect of it—those on wrath, for example, discuss the sin in terms of self-destruction, injustice, treasonous betrayal, and oppression by authorities. Bateman concludes his discussion of the sins and virtues with an emblem debunking the Catholic doctrine of purgatory and, finally, an unillustrated section entitled "Of the daye of doome."

That violent death appears in this early modern religious text is not remarkable, but how it is used to explore power, identity and values is. Critics such as Julius Ruff and Susan Amussen have convincingly argued that violence was a regular "part of the discourse of early modern interpersonal relations ...

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6 *A Christall Glasse* does not appear in the usual lists of English emblem books. I have argued elsewhere, however, that it should be considered one (Silcox 2005).

7 Because of the very close relationship between picture and text in *A Christall Glasse*, it seems likely that Bateman played a strong part in the conception of the woodcuts. Evidence for Bateman's artistic interests and abilities comes from his commonplace books and from the title of a lost work on limning listed under his authorship (Zim 2004, 364). Hodnett (1988, 31–2) and Aston (1993, 164–7) both suggest that the woodcuts, most of which are signed G or GL, were most likely created by Marcus Geerhaerts the Elder, who was in London at the time and had already worked for John Day, the printer of *A Christall Glasse*.

[throughout] all social strata" and socially acceptable when justified as a reasonable punishment from one's superiors.[8] Inescapable as violence was, whether in one's inner life or one's social, religious and political life, the contentious point, of course, is when it crosses the line from acceptable to excessive, from legitimate to unwarrantable.

Legitimate power is, ultimately, God's alone, and he exercises that power at every turn. Bateman's "Epistle to the Reader," which establishes the frame through which the reader is to approach the rest of *A Christall Glasse*, opens with thanks for "the manifest power of God" who, in his mercy, tests us, and when he discovers that we have not amended our behaviour, "forthwith plageth us" (A2ʳ). God's power is demonstrated not simply by his ability to plague us, but even more by the mercy that he is applying by plaguing us. God's violence is our means to learn to live in truth and seek salvation. On the other side, Bateman explains, is evil, in league with the "popishe Antichrist ... [and a] rable of false usurped powers" who want to "spurne or kicke against the veritie and true professours of the same" (A2ʳ). The devil and his followers, such as the pope and Catholic clergy, are busy trying to employ illegitimate power to trick the Protestant English and lead them aside from God's ways and the virtues necessary for salvation. Bateman hopes that his "christall glasse" will provide "a manifest shew of all couloured abuses that raigne in every state" (A3ʳ) and that, having seen clearly, we will choose not to be taken in by those alluring but ultimately destructive temptations.[9] He explains how he hopes his book will function as an instructive mirror in which the world's reflection will strip it bare from deceit:

> Herein is plainly shewed unto all, the estate of every degree by order of picture and signification, to the intent, that therby every christian Reader may the better see the disordred abuses which daily raveth amongst us, and also the state of obedience by every picture in like sorte signified, that thereby every Christian may the better beware the deceivable suggestions of Sathan, that neither pardon nor mumming, massinges or any other popish ceremonies, can any thing avayle as touchying salvation. (A2ᵛ)

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8 Ruff 2001, 2.

9 See Grabes 1982 for a discussion of the popularity of the mirror metaphor in medieval and early modern English book-titles and texts to suggest the book's ability to alter the viewer's perspective on a subject.

"Mumming" is used here in the sense of something being acted, of not being reality but merely a fabrication. Catholic pardons, mummings, masses and "other popish ceremonies" easily slide into actually being "the deceivable suggestions of Sathan." At the end of this passage we have the Protestant reformist position that all these sensual ceremonies, so prevalent in the late medieval Catholic Church, are evil not just because they captivate the congregation in worldly sensation, but even more importantly because their enactment claims for the clergy the power to grant salvation—a power that should belong to Christ alone through his death and sacrifice. And because "disordred abuses" "daily raveth amongst us" readers need training in how to see through Satan's (or the pope's) deceptions, how to reinterpret sometimes obscure or tricky visual cues, and how to apply the knowledge gained to their own lives.

Violence and its apparently inevitable conclusion of death are of course implicit in all the vices as activities of disorder. In this text and its emblems, violence operates as both a form of coercion threatening death and a characterization of those who use it, as can be seen in Fig. 15.1, in which a type of wrath is explained through its relationship with Catholicism. Without even consulting the emblem's Signification, a reader can immediately identify the pictured pope as outrageously violent with his raised sword, his shaming use of a man's head as a footstool, and his blessing of the central figure who is about to kill an unarmed, kneeling man. This emblem operates through debasing positive Catholic images of papal power (such as that in Fig. 15.2). When the reader does look at Bateman's Signification, the steady gaze between these two figures becomes even more meaningful: "The Pope is oppression: the man which killeth is crueltie: those which are a killing [i.e., are being killed] constant religion: the three kneeling [and praying as they look up toward the Protestant representation of God, the tetragrammaton] love furtherance and truth to the Gospell" (D1^v). Cruelty is thus the active arm of the oppressor. Those being cut down are constant religion, not rebels. This emblem is a clarification of a particular type of wrath: "Amongst men of authoritie there can bee no greater terrour, then to the subjecte to shewe crueltie." The best image to convey the nature of this wrath is, to Bateman, the pope, who has turned to completely misuse his power and attack religion itself: "The vaine glory of thys worlde is a deceatfull sweetenes, and may bee likened to the Popes superbius crueltie." Power in this world is sweet, but in the end it is "an unfruitfull labour, a continuall feare, a daungerous advancement, a beginning without providence, an end without repentance" (D2^r). To keep a lofty position through cruelty to those beneath one is to claw one's way upward, only to fall ultimately into ruin. The simultaneous blessing and killing in the *pictura* suggests how oppression and cruelty can

masquerade as benevolence.[10] Linking torture and killing with the protective gesture of the pope's benediction is the kind of reasoning behind the inquisition, the belief that one is doing good through evil. The pope is here both an actual abusive individual who is opposed to true religion and the symbol of a type of despotic, brutal oppression that all leaders should shun.

Envy, like wrath, has various manifestations and is also clarified in *A Christall Glasse* by considering the violence perpetrated by Catholic clerics. The *pictura* and Signification for Fig. 15.3 leave no doubt as to who the envious are and how deadly their attacks are: "The Dragon signifieth the enemie to all that professe the worde of God: the Cardinall persecution, or a persecutor of the same: the Fryer murther; the sheepe which are a killing [i.e., are being killed], signifieth the professours of Christ, from the beginning of the worlde to these present dayes" (H2ʳ). On one level, the religio-political, this emblem directly associates Catholic clerics with Satan, represented by the dragon, and the murder of helpless innocents such as the English Protestant martyrs of the sixteenth century. The Signification also links current Protestantism to true religion stretching back through time; it is not an innovation, but a revival of authentic Christianity. The amplification on the following page is where the emblematic understanding of envy is developed. Bringing the *pictura* and the text together is necessary for full comprehension of the sin. We now tend to think of envy as the sin of the have-nots, but Bateman's envious sinners are the powerful who nevertheless want to ensure that others have nothing and are nothing:

> Envie is blinde, & can doe nothing but dispraise virtue: it is a scabbe of thys world, to have envy at vertue. O the miserable conditions of people that are to bee governed, among whom, diligence is hated, negligence is reproved, where sharpnes is perillous, liberalitie thankeles, [and] communication deceatfull. (H2ᵛ)

The most effective way for Bateman to ensure readers grasp the misuse of power that this kind of envy entails is to compare it to Catholic priests, ensnaring and destroying believers whom they should be protecting.

Bateman's task of steering his English readers to salvation through revealing the true nature of vice and virtue is, however, incomplete without a further

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10   If the banner behind the pope's head is a representation of the papal golden rose, as I believe it to be, it is yet another symbol of the pope's approval of the actions of the figure of cruelty. The papal golden rose was awarded to illustrious Catholics; until the seventeenth century these were usually rulers. Henry VIII in 1524, Mary I in 1555, and Mary Queen of Scots in 1560 all received one.

step, because even more dangerous than the worldly violence and death caused by Catholic belief and clergy is the manipulation and deceit practiced by the Roman Catholic Church in the matter of the afterlife. Bateman needed to expose, indeed explode, what was to Protestant minds this most significant Catholic danger to salvation and true religion: the deeply entrenched belief in purgatory. "By the later fifteenth century, the idea of purgatory as one of a series of linked territories comprising a 'geography' of the other world was firmly established [in Catholic thought], both in ecclesiastical teaching and ... in the religious imagination of the people," to the point where "there is a good case for claiming ... that (in Eamon Duffy's [words]) *the* defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism was purgatory'."[11] So profound was the place of the dead in the Catholic system of salvation that aspects of its twin foundations—first, that almost all of the faithful will after death have to spend time tortured in purgatory to pay the debt for their sins, and second, that those remaining on earth can intercede on behalf of the dead to lessen that time—influenced and upheld many of the practices that the reformers objected to:

> [A] deep hostility to the doctrine [of purgatory] was [central] to the ... [Reform] mentality. Purgatory was not merely an excrescent superstition ..., but a linchpin of the whole anti-Christian system. Belief in purgatory, or in any notion of post-mortem purgation, seemed to epitomize the merit-theology espoused by a corrupt Church, and it was incompatible with the central theological insight of the Reformation: justification by faith alone. It exalted the principle of extra-scriptural traditions against the purity of God's Word; it underscored the power of a sacramental priesthood pronouncing absolution from sin ... in confession; and by providing a rationale for celebrations of the eucharist as a propitiatory application of the merits of Christ's passion, it was a central prop of that great 'idol', the mass.... [T]he perceived vulnerability of the doctrine on scriptural, historical, and psychological, as well as social and economic grounds [such as the selling of indulgences and pardons] made it the ideal stalking-horse for a broader programme of reform. Demolish purgatory and the rest—good works, auricular confession, the sacrificial doctrine of the mass—would surely follow in time.[12]

The first developed attacks on purgatory and the church practices surrounding it appeared in English in William Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man*

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11   Marshall 2002, 7.
12   Marshall 2002, 63–4.

(1528), and Simon Fish's *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars* (1528–9). Other texts quickly followed, and the abrogation of purgatory and human intercession for the dead became a crucial intervention in the demolition of Catholic thinking and the establishment of Protestant thinking in England.

Purgatory was thus a hotly contested topic in sixteenth-century England, from the late 1520s right to the end of the century and beyond, with two of the major texts arguing against and for the belief being published in the 1560s, just before *A Christall Glasse*'s 1569 publication—John Veron's *The Huntyng of Purgatory to Death* in 1561 and William Allen's *A Defence and Declaration of the Catholike Churches Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Soules Departed* in 1565. The disputes of theologians and intellectuals are one thing, but at what point do these differences enter into wider application and become part of the broader community's understanding of themselves? I think Bateman's *A Christall Glasse* is one of those points, and his interest, as a Church of England clergyman ministering to several parishes over the years 1567–84, is far more strongly directed to the pastoral care of his congregation than to theological argument.

One can understand why the doctrine of purgatory and intercession took such a hold on people's imaginations, fears, and hopes. Purgatory was a fearsome place, full of horrible punishments that rivalled or even exceeded those in hell, and medieval congregations were regularly exhorted to dwell on what those pains were going to be. Everyone likes a second chance, so if death is not the absolutely final point at which one's bid for heaven is decided, then that extra time would seem like a good idea. (The technical issue that purgatory was simply supposed to be the place for penance for sins, and that absolution had to be obtained while one was alive, was often ignored.) And if one could in essence purchase remission of one's sins and cut down if not completely eliminate one's suffering in purgatory by funding churches, buying pardons and indulgences, setting up chantries for regular prayers for one's soul, having one's name enrolled on a bede-roll for prayers, arranging for post-mortem masses, and so on, then who would not want to participate in the system. All these methods for affecting the disposition of souls after death were also embraced by family members to stay connected to and help their loved ones who had died.

Bateman, however, is very clear about there being only two possibilities after death: hell or heaven. No purgatory. As he explains in one of his emblems on covetousness:

> Surely those which for lukers sake wil rather prefer the temporall man before the spirituall, hath no small accompt to render when he shal come before the iudge of quicke and dead, when for his wicked doyng he shall

reape not onely death of body, but in body and soul (without speedy re-
pentaunce) endles destruction. (C2ʳ)

Likewise in an emblem on lechery: lechery "causeth all mischiefe & discorde,
not only betwixt man and wife, but also it engendreth dreadfull hate & end-
lesse destruction, both to the body living, and also to the soule everlasting"
(D3ʳ). Indeed, "if we sinne willingly after that we have received the knowledge
of the truth, there remayneth no more sacrifice for sins, but a feareful loking
for iudgement and violent fire, which shall devoure the adversaries" (O3ʳ).

Emphasizing and elaborating on these words of warning are emblem pic-
tures such as the vision of heaven, the world, and hell given to us in the em-
blem on the virtue of Veritie (Fig. 15.4), which graphically presents the two
alternatives available to us after death. As the Signification tells us:

> He which sitteth on the raynebowe signifieth Christ, and the sworde
> in his hande signifieth his wrath against the wycked, the round com-
> passe, the world, and those two climing, the one a Pope, and the other
> a Cardinall, strivyng who shall be higher, and the Divell, which falleth
> headlong downe is Lucifer, whiche through pride fel, he which holdeth
> the world, is death, standing in the entrance of hell to receyve all such
> superbious livers. (Q2ᵛ)

Not only is the reader now able, through Bateman's book, to see the truth—the
mild openness of Christ as opposed to the toothy brutality of hell mouth—but
we are also supplied with examples of those whom we should not emulate as
our models of behaviour while on earth. The pope and the cardinal climbing
up the inside of the compass of the world, and sure to fall when they reach
the top, are not functioning just as themselves; they are also emblematic of
all who reject the truth through their worldliness. If, like them, you are proud
and refuse to embrace the truth, then at death you too will join Lucifer on his
headlong descent.

Bateman does not supply the reader with an elaboration on the nature or
setting of the opposite of hell, heaven, but what we are given is an evocation of
God's love in the emblem on the virtue of Love (Fig. 15.5):

> The woman signifieth Gods love: The hart continuance of the same: Hell
> under her signifieth death and destruction: unto the careles livers of this
> world: the lambe signifieth the quiet conscience of the faithfull: And
> death under him signifieth the chaunge of life, unto all the good to im-
> mortalitie, the bad to destruction. (K1ʳ)

The deſcription

Of Veritie.
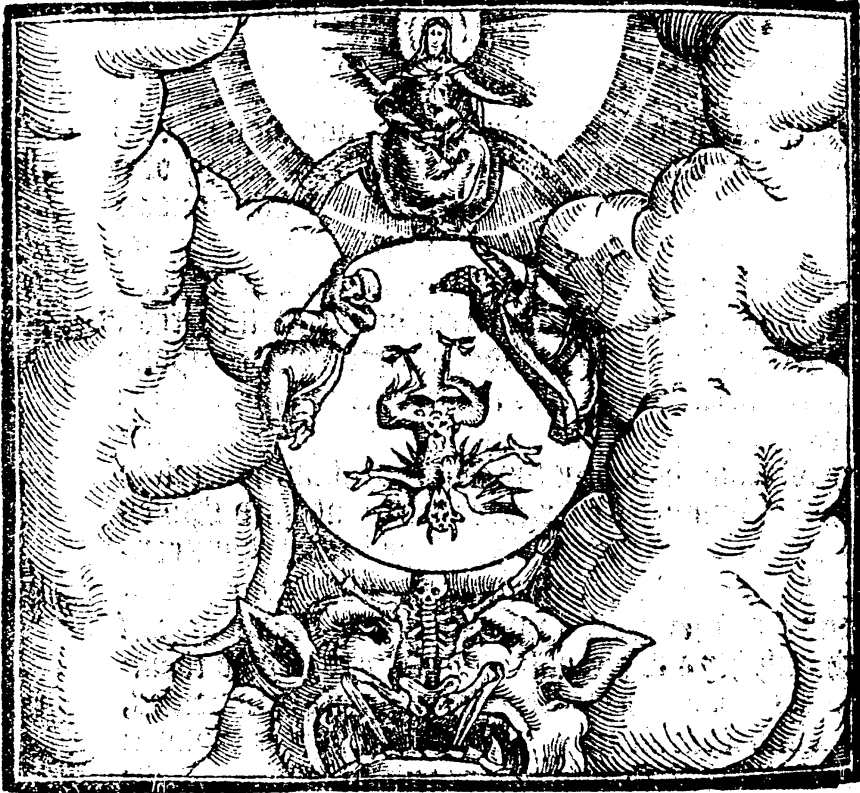
The ſignification.

*H*E which ſitteth on the raynebowe ſignifieth Chriſt, and the
ſworde in his hande ſignifieth his wrath againſt the wycked,
the round compaſſe, the worlde, and thoſe two climing, the one
a Pope, and the other a Cardinall, ſtriuyng who ſhall be higher,
and the Diuell which falleth headlong downe is Lucifer, whiche
through pride fel, he which holdeth the world, is death, ſtanding
in the entrance of hell to receyue all ſuch ſuperbious liuers.

were

FIGURE 15.4   "Veritie," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein
the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme*, Q2ᵛ

Of Loue:

put me now in remembraunce, for we wil reason together, & shewe what thou hast for thee, to make thee

LO VE

¶ *The signification.*

T'He womā signifieth Gods loue: The hart continuance of the same: Hell vnder her signifieth death and destructiō: vnto the careles liuers of this world: the lambe signifieth the quiet conscience of the faithfull: And death vnder him signieth the chaunge of life, vnto all the good to immortalitie, the bad to destruction.

k.j.   righteous,

FIGURE 15.5   "Love," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme,* K1ʳ

FIGURE 15.6
"Virgin and Child on a Crescent with a Sceptre and a Starry
Crown," Albrecht Dürer, engraving, 1516

At the end of this Signification the alternatives for one's afterlife are binary.
Death is merely "the chaunge of life": the good go to immortality, the bad to
destruction. In this image, finally, skeletal death is not a threatening figure. It
holds no fear for the faithful, represented by the lamb standing over the skel-
eton. Interestingly, God's love is presented in this emblem in earthly terms as
well as heavenly. The woman in the center of the *pictura* can be read as the
woman clothed with the sun from Revelation 12, often interpreted in Roman
Catholic texts as the Virgin Mary or the Church (as seen in Dürer's engraving of
the Virgin Mary which combines the usual accoutrements of Mary with those
of Revelation's woman, Fig. 15.6). In Bateman's English Protestant text she is
still the Church, the Church of the true believers, but she is also, as I have ar-
gued elsewhere, Queen Elizabeth I, God's representative on earth (Silcox 2002,
219–220). Behind her is a scene of ships sailing on a peaceful sea close to a
pleasant coastline. This is where the connection between life and afterlife is
most strongly expressed and felt in *A Christall Glasse*, as God's love embraces
his English people both during their lives under Elizabeth's rule and after death.

   The comforting sense of continuity between human life and afterlife that
the doctrine of purgatory permitted is definitely not present in *A Christall
Glasse* in the form of human intercession having any power over a soul's habi-
tation after death. And therefore the emphasis in all Bateman's emblems,
particularly of course those on the vices, is an urgency in having to choose
between right and wrong now at this very moment: "We ought always so to
live, even as though we should depart presently" (G2ᵛ). "Time," we are told,
"is the most precious thing that is" (F4ᵛ). In his "Epistle to the Reader," when
Bateman is setting up his book as the mirror through which readers can see the

disorder and temptation raging at every moment in this world for what they truly are and therefore be able to avoid Satan's "deceivable suggestions," the first of these satanic suggestions is the notion that pardons, masses and "other popish ceremonies, can any thing avayle as touchyng salvation: for if it were so, then Christes death was in vayne, and of none effect" (A2ᵛ). The power to grant salvation belongs to God and his Son alone, not to the actions of any humans. In his emblem on the virtue of charity, therefore, Bateman needs to maintain the value of good works in Protestantism but has to tread very carefully to avoid stumbling into the morass of two Catholic doctrines empowered by the concept of purgatory: first, the idea that the living are able to intercede on behalf of the dead in purgatory and, second, that salvation is possible through good works rather than faith alone. To avoid the first, he adapts the traditional list of the corporal acts of mercy—feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and so on—by the single expedient of leaving out the usual admonition to bury the dead. While Protestant preachers might well have wanted to include this act of mercy in their discussions of charity, Bateman has not. Reference to the charitable act of burying the dead would still so strongly bring to mind the inclusion of prayers for the souls of the dead that to be certain the possibility of intercession was not encouraged, it was omitted.[13] Furthermore, Bateman carefully explains that the works of charity themselves are not the means to salvation:

> [S]uche as say that workes only iustifieth from sinne, do not onely and utterly deny Christ to be come in the flesh, but also they deny and deprive them selves from the everlasting ioy and heavenly felicitie, and although workes are nedefull and necessary, yet beyng without faith, hope, & charitie, nothing at all avayleth. (O1ᵛ)

What replaces the Catholic reassurance of the efficacy of works and intercession is Bateman's Protestant reassurance of faith and God's mercy, to the point where tribulation is a blessing: "most happy is that man that endureth in temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crowne of life which the lord hath promised to those which love him" (A2ʳ). Indeed, "as many as have in them the motions of these godly and fruitful vertues, may be most assured, to be the very elect, and that they have the true faith, so long as they continue therein" (Q1ʳ). One's only salvation is faith, pictured in Bateman's emblem on Faith (Fig. 15.7) as a man wearing the armour of God (from Ephesians 6:11–17).

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13   Many historians have written about the continuation of Catholic practices and thinking, particularly surrounding the care for the dead, in sixteenth-century England. See, for example, Whiting 1997, Marshall 2002, Sugg 2013, Collinson 1988, Cummings 2013.

Of Faith.

¶Of fayth and the wonderfull working of the same: and stedfast beliefe of the fathers in olde tyme.

The signification.

T'He man in armour signifieth all stedfast beleuers of the veri-
tie, being armed with constant zeale of Christianitie, and
weaponed with the shielde of liuely faith, the spere of continu-
aunce, and the sworde of the word of God: The Diuil vnder him
is temptation, being ouercome by faith in Christ Iesus.

M.iiij.   Faith

FIGURE 15.7   "Faith," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme*, M4r

He is fully armed, but is merely standing, opening himself to God's sun and the tetragrammaton. As the representation of true faith, he has no need to grapple with the devil of temptation under his feet and there is no active violence in the picture. Bateman is using the image of biblically authorized, upper class martial prowess in both this *pictura* and his discussion to convey this virtue's strength, steeped in courtly tradition. The reader is exhorted to:

> be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, put on the armour of God, that ye may stand stedfast against the crafty assaultes of the Devill, for we wrestle not against flesh and bloude, but against rule, against power, and against worldely rulers of the darckenes of thys worlde. (N2ʳ)

The enemy is not death, but evil powers and rulers in our present existence.

Having concluded his discussion of how a Christian should act and believe in this world through the formal, familiar structure of the vices and virtues, Bateman devotes an entire section of his book to denouncing purgatory directly. He obviously feels he needs to drive home the point that there is no side-door to heaven; there is no entrance save through faith and godly behaviour on earth. After all, if purgatory exists and souls can be moved from hell into purgatory or from purgatory into heaven through the intercession of mortals such as the pope or monks, then why should one worry about avoiding indulgent vices and embracing difficult virtues. The section of *A Christall Glasse* entitled "The fetching of soules out of purgatory" makes it very clear that there is no such cheating:

> Forasmuch as the Antichristians have a place among themselves imagined, a place the which the[y] call purgatory, ... and that through their power they are able to bringe soules departed out of hell into theyr purgatory, and also to sende soules thether at theyr pleasure and will, I have thought good to search the scriptures, to the intent to see if there had bene any such word or place. (U2ʳ)

Not surprisingly, Bateman says he can find no such place in the Bible. This is, of course, a clinching argument for firmly Protestant believers, but not for Catholics, who counted church tradition as possessing equal authority. Bateman rises to high indignation at the thought that "the Pope and his fraternity" have made up this territory of purgatory not only to amass wealth for themselves, but also to usurp God's authority for themselves:

[They] are not ashamed to say that by vertue of trentall Masses, pardons, and dirgies, they are able to redeme those that are passed this life from all paynes and tormentes. O wretched congregation, o generation of vipers …, no more is there any other saviour and redemer then God in Christ Jesus. (U2ᵛ)

Having asserted Christ's singular power over salvation, Bateman concludes: "now must it plainly appeare … that the Pope is an hipocrite, a lyer, & deceaver, going about to robbe God of his honour" (U3ᵛ). Even though Catholic clergy are "shameles rebels, the offspringes of Sathan" who "are not ashamed to confirme & say this to be true, which is most pernisious & filthy," yet Bateman neverthe-less hopes that

God for his mercies sake open the eyes of all obstinate papistes & hinder-ers of his word that while the light of his glorious gospell shineth among us both they and we all may imbrace the light, and not to runne hedlong into the vale of darkenes where is weping wayling and gnashing of teath and endless woes for ever continuing. (U4ᵛ)

In the midst of this high flowing, earnest passion comes the *pictura* for purga-tory (Fig. 15.8), which strikes a very different note from the rest of *A Christall Glasse* in its attack on purgatory, intercession, and pardons. This image is both comically demeaning and yet menacing, because its promise of aid can help no one. Bateman's weapon in this picture is satire. Here are the Catholic Church's fishers—not the fishers of men from Matt 4:19, but fishers of souls and of cash—gathered around the local fishing-hole: purgatory or perhaps even hell. A variety of Catholic religious—monks, friars, cardinals and even the pope—have baited their fishing lines with pardons and indulgences, an-gling for the souls that are represented by the little heads in the burning pool. Ecclesiastical buildings surround the pool, and a papal banner hangs from one. In combination with the Biblical quotations above and below it on mak-ing preparations in good time, this emblem betrays to the reader the Catholic Church's ridiculous yet damning misinterpretation of what it means to be fish-ers of men. In this instance, *A Christall Glasse* not only redirects Catholic self-images into Protestant critique of Catholic practices, but also argues that the Catholic images are perversions of the sacred text of the Bible.

Bateman's decision to make the vices and virtues memorable to his English audience through a rereading of discredited Catholic images was an inspired one. In *A Christall Glasse* the reader's understanding of both Catholicism and sin reinforce each other. This mirror is one in which the reader can see the

FIGURE 15.8 "Purgatory," Stephen Bateman, *A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly may behold the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme*, U3ʳ

phenomenological world of the devil and the pope for what it truly is, especially the fallacious and self-serving Catholic view of the afterlife, and learn to read its deceitful images unerringly, and ironically, through those very images themselves. Since this is a text of moral theology, Bateman's emphasis is on assuring his readers of salvation if they prepare properly for their deaths, and not at all on predestination. Similarly, he exhibits no interest in the doctrinal debates of Protestantism concerning exactly what happens to a soul between the individual's death and the final day of judgement.[14] He is still fighting the battles of the first wave of Protestantism, carrying its founding ideals to the people in terms that both scorn and mock the Catholic church and emphasize the egalitarian nature of the Protestant God "which regardeth no mans person, nor taketh giftes" (X2^r). "Riches helpeth not in the day of vengeaunce, but righteousnes delivereth from death" (X3^r), Bateman emphasizes in his final section on "the daye of doome." In the poem that closes this section and the book, he brings the reader a final vision. If you have lived your life as *A Christall Glasse* has urged you to, then after death "you soone shall see, / The christall glasse of light to shine. / Which glasse is Christ our Saviour" (X4^v).

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14   The discussion of these debates by Burns 1972 is still the most comprehensive.

Shifting Role Models within the Society of Jesus: The Abandonment of Grisly Martyrdom Images c. 1600

Alison C. Fleming

In the 1580s the Society of Jesus commissioned numerous pictorial cycles representing Early Christian martyrdoms for their churches in Rome, notably at Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Tommaso di Canterbury, and Sant'Apollinare. At this time the Society was relatively new (having been established in 1540), with no saints of their own and—like many reforming orders of the period—they sought to link their ideals with those of the Early Christians. The spirit of the paleochristian revival was at its zenith during this period. For the students studying in the colleges run by the Jesuits, as well as the Jesuit novices, many of them soon to be sent on missions where they might meet similarly gruesome ends, these martyrs were role models, and viewing these often-explicit representations was considered a significant aspect of their preparation.

However, around the year 1600 a substantive change in the focus of the Society's artistic projects can be noted. The Jesuits acquired the fifth-century church of San Vitale in Rome in 1595, and immediately began a renovation. The paintings in the church interior date to 1598–1603 and depict the martyrdoms of many saints, including those to whom the church is dedicated: St. Vitale, his wife St. Valeria, and their children, Sts. Gervasius and Protasius. This space may be seen as typical of Jesuit commissions in the late Renaissance, created in the same spirit as the churches previously mentioned. Yet, as the decorative program moved from the painted walls of the nave to the carved panels of the wooden doors (c. 1607) leading into the nave from the portico, the emphasis shifts. The upper panels of the doors again represent the martyrdoms of the four saints associated with the church, but the lower panels depict two of the earliest Jesuits: their founder, Ignatius of Loyola, and their first missionary, Francis Xavier, neither of whom were martyrs. Their presence here

characterizes a shift in the priorities of the Society, and the efforts to promote these men as new role models for the Jesuits of the seventeenth century.

The Jesuits self-identified as followers of Christ; this focus directed their actions, and influenced their artistic commissions. Jerome Nadal's commentary on Ignatius's vision at La Storta explicitly stated that "Christ Crucified" was the foundation of the order.[1] The early Christian martyrs had held the same model, and by imitating them the Jesuits achieved multiple goals in their pursuit of a reformed Church. However, in the very first years of the seventeenth century they began to develop new imagery establishing their founders as their principal role models, men who imitated Christ in ways other than death. After 1600 the once-popular martyrdom cycles, replete with explicit and grisly details, disappeared from Jesuit churches. While those fresco cycles have been extensively studied, little attention has been paid to the subsequent shift in Jesuit art, away from the images of martyrs.[2] This study will examine the underlying reason for this change by positioning the decoration of the church of San Vitale as a transitional space. The images of martyrdom in the interior reflect Jesuit commissions of the late sixteenth century, however, the completion of the wooden door panels, executed just after 1600, represent a new era, as the Society promotes the causes of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier for canonization, and encourages members of the Society to follow their lead. A consideration of the doors as a principal facet of the Society's shifting artistic endeavors around the year 1600 sheds new light on the project, and repositions it as a signifier of change. Ultimately the images of death in Jesuit art will shift from gruesome and meticulously-detailed depictions of martyrdom to the demises of Ignatius and Xavier, and the diverse effects that these events held. The focus of this study is an examination of these changing representations of death in the period c. 1600 as connected to the developing agenda of this religious order.

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1 Monssen 1981, 134 examines Nadal's comments. For more on Nadal with respect to the visual arts see Buser 1976.

2 This shift is mentioned only by Buser 1976, 433, who states, "The rash of pictures of explicit tortures and executions subsided in the 1590s. The typical seventeenth-century depiction of martyrdom emphasizes the supernatural triumph of the martyr rather than his physical suffering" but does not offer an explanation. I suggest that additional factors play a role in the shift as well.

1   The Jesuits of Late Sixteenth-Century Rome: Images of Martyrdom

The frescoes of martyrdom depicted in the churches of Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Tommaso di Canterbury, Sant'Apollinare, and San Vitale, have received substantial attention from previous scholars.[3] From its founding in 1540 the Society of Jesus sought to combat heresy and restore the Church to its former glory. Renewed attention to the cult of saints and the role of martyrs follows, as indicated by the art commissioned by the early Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation period. The Jesuits, and also the Oratorians, were notable among the newly-established orders in endorsing a revival of paleochristian ideals. This included the renovation of Early Christian churches in Rome, the sending forth of missionaries in emulation of the Apostles, and providing role models for these men, both in the form of Christ himself, but also those martyrs who had followed in his footsteps and died for their faith.

The interest in Christian martyrs is marked visually throughout Jesuit spaces in Rome. Émile Mâle cited the paintings of Agostino Ciampelli, dating to c. 1588–90 in the Chapel of the Martyrs in the Church of Il Gesù as a key example of this attention.[4] The space overflows with figures of martyred saints and narrative panels of martyrdoms, capped by a vault fresco of Mary as Queen of the Martyrs. The images of martyrdom painted in the recreation room of the Jesuit Novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale no longer exist, but were described in detail by Jesuit writer Louis Richeôme in a 1611 book of meditations designed to assist the novices.[5] The decoration of this room, which included a frieze of martyrs along with an array of narratives, was likely begun in the mid-1580s.[6] It even included depictions of every martyred Jesuit, despite the fact that none had been canonized to this point, leading Gauvin Bailey to describe the room "as a sort of trophy case for Jesuit martyrs".[7]

In addition to figures of martyrs and scenes of their torture and execution, images of the instruments of martyrdom were popular. Antonio Gallonio's 1591 *Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio*, with engravings by Antonio Tempesta, has been linked to the painted depictions of instruments of martyrdom, c. 1596, on the façade of the churches of ss Nereo ed Achilleo—the titular

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3   The bibliography on this topic is considerable. Key references include Bailey 2003, Buser 1976, Herz 1988a and 1988b, Keane 2009, Korrick 1999, Monssen 1981, 1982 and 1983, and Noreen 1998.

4   Mâle 1932, 113–114; see also Hibbard 1972; and Bailey 2003, 208 on Ciampelli's frescoes.

5   Richeôme 1611. See Loach 2010 and 2013 for careful examinations of this book.

6   Clossey 2008, 82. See also Loach 2013, 363–66 on the recreation room and images of martyrdom, as detailed by Richeôme.

7   Bailey 2003, 44, with further discussion of the room on 66–67.

church of the Oratorian Cesare Baronio—where they are still faintly visible, and San Vitale, where they remain only in an engraving by Mattäus Greuter in Richeôme's *La Peinture Spirituelle*.[8] Elsewhere in Rome, the instruments of martyrdom are incorporated into *grotteschi* painted by Cesare Nebbia, in the 1580s, in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. The decoration of the collegiate churches administered by the Jesuits reinforces this focus, in places where a direct connection exists between the students and their future as missionaries, willing to be sent forth to parts of the world where they would be considered traitors, and likely executed. As Brad Gregory has stated, "to suffer and die for the Lord implied an intoxicating intimacy with him".[9] This spirit is reflected in the churches of Sant'Apollinare, Santo Stefano Rotondo, and San Tommaso di Canterbury.

Sant'Apollinare is a church of seventh-century origins, given to the Jesuits in 1574 to serve as the church for the German-Hungarian College.[10] It would become the first of the Jesuit collegiate churches to be adorned with images of martyrdom by the Tuscan painter Niccolò Circignani (c. 1524–97).[11] The cycle, begun in 1581 and completed the following year, no longer exists.[12] Yet, like many of the other paintings under discussion, the images were preserved in a set of engravings by Giovanni Battista Cavallieri: *Beati Apollinaris martyris primi ravennatum epi res gestae* (Rome, 1586).[13] The prints reveal the torture and execution of St. Apollinare, first Bishop of Ravenna, in twelve scenes. It is the only cycle with a focus on one individual martyr. Thus, even though it contains fewer panels, it necessarily incorporates substantial, even excruciating, detail. The captions included in Cavallieri's engravings are in Latin, brief but descriptive. In successive scenes, St. Apollinare is beaten, hung, stretched on the rack, and stoned. The model of an Early Christian brutally executed for his faith could not be made any clearer. The potential fate of a contemporary missionary, involving not just death but the possibility that it could likely be

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8   Richeôme 1611. See also Loach 2010, 54–56; and Loach 2013, 368–70.

9   Gregory 1999, 277.

10   Bailey 2003, 128–130.

11   Circignani is sometimes known as Il Pomarancio after his hometown near Volterra, for more on the artist see Buser 1976, 427 and 432–33; and Bailey 2003, 131.

12   The loss of the frescoes is due to severe flooding in the church a decade after the paintings were completed and a complete renovation of the space in the mid-eighteenth century; Bailey 2003, 130.

13   All three sets of Cavallieri's engravings connected to the Jesuit collegiate cycles have been digitized by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and can be downloaded from their website https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/. For additional information regarding their publication in Rome by Bartolomeo Grassi see Witcombe 2008, 350–52.

preceded by extensive and brutal torture, is an element stressed in this cycle more than any other.

In 1579 the round church of Santo Stefano Rotondo on the Celian hill was given to the recently-established Hungarian College; this institution merged with the German College the following year.[14] The students, at what would become known as the German-Hungarian College, were trained to return to northern Europe to fight against Protestantism. This satellite church, with likely fifth-century origins as a martyrium,[15] was soon restored and became the site for one of the most extensive and elaborate martyrdom cycles of the period, painted 1581–82.[16] As at Sant'Apollinare, Niccolò Circignani painted the frescoes, with contributions by Matteo da Siena and Antonio Tempesta.[17] Thirty-one scenes are arranged chronologically on the ambulatory wall (Fig. 16.1). The cycle begins with the image of the *Crucifixion*, which includes male and female martyrs surrounding the cross, and the Holy Innocents—the earliest martyrs—lying at its base. The inscription above reads REX GLORIOSE MARTIRUM, establishing Christ as the model for the subsequent martyrs.[18] The cycle continues with representations of Christians martyred during the reigns of emperors Nero and Diocletian. By the time the viewer has walked completely around the perimeter of the church, he has encountered the horrific and extremely varied deaths of hundreds of Christians over almost five centuries. Most panels depict multiple episodes of torture and execution, ranging from one panel representing the killing of saints Peter and Paul, to others that are crowded with the deaths of hundreds of figures. Pope Callixtus is thrown from a balcony, Cecilia is boiled alive, Lawrence is grilled, and Sebastian is shot with arrows. Others are attacked by animals, stretched on the rack, set upon burning pyres, flayed, decapitated, and dismembered. The extensive carnage has elicited memorable quotes from viewers including Charles Dickens, "such a panorama of horror and butchery no man could imagine in his sleep," and the Marquis de Sade, "one of the most frightening collections of horrors that it is possible to gather together".[19]

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14   Bailey 2003, 134.

15   Bailey 2003, 133–134.

16   Korrick 1999, 170.

17   Monssen 1981, 132.

18   Monssen 1981 focuses on the fresco of the *Crucifixion*. Monssen 1982 and 1983 offer a more general examination, while Noreen 1998 is primarily concerned with Cavallieri's engravings, and Korrick 1999 with the question of style. Bailey 2003, 133–148, considers the paintings in detail.

19   Bailey 2003, 123.

FIGURE 16.1   Niccolò Circignani and Matteo da Siena, view of the first six panels in the
                cycle, c. 1581–82, fresco, Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

This chronicle of Christian torment is effectively told through a didactic system in which figures are identified by red letters corresponding to a legend below (written in both Latin and Italian) that explains how and when they died. The format is one used in other Jesuit artistic projects, including the engravings in Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593).[20] A few years later the format is employed in an illustrated edition of Pedro de Ribadeneyra's biography of St. Ignatius published by the Galle workshop in Antwerp (1610).[21] The process enables the viewer to move carefully and purposefully through the image, noting all details, and processing the episodes portrayed, and will be used in the cycle at San Tommaso di Canterbury as well. In panels where large numbers of martyrs are depicted throughout the foreground, middle ground,

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20   Nadal, 2003–05. Although the work is finished after the frescoes at Santo Stefano
      Rotondo, drawings connected to the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* had been completed
      and were in circulation by the late 1570s. For discussion of their influence see Buser 1976;
      and Bailey 2003, 137.
21   For more on the 1610 vita see Melion 2013.

and background, the lettering system greatly aids the viewer in focusing and keeping track of them. Without the carefully delineated legend the viewer may have difficulty establishing the large cast of characters, and being able to focus on each one individually. The frescoes in Santo Stefano Rotondo may be firmly placed in the context of the paleochristian revival ongoing in Rome in this period, and additionally were intended to model the stoic demeanor and exemplary sacrifice of the Early Christian martyrs for the students of the German-Hungarian College, who anticipated meeting similar fates.

The Venerable English College was originally established in the late four-teenth century as a hospice for English pilgrims to Rome. Located on the Via di Monserrato, near Palazzo Farnese, it was jointly dedicated to the Trinity and to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and thrived until the early sixteenth century.[22] The 1534 Act of Supremacy cut off relations between England and the Papal States, and ended the need to house English pilgrims. Pope Paul III took over the building in 1538, and discussion began to convert it into a seminary, which occurred in 1576; three years later it was given to the Jesuits.[23] The 1580s saw Catholics in England repeatedly denounced as traitors and threatened by increasingly severe laws.[24] The threat of death, however, did not dissuade the many students of the College from their zealous pursuit of returning to England as missionaries; in fact, they took a vow to this end.[25] The "burning desire for martyrdom," noted in Jesuit poet Robert Southwell's contemporary work *An Epistle of Comfort*, reflects this phenomenon.[26] St. Ralph Sherwin be-came the first martyr from the College, when he was tortured and killed on 1 December 1581, with the Jesuit priest, St. Edmund Campion.[27] Over the next century forty more names would join his in a list of men from the College, in-cluding Southwell, who met their fate as martyrs in England.[28]

It is in the spirit of this age that in 1582 Niccolò Circignani was commis-sioned to commemorate the lives of English and Welsh martyrs on the walls of

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22 Langham 2009, 14–16. The devastating events of the Sack of Rome physically impacted the hospice, its personnel, and its possessions.

23 The Jesuits ran the college until the Suppression of the Society in 1773. The Bull of Pope Gregory XIII officially establishing the foundation of the English College was issued on 1 May 1579. Langham 2009, 34. Additional bibliography on the Venerable English College may be found in Bailey 2003, 321 (note 1).

24 Keane 2009, 69–73.

25 Bailey 2003, 154.

26 Southwell 1588. For more on the writings of Southwell and other English Recusants see Gregory 1999, 279–80.

27 Langham 2009, 38.

28 Langham 2009, 94–96.

the collegiate church.[29] His thirty-four panels recount this history, from Early Christian and Medieval martyrs in the first twenty-four scenes to recent martyrs in the last ten, including those who were killed even as the cycle was being executed in 1583.[30] Thus, the graphic images of violent death are as much a window into the contemporary world as a record of the past.[31] Unfortunately, Circignani's frescoes did not survive into the modern age, but like the other collegiate cycles, G. B. Cavallieri had preserved the original images of martyrdom in *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea sive martyrum* (Rome, 1584).[32] The images, like those Circignani produced in Santo Stefano Rotondo and Sant'Apollinare, are extremely detailed and explicit. Many similarly use letters and a corresponding legend to identify specific people, actions, and events, and to assist viewers in effectively reading the images depicted.[33] The last panels in the cycle record the deaths of contemporary figures who had studied at the English College in Rome. The paintings are littered with broken and battered bodies, piled up in the midst of episodes of torture and execution; they commemorate not only English and Welsh martyrs throughout history, but also chronicle the myriad ways in which these people were killed for their faith. Both facets served as important components of the education of young men of the Reformation era.

2   A Changing Focus: The Jesuit Renovations at San Vitale

The Basilica of San Vitale has stood on the Quirinal hill since the early fifth century. The *Liber Pontificalis* reveals that Pope Innocent I dedicated a church to the twin brothers, saints Gervasius and Protasius, between 402 and 417; later

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29   Bailey 2003, 157–160. The project was financed by layman George Gilbert, a passionate and wealthy Catholic who had worked to hide and protect priests in England, before his notoriety forced him to flee to Rome, where he sought to record and preserve the memory of the English martyrs, in a place where they would inspire the students of the College, and serve as models for their future missionary work, see Gregory 1999, 283; and Buser 1976, 429–31.

30   Keane 2009, 97–101.

31   Hibbard 1972, 30, stated that "such pictures must have had the impact of newsreel atrocities."

32   The college was abandoned during the Napoleonic wars and physically deteriorated; it was rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century, Langham 2009, 50–60. Using Cavallieri's prints as models, the scenes were faithfully replicated by artist Silverio Capparoni in 1883, in the tribune of the new church, see Keane 2009, 6–7. In this way their function of modeling the behavior of missionaries for seminary students was renewed.

33   Others include a more discursive caption to underscore the narrative function. All text is in Latin only.

the dedication expanded to include their father, St. Vitale.[34] The five-arched front portico is the only part of the church that remains from this period, as the restorations of the eighth and ninth centuries (under Pope Leo III), more renovations in the Jubilee year of 1475, under Pope Sixtus IV—as noted in the inscription above the central portal—and those of the Counter-Reformation period have erased other traces of the Early Christian structure.[35] A Papal Bull of Clement VIII, dated 20 November 1595, gave San Vitale—adjacent to the Jesuit Novitiate church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale—to the Society of Jesus.[36] Renovation of the church, maintaining the dedication to St. Vitale, began in 1598, thanks to the generosity of Isabella della Rovere.[37]

Substantial redecoration occurred after the Jesuits took possession; the paintings inside the church date from 1598–1603.[38] These frescoes depict Christological scenes as well as images of martyrdom, continuing the trend seen in the collegiate churches (Fig. 16.2). The first paintings were executed c. 1599–1600, in the apse. Andrea Commodi painted *The Way to Calvary* in the semi-dome, and the scenes below depicting the *Flagellation of St. Gervasius* (left) and *Decapitation of St. Protasius* (right).[39] Agostino Ciampelli frescoed the large flanking scenes *of St. Vitale on the rack* (left) and *St. Vitale buried alive* (right) between 1601 and 1603.[40] Commodi's painting on the high altar depicts the martyred saints connected to the dedication of the church: St. Vitale with his wife, St. Valeria, and their children, Sts. Gervasius and Protasius. Tarquinio Ligustri, or a follower of Paul Brill, painted the walls of the nave with ten frescoed panels of martyrdom, in 1603 (Fig. 16.3). These images place small figures of the persecuted Christians and their tormentors into vast landscapes.[41] The scenes in the nave are less graphic than those by Circignani in the collegiate

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34 Davis 1989, 31–33. The church celebrated the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of its dedication on 28 April 2012, the feast day of St. Vitale.

35 Huetter and Golzio 1938.

36 Zuccari 1984, 159–165; Bailey 2003, 166–167. Regarding the acquisition of the church by the Jesuits see Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Prov. Rome 163, fol. 277v.

37 Valone 1994; Conelli 2004.

38 Bailey 2003, 168–186, considers the interior decoration and supporting documentation at length. The Jesuit artist, Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, directed the project, and also painted the panels on the side altars in the nave (three of the four remain, depicting *The Immaculate Conception*, *Holy Virgins*, and *Holy Confessors*).

39 Bailey 2003, 169.

40 Bailey 2003, 175.

41 Captions below the paintings identify them as Pope Clement, St. Januarius, St. Licinius, Sts. Martinian and Saturian and their brothers (left wall); St. Ignatius of Antioch, Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, St. Paphnutius the monk, St. Andrew (right wall); St. Victor, and the Christian soldiers exiled in Egypt (back wall), see Bailey 2003, 179–182.

FIGURE 16.2   Basilica of San Vitale, Rome: interior view with apse frescoes by
Andrea Commodi and Agostino Ciampelli, c. 1598–1603
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 16.3   Basilica of San Vitale, Rome: interior view with nave frescoes by
Tarquinio Ligustri or follower of Paul Brill, c. 1603
PHOTO: AUTHOR

churches, and less explicit than those represented in the apse. While the entire interior remains centered on the martyred Early Christian saints as role models, the tone is changing. It is thus no surprise that the final phase of the redecoration of this church—the wooden doors—shifts it substantially.

The imagery of Christ and Early Christian saints dominated the early Jesuit decorative programs in the late sixteenth century when the Society of Jesus did not have any saints of its own. Around the year 1600 the Jesuits begin a strong push for the canonization of two of their founding members: Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier.[42] Thus it is only in the first decade of the seventeenth century that images of these men began to be seen widely. In the years immediately preceding the beatification of Ignatius (in 1609) the events of his life are depicted visually, predominantly in printed form such as in the *Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* with engravings by Jean-Baptiste Barbe.[43] The earliest sculptural representations of Ignatius and Xavier are those associated with the final phase of the Jesuit renovations of San Vitale, in the carved walnut panels of the front doors of this church (Fig. 16.4). They exemplify a Jesuit project designed to connect the Society as a whole (and their founding fathers in particular) to the Early Christian period, in a manner decidedly different from the martyrdom cycles of the previous decades, and to emphasize the Society's new role models. An examination of these doors—and especially a new identification of one panel—will spotlight their role as a significant facet of the shift towards a new Jesuit artistic agenda in the seventeenth century.

The wooden panels of the entrance doors represent the end of the church's extensive renovations. A document published by Pietro Pirri, SJ and Pietro di Rosa, SJ notes that the doors were completed on 28 April 1609, after two years of work.[44] A more recent study by Giovan Battista Fidanza has assigned dates of 1611–15 for the project based on other documentary sources.[45] For the purposes of this study the inclusive dates of c. 1607–15 will be used. Unfortunately, the completion document does not name the artists; it states only that the woodworkers left this project to go to work at the new Sacristy at the Church of

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42 Levy 2004, 127–30 considers the ways in which imagery both aided and hindered the canonization processes of this period, especially with regard to the cause of Ignatius. The efforts towards Xavier's canonization began immediately after this death in 1552, when witnesses to his miracles in Asia were interviewed and accounts of his life begin to be assembled, however, the process was stalled on numerous occasions. After 1600—and especially after the beatification of Ignatius in 1609—efforts increased; Xavier was ultimately beatified in 1619.

43 O'Malley 2008.

44 Pirri and di Rosa 1975, 78.

45 Fidanza 2009, 441–442.

FIGURE 16.4   Giacomo Taurino, Entrance Doors (overall view), c. 1607–15, walnut, Basilica of
San Vitale, Rome
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Il Gesù.[46] Fidanza has made a very strong case for the attribution to Giacomo Taurino.[47] This identification is quite plausible, although the question of iconography—not authorship—is the focus here.

The upper panels of the doors represent the grisly martyrdoms of the same four saints depicted in the church's interior. The upper left panel depicts the *Flagellation of St. Gervasius*, complemented by the upper right panel, which shows the *Beheading of St. Protasius*. The two middle panels depict the parents of the martyred boys. The left central panel shows the *Beheading of St. Valeria*; the adjacent panel represents *St. Vitale stretched on the rack*. In many respects, this scene closely replicates the same scene frescoed by Ciampelli in the apse of the church. Full-length portraits of each of the figures are placed in niches in the elaborately carved framework, next to the corresponding narratives. While the images of these martyred saints maintains a continued connection to the dedication of the church and the artistic tradition under consideration, the depictions of the Jesuit founders—who were not martyred—in the lowest panels introduce both new role models and a new approach to artistic commissions of the Society of Jesus.

These panels depict important scenes from the lives of Ignatius and Francis Xavier. The lowest left panel portrays one of Ignatius's most significant visionary experiences, the *Vision at La Storta* (Fig. 16.5). This event took place in the fall of 1537, as Ignatius approached the city of Rome. In Paris, three years earlier, he and his companions had made a vow to journey to the Holy Land, or should this prove impossible (as it did, due to political instability), to go to Rome and offer themselves to the service of the Pope. Here, Ignatius stopped to pray at a small chapel in the hamlet of La Storta, just outside the city where he would spend the rest of his life. Ignatius described the miracle in rather spare detail many years later, in his *Spiritual Diary*, and in his dictated autobiography.[48]

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46   Pirri and di Rosa 1975, 78. In an earlier article Pirri 1952, 40–41, had attributed the doors to the Taurino brothers, Giacomo and Gian Paolo, while acknowledging that the style is also very similar to that of the Jesuit artist Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, see Pirri 1952, 40–42; also Bailey 2003, 171. Fiammeri, as noted above, had contributed to the interior renovation of the church in this period. He also worked as a sculptor, having studied with the Florentine Bartolomeo Ammanati, see Bailey 2003, 33–36. Huetter and Golzio 1938, 53, attributed the doors to Fiammeri, and Bailey 2003, 171, has concurred with that assessment. However, König-Nordhoff 1982, 219 and 275, whose consideration focuses on the subject matter of the bottom panels in the context of her study of Ignatian imagery, maintains Pirri's attribution to the Taurino brothers.

47   Fidanza 2009, 443.

48   For the account of Ignatius in his Spiritual Diary, written 23 February 1544 see de Nicolas 1986, 189–238. For the description in the autobiography dictated to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara in 1553–55, see Tylenda 2001, 112–3. In addition to the brief accounts of the

FIGURE 16.5   Giacomo Taurino, *Ignatius of Loyola's Vision at La Storta* (panel from entrance
                    doors), c. 1607–15, walnut, Basilica of San Vitale, Rome
                    PHOTO: AUTHOR

However, his first biographer, Pedro Ribadeneyra, recorded an account of greater substance, giving us a better idea of what Ignatius experienced:

> The B. Father took his way towards Rome, on foot, with F. Faber, and F. Laínez in his company ... one day drawing nigh to the city of Rome, leaving the two Fathers in the field, he went into a deserted and solitary church some mile from the city to pray. There amidst the greatest fervor of his prayers, he felt his heart changed, and God the Father appeared to him, together with his most Blessed Son, who carried the Cross upon his shoulders and with the eyes of his soul, illustrated with that resplendent light, he saw that the Eternal Father, turning to his only begotten Son, commended Ignatius, and those in his company unto him, with exceeding great love, putting them into his hands. And our most benign Jesus having received them under his patronage and protection, as he stood in that manner, with his Cross, turned to Ignatius and with a loving and mild countenance said unto him: "Ego vobis Romae propitious ero" (I will be favorable to you at Rome). With this divine revelation, our Father remained very much comforted, and strengthened, and he related it afterwards to those in his company, to animate them the more, and to prepare them for the troubles which they were to endure.[49]

In the San Vitale panel, Ignatius kneels on the lower left, facing the figure of Christ, while God the Father appears in the top central part of the panel; the gestures of the three figures forming a dynamic triangle. The ruined architecture of the chapel and elements of the rural environment form the background of the scene, with the companions of Ignatius visible through the arch on the far left. The scene is always included in the illustrated biographies of Ignatius that proliferate following the 1609 publication of the aforementioned *Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* with engravings by Jean-Baptiste Barbé,[50] and widely represented in Jesuit altarpieces after 1622, notably one by Domenichino for

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event by Ignatius himself, and that of Ribadeneyra, Laínez, as a witness, wrote an account, and descriptions were also compiled by Jerome Nadal, Peter Canisius, and Juan Alfonso de Polanco.

49   Ribadeneyra 1616, 94–98.
50   Other illustrated biographies of Ignatius include the 1610 vita produced by the Galle workshop in Antwerp (see Melion 2013); another produced by the Wierix workshop c. 1613; that of Regnard c. 1622 (for which see more below); and one printed by Petrus Firens (Paris, c. 1622–38).

the church of Il Gesù.[51] It has long been recognizable to historians and theologians as a central event in the life of St. Ignatius.[52]

Most scholars had long thought that the opposite panel depicted a generic scene of Ignatius traveling on pilgrimage (Fig. 16.6).[53] The figure walks barefoot, holding a staff, and with a pack on his back, through a mountainous region behind a man on horseback. There is no particular element of the scene that emphatically disproves the idea that it is Ignatius, yet neither is there anything that is specifically tied to him. The head of the figure has broken off, hindering a clearer identification. However, my careful study of the life of Francis Xavier, well documented in letters and other contemporary accounts, reveals that the image of the pilgrim is instead the patient missionary, walking barefoot through the rough terrain of Japan.[54] This episode is described in written and illustrated biographies and painted life-cycles of the saint in this period.[55] Additionally, the panel is appropriately placed next to the framework figure of

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51   Domenichino's *Vision at La Storta* altarpiece was executed just after the 1622 canonization; it is today in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). There are numerous other examples of this subject in altarpieces in Jesuit churches, including one by Pietro da Cortona on the high altar of Sant'Ignazio in Pistoia (1670).

52   See Dalmases 1985, 153; Kolvenbach 2000, 1–4; and Ravier 1987.

53   Most of the previous scholarship has identified the two bottom panels as representations of the life of Ignatius. Pirri 1952, 41, describes the panels as depicting the martyrdoms of saints Vitale, Valeria, Gervasius and Protasius, along with two images of Ignatius of Loyola: the *Vision at La Storta* and *Ignatius as pilgrim*. Bailey 2003, 171, largely repeats the assessment of Pirri. Fidanza 2009, 443–449 offers a more detailed assessment with a careful examination of documents related to the history of the doors, and a study of the individual carved panels in greater depth than previous authors. Yet, while his study does justice to the panels depicting the Early Christian saints, he simply identifies the bottom panels as "two images typical of Jesuit iconography: the vision of Christ had by Ignatius of Loyola near La Storta (at the gates of Rome, symbolically evoked in the background of the relief) and the pilgrim Francis Xavier, 'next to St. Ignatius … the most widely represented of the Jesuit saints in Counter-Reformation art'" Fidanza 2009, 447. The translation is mine. His quote is from Hall 1974, 133. Robertson 2015, 198, referencing both Bailey and Fidanza, simply describes them as scenes from the lives of saints Vitale and Ignatius. No other scholar who has studied these images has properly identified the specific scene showing Francis Xavier (who is, in fact, depicted as a missionary, not a pilgrim), nor questioned how the bottom panels fit into the program of the doors as a whole. My identification of the scene of Francis Xavier changes the overall meaning of the doors.

54   The definitive biography of Xavier is Schurhammer, 1973–1982, see esp. v.4 on his time in Japan. For letters of Xavier sent from Japan see Costelloe 1992, 292–343. The account of Xavier's time in Japan by Torsellino 1632 is discussed presently, as are comparative images.

55   Illustrations of this episode from the life of St. Francis Xavier are found in numerous printed books of the period, including Regnard c. 1622; Kurtzböck c. 1740; and Salvatori 1793. The episode is also depicted in the cycle of twenty paintings of the life of Xavier by Andre Reinoso in the Sacristy of Sao Roque, Lisbon (1619).

FIGURE 16.6 Giacomo Taurino, *Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako* (panel from entrance doors), c. 1607–15, walnut, Basilica of San Vitale, Rome
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Francis Xavier, allowing for all six figures to correspond precisely with the narrative scenes.[56] Orazio Torsellino's biography of the missionary describes the dangerous trip that he made through Japan in 1549–51.[57] Late in 1550 he traveled from Kagoshima to Yamaguchi to Miyako (modern-day Kyoto). Threats to foreigners, including the presence of bandits along the roads, convinced the missionary that it would be best to travel with a local; he made himself the servant of a Japanese man who traveled on horseback. Torsellino explains the perilous journey:

> He carried at his backe his Maysters implements and baggage ... he was forced to travayle barefoote ... his feete oftentimes greatly swollen with snow, and cold weather, he travayled with exceeding great payne ... partly through running after his Mayster, and partly through the weight of both his burdens ... All which intolerable difficulties he not only overcame with great quiet of mynd, but had with his cognitations so firmly fixed upon God.[58]

Torsellino's account, and a letter sent by Francis Xavier from Cochin, dated 29 January 1552, outlining the treacherous travels through Japan, perfectly corresponds to the panel included in the San Vitale doors.[59] Francis Xavier and his companions faced these challenges—physical and spiritual—enthusiastically, due to the potential the Japanese sojourn represented to them.[60] Torsellino's statement that the missionary faced the difficulty with his mind focused on God provides a wonderful parallel to the vision of Ignatius, who entered the chapel at La Storta with his mind similarly fixed on Christ. This narrative, *Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako*, depicts a specific and representative event in the life of St. Francis Xavier, in the same manner as the five other panels. This new identification for the panel significantly alters the meaning of the doors.

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56   While many of the aforementioned studies do state accurately that there are six small figures of these saints (Vitale, Valeria, Gervasius, Protasius, Ignatius, and Francis Xavier) in the framework of the doors, they neglect to connect all of these figures—directly and individually—with the six narrative panels. The figure in the frame adjacent to the panel on the bottom right is clearly that of St. Francis Xavier, with his hands clutching his robes, for more on the traditional iconography of Francis Xavier, including his pulling at the soutane with both hands, see Osswald 2002, 268.

57   Torsellino 1632, 309–314.

58   Torsellino 1632, 309–312.

59   Costelloe 1992, 326–343.

60   For more on this subject see Mormando and Thomas 2006; Bourdon 1993; Moran 1993; and Ross 1994.

Considering the door panels as a whole, it is easy to understand that the martyrdom scenes of the four Early Christian saints serve to represent their lives appropriately, a tradition perpetuated in Jesuit art of the sixteenth century. Yet, our evaluation of the narrative scenes of the early Jesuits placed below them must ask why these specific episodes were selected as an accompaniment. The *Vision at La Storta* is a logical choice. It is an event that was often incorporated into portraits or other representational images of Ignatius in this era.[61] It is a subject strongly linked to the foundation and naming of the Jesuit order, and reinforces their stance that they serve Christ directly.[62] Judi Loach has aptly described the scene as a "call to discipleship of the Jesuits' ultimate model, yet not one who suffered literal martyrdom."[63] While it may be argued that another scene, such as the 'Writing of the Spiritual Exercises,' could stand in as the single episode *representing* Ignatius, no other narrative is incorporated into the persona of Ignatius like the Vision at La Storta. As noted, the episode is depicted extensively in pictorial cycles and illustrated biographies of the saint's life throughout the seventeenth century; even the silver statue of the saint placed upon his tomb in the Church of Il Gesù is actually part of a tableau of this event, with the figures of the Trinity placed above him (Fig. 16.7). Furthermore, the miraculous vision at the heart of this scene establishes an important connection to the saintly aspects of the Early Christian martyrs. The non-martyred Ignatius is part of a new period in the history of the Church and a key role model for the Jesuits.

While the scene of *Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako* is not as well-known, it is certainly a representative image from Xavier's life. Many Xavierian altarpieces depict his death (such as the 1676 *Death of Francis Xavier* by Baciccio from the nearby Church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale), and while this death occurred in China while he was engaged in missionary work, it does not symbolize the arduous nature of the missions in quite the same manner. Occasionally Xavier is represented in the context of the life of Ignatius: in depictions of Ignatius sending Xavier to Asia (as seen in the frescoes by Andrea Pozzo in the apse of the church of Sant'Ignazio, 1687–91) or Xavier writing letters to Ignatius and the Jesuits in Europe, from the missions (as in the 1609 *Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolae*).[64] Again, while these images convey Xavier's role as a missionary, and his letters

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61 From the 1590s the 'Vision at La Storta' scene is set behind Ignatius in many portraits. An example of this would be the woodcut portrait used for an edition of Ribadeneyra's biography of Ignatius published in Lyon, 1595, see König-Nordhoff 1982, fig. 135.

62 See Fleming 2012.

63 Loach 2010, 58. Her reference is with regard to an engraving of Ignatius's vision in Richeôme's *La Peinture Spirituelle*.

64 For the print depicting Xavier writing letters see O'Malley 2008, plate 59.

FIGURE 16.7   Pierre Legros, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 1697–99, silver gilt; Pierre Stephan Monnot,
               Angel Composing the Name of the Society, 1696–97, marble; Lorenzo Ottone
               and Bernardo Ludovisi, *Trinity*, 1726, marble; sculptures from the Altar of
               St. Ignatius, Church of Il Gesù, Rome
               PHOTO: AUTHOR

have provided invaluable insight into the trials of the missions undertaken, visually the scenes are uninspiring. *Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako* transmits the danger and hardship of the missions; it reminds the viewer of the challenges that Xavier encountered in foreign, non-Christian lands, and how he persevered to overcome them. It is an episode included in numerous illustrated biographies of the saint, published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One example, from the *Cultus Sancti Francisci Xaverii Soc. Jesu. Japoniae & Indiarum Apostoli* (Fig. 16.8), published by Gregor Kurtzböck in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century, is specifically captioned the "patience of Xavier". This image, along with others, in Valérien Regnard's *S. Francisci Xaverii Ind: Apli Societ Iesv Qvaeda Miracvla* (Rome, after 1622) and Filippo Maria Salvatori's vita *Fatti piu rimarchevoli della vita di San Francesco Saverio* (Rome, 1793), make clear that the San Vitale panel illustrates this event from the life of Francis Xavier. Like the panel, these engravings explicitly show Francis Xavier carrying staff and backpack, walking barefoot through a mountain range, following his master on horseback, leaving no doubt as to the identification of this panel. The episode is also included in many of the pictorial cycles of the saint produced in the years following Xavier's beatification in 1619, notably Andre Reinoso's series of 20 paintings in the sacristy of Sao Roque in Lisbon (1619) and it is among the 32 silver relief panels on the casket containing Xavier's incorrupt body in the Bom Jesus, Goa (1636–37) (Fig. 16.9).[65] The large number of representations of the scene not only reinforce this new identification of the San Vitale door panel, but they—with the depictions of scenes from the life of Ignatius—elucidate the changing nature of Jesuit artistic commissions in the seventeenth century. The emphasis on scenes of martyrdom has shifted to images of the lives and miracles of the founders of the Society, the first Jesuit saints. They stand as new role models, and the San Vitale door panels are among the very first works of art to acknowledge them in this way. In sum, they establish important prototypes for the subjects that will dominate the next century of Jesuit art.

Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier became the first Jesuit saints in 1622, and one facet of the corresponding canonization celebration in Rome was the production of ephemeral paintings commemorating their lives and miracles, hung inside and on the façade of the church of Il Gesù. While these images do not survive, a series of prints is thought to reproduce and preserve them. Valérien Regnard's *S. Ignatii Loyolæ Soc: Iesv fvndatoris, qvædã miracvla*, and *S. Francisci Xaverii: Ind. Apli Societatis Iesv, qvædã miracvla*, both with

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65   For further discussion of the scene of Xavier traveling to Miyako on the saint's silver casket see Fleming 2020.

FIGURE 16.8   "Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako," engraving from *Cultus Sancti Francisci Xaverii Soc. Jesu. Japoniae & Indiarum Apostoli*, published in Vienna, c. 1740. Jesuitica Collection of the John J. Burns Library, Boston College
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 16.9   Tomb of St. Francis Xavier, 1636–37, silver gilt, Church of Bom Jesus, Goa
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

titlepages and nineteen additional engravings, were published in Rome, in or shortly after 1622. "The Vision of Ignatius at La Storta" and "Francis Xavier Traveling to Miyako" are both included among the images, reflecting the new aspects of Jesuit visual culture (Fig. 16.10). The deaths of both saints are included, but they were not martyrs, and the manner in which death is pictured in these prints has changed considerably. The emphasis on promoting—and later celebrating and commemorating—the first saints of the order will dominate seventeenth-century Jesuit art. Fighting heresy and sending missionaries off to hostile territories remains a key component of the Society, but the focus has shifted away from reminders of grisly and explicit martyrdoms at every turn. Instead, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier serve as models for men of faith, patience, and determination. These characteristics are embodied in the two panels of the front doors of San Vitale: the mindset of Xavier on his journey to Miyako parallels Ignatius's response to the vision of the Trinity at La Storta. The words that Christ spoke to Ignatius in that ruined chapel, "I will be favorable to you in Rome" left Ignatius—although still apprehensive with regard to what lay ahead for the companions as they reached Rome—with renewed confidence in his faith. Neither man knew what would happen next,

FIGURE 16.10   Valérien Regnard, "The Vision of Ignatius at La Storta" engraving from
                 S. Ignatii Loyolæ Soc: Iesv fvndatoris, qvædã miracvla; and "Francis Xavier
                 Traveling to Miyako" engraving from *S. Francisci Xaverii: Ind. Apli Societatis
                 Iesv, qvædã miracvla*, published together in Rome, c. 1622. Jesuitica Collection
                 of the John J. Burns Library, Boston College
                 PHOTO: AUTHOR

but determination, patience, and faith had gotten them this far, and they trust-
ed that these attitudes would enable them to meet their goals. And, they did.
Ignatius reached Rome, and Pope Paul III confirmed the Society of Jesus in
September 1540. Francis Xavier may not have met with as much success in his
Japanese mission as he had elsewhere (for example, in India), but the experi-
ence helped him reassess his approach to preaching in Asia, and the overall
success of the Jesuit missions is one of the hallmarks of the order in this pe-
riod. The pairing of the two Jesuits here reflects their unparalleled importance
to the Society, and these specific scenes reinforce to their followers their roles
as the one designated to stay in Rome and lead the order, and the other who
left to promote their ideals across the sea. The emphasis on the physical and
spiritual bodies of these saints connects them to the scenes of martyrdom por-
trayed above, and allows the viewer to understand that they are the new role
models of the Society, at the dawn of the seventeenth century.

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